



Full Report

“A Man Enters the Water and Comes Out Dry”

UNDERSTANDING MASCULINITIES IN **TUNISIA**

Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey in Tunisia

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IMAGES Tunisia is a UN Women research project conducted in partnership with Equimundo, the Arab Institute for Human Rights (AIHR) and Beity, within the framework of the UN Women regional program “Men and Women for Gender Equality”, funded by Sweden.

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey “IMAGES” consists of a quantitative study conducted by AIHR and a qualitative study conducted by Beity. Equimundo provided technical assistance to the above-mentioned partners in conducting the qualitative and quantitative parts of the study and also developed the consolidated research report.

November 2022, Tunisia

UN Women is the United Nations entity dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women. A global champion for women and girls, UN Women was created to accelerate progress in meeting their needs everywhere.

UN Women supports UN Member States in adopting international standards to achieve gender equality and works with governments and civil society to design the laws, policies, programs and services needed to ensure that the effective application of these standards and that women and girls everywhere benefit from them. UN Women works globally to make the ambition of the Sustainable Development Goals a reality for women and girls and supports women's equitable participation in all aspects of life, focusing on five priority areas: strengthening women's leadership and participation; ending violence against women; integrate women into all aspects of peace and security processes; strengthen the economic empowerment of women; and placing gender equality at the heart of national planning and budgeting processes.

UN Women further coordinates and promotes the work of the United Nations system in support of gender equality and within the framework of discussions and agreements relating to the 2030 Agenda. The entity works to position gender equality as a pillar of the Sustainable Development Goals and a more inclusive world. For more information: www.unwomen.org

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1. INTRODUCTION: WHY A STUDY ON MASCULINITIES AND GENDER EQUALITY IN TUNISIA?

Lilia: You know, in Tunisia, our society is merciless. There is a saying that a man enters the water and he comes out dry, a woman enters the water and comes out wet.

Interviewer: What does this mean?

Lilia: It means that a man can do what he wants – when he has sex with a woman, no one will say anything. When a woman does the same, she will be dishonored, her reputation will be tarnished, she will never be able to find a husband.

This report presents the findings of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), including both quantitative and qualitative data, undertaken in Tunisia in 2020-2022.

1.1 About IMAGES

This study is part of the global and regional IMAGES efforts. IMAGES was originally created in 2008 by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women. It is a multi-year, multi-country effort to build the evidence base on the ways that public institutions and policies can better foster gender equality and to raise awareness, among policymakers and program planners, on the need to involve men in health, development, and gender-equality issues. It includes a questionnaire for men and for women, and it has both a core set of questions and new questions adapted for each country or region to include key and emerging context-specific issues in gender equality, gender relations, and women's empowerment.

As of 2022, IMAGES and IMAGES-inspired studies have been carried out in more than 40 countries. IMAGES served as the basis for household surveys carried out by Partners for Prevention (P4P, the United Nations regional joint program for the prevention of violence against women and girls in Asia and the Pacific) and other United Nations programs on men, gender, and gender-based violence. Similarly, in other countries, IMAGES has often been carried out in partnership with UN Women as part of developing national strategies to engage men as allies in achieving gender equality. The original IMAGES questionnaire is based in part on the Norwegian Gender Equality and Quality of Life survey carried out in 1986 and in 2006. The IMAGES questionnaire was designed to include questions addressing the major issues relevant to gender relations, with an emphasis on men and women in heterosexual partnered relations, as well as the gendered vulnerabilities of men and women. Specific topics include:

- Use of, and attitudes related to, gender-based violence;
- Health and health-related practices, including sexual and reproductive health;
- Household decision-making and division of labor;
- Men's participation in caregiving and as fathers;
- Men's and women's attitudes about gender and gender-related policies;
- Men's reports of transactional sex and paying for sex;
- Men's reports of criminal behavior, delinquency, and childhood experiences of violence; and
- Happiness and quality of life.

1.2 Context: Women's Rights in Tunisia

The human development status of the Arab States region as a whole, and Tunisia in particular, is characterized by inequalities in power, influence and access to/control over resources between men and women. As in most parts of the world, the root causes of gender inequalities in Tunisia include: gender discriminatory social norms that are conducive to violence and unequal practices in families and communities; social institutions – such as faith-based institutions, the media and the education system – that uphold the patriarchal order; as well as discriminatory laws and policies which enshrine gender inequality in law. These inequalities have all been deepened by the recent COVID pandemic, as well as macroeconomic factors such as increases in poverty and youth unemployment, and a widening gap between rural and urban areas and the rich and poor. While both men and women have been impacted by these developments, women remain disproportionately affected due to gender inequalities.

Women's rights in the Personal Status Code and beyond. The Personal Status Code in Tunisia enshrines the lawful relations between men and women in the family as well as important rights for women. Under the Personal Status Code, women have the right to consent freely and personally to marriage and not to marry under a minimum age. The Code also prohibits polygamy and makes divorce legal to be requested indiscriminately by the man or the woman. The downfall of the *hajib* in 1959 as well as other laws add to the Personal Status Code to create the foundations for women's social promotion in Tunisia. This includes the right to access to free schooling for children of both sexes in the law on education, the right to work without discrimination in the civil service statute and the labor code, and the voting and eligibility rights granted to women in the electoral code, which recognized women's voting and eligibility rights as early as 1957.¹ This legal environment in Tunisia has advanced women's education and facilitated their access to the labor market, but above all it has helped change social representations of gender, marking an evolution of relations between men and women toward greater equality.


Women's rights in the 2014 Constitution. Tunisia's 2014 constitution recognizes many civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights of citizens. These include the right to citizenship, the right to vote and to stand for election, the right to physical integrity, the right to freedom of movement, opinion, expression, assembly and association, among others. The Constitution also provides strong guarantees for women's rights. Article 21 enshrines equality between male and female citizens in terms of rights and duties and before the law without discrimination. Article 46 states, among other things, that "the State is committed to protecting the acquired rights of women, supports

them and works to improve them. The State guarantees equal opportunities for women and men to assume different responsibilities in all areas." Article 34 paragraph 2 calls on the State to ensure the representation of women in elected assemblies and according to the provisions of paragraph 3 of Article 46, the State is obliged to work towards achieving parity between women and men in elected councils. Article 40 considers that work is a right for every citizen in decent conditions and with fair wages. Similarly, the fight against violence against women acquires a constitutional value, since, according to the last paragraph of Article 46, the State shall take the necessary measures to eliminate violence against women.²

Civil society's struggle – and success – to lift reservations to CEDAW. Since independence, Tunisia has ratified almost all the international conventions on human rights, including women's rights, without making any reservations about the rights they enshrine. However, in 1985, when ratifying the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Tunisia made reservations.³ These reservations were formulated in the form of a General Declaration and specific and interpretative reservations. Under the General Declaration, the Tunisian Government declares that it will not adopt any administrative or legislative decision under the Convention that would be contrary to the provisions of Chapter 1 of the Tunisian Constitution. As for the other reservations, they concerned:

- ➔ Paragraph 2 of Article 9 concerning the granting of the mother's nationality to her children,
- ➔ Article 16 in its subparagraphs c, d, f, g, and h, g on the rights and responsibilities within the family, which must not be in contradiction with the provisions of the Personal Status Code concerning the granting of the family name to children and the acquisition of property by inheritance,
- ➔ Paragraph 4 of article 15 which concerns the right of women to choose their residence and domicile and which must not contradict the provisions of chapters 23 and 61 of the Personal Status Code on freedom of choice of domicile and residence.

Consequently, despite the ratification of this Convention, the status of women has not changed in the family, and the authority of husbands, as head of the family, remains predominant. Thus, through the reservations, discrimination is maintained between men and women and between the rights that are recognized in the Convention. The rights of women in the family are not all equal, whereas they are in other areas, and a distinction is made between the family, the preferred place of Islam, and other private and public spaces where religion is often not mentioned. Since the ratification of the CEDAW, the autonomous women's movement was ceaseless in asking for the lifting of the reservations to this Convention. As early as 2002, the CEDAW Committee had asked the government to lift these reservations. In October 2011, a decision was finally made to lift these restrictions, as part of the full realization of the objectives of the revolution, democratic transition, and political reform. In the wake, a rally of civil society organizations was held in front of the Presidency of the Government. The head of government proceeded to the lifting of reservations under the Decree-Law No. 103-2011 of October 24, 2011, while maintaining the General Declaration; this came despite the calls of some conservative currents to simply renounce the ratification of the convention.⁴ On April 17, 2014, the authorities proceeded to notify the withdrawal of reservations to the Secretary General of the United Nations with regard to Article 15 (4) of the Convention and reservations to Articles 9 (2) and 16 and 29 (1) of the Convention.



Ongoing efforts to achieve greater equality. As can be seen by these legislative examples and successful civil society advocacy, women's rights have been recognized since independence in various ways, including ratification by Tunisia of international conventions that enshrine them. New laws have been adopted since 2011 to consolidate these rights, such as the provisions of the Constitution, the law against trafficking in persons, the law against violence against women, the electoral law, and the aforementioned lifting of reservations. At the same time, the enjoyment of these rights is facing resistance from many quarters. This explains why women as well as civil society organizations which push for the promotion of human rights, including women's rights, are always vigilant about attempts to call into question these rights or their violations, and to call for the respect of these rights and for the consecration of egalitarian democracy.

In addition to the above, the general context that Tunisia has been experiencing since 2011 within the so-called democratic transition has greatly affected the status of women and deepened gender differences. Despite the improvement in the indicators of participation in political life in terms of affiliation to political parties and associations and participation in elections and representative councils, this improvement did not reduce the manifestations of violence that women are exposed to in the public sphere and did not significantly change the general scene with regard to assuming leadership positions. Perhaps the doubling of the rates of violence against women during the COVID pandemic is one of the indicators that can indicate the fragility of the gains made by Tunisian women over decades, and the continuing dangers that threaten the most vulnerable women in particular in Tunisia.

It is in service to this effort, and to continue removing roadblocks to gender equality in Tunisia, that deeper research and understanding of men's attitudes and beliefs is necessary. Research such as this study explore the current state of women's rights as well as the challenges they face in Tunisia.

2. METHODOLOGY

The IMAGES MENA Tunisia study included a nationwide survey and a series of qualitative in-depth interviews. The methodologies for each are included here.

2.1 Quantitative Methodology

The Arab Institute for Human Rights conducted the quantitative study on men and gender equality, which aims at understanding how men respond to gender equality and contribute to women's empowerment, by carrying out a household survey targeting 1,200 men and 1,200 women from representative samples of the Tunisian population. The main objectives of the study are:

1. Provide detailed socio-economic, cultural and psychological data on the different profiles of men and women in urban and rural areas.
2. Identify the determinants of men's and women's behaviors and their acceptance of gender equality.
3. Providing the necessary social, demographic, psychological, economic and educational indicators to follow up on the progress made towards achieving women empowerment goals and full gender equality in rights and duties.
4. Providing indicators on violent practices in the family environment, especially those directed towards women.
5. Diagnosis of sociocultural problems impeding progress in achieving gender equality and women empowerment.
6. Presenting proposals to help develop plans, programs, practical measures and new legislation to further improve the status of women in the Tunisian society.

Stages for developing the study. The development of this study involved multiple stages that are as follows:

- Prepare a Desk Review on the subject of the study
- Develop the literary and field methodology to suit the Tunisian context
- Identify the geographical representation and target areas for the study
- Develop two household surveys "Images MENA", one for men and one for women
- Conduct a pre-test
- Prepare the training tools for field researchers, including a guide for field researchers
- Hold training courses for field researchers
- Conduct a household survey targeting 1200 men and 1200 women from representative samples of the Tunisian population

- Analyze the data extracted from the survey
- Prepare a national final report of the quantitative and qualitative study outputs in partnership with the experts of Bayti Association, Promundo organization and UN Women.

Data collection tools. The study team relied on a standard form that was developed by Promundo organization. It required a comprehensive review, as it was developed and adapted to suit the Tunisian society. A desk review body was also consulted to ascertain the extent to which the final version of the form responds to scientific ethics. In addition, all questions were translated into the Tunisian dialect and a pre-test was conducted confirming the efficiency and soundness of the entire process.

The forms for men and women contain the following sections:

- Preliminary section on family characteristics and composition
- Information about the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent (A)
- Experiences during childhood (C)
- Marriage and divorce (D)
- Marital Relationship (E)
- Parental Responsibilities (F)
- Relations between men and women (G)
- Women's participation in public life (H)
- Laws and policies (I)
- Marital relations or relations between partners (J)
- Health and Quality of Life (K)
- Life Experiences (L)

The asked questions allow for a comprehensive understanding of all aspects targeted by the study and provide accurate tools to measure behaviors and attitudes, which allow for a comparison between these behaviors and attitudes on the one hand and between them and what has been stated by men and women on the other hand.

Sample selection method. The study sample targeted 2,400 households distributed over 120 census districts randomly selected from the entire territory of the Republic and was drawn by the National Institute of Statistics in Tunisia. Each province has an average of approximately 80 household allowing for the interviewing of 1/4 of them, i.e. 20 families in each district. This was done after identifying the starting point in each district and choosing the appropriate direction and step when undertaking fieldwork. The districts sample was divided amongst the governorates according to the demographic weight of the population in each region, as outlined in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Sample Breakdown by Region

Sample details for each region, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

Number of forms per region	Number of forms	Number of districts	Governorate	Region
600	260	13	Tunis	Greater Tunis Area
	140	7	Ariana	
	120	6	Ben Arous	
	80	4	Manouba	
340	200	10	Nabeul	North-East
	140	7	Bizerte	
320	180	9	Jendouba	North-West
	140	7	El Kef	
500	140	7	Sousse	Center-East
	100	5	Monastir	
	80	4	Mahdia	
	180	9	Sfax	
280	140	7	Kairouan	Center-West
	140	7	Kasserine	
220	220	11	Medenine	South-East
140	140	7	Gafsa	South-West
2,400	2,400	120	Total	

The study aimed at interviewing an individual from each household in the sample, which made it possible to obtain 2,400 forms (1,200 forms for men and 1,200 forms for women). The interviewed individual was selected based on a random draw made by a pre-set software installed on the electronic tablets containing the forms.

Who did we interview?

Details of the quantitative sample based on age, education, employment, and marital status are presented in the table below.

	Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%
Age Group				
18-29	466	40.1	397	34.5
30-39	285	24.5	325	28.3
40-49	205	17.7	214	18.6
50+	205	17.7	213	18.5
Level of Education				
Less than Secondary ¹	362	31.2	431	37.5
Secondary ²	587	50.6	445	38.8
Higher education level ³	211	18.2	273	23.8
Employment Status				
Employed (full time or part time job)	745	64.2	288	25.1
Unemployed (looking for job)	195	16.8	147	12.8
Unemployed (studying / schooled)	110	9.5	121	10.5
Unemployed (pensioner, invalid, housekeeping, not looking for job)	87	7.5	585	50.9
Other situation	23	2.0	8	0.7



¹ Includes all categories of primary education and below (no schooling, nursery school, primary or preparatory)

² Includes secondary education/ High school and vocational/ professional schools

³ Refers to higher education level and includes Diploma, partial or ongoing university, bachelor's degree, postgraduate diploma and master's degree of higher.

	Men		Women	
	N	%	N	%
Marital Status				
Never Married	638	55.0	346	30.1
Currently Married	498	42.9	722	62.8
Been Married, Currently Unmarried	24	2.1	81	7.1
Total (N)	1,160	100	1,149	100

2.2 Qualitative Methodology

A survey by semi-structured in-depth interviews was carried out by the team of researchers⁴ between November 2021 and January 2022 with a reasoned sample (N= 61) in different governorates of the country: Greater Tunis (Tunis, La Manouba, Ariana, Ben Arous), Nabeul (Kelibia, Dar Allouche), Sousse (Sousse, Messadine, Taffala), Monastir, Mahdia, Sfax, Sidi Bouzid, Medenine (Jerba and Zarzis), Tozeur (Tozeur and Nefta), Kef, Jendouba and Bizerte (see annex 3).

The qualitative sample consists of 34 men and 27 women. Women were interviewed in order to shed light on how they perceive masculine practices, and help shape - or reject - masculine hegemony, and in which areas in particular. Moreover, because gender practices are relational, masculinities, which we would like to understand in their multiplicity, can only be defined in relation to women (Connell, 2005). The research team also ensured that the sample was diversified according to the following variables: age, environment (urban, rural and peri-urban), education level and marital status, in order to test a number of hypotheses relating to differences in the practices and representations of individuals.

The qualitative sample also sought to identify generational differentiations, such as the effects of primary socialization (relationships with parents, dominance of religiosity and traditionalism in the family) and secondary socialization on the construction of models of hegemonic masculinities. The diversification of respondent profiles is crucial in this respect because it allows us to determine what the practices and representations around masculinity owe to the social experiences of individuals, and in particular to biographical breaks (romantic break-up, divorce, unemployment, experience of violence or sexual assault), and the experience of marriage or romantic relationships.

4 The team of researchers was composed of: Meryem Sellami, socio-anthropologist, assistant master at the Faculty of Medicine of Tunis, Maryam Ben Salem, politician, lecturer at the Faculty of Law and Political Science of Sousse, Khaoula Matri, socio-anthropologist, assistant master at the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of Sousse, and Hazem Chikhaoui, philosophy teacher with a master's degree in gender from the Faculty of Letters, Arts and Humanities of Manouba.

The interview guide is structured in five axes. The first concerns perceptions and attitudes towards gender equality. The objective of this section is to bring the interlocutor into the realm of equality in general in order to establish a link between the types of masculinities and the ways in which legal and social inequalities are perceived, not as they actually exist. The second axis, relating to perceptions of gender roles, aims to identify the effect of primary socialization on the internalization of models of gender relations (division of tasks, relations with parents, reproduction of or distancing from the parenting model) and to probe the social actor's capacity to challenge them.

The issue of violence, which constitutes the third axis of the interview guide, enables investigation of the entanglement between violence and the idealized image of men, and of the power relations between men on the one hand and between men and women on the other. The image of the body of the Tunisian man and its evolution has also been taken into account in the fourth axis of the guide. Finally, the fifth axis of the interview guide is devoted to the representations and experiences of sexuality. In this section, sexuality is approached through norms to respond to the same hypothesis explored in this study's third axis concerning violence, that of the entanglement between virility and sexuality.

All the interviews carried out were used in the analysis, but the research team selected the most relevant and illustrative cases and findings for exemplification. The survey was conducted

in accordance with current ethical principles. Fair selection criteria were respected during the selection of the respondents and this was possible thanks to Beity's network of partner associations (listed below), and also to the researchers' informal network of colleagues, students, personal acquaintances, etc.

- Association for Sustainable Development and International Cooperation of Zarzis. - Citizenship and Freedom Association, Djerba
- Association La Ruche de la citoyenneté, Tozeur
- Association of Sustainable Management Oasis Ras El Aïn Nefta AGDOR - Shanti Association
- Association l'Art Rue- Tunis Medina
- Damj Association
- ATFD- Sfax

The research team made sure to obtain the free and informed consent of the respondents, and to ensure privacy and confidentiality by protecting the access and dissemination of personal information. The interviews lasted between 1 hour to 3 hours 30 minutes. They were registered and carried out on the premises of partner associations, in meeting rooms rented for the purposes of the survey, and sometimes in cafes.

Mapping qualitative respondents into three worldviews

The qualitative data analysis for this project highlighted the important distinctions and contradictions between three prominent worldviews among participants. This report will refer to these three types as a shorthand.

Type 1: Defenders of Patriarchy

The first group are those who incorrectly consider that Tunisian law establishes *inequality* in favor of women, describing such a legal situation as threatening since it disrupts the "natural" patriarchal order. This group is consistent in its view and does not express any uncertainty, dissonance, or confusion. They draw their consistency from conformity with their understanding of Islam and/or tradition. These are individuals who are either religious (and in some cases Salafists) or come from conservative families or regions (southern Tunisia, rural coastal areas). What characterizes this type is the quest to preserve the supremacy of men in all aspects of society: rights, task-sharing (with the domestic sphere reserved for women), sexuality (subordination of gay masculinities by considering homosexuality as a deviance deserving of punishment). Anything that disrupts the tranquility of the dominant man is perceived as an exogenous element, imposed by the State or by the Western world.

By virtue of their function as protectors of women, men belonging to this group feel that they should have the right to subject women to their will and their needs (domestic, sexual), to deny them access to employment or to limit their access to public space. Social inequalities, when recognized, are perceived as entirely legitimate and should under no circumstances be called into question. "Man is a man" / *Errajel rajel* is a recurring response among respondents classified into this group. This explanation is offered when the interviewer questions them about behaviors contrary to Islamic law, such as the virgin norm imposed exclusively on women, the stronger condemnation of female adultery (while the Islamic religion condemns both) and the disinheritance of sisters. Religion is often the register from which respondents draw reasons justifying inequality, but family traditions seem to have more powerful effects. Indeed, many cases confirm that the preeminence of the brother is so entrenched that the disinheritance of sisters, although forbidden in Islam, is perceived as natural and evident, because this is how things were done in their families.

Type 2: Opponents of Patriarchy

The second type is similar to the first only in that it represents an entirely coherent and confident worldview: that of opposition to legal and social inequalities between the sexes. Where the first group roundly rejects efforts toward enshrining equality, the second group defends them entirely.

Rather than being structured by religion and/or tradition, this group's opinions and actions are structured by *resistance*, a rebellion against patriarchy. Compared to the other two groups, this is the group where masculinity experiences the most remarkable reconfiguration. Brief case studies of responses in this group help demonstrate the conditions that favor this more rebellious mode.

Asser. Asser, 32, has a master's in design and works in an NGO in Tozeur. He discovered the issue of gender because he is left-wing and was a member of the student union. He calls himself an anarchist. His mother was a pharmacist and his father is a biologist. He has two brothers. His mother brought only him up, and entrusted the other two children to her two sisters; as a result of her work, she could not take care of three children, especially since her husband did not contribute to household chores. He lived alone with his parents until his brothers returned eight years later. The image he has of his mother is that of a woman who faces a double exploitation, at work and at home:

“

My mother would get up at four o'clock in the morning to prepare breakfast and lunch, would go to work at seven o'clock, return home at noon, set the table, do the dishes and then take a little nap; at three o'clock she would go back to work. She would come home at night exhausted, prepare dinner and do the dishes. She never let us help her do the dishes because we were boys and it wasn't acceptable.

”

His family's particular circumstances, the fact that he was separated from his two brothers because his mother could not reconcile her work with her family responsibilities, have certainly contributed to Asser's critical perception of the gender order and the functioning of society as a whole.

Ramy. Ramy is a 23-year-old law student in Sfax. He lives with his parents and two older sisters. His mother is a homemaker, his father is a merchant. He calls himself a feminist. He chose to pursue law studies in order to “change society”. In the beginning of the interview, he denounced “institutional” violence against women. He criticizes the notion of “bina” which is the obligation for a woman to have sex when the husband pays a dowry. He denounces the inequality of remuneration between women and men in agriculture. He denounces the misogyny of police officers, and judges (men and women), and the difficulty of applying article 58. He wants to take parental authority away from fathers. For Ramy, whoever earns money should cover the household expenses. He considers the law of inheritance to be a “backwards” law that goes against the Constitution and international conventions ratified by Tunisia, such as the CEDAW. Speaking of his mother, he said that she worked a little as a foreman in a factory before getting married. She told Ramy: “When I got married, I was extinguished”. He tells us, “I realize that I've never asked my mother what it was that extinguished her? Was it the wedding? Was it us, her children? I have no idea!”

These brief examples, among many others featured in the report, show that the processes of socialization and the elements of individuals' personal biographies seem to structure how men perceive gender, much more so than simplistic categories such as age, social position or educational level.

Type 3: The Dominant Middle

The third group is the most complex, ambivalent, and at the same time dominant. This group does not hold a perfectly coherent worldview the way groups 1 and 2 do, but instead their worldview is characterized by hybrid standards and a selective or even internally contradictory use of religion and tradition. Respondents belonging to this type are diverse, including those who denounce legal and social gender inequalities in some areas and naturalize them in others, alongside those who consider that the law privileges women and perceive this as discrimination against men, while presenting certain other attitudes favorable to gender equality. In short, this group is a bit confused, a bit contradictory, and overall characteristic of a society undergoing transitions related to gender.

Unlike respondents of the first type, Islam is not the only force for these respondents that structures attitudes and representations. Indeed, religion is selectively mobilized to justify gender inequalities, to determine what is lawful and unlawful, what is permissible and what is prohibited, while being excluded on other issues.

It is essential to reckon with this "dominant middle" group, especially and including men, to advance gender equality in Tunisia. Efforts toward attitude change among group 1, defenders of patriarchy, face an extremely difficult if not impossible path. Efforts toward attitude change among group 2, opponents of patriarchy, are mostly unnecessary as this group is already staunchly on the side of equality. But with group 3, however, change is possible, and openings exists for advocates.

The remainder of the report will continue to explore these three types of worldviews, with attempts to identify such openings to shift the hearts and minds of the dominant middle.

3. FINDINGS

This section presents the findings of the mixed methods study under seven themes. Survey results and in-depth interview passages are presented in tandem to provide both breadth and depth on each topic.

3.1 Attitudes toward Gender, Gender Equality, and Masculinities

Studies on masculinity are few and far between in Tunisia. This topic is generally addressed in a subsidiary manner in gender studies.⁵ However, since the revolution in 2011, masculinity has been the subject of some increased press attention and meetings.⁶ All in all, despite the changes that Tunisian society has undergone over the years, much of the available research shows that social representations of gender roles remain unequal in the country. Social attitudes towards gender remain largely marked by the traditionalist vision of society based on the sexual division of labor (with men in the public sphere, women in the private). As a primary area of focus, and to build on other previous studies in Tunisia, IMAGES asks respondents whether they agree or disagree with a wide range of restrictive, traditionalist attitudes related to gender. This helps us assess the extent to which harmful views about men's and women's roles are alive in society, and what the impact of these beliefs may be. The figure below presents a first selection of these attitudes, organized under four categories. The percentages shown in Figure 2 are the proportion of men and women who said that they "agree" or "strongly agree" with the statement. Most, though not all, statements are framed in a restrictive or harmful way, such that agreement indicates a more restrictive view.

Figure 2. Attitudes Toward Gender Equality

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about gender roles and decision-making, violence, and perceptions of masculinity and femininity, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

		Men (%)	Women (%)
Attitudes toward gender roles and decision-making			
1	A woman's most important role is to take care of the home and cook for the family.	41.7	29.3
2	A man should have the final word about decisions in the home.	70.1	48.1
3	Changing diapers, giving baths to children, and feeding children should all be the mother's responsibility.	40.7	30.7
4	A married woman should have the same rights to work outside the home as her husband.	83.3	95.1
Attitudes toward violence			
5	There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.	16.1	8.2
6	A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together.	16.0	1.7
Perception of masculinity and femininity			
7	To be a man, you need to be tough.	59.7	29.8
8	If resources are scarce, it is more important to educate sons than daughters.	13.6	6.9
9	It's a man's duty to exercise guardianship over his female relatives.	77.8	49.3
10	Boys are responsible for the behavior of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters.	76.1	47.2
11	Unmarried women should have the same right to live on their own as unmarried men.	43.6	52.8
Attitudes toward relationships, sexuality and reproduction			
12	It is the woman's responsibility to avoid becoming pregnant.	29.5	30.4
13	If a man doesn't want to have sex, it is normal and doesn't make him less of a man.	87.8	89.7

With only one exception, men hold more restrictive views than women for these gender attitude statements. Nearly 68 percent of men agreed that “A man should have the final word about decisions in his home,” for instance, compared to about 48 percent of women. This discrepancy is not limited to items about men’s roles. A greater proportion of men – 40 percent – agreed that “A woman’s most important role is to take care of the home and cook for the family,” than women (30 percent). These data clearly suggest that restrictive views about gender roles are alive in the minds of Tunisian respondents, though much more so among men than women.

Some qualitative study participants also emphasized essentialist views about men’s and women’s roles. According to Slim, a 42-year-old police commissioner (man) from Bizerte, “We return to the starting point, the woman has her world, her concerns and the same goes for the man [...] sometimes there are situations where you have to behave like a man, the man is a man, a woman is a woman”. In the passage below, Slim elaborates on these views which are typical of the aforementioned “defenders of patriarchy”:

Slim: How can I explain this to you? For example, can a woman do the work of a doorman? That’s all! Can man do women’s things? I don’t think so!

Interviewer: What, for example?

Slim: Washing the laundry, mopping the floor or whatever.

Interviewer: So for you it’s a question of biological difference?

Slim: Yes!

Interviewer: And there are differences as a result of this?

Slim: Yes, overall.

Interviewer: In roles?


Slim: The woman cannot take on the role of the man and vice versa.

At the same time, great proportions of survey respondents agreed with some of the more positive statements included. Some 88 percent of men and 90 percent of women agreed that “If a man doesn’t want to have sex, it is normal and doesn’t make him less of a man,” as one example. Also, 95 percent of women and 83 percent of men felt that “A married woman should have the same right to work outside the home as a man,” an encouraging sign (although deeper analysis on women’s economic empowerment follows below). Very few respondents of any sex agreed that “If resources are scarce, it is more important to educate sons than daughters,” in another positive sign.

Figure 3. Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale

Average scores among various groups on the GEM Scale 0-3, where higher scores indicate more equitable views, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

		Men	Women
Age	18-29	1.61	2.04
	30-39	1.69	1.94
	40-49	1.66	1.92
	50+	1.67	1.74
Education	Less than secondary	1.55	1.73
	Secondary	1.62	1.97
	Higher education	1.90	2.21
Employment	Employed	1.66	2.04
	Unemployed	1.63	1.90
Marital status	Never married	1.63	2.01
	Currently married	1.68	1.91
	Others (separated, divorced, widows)	1.47	1.86
Milieu	Urban	1.69	1.98
	Non-urban	1.56	1.84
Overall average		1.65	1.94



When all thirteen statements from the previous table are calculated together into a single scale score, where the most inequitable possible answer scores 0 and the most equitable answer scores 3, it is possible to calculate a score for each respondent based on their average response to all thirteen statements. Figure 3 shows the average scale scores for various social groups of men and women, which sheds light on certain quantitative distinctions and trends. First, with an overall score of 1.94 compared to men's 1.65, we see clearly that women hold more equitable attitudes on average. Some other patterns emerge as well:

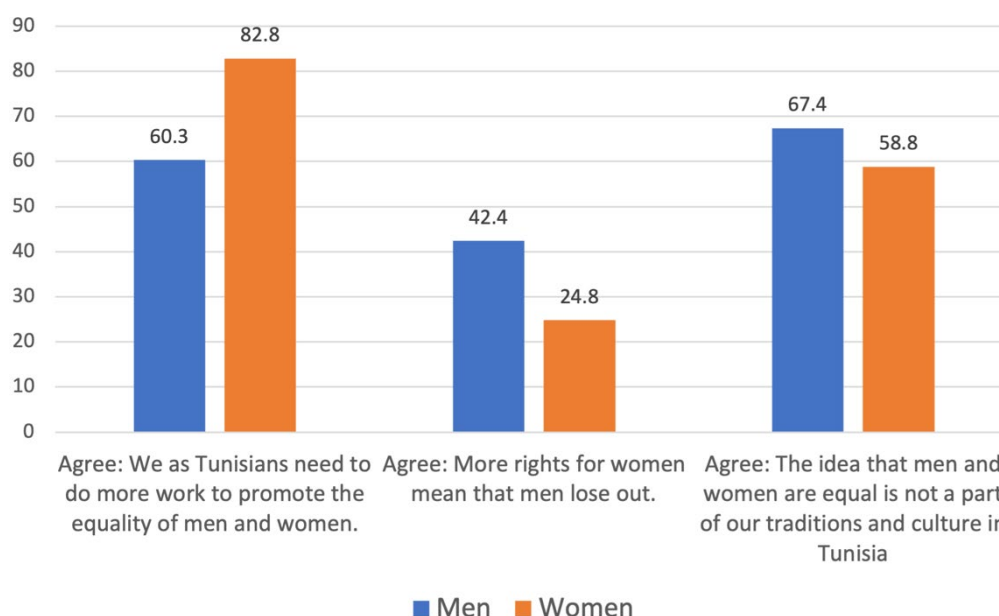
- **Age:** Men's attitudes do not vary significantly across age groups, but it is observable that the youngest age group holds the least equitable views. By contrast, it is the youngest women who hold the most equitable views. This suggests turmoil and contested gender roles among youth in Tunisia based on gender.
- **Education:** For both men and women, those with higher educational attainment also show more equitable scores.
- **Employment:** Employed women hold more equitable views than unemployed women, while men's attitudes do not vary much based on employment status.
- **Marital status:** Currently married men hold the most equitable views among men, while never married women hold the most equitable views among women.
- **Milieu:** Respondents in urban settings held more equitable views than respondents in non-urban settings.

It is important not to overstate these comparisons, however. These analyses only take one factor – age, education, etc. – into account at a time. And as the qualitative analysis shows so strongly, it is autobiographical experiences, the specific family setting, role models, religiosity, and so many other factors that combine to influence a person's worldview, not a single demographic category.

In addition to the above statements related to family roles and gender identity, respondents weighed in on the state of gender equality in Tunisian society. Here, the differences in opinion between men and women stand out starkly as well (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Views on Gender Equality in Society

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about gender equality in society, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



Tunisian men and women survey respondents seem to fundamentally disagree with one another about whether gender equality is a worthy and essential pursuit in Tunisia. Far greater proportions of women than men agreed that “We as Tunisians need to do more work to promote the equality of men and women,” and men were much more likely to hold the skeptical view that “More rights for women mean that men lose out.” In both of these cases, women are by and large expressing the view that gender equality is lacking in Tunisia, and would benefit all. At the same time, however, the majority of women and men felt that “The idea that men and women are equal is not a part of our traditions and culture in Tunisia,” a concerning sign.

Qualitative interviewee Faycel, who lives in Zarzis in the south of Tunisia (originally from Douz), is 40 years old. He has been married for 11 years and is the father of two children. He holds a master’s degree, works as a civil servant in a municipality and owns a mobile phone repair shop. With another argument characteristic of the “defenders of patriarchy,” Faycel considers that women have more rights than men in general and argues:

“

When you watch TV programs, radio, the media, we talk about women’s rights all the time. Have we ever talked about men’s rights? As a result of this situation, women have more rights than men and this has been the case for at least 40 years.

”

3.2 Women's Economic Empowerment and Public Leadership

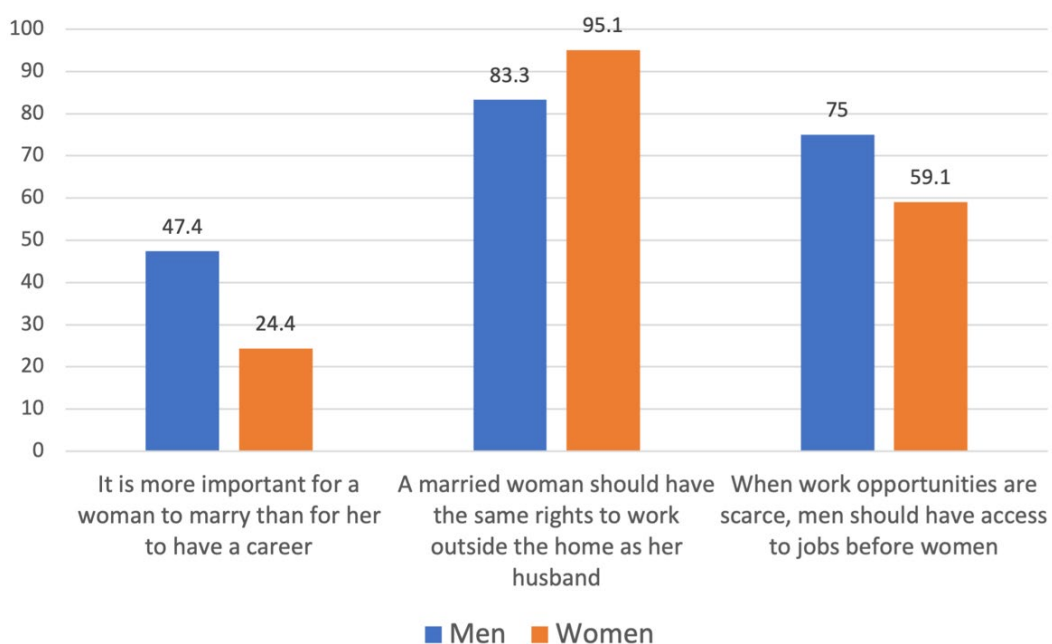
Employment and economic empowerment. Women's right to work is one of the fundamental economic and social rights guaranteed by international conventions and treaties as well as by national legislation (the constitution, the civil service law, and the labor code). It is a necessary condition for women's full emancipation and economic independence. Also, the labor code and the civil service statute have explicitly established the principle of non-discrimination between the sexes.

In reality, women's access to the labor market as well as their working conditions are subject to a sexual division of social labor. This division is based on two fundamental principles: the principle of separation (there are men's jobs and women's jobs) and the hierarchical principle (a man's job is "worth" more than a woman's job).⁷ However, several sectors traditionally reserved for men are gradually becoming more feminine, thanks to the increased academic attainment and achievement of girls and women. As such, there is a growing gap between social perceptions of work and the reality of the labor market, despite the difficulties encountered by women in accessing employment and working conditions that remain largely marked by inequality and insecurity.

What opinion do Tunisians hold about women's economic opportunities? Or about taking on political and public leadership roles? IMAGES is very concerned with these topics as well, as labor force participation and political representation are two areas where women continue to face injustices and barriers to full equality. Figure 5 shares a few initial statements, using the same "agree" and "strongly agree" format.

Figure 5. Women, Work, and Opportunity

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about economic opportunity, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



According to these items, men and women seem unsure and conflicted about women's economic roles in a changing world. A small minority of women – only 24 percent – agreed that "It is more important for a woman to marry than for her to have a career". But at the same time, the majority of women still felt that "When work opportunities are scarce, men should have access to jobs before women." And as presented earlier, on the more positive side, the great majority of all respondents agreed about equal rights to work for husbands and wives. This mix of attitudes suggests a society in transition, or complex worldviews which may hold some elements of equality and inequality side by side. This is further confirmation of the institutional confusion that has characterized the transitional context since 2011. The succession of political crises and the dominance of religious discourse during the early years of the revolution are all factors that contribute to this overlapping of intellectual references among Tunisians.

Discrimination and Difficulty for Women at Work

It continues to be true in Tunisia that women are confronted with various discriminations and difficulties to obtain their economic and social rights. They are more affected by unemployment and humiliating conditions of work. They are more exposed to arbitrary dismissal. Even in the case of permanent employment, they do not have equal opportunities for professional advancement, nor the same privileges as their male colleagues. Wage inequality between women and men persisted despite some legal safeguards since Tunisia adopted Convention C100 on Equal Remuneration in 1968. In the agricultural sector, for example, women are paid half what men earn for a day's work. This means that they provide half a day's work for free. In the private sector, women are paid 20 to 30 percent less than men. This gender disparity has worsened (40.4 percent in 2012 versus 32.7 in 2007). One of the consequences is that the recognition of women workers' qualifications and then their classification in the organizational structure of the institution remain subject to the discretionary and unilateral decision of the employer. It is this arbitrary situation that drives women workers to join women's associations or trade union branches to defend their demands.

Depending on the economic sector, women are exposed in one way or another to discrimination in professional promotion, and they are often put into decision-making positions later than men and are subjected to various types of violence and sexual harassment. Women workers in vulnerable situations, poor women, single mothers, rural women and domestic workers are the most vulnerable to such practices. Also in this situation are women in public services (health and education services, etc.), women with disabilities and young women who have obtained a work certificate in a vulnerable sector. The examples indicate that even when women come out of isolation and integrate into the labor market, this is not enough to reduce the domination to which they are subjected, whether this domination is material and linked to economic development, to the organization of work or to an ideology linked to the patriarchal system.

To reach the same level of responsibility with the same qualifications on the part of women requires twice the time it takes for men. The current social situation characterized by competition and the risk of exclusion of women from the workforce does not improve this situation. We notice that the percentage of women decreases as we climb the professional ladder. This path is likely to worsen if no measures are taken to ensure equal opportunities based on qualifications and if the needs and constraints of women are not taken into account in order to enable them to bear the burden of many combined responsibilities: family, professional, associative, trade union and political. We must add to all of the above that access to higher positions is by appointment and that senior officials tend to appoint men to these positions rather than women. This is demonstrated by the surveys and

studies carried out in this framework. In the public sector, which is one of the most job-providing sectors for women, a 2017 report by UN Women in partnership with the government's presidency highlighted the professional inequalities between men and women in the public service in Tunisia.⁸

Qualitative interviewee Alif, a 35-year-old craftsman from Nefta in southern Tunisia, spent five years at university and will be married in a few months. When asked why he wanted his fiancée to stop working when they are married, he replied:

“

Imagine that I get home, I find the house untidy and there is no lunch and my children are left to fend for themselves. In this case, anything can happen, even drug addiction. And these things that are increasingly prevalent in our society are also the consequences of women's work outside whether we like it or not.

”

Political participation. Parity in legislative positions was put into practice, for the first time, during the first elections of the National Constituent assembly (ANC) in October 2011 under the decree-law on the election of the Assembly. The parity appeared as an achievement of the democratic transition. It was achieved thanks to the presence of women feminist activists within the high authority for the realization of the objectives of the revolution, the democratic transition and political reform in order to consolidate the place of women in the political space. It was consolidated by the adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Article 7 of which calls on States Parties to take all appropriate measures to ensure gender equality in the field of political rights⁹.

The ongoing work devoted to the participation of women in political life, however, questions the reasons why women are not equally represented in parliament despite the adoption of parity. For scholar and activist Hafidha Chekir, the difficulties of implementing parity, in particular the non-respect of the rule of women as heads of lists by parties and candidate lists (7% of the lists had women as heads, against 93% of men), the weak presence of women in parties (2 women leaders of parties), in the decision-making bodies of the trade union center UGTT (4.2% of women who participated in the 2011 congress and no women elected to the executive board) can be explained by the patriarchal sociocultural heritage and the maintenance of the traditional division of tasks between men and women, which play an important role in the persistence of discrimination against women and in the negative view of women politicians.¹⁰

In 2019, in the legislative elections, the women heads of lists were only 14% and the rate of representation of women has dropped significantly compared to the legislative elections of 2014. At the level of elections, parity has not been translated into equal representation of women in governmental bodies and political parties, which are almost devoid by women, especially at the level of responsibility and leadership. Even if it is constitutionally and legally consecrated and considered by the Provisional Authority, parity has been transformed, after the elections, into a quota.

To ensure a more thorough and transformative realization of parity, it would be necessary to shift mentalities to value the role of women in the economic, social and political life, to substitute the culture of equality in place of the culture of discrimination, to convince all citizens that their political

participation is a condition of human development, to convince women that it is their political commitment which allows them to conquer this space, and to transform political spaces to be fully equitable. Figure 6 explores some of these ideas and mentalities which are preventing women from taking on full political participation.

Figure 6. Attitudes Towards Women in Political Leadership

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about women's leadership, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

	Men	Women
Women have fewer political connections than men	68.1	58.4
Women have less experience required for higher office	38.3	21.6
Women aren't tough enough for politics	40.2	24.0
Women are not as interested as men in holding higher office	43.4	37.2
Many Tunisians are not ready to elect a woman to higher office	71.8	66.8
Women have to do more to prove themselves than men	56.4	68.4

Here again, the pattern of difference between women's and men's responses remains clear. Across the board, men are more likely than women to hold discriminatory or dismissive views about women's political connections and aspirations. About 38 percent of men agreed with two statements: "Women have less experience required for higher office" and "Women aren't tough enough for politics," which in both cases is about double the percentage of women who agreed with these views. It deserves note that it is only a minority of men who hold these views, but nonetheless men's dismissive views far outpace women's.

Women in the survey are much more willing than men to point to the existence of unfair barriers and discrimination in the political arena. Fully 68 percent of women felt that "Women have to do more to prove themselves than men," compared to 56 percent of men. And only about 1/3 of women agreed that "Women are not as interested as men in holding higher office." We hope to emphasize the importance of the experience that Tunisian women began to acquire through their prominent presence in all the important stages of the period of transition to democracy and their success in overcoming the many obstacles that limit their access to the public space.

Qualitative interview Chahine, a 24-year old single man "defender of patriarchy" from Nefta in southern Tunisia, is working as an accountant until he can resume his studies. Chahine left university after three years in order to support his family because his mother had a serious illness and required medical care. According to him, overall, women are physically and intellectually inferior to men and incapable of the same achievements. Granting rights to women is unnatural, according to Chahine's worldview, as it undermines the prestige that men derive from their ability to found a household.

For Chahine, as for other respondents, the disruption of the gender order is consistent with the entry of women into the labor market. According to him, even if it seems modern, this grants privileges to women that they do not deserve:

“

Men are harmed compared to women [...] Women have taken up too much space in the labor market, they occupy all positions, even the head of government is a woman. It's good to be modern, it's a good thing and women also work because they have an education so they deserve it but whether we like it or not, the woman can never establish a household (t7el dar), it's the man who establishes the household.

”

This view is supported, in fact, by Tunisian law's restriction against women being the formal “head of family” for legal purposes. These restrictive ideas sit in contrast with qualitative interviewee and “opponent of patriarchy” Hakim, who demonstrates a more equitable view about women's and men's capabilities, drawing comparisons with childhood education.

“

At school, we had the same education, and the same work, didn't we? We didn't receive one education solely for men, and another for women? You can do medicine, architecture or whatever else regardless of your gender. Boys and girls, we sit in the same classroom. We obtain the same degree from the same school. It's the same, isn't it? So we are equal.

”

Survey respondents were also asked whether they support the appointment or election of women into a wide range of public leadership positions. Figure 7 shows the proportions of respondents who supported women in various roles, sorted from top to bottom by those men were most willing to least willing to support.

Figure 7. Women and Public Leadership

Percentage of men and women who approved of women's participation in particular public positions, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

Support women in the role of:	Men (%)	Women (%)
Judges	91.9	97.7
Mayor	86.7	94.6
NGO leader	86.2	92.1
Governor	85.5	94.0
Members of parliaments/assemblies.	83.1	91.2
Demonstrators in political protests	81.5	90.7
Leaders of trade unions	80.7	90.9
Head of police	80.2	89.6
Police officers	79.3	89.1
Prime Minister	77.8	88.7
Political party leader	77.3	87.9
Soldiers or combatants in the military or armed forces	76.5	89.4
Religious leaders	69.2	84.7
Minister of Interior	61.2	79.5
President of the Republic	60.5	78.0

Toward the top of the list, we see widespread support for women as judges, mayors, NGO leaders, and even members of parliament and police. The roles garnering the least support were those of highest political and religious leadership: religious leaders, ministers of the interior, and the presidency. Women, understandably, were more supportive of their appointment to every position on the list.

In addition to these attitudes, it must be stated that the low presence of women is due to the absence of affirmative action to increase women's political participation. Women's access to the executive decision-making bodies of parties is hindered by the numerical superiority of men and therefore the predominance of the male culture in parties; the difficulties women face in having the resources and networks necessary for such an ascension; and the difficulties in terms of reconciling private life (family and professional responsibilities) and public life. For this reason, women tend to favor activism in spaces that are less closed to them, hence their greater participation in civil society.

3.3 Gender Equality and the Law

Certainly, Tunisia has made some major advances in legal protections of women's rights since the country's independence, as outlined in the introduction. The enactment of the Personal Status Code in 1956 replaced repudiation with divorce and prohibited polygamy, and a comprehensive law to combat violence against women was enacted in 2017. Even more recently, some may say that the appointment of a woman to head of government in 2021 places Tunisia at the forefront where gender equality in law and legal authority is concerned.

Such a view would be incomplete at best, however, as many legal inequalities persist, such as the maintenance of inheritance inequality, the attribution of the status of head of family to the husband and the father (Article 23 of the Personal Status Code), a status which is accompanied by fiscal privileges (Article 40 of the Natural Persons Income Tax and Corporate Tax Code), the attribution of the status of guardian to the father (Article 154 of the PSC), the granting of the right to coerce the wife to go through marriage in return for the payment of the dowry (Article 13 of the PSC). This is an incomplete list.

So what do study participants have to say about the advances and remaining barriers regarding gender equality in Tunisian Law? 37-year-old Lilia, a qualitative interviewee living in Sousse, considers the law to be in women's favor primarily due to the fact that she was successful in filing a complaint for violence and receiving alimony after her abusive husband left the home and family. Lilia shared:

“

Whenever it comes to verbal, physical or any other type of violence, the law is on the woman's side [...] when I went to the police station to file a complaint, the station chief and my lawyer told me that even if there is no obvious traces, the simple fact of raising his hand to slap you means a day in prison [...] the fact that I have a child, a baby, means the judge will automatically be on my side, the minimum is alimony and housing and the fact is the judge ruled in my favor for alimony.

”

Other respondents take an overall more pessimistic view of legal protections for gender equality in the law. Baya, a 39-year-old lawyer in Djerba, feels that egalitarian laws can only be minimally effective within a society that continues to be patriarchal. Perhaps due to her profession and her marital and family experiences (her parents divorced when she was 12 years old because her father was abusive to her mother), Baya maintains a critical outlook on Tunisian law and society:

“

The law is pretty egalitarian overall, but it is only one tool among others. What matters most are mentalities. There are countries that don't even have a constitution and are democratic; in Tunisia, it is true that the law even favors women, we have Law 58, but have we succeeded in eradicating violence or even reducing it? No! Because those who are supposed to apply the law have a chauvinistic mentality.

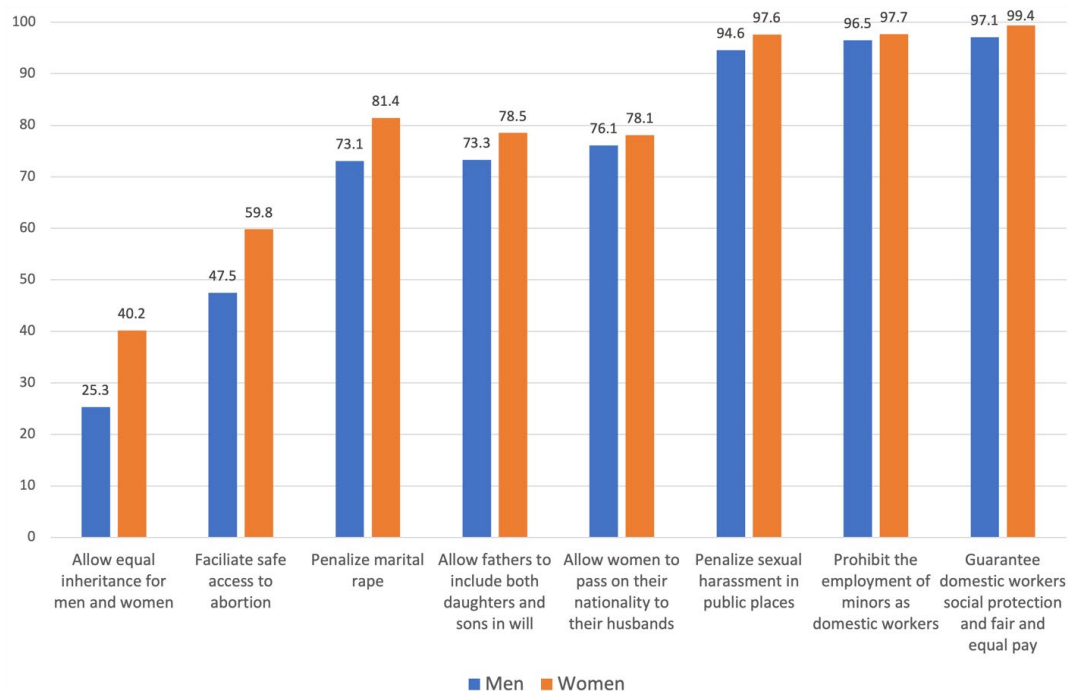
”

Although she is not a practicing Muslim, Baya is mixed about equality in inheritance owing to her religious beliefs. Furthermore, she replicates the traditional model of task-sharing with her children. Her mother also differentiated between her and the boys, who enjoyed much more freedom. Her son refuses to put away the dishes. As Baya says, "he has an almost natural resistance to this kind of chore!"

What, if any, legal changes would Tunisians support, according to survey data? The survey questionnaire posed eight ideas for new or amended laws and asked whether respondents would support them. The results are in Figure 8, organized from the least supported by men on the left to the most supported by men on the right.

Figure 8. Support for Legislation

Percentage of men and women who support various forms of legislation, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



We see great divergence – indeed a picture of extremes – when it comes to support for new legal protections for gender equality. Only a minority of men and women alike, 25 percent and 40 percent respectively, support a law to “allow equal inheritance for men and women,” a sign of entrenched economic inequality in many respondents’ mindsets. On the other hand, over 95 percent of men and women supported penalizing sexual harassment and providing certain legal protections to domestic workers. In fact, domestic workers are now subject to a new law that recognizes the right of domestic workers to decent work without discrimination and guarantees respect for human dignity (Law No. 37 of 2021 dated July 16, 2021 regarding the regulation of domestic work); this law was passed during the data collection period of this study. Abortion remains the most evenly divided issue where roughly half of men and 3 in 5 women support a legal protection for safe access to abortion. These survey data are borne out by qualitative testimony such as those above, where there are no simplistic ideas or solutions when it comes to gender equality in law.

Polygamy lives on in the minds of some men

In the qualitative study, some men alluded to a “surplus of sexual desire” among men, and made reference to both sex work and polygamy as outcomes of this perceived reality. Although polygamy was abolished in 1956, the issue remains present in the minds of some men who occasionally invoke it as a “proof” of man’s excess of desire and his capacity to satisfy several women at once. The following exchange between the interviewer and Alif is instructive in this regard:

Interviewer: If a woman is cheated on by her husband, what should she do?

Alif: It is certain that she does not satisfy his needs or does not take good care of the house.

Interviewer: And if she takes care of the house and sleeps with him whenever he wants and he cheats on her, what should she do? For this we have to turn to the law of God. The eye of the man likes to watch (Errajel aînou zawégħa). When God said in the Quran one, if not two, if not three, if not four, it is not for nothing! You get it? A man who has four wives, do you think he’s going to cheat? Maybe he’ll look for a fifth? It is the man who has the right to only one who will cheat on his wife. It’s not normal to be allowed to have only one woman. Just next door, in Algeria (he stretches out his arm to show us Algeria), they are entitled to four and we are told one and shut up! Okay, no need to have four but why not two at least?

Interviewer: So you are against Tunisia’s Personal Status Code? [...]

Alif: No, but are you happy with women in Tunis remaining single? Are you happy about this? Are you happy about how girls throw themselves at men so that they harass them and become obligated to marry them under pressure? But anyway, Tunisian men can neither apply the law of God, nor the law of the PSC, he’s stuck like this, that’s all. Tunisian men have to find food for themselves before feeding a woman, and four women—he has to be fair with all of them, so we don’t even talk about it, the Tunisian man can’t do anything!

Interviewer: But God also said in the Quran that it is impossible to be fair with the four?

Alif: No, that’s not what he meant. He said you have to be fair, that is to say, spend the same amount for the four, give as much pleasure to each of the four. That is what Omar Ibn El Khattab was doing. But we do not live in the time of the Sahhaba (companions of the prophet), we do not live as our grandparents and our ancestors did. We’re here and there’s nothing we can do. Imagine a worker paid 20 or 30 dinars a day and who has four wives! How’s he going to manage? How many dinars does he give each one of them? And what’s left for him?

Interviewer: So it’s a question of money for you? The richer a man is, the more women he can marry?

Alif: Of course, and he must be fair with them.

Interviewer: But God said it is impossible in the same sura?

Alif: No, no, it’s his right, stop! You want to contradict aloulamâa (religious scholars), they all said that it is halal for him if he is fair, it’s only in Tunisia that it’s haram, it’s only in Tunisia that you are told, take one, that’s enough.

To be clear, this reflects the input of one respondent only, not the majority of men in the qualitative study. As ever, these difficult issues inspire many nuanced and contradictory views among men in all three of the “types” of respondents.

3.4 Childhood and Adolescence

Ramy: My mother is close, my father is far! That’s my childhood.

Interviewer: What does that mean?

Ramy: That is to say that life, life lessons, education and whatever else, it is my mother who taught me 90% of it and my father maybe 10%-or not even; I think the 10% is what society taught me, society has educated me more than my own father.

The exchange above, where qualitative participant Ramy reflects on how “far” he felt from his father as a child, speaks to the lasting influence – whether positive, negative or in-between – parents have on their children. IMAGES is very interested in investigating this influence, and therefore includes several modules asking respondents – all of whom are adult – to reflect back on their childhood experiences. For younger respondents, childhood is not too distant a memory, while for the oldest respondents childhood represents truly a different chapter in Tunisia’s history. What sorts of influential gender-related patterns can we observe in respondents’ recollections?

Figure 9. Childhood Domestic Work

Percentage of currently adult men and women who took part in various domestic tasks while they were children (13-18 years), IMAGES Tunisia 2022

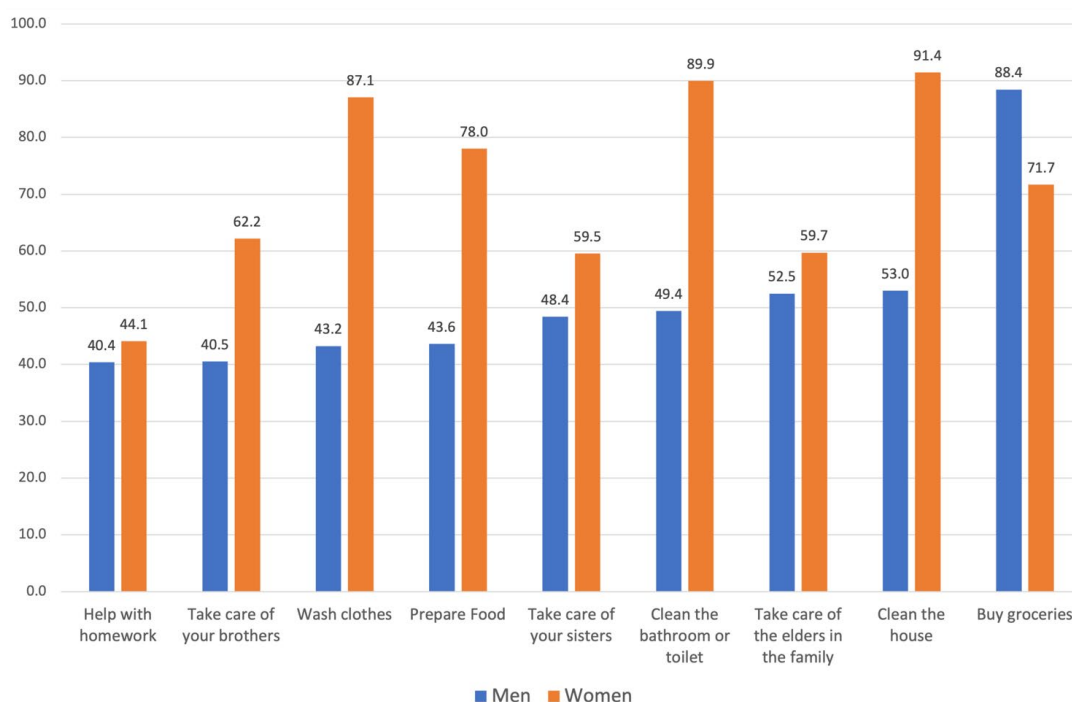
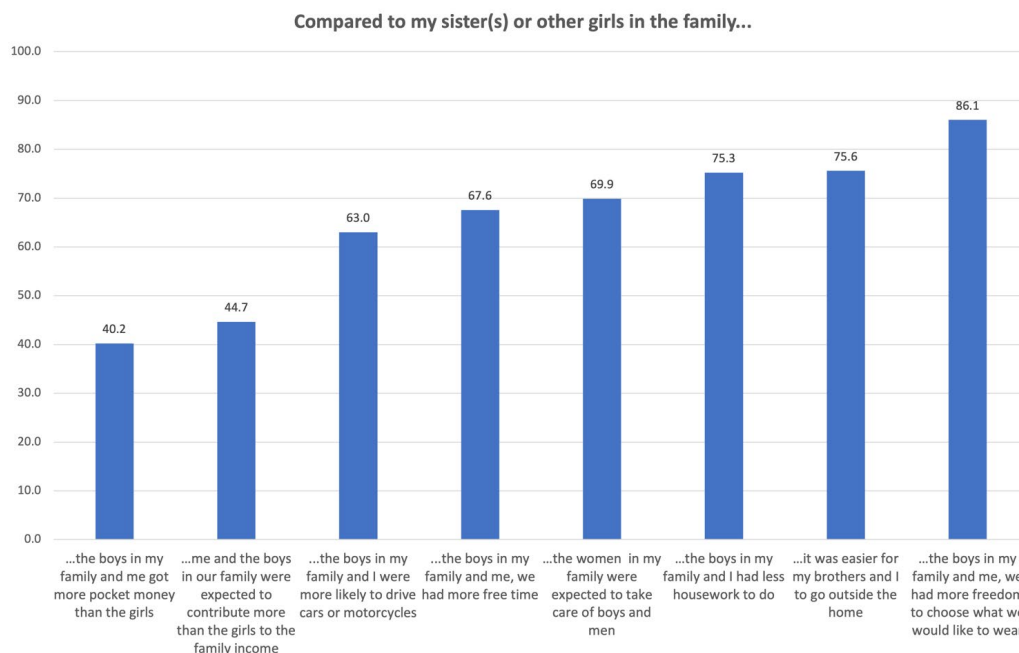


Figure 9 puts men's and women's responses next to one another with regard to which domestic work and childcare tasks these respondents were involved in doing while they themselves were children. A few compelling patterns stand out. First and foremost, women recall being involved in every element of domestic and care work at higher levels than men, with only one exception: buying groceries. Grocery shopping is a task that is both financial and takes place outside the home, so in some sense men's increased recruitment into financial and outside work fits with restrictive gendered expectations. For several types of work, such as cleaning the house, cleaning the bathroom, washing clothes, and preparing food, women's childhood involvement is drastically higher than men's childhood involvement. The message is clear: a gendered division of roles and domestic responsibilities begins to be instilled early in childhood, including in respondents' own work inside their homes.

Do men in the study recognize that they had certain advantages as children? How do men and women alike reflect on any gendered distinctions in how they were raised? The next two figures present reflections on these questions. Figure 10 shows the percentage of men who agreed with certain statements related to their advantage or disadvantage compared to their sisters or other girls in the family. And likewise, Figure 11 presents women's rates of agreement with certain comparative statements related to their brothers or boys in the family. Each figure is sorted with the lowest rates of agreement on the left and the highest on the right.

Figure 10. Boys' Childhood Advantages and Disadvantages

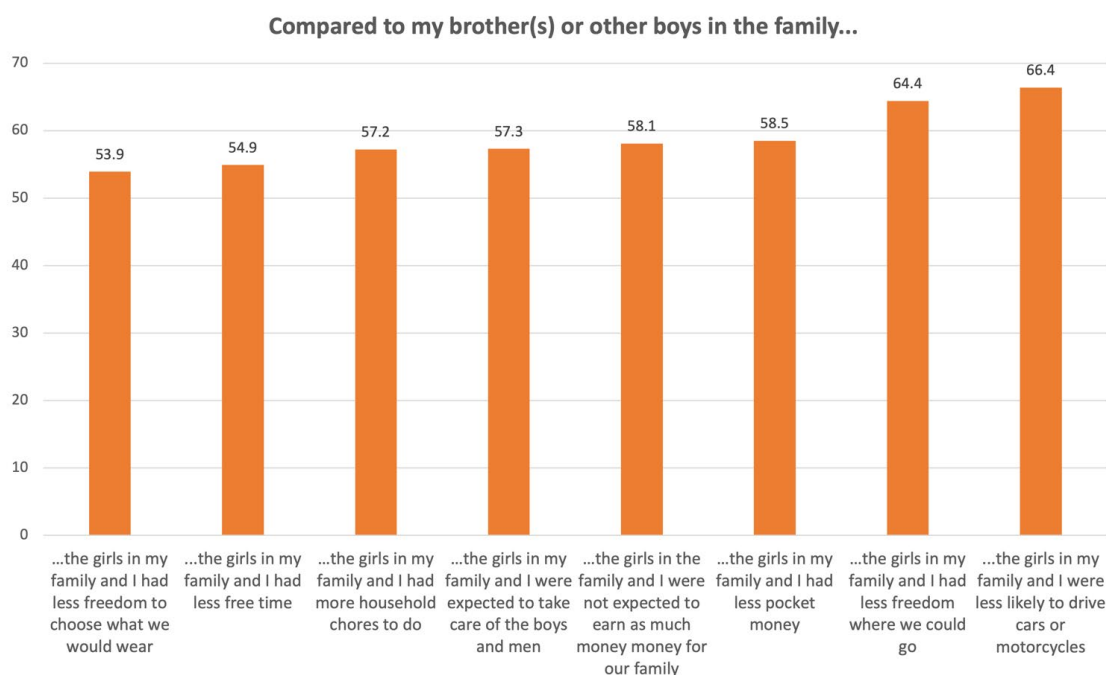
Percentage of currently adult men and women who agreed with various statements when comparing their childhood experiences to those of girls in their family, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



There were two statements for which only a minority of men agreed: that boys got more pocket money than girls, and that boys were expected to contribute to family income. Some 40 percent and 45 percent of men agreed with these comparative statements describing their childhoods, respectively. From then on, large majorities of men recalled many other ways in which they were advantaged as children. This includes everything from more free time, less housework, increased mobility, and greater freedom of expression through their clothing. Men in the survey clearly affirm, for all but the two financial categories, that they were significantly advantaged as children compared to their sisters. This dynamic as well certainly proves influential during young people's socialization and upbringing. If boys are advantaged in so many ways, why wouldn't men expect to receive ongoing advantages the rest of their lives?

Figure 11. Girls' Childhood Advantages and Disadvantages

Percentage of currently adult men and women who agreed with various statements when comparing their childhood experiences to those of boys in their family, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



The survey's female participants affirm the same finding, with the majority of women agreeing with all eight forms of advantage and disadvantage. Only one item – where girls were not expected to earn as much money for the family as boys – reflects a modicum of advantage for girls. Otherwise, women's recollections show that even childhood is a patriarchal place, where boy children have more freedom and less responsibility than girls.

Boys and girls don't learn about gender and patriarchal advantages during childhood only by their own actions and opportunities. They also learn the patriarchal order by watching and learning from their parents. To this end, IMAGES includes an array of questions about respondents' parents work in the home from a gendered lens. First, the survey asks respondents to recall the extent to which their fathers were involved in domestic and care work. See Figure 12.

Figure 12. Fathers' Involvement in Domestic and Care Work

Percentage of currently adult men and women who reported that their father was ever involved in various care and domestic tasks while the respondents were children, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

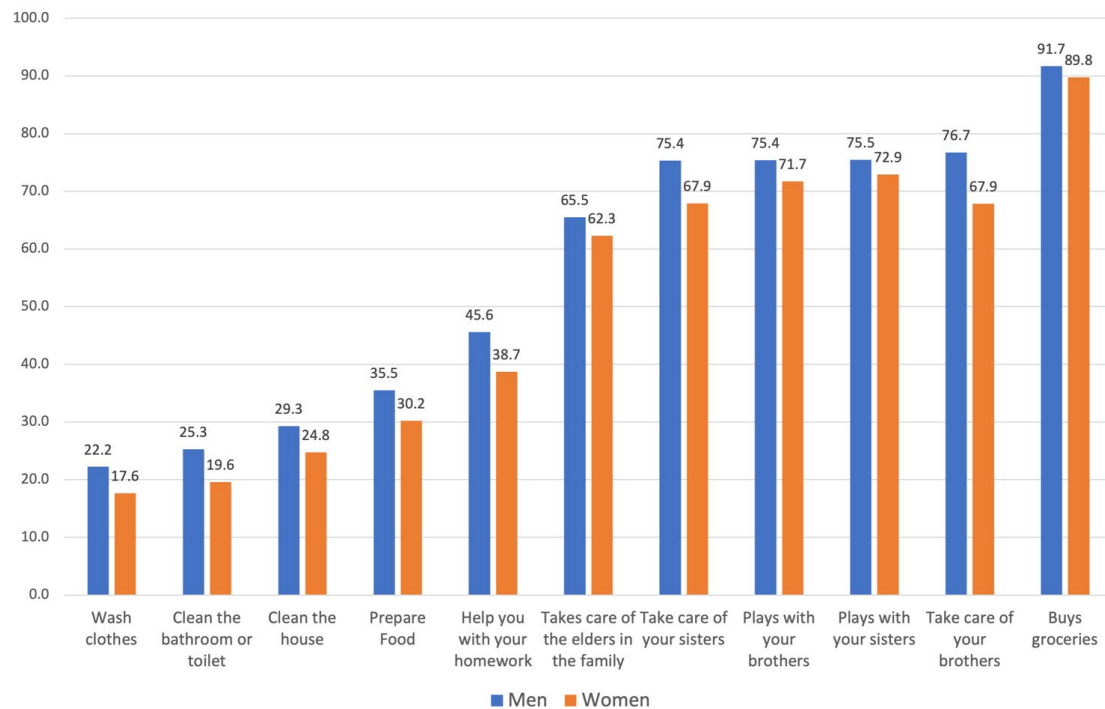


Figure 12 shows the percentage of women and men in the survey who recalled their fathers *ever* participating in various domestic and care tasks. This means the fathers qualified if they undertook this task only once or twice; it was not necessary that the father do this work frequently or every day to qualify. With that in mind, it is still startling that such a low minority of respondents, both male and female, recall their fathers *ever* washing clothes, cleaning the bathroom, cleaning the house, preparing food, and even helping with homework. Respondents were most likely to recall their fathers buying groceries, which as discussed earlier maps with patriarchal advantage because it involves mobility outside the home and control of money. The remaining tasks for which the majority of men and women recall their fathers' involvement relate to play time or general care for others in the home.

It is significant that so few respondents grew up seeing their fathers heavily involved in the tough daily work of caring for the home – washing, cleaning, and cooking. These tasks are mandatory for the health and well-being of the home, yet respondents' fathers left them to others. On top of all the figures shown above, this finding demonstrates that the current generations of Tunisian men and women grew up in an environment of patriarchy in the home.

Qualitative interviewee Karim, a 38-year-old engineer and drama teacher at a youth center in Zarzis, experienced a very authoritarian upbringing which has continued to influence him negatively. Karim's father used to wake up at 6am and require everyone to be "on the alert". Before he reached the age of 17, Karim's father never spoke to him. "He was extremely harsh and scared everyone," Karim recalls. Karim continues to hold a grudge against his father, who forced him to study what he

never wanted to, and forbade him from theater studies. Karim's father claimed that theater, Karim's interest area, "could not, under any circumstances, be a stable job that feeds a family." Now, Karim is an engineer but he hates engineering, hates iron, concrete, the material:

“


I don't like it, I don't like it, I don't like it. I tell my father: 'Take your diploma, are you satisfied now?'

”

Figure 13. Adverse Childhood Experiences

Percentage of currently adult men and women who report various adverse experiences during their childhood, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

	Men	Women
Physical violence		
Spanked or slapped by parents in the home	77.6	61.1
Was beaten with at home with belt, stick, whip or other hard object	44.4	23
I was beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise	12.8	8.1
Violence in school or community		
I was beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher.	67.6	53.7
I was bullied at school	23.2	15.1
I was bullied by someone in my neighborhood	19.9	8.9
Other adverse events		
Did not have enough to eat	30.1	23.9
Was insulted or humiliated by someone in family in front of others	25.3	13.1



Finally, the survey takes on the difficult topic of adverse childhood experiences, including experiences of violence at home, in school, and in the community. As Figure 13 shows, a great many respondents – men and women alike – reported these experiences. This includes 78 percent of men and 61 percent of women saying they were ever spanked by their parents, and 68 percent of men and 54 percent of women saying they were beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher. It is furthermore alarming that 45 percent of men and 23 percent of women were beaten at home with a belt, stick, whip, or other hard object. These are all very high rates of childhood experiences of violence, which are sure to have lasting influence in respondents' lives. These experiences can instill in people negative feelings in two directions. First, they teach children that violence is a normal tactic for discipline or for resolving problems, which sets a troubling precedent for their adult lives where they too will need to resolve problems or discipline children. But second, in a different way, they also instill fear and distance between children and their parents, teachers, or other disciplinarians. The people who are meant to be their source of love, support, and stability, instead become their source of fear and even injury. Our children deserve better.

This is true not only because of the traumatic impacts in childhood, but also because violence witnessed or experienced in the childhood home is a powerful risk factor for using or experiencing violence in one's adult homes as well. What data show is that too many children in Tunisia are "brought up on violence." By this concept, we mean the recognition of violence as an educational method for males and females, which is practiced especially by men against children of both sexes, to then become a socially acceptable behavior and reproduced across generations. This phenomenon can explain violence that is generally practiced by men against women in public as well as private spaces.

It is worth noting that male respondents were more likely than women to report experiencing every form of childhood adversity included in the survey. This worrying pattern demonstrates how boys and men are gendered to be tough, to expect and tolerate pain, and for whom violence is normalized. No one deserves to be punished with violence, whether boys, girls, men, or women.

3.5 Gender Dynamics in Households

The majority of study participants, both qualitative and quantitative, are themselves now married with one or more children. So what can we say about their own behaviors as husbands, wives, fathers, and mothers? Does their involvement and child-raising approach closely match what they witnessed in their childhood homes, or has the current generation of Tunisian parents taken a new approach?

The issue of reconciliation between work and family does not receive the attention it deserves to date, mostly because it is considered a "women's issue" and housework is seen as the default task of women. The national survey on women's and men's time budgets confirms this imbalance in gender roles.¹¹ This survey showed that women in Tunisia spend 5 hours 16 minutes daily doing domestic work, compared to 39 minutes for men. This unequal sharing of domestic tasks to the detriment of women can reduce their chances of inclusion in the professional world and public life.¹² As a result, two social trends are becoming prominent in Tunisia: women are more likely to ask men to contribute more to family responsibilities, but they also tend to demand a greater contribution to decision-making because of their economic contribution to family income.¹³ Economic independence

and the power that comes with work shift gender disparities, and men may see them as a threat. On the other hand, women's work and economic participation have become a necessity for them and their families.

To what extent do the nationwide survey results show these same patterns, or others? To what extent are Tunisians of all ages and locations sharing household and caregiving work? The first figures present data on childcare.

Figure 14. Fathers' Participation in Antenatal Care

Percentage of men and women parents who report their own (men) or their spouses (women) involvement in antenatal care during the most recent pregnancy, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

	Men	Women
Frequency of husband accompanying wife to antenatal healthcare visit		
Every visit	40.8	34.1
Some or one visit	42.1	37.9
Never	17.1	28
When the husband accompanied wife to antenatal visits, where did he go in the clinic?		
Dropped mother at entrance/waited outside	13.3	18.1
Sat in waiting room	48.3	36.3
Joined for some or all of visit with healthcare provider	38.3	45.6

Figure 14 shows the extent to which men (either male respondents themselves or the fathers of women respondents' children) accompanied mothers to antenatal health care visits. Studies have shown that involving men/fathers in health care of the child and mother even before birth sets the stage for deeper lifelong involvement and more equal roles once the baby arrives. Unfortunately, only a minority of men (according to both men and women) attended all antenatal care visits during the most recent pregnancy (although many attended "some or one" visit). That too, it was the minority of men who joined the visit with the healthcare provider, didn't just sit in the lobby or drop off the mother.

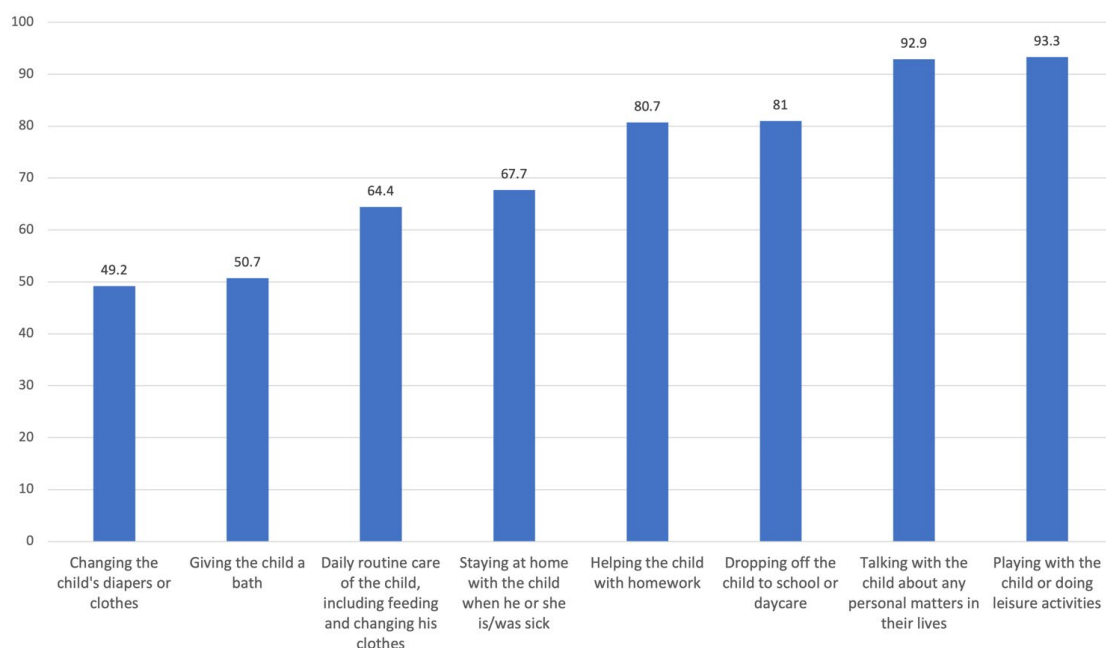
This is an important area for healthcare providers to play a role in advancing gender equality, by doing better to recruit and retain fathers in antenatal care centers. Clinics and hospitals can be sure to make the spaces feel welcoming to men, to ask after the men's attendance, and treat it as completely normal that a father would want to be involved in his child's and wife's health throughout pregnancy and childbirth. The survey also asked men whether they would wish to have the right to take paid parental leave after the birth of their child. **Fully 68.6 percent of men said yes, they'd like**

the right to take paid parental/paternity leave. About half of these men said they'd want to take leave of three weeks or greater. Studies from elsewhere in the region and world have shown that when fathers take leave to be more involved in care work with a new baby, they feel a closer bond with the child and stay involved in care work to a greater degree than otherwise.

The next figure shows the responses of men in the survey who have children, related to which childcare tasks they are ever involved in. As with earlier data, it is not necessary for the father to do this task frequently or all the time to be included in the table; he only has to say he “ever” did this task. With this in mind, many of the figures which seem rather high come into a more critical context. Only 52 percent and 53 percent of fathers, respectively, said that they *ever* changed a diaper or gave the child a bath. This sits in contrast with the 94 percent of men who said they'd played with their children or talked to them about a personal matter (when the child is a sufficient age to do so).

Figure 15. Fathers and Childcare

Percentage of men with children who report ever participation in various care work tasks while the relevant child was living at home, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



As in their childhood homes, adult men in the survey are often leaving the care *work* to women – including cooking, cleaning, bathing – and getting involved themselves only in less onerous elements. Many male qualitative participants, however, asserted that they do not want to reproduce the same inequitable patterns of domestic work that they witnessed from their parents, sharing that they are more involved in their children's lives. Digging into their testimonies, however, this involvement remains relative, and relates mostly to financial matters (which would nonetheless correspond with the stereotypical model of task-sharing within the household: the man brings in the money, the woman takes care of the home and the children).

48-year-old Anouar, a lawyer and father of three living in Tunis, said that when he was a child, his father only spoke with him about studies and schooling. He claims that his relationship with his children is different and that he is more involved in their upbringing:

Anouar: As soon as I finish work, I go straight home to take care of the house.

Interviewer: What do you do to take care of the house?

Anouar: I go to see the kids and ask them if they need yogurt, nutella, oranges, bananas, I go and buy whatever is missing and sometimes I take one or two of them with me to go grocery shopping.

The same is true for 42-year-old Slim who works as a post office manager in Bizerte and affirms that he takes care of his son. However, Slim only does the things for which the mother is supposed to be responsible when it isn't possible for her to accomplish them herself. His closeness with his son consists in providing him with what he asks:

“

I can't bear to see him cry, when he has a tantrum for something he wants, I buy it for him without thinking. I don't want him to experience the same hardships as me.

”

Qualitative data seem to suggest only a partial step toward more equality in family roles: women primarily participate in financial roles only when men cannot, and fathers only step in to take care of children (change a diaper, prepare a baby bottle) when the mother is overwhelmed, too busy or ill. However, all fathers surveyed feel that they spend more time with their children than their own fathers did. Hedi, a 42-year old doctor, tries to pick up his daughters at school whenever his work allows it. He likes to prepare their snacks especially pancakes or a chocolate cake. He also takes them on holidays, sometimes even without their mother, because she also works. He admits nonetheless that under “normal circumstances” it is his wife who carries out “70% of the tasks related to their daughters, and him 30%.”

From childcare we can turn to relations between husbands and wives with each other more directly. What kinds of relationships are common in Tunisia? Are married men and women happy in their relationships? How do they divide decision-making power on the important matters of running a family? Qualitative participant Baya takes a nuanced though ultimately sad view of her marriage to a doctor who “works a lot” and provides “the largest share of the expenses for their household”. When the interviewer asked her what she thinks about her relationship with her husband, she responded after a moment of silence, saying with emotion:

Baya: He doesn't take care of me at all, he's cold, it's his temperament, he's cold and introverted. He doesn't listen to me, he doesn't feel me, I almost never talk to him, he isn't interested in me and doesn't know my private problems, he never tries to know, I talk to my friends but not to him. Little gestures, kind words, he doesn't know what this is, like all Tunisians, he isn't romantic.

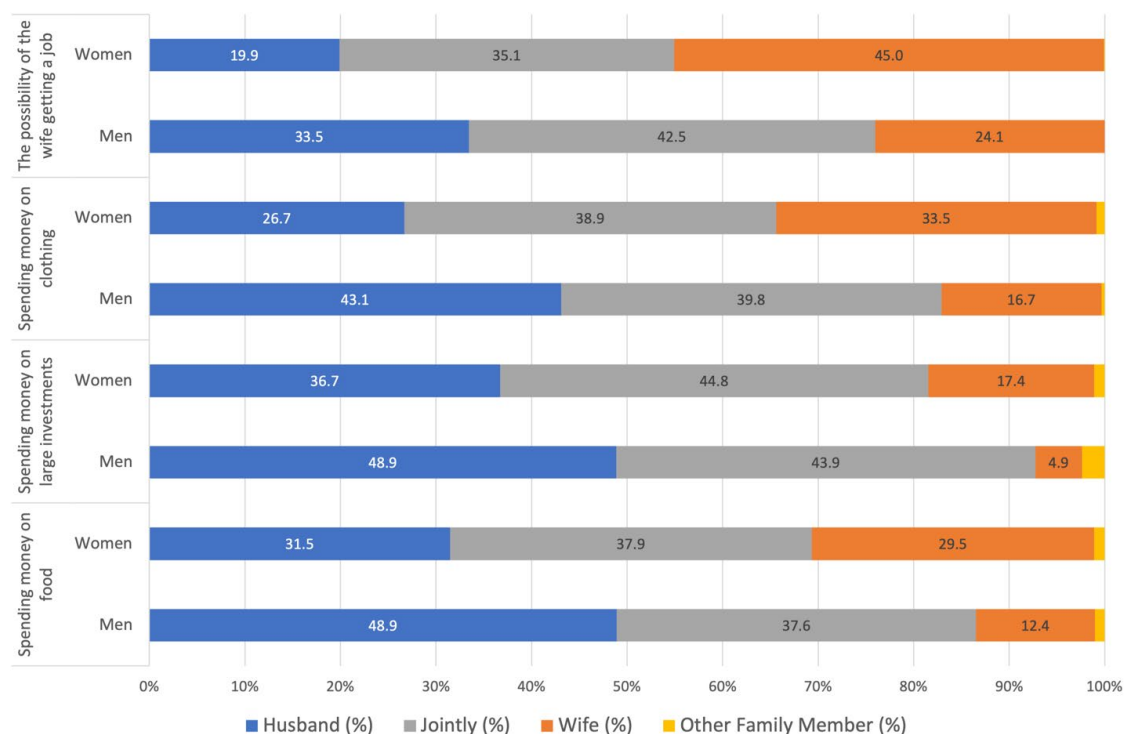
Interviewer: And have you tried to talk to him, to explain your suffering?

Baya: Yes, when I go to talk to him, he listens to me, but I also understand him, he comes home very tired from work, his work is difficult, he spends the day listening to people's problems, when he comes home, he wants peace, I understand him. When I put everything on the scale, I tell myself that it's not bad, he respects me, he doesn't abuse me, and deep down, deep down he loves me, I think that if anything happens to me, he would feel very bad, so it's okay.

Survey data can add to this complex picture. We asked respondents to think about many important topics that they may discuss within their relationships, and then to tell us “who has the final say” with regard to that decision. Does the ultimate authority for that decision fall to him, to her, to both of them jointly, or to someone else in the family? See Figure 16 and Figure 17 for the findings.

Figure 16. Decision Making Power on Financial Matters

Percentage of partnered men and women based on who they said had the “final say” with regard to various financial decisions within their families, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



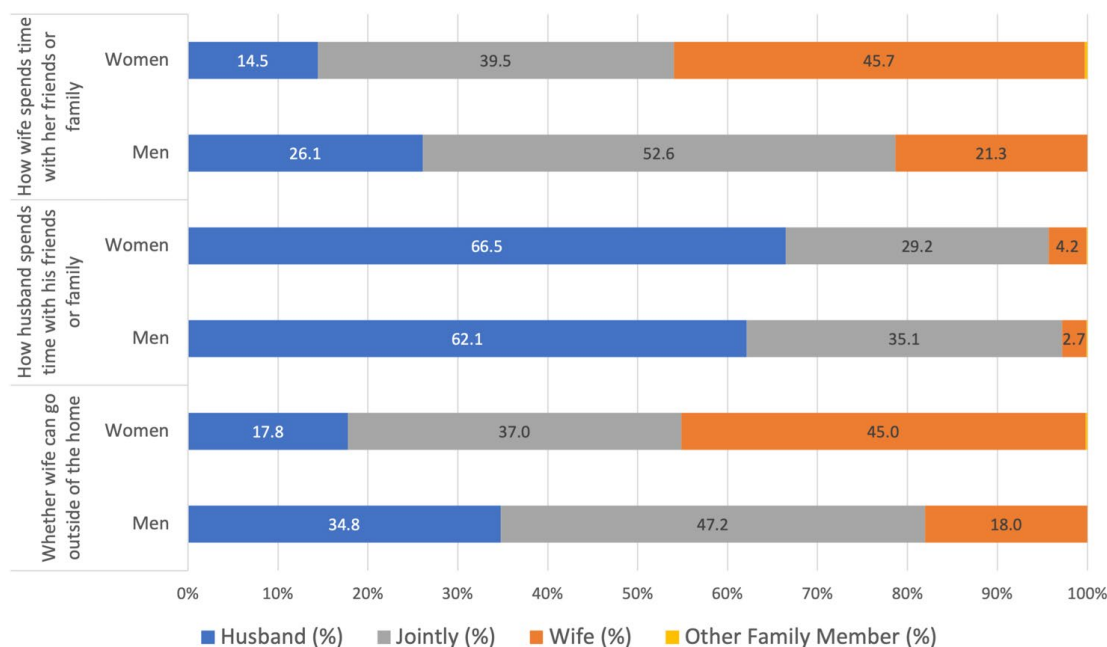
Looking at Figure 16, it seems that women and men have some important disagreements about how decision-making power is held within their relationships. For every topic, men claim more authority for themselves, and women likewise claim more authority for themselves, than either are willing to give each other. On the issue of spending money on clothing, for example, 43 percent of men say they control this decision, compared to 27 percent of women saying men control the decision. In a flip-flop way, 34 percent of women say they control this decision, compared to only 17 percent of men who say women control this decision.


Despite these disagreements, we can still see clear trends. First, yes, many respondents describe relationships where these decisions are made jointly. This is a positive sign. But at the same time, toward the bottom of the figure when the topic shifts to spending money on food and spending money on large investments, the share of male-dominated decision making rises higher and higher. While many families have shared decision making power (gray), it is still far more likely for men to wield individual power (blue) than for women to hold this power (orange).

It is one thing for the family to have decision-making differences related to money, but another issue altogether is women's own mobility, freedom of movement, free time, and access to work. These are decisions not just about managing a family but truly about exerting control and restriction against a woman's freedom. See Figure 17 for the same type of responses related to these themes.

Figure 17. Decision Making Power on Mobility

Percentage of partnered men and women based on who they said had the "final say" with regard to mobility and free time, IMAGES Tunisia 2022





Here again, we see strong disagreement between men and women alongside some patriarchal trends that should cause increased attention. Almost one third of men – 32 percent – said that they, men, hold the final decision-making power about whether their wives can go outside the home. While this is a minority, it is still a very concerning number of families – fully one in three married men in our study claim to themselves hold control over their wife’s ability to leave the house. Notably, women disagree with this view. Yet it is only 47 percent of women who say that they, women alone, hold final decision-making power about whether they can leave the home. This means that most women in the study do not get to make their own decisions about going outside or not. It seems that inequality in mobility and simple freedom of movement are still sticking points in some Tunisian families.

The practice of controlling women’s exit from the home is related to the traditional division of social space, where the domestic space is a feminine space par excellence, and the public space is a masculine space. According to the traditionalist view, women belong to the inner world (*monde du dedans*) and men belong to the outside world (*monde du dehors*). Therefore, attempts for women to leave the public space face many difficulties due to the repercussions that this exit can have on the level of domestic space. Unfortunately, this inequality and excessive control of women by men can lead to more extreme consequences than simply staying at home. It can lead to many forms of intimate partner violence, as the next section will show.

3.6 Gender-Based Violence

Unequal power and control in relationships can manifest in many forms of intimate partner violence and gender-based violence. This section first explores respondents’ views and survey responses related to household antecedents of violence and intimate partner violence itself. Later, the section turns to the issue of sexual harassment or street harassment in public places. These topics are a high-level concern to women’s rights activists in Tunisia as elsewhere around the world because of their devastating consequences for women: intimidation, trauma, injury, even death. No one deserves to experience violence, yet it remains all too common in Tunisia and around the world.

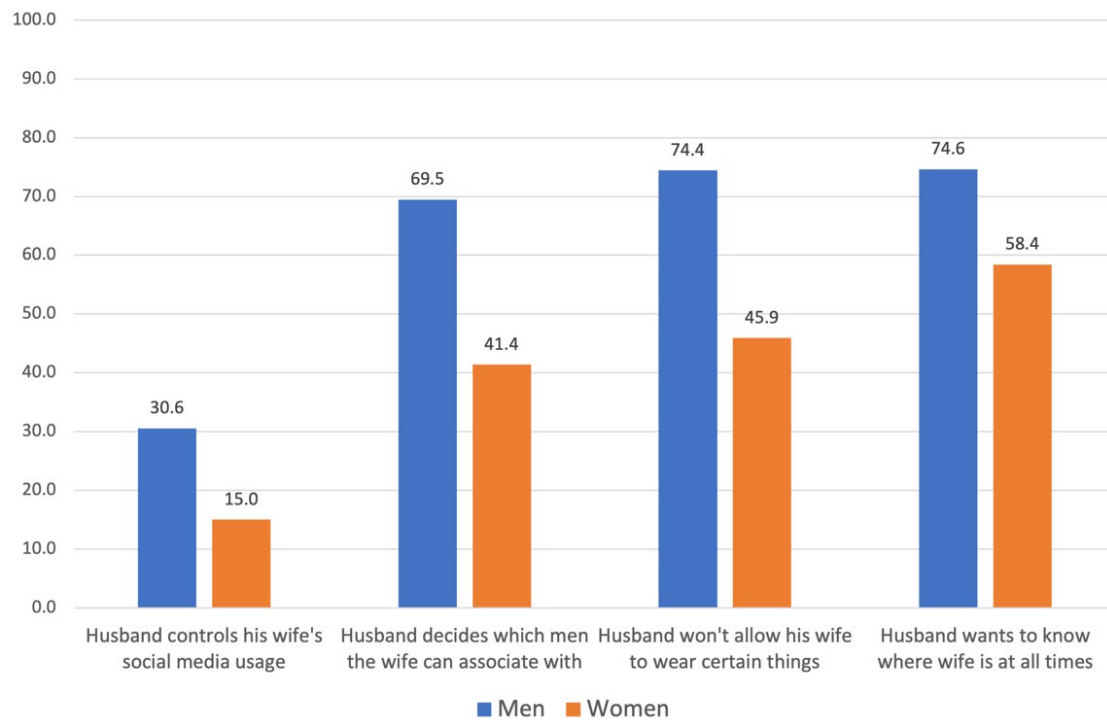
Violence against women in Tunisian law. In accordance with the provisions of Article 46 of the Constitution, paragraph 4 under which: “The State shall take the necessary measures to eliminate violence against women”, an organic law No. 2017-58 of August 11, 2017, on the elimination of violence against women was adopted. Claimed by civil society since the 90s, this law marks a turning point in the fight against violence against women and is the culmination of the struggle of feminist NGOs against violence against women, including the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (ATFD), which since 1993 has opened a listening, orientation and support center for women victims of violence, developed an approach of listening in solidarity and violence suffered by women and a partnership with the official authorities to bring them to adopt integrated national policies and effective legislation to eradicate this phenomenon.¹⁴

One merit of this law lies in the fact that it adopted a definition of violence against women based on a human rights approach by considering violence against women as “a form of discrimination and a violation of human rights” and opted for a comprehensive approach to violence including its four pillars, starting with prevention, protection, penalization of aggressors and care for women. This law adopted international standards in the fight against violence against women while attempting to revise the definition of discrimination against women as enshrined in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and retained among the forms of violence: physical, moral, sexual, political, and economic violence. This law was preceded by an important law against trafficking in persons: the organic law n°2016- 61 of August 3, 2016 relating to the prevention and fight against trafficking in persons which aims to prevent all forms of exploitation to which persons, in particular, women and children could be exposed, to fight against their trafficking, to repress the perpetrators and to protect and assist the victims. It also aims to promote national coordination and international cooperation in the fight against trafficking in persons within the framework of international, regional, and bilateral conventions ratified by the Tunisian Republic.

The survey results put these passages into context. First, as Figure 18 shows, there continues to be disagreement between men and women – but nonetheless high levels overall – related to men’s acts of control over their spouses. As the figure shows, most partnered men (upwards of 68 percent) say that within their homes, the husband (he) decides which men his wife can associate with, wants to know where his wife is at all times, and won’t allow his wife to wear certain things. These actions speak to an excessive level of control and power inequality in the relationship. Fewer women describe their relationships the same way, which may be a good sign. But even still, it is upwards of 2 in 5 women who say they experience these same expectations. And over 55 percent of married women said that their husbands want to know where they are at all times.

Figure 18. Spousal Control

Percentage of partnered men and women based on who reported various controlling behaviors in their current marriages, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



In qualitative interviews, all respondents unanimously condemned violence against women at the outset of their interviews, but throughout the course of their interviews many of them nonetheless found partial justifications for this violence. They did so either by linking it to the difficult economic and social context in Tunisia, or to “victim blaming” by claiming that violence derives from women’s own attitudes or behaviors. Alif is a 36-year-old craftsman in Nefta.

Interviewer: Do you think women are more often victims of violence than men?

Alif: Absolutely.

Interviewer: Why?

Alif: Why is a man violent to his wife in your opinion? It's when he can't find a job and so he drinks to forget that he has no job, he goes into a state of unconsciousness and that's when he can hit his wife. There is also another category of violence that affects women. For example, in Tunis, there are girls who go out at midnight. What does that mean? (He is silent for a moment before continuing) it means that this is a certain category, and there it is! If she goes out at that time, it's because she's looking for violence.

Interviewer: So do they deserve it?

Alif: No, but we have to find a way to make these women aware and pull them away from *fssad* (deviance).

Interviewer: Do you know that there are female students, even veiled women who are victims of violence in public transport and in broad daylight?

Alif: This is new; 20 or 15 years ago, this didn't exist. Now it's widespread because of drugs, cannabis, alcohol, social changes, diminished purchasing power, men with nothing to do who fall into drinking, that's the cause."

Slim: the police commissioner, believes that women never experience domestic violence without a reason.

Interviewer: Do you know any women in your circle who have been victims of violence?

Slim: Yes, I do. It is above all violence related to adultery. Some give a beating and others don't say anything because they're afraid of creating a scandal.

Interviewer: What about the women who are hit?

Slim: They shouldn't press charges because it's their fault.

Interviewer: So for you, if a woman is beaten by her husband, it's because she was looking for it?

Slim: Of course! it doesn't happen just like that for no reason; hey, I'm going to beat up my wife!

For Slim, men also have the right to hit women in their family in order to educate them. He almost did so when he found his 14-year-old niece in a cafe with a bunch of friends with a vape in her hand, but his sister stepped in to stop him. Women who are assaulted in the street are responsible for what happens to them:

“

There is a type of woman who, sometimes by the way she acts, pushes you to bother her, to mock her, to exert violence either verbal or I don't know what... others, from their gaze, their appearance, you are ashamed to approach and bother them... sometimes it is in great part because of the woman, she is the one who attracts violence, by her attitude not by what she wears.

”

Figure 19 shows the rates of various forms of intimate partner violence reported by survey respondents. This includes men's reports of having done various actions and women's reports of having ever experienced these actions from their spouses.

Figure 19. Intimate Partner Violence: Prevalence of Violence according to Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of ever-married respondents by acts of violence perpetrated by men and experienced by women, lifetime and 12-month rates, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

	Men		Women	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Psychological violence	41.4	20.3	41.1	20.7
Insulted (his wife/her) or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	25.6	11.3	31.1	14.8
Belittled or humiliated (his wife/her) in front of other people	7.2	3.6	14.1	7.5
Scared or intimidated (his wife/her) on purpose for example, by the way he looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	31.6	14.8	28.7	14.3
Threatened to hurt (his wife/her)	11.2	5.0	13.1	5.2
Hurt people (his wife/she) cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	2.6	0.7	7.0	3.3
Economic violence	13.6	5.2	19.2	8.3
Prevented (his wife/her) from working for wages or profit	8.1	4.4	12.1	6.6

Continue

	Men		Women	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Took (his wife's/her) earnings against her will	0.5	0.3	4.1	2.5
Kept money from earnings for personal use when the respondent knew (his wife/she) was finding it hard to pay for her personal expenses or household needs	0.7	0.5	3.9	2.7
Threw (his wife/her) out of the house	6.8	0.9	9.5	3.6
Physical violence	18.8	5.5	22.2	6.8
Slapped (his wife/her) or threw something at her that could hurt her	15.7	4.0	19.1	6.1
Pushed or shoved (his wife/her)	10.4	2.8	15.0	6.5
Hit (his wife/her) with his fist or with something else that could hurt her	5.0	1.4	10.2	4.1
Kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned (his wife/ her)	0.6	0.0	5.2	2.4
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against (his wife/her)	0.0	0.0	3.3	1.4
Sexual violence				
Forced (his wife/her) to have sex with him when she did not want to	1.9	0.8	4.1	1.6
Any of the above forms of IPV	47.2	24.3	45.8	22.7
Total number of ever-married respondents	604		875	

*Wife/husband refers to the current wife/husband for currently married respondents and the most recent wife/husband for divorced, separated, or widowed respondents.

Intimate partner violence is never an isolated act and, as outlined by Figure 19, consists of physical violence as well as psychological, economic, and sexual forms of violence. The rates of violence presented here are a useful addition to research on intimate partner violence in Tunisia as they mark the first instance in which men's reports of perpetrating violence sit alongside women's reports of experiencing violence. What is remarkable is that a greater proportion of men report using violence than women reporting experiencing this violence. For various reasons, we must always interpret survey data on intimate partner violence as underreporting the true scope and nature of this violence, but it is nonetheless remarkable that fully 47 percent of men in the study reported ever using one of these actions against a partner in their lifetime.

As we know from other studies, socio-economic vulnerabilities are also factors that amplify the risks. Women who are not in the labour force, family workers, workers) are likely to be the most exposed to violence. Pregnancy and childbirth increase a woman's dependence and vulnerability and are often the starting point for physical violence. As testimonies shared earlier have shown, it was quite common for men in the qualitative study to provide justifications for intimate partner violence, whether to excuse the man's actions or place blame on the woman herself. For Anouar, the 48-year-old lawyer in Tunis, the term "violence" should not even be applied to anything other than strong physical attacks. In his view, verbal or emotional acts of violence should be easily ignored. He said:

“

A slap does not deserve a complaint and violence is managed within the couple. On the other hand, extreme cases are not to be tolerated.

”

According to others in the qualitative research, violence can be justified by the fact that it is a part of a couple's private life – it should be “no one else's business.” Jallel, a medical specialist, says for example:

“

Anything can happen, in a fit of rage, you can beat your wife to death, or she can beat you to death and afterwards you forgive each other. Look at Johnny Depp who, according to everyone in his entourage and his exes, is a very gentle man, very docile; he apparently hit his wife because after the death of his mother, she told him I don't know what...it happens, anything is possible.

”

Figure 20. Attitudes Related to Rape

Percentage of men and women who agree with various statements, IMAGES Tunisia 2022

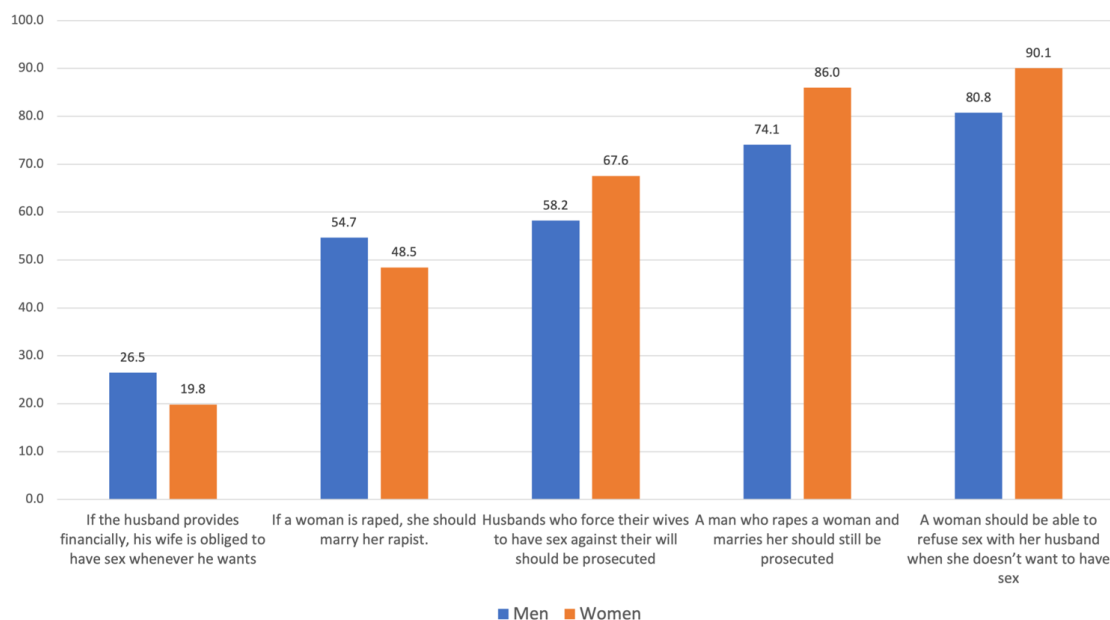


Figure 20 goes deeper into the kinds of justifications and attitudes that respondents come up with, this time looking very specifically at rape. In a somewhat positive sign, the majority of all respondents affirmed that women should be able to refuse sex with her husband when she doesn't want to have sex, and also support the idea of prosecuting rapists (including husbands) in certain circumstances. At the same time, an alarming 53 percent of men and 48 percent of women agreed that "If a woman is raped, she should marry her rapist." This harmful attitude, thankfully, is no longer enshrined in Tunisian law as it had been prior to the 2011 revolution.

The reverse question

When we posed the same question also asked of male respondents, "Should a male victim of violence by his spouse file a complaint?," the majority of women expressed astonishment. 36-year-old Dorra who is married and works in a poultry shop says, "I don't accept it, a man who gets beaten by his wife and he stays? Where is his manhood (rojla)?" Similarly, Sana, the 42-year-old police commissioner, says:


Sana: It hurts my heart, the idea of a man beaten by his wife... why would a woman do that?... I feel it's too serious.

Interviewer: More serious than when it's a woman?

Sana: Yes, because even the child will be more affected when he sees his father being abused. It's true that he will feel sorry for his mother but not as much as for the father.

Interviewer: Why?

Sana: I don't know, because of the man's image, he mustn't be abused, he mustn't be humiliated.



Data continues to expose a reality whereby women are disproportionately, far more likely to experience intimate partner violence at the hands of men than vice versa. Studies investigating women's use of intimate partner violence against men show that this violence very rarely happens when it is not in a situation of "mutual violence," meaning that the woman uses violence only in a situation where she is suffering violence as well. So it is not possible to speak of women's use of intimate partner violence against men without putting it in its proper context.

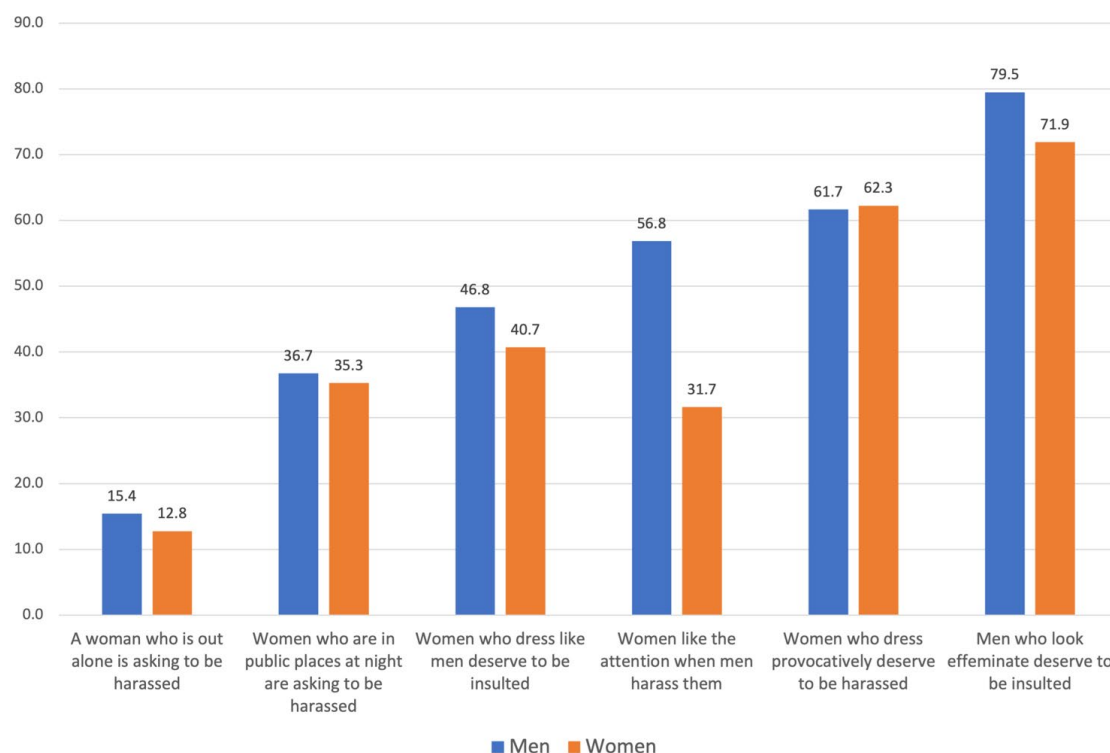
At the same time, these women's testimony shows that if and when a man does experience some form of violence in his life, it would be a shameful thing indeed for him ever to admit to this or seek help. Yet as we have seen earlier, many men *have* experienced violence during childhood, at the hands of parents, teachers, and classmates. Boys and men should not have to process these painful experiences completely in isolation for fear of shame, and with no support from friends or family members. This is one of many areas in which rigid ideas about "manhood" are actually quite bad for men as well, since they abandon men to face shame or deal with their emotional or traumatic experiences completely on their own. This works to the detriment of all, as men's untreated mental health challenges are very often linked to their use of violence against others as well.

According to the National Survey of 2010, 78% of Tunisian women have experienced some form of psychological violence in public space. This could be explained, among other things, by the fact that women with low incomes take public transport more often. Respondents to that prior study, both women and men, felt that sexual harassment is more threatening to women who are not "modest"/"mouch Mohtarma," and that it is the responsibility of women to avoid it.

Likewise, significant proportions of both men and women in the present IMAGES study agreed with many statements expressing support for or justification of sexual harassment, unfortunately. 35 percent of men and women alike affirmed that "Women who are in public places at night are asking to be harassed," and over 2 in 5 respondents said that "Women who dress like men deserve to be insulted." The one area of very notable discrepancy between men's and women's responses was the idea that "Women like the attention when men harass them." Although 56 percent of men believe this to be true, only 31 percent of women felt the same way. According to women themselves, then, the vast majority do not like the attention when men harass them.

Figure 21. Attitudes Related to Harassment

Percentage of men and women who agreed with various statements about harassment, IMAGES Tunisia 2022



The IMAGES survey presents respondents with a list of actions that they may have done (in the case of men) or experienced (in the case of women) in a public place. This includes various forms of harassment ranging from ogling all the way to rape ("forcing to have sex"). Figure 22 shows the results. It is notable that men's rates of reporting using these actions and women's rates of experiencing these actions almost perfectly match at 59 percent. Men admit and women agree that sexual harassment is something that the majority of men do and the majority of women experience. That too, about 1 in 4 respondents who said this had ever happened also said that it had happened recently – within the past year. The act of ogling, meaning long leering stares by strangers on the street, was the most predominant form of harassment reported, followed by catcalling or sexual comments.

Figure 22. Types of Sexual Harassment and Assault

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statement about sexual harassment and street harassment, IMAGES Tunisia 2022.

	MEN (PERPETRATED)		WOMEN (EXPERIENCED)	
	Lifetime (%)	Previous 12 months (%)	Lifetime (%)	Previous 12 months (%)
Types of sexual harassment/ assault				
Ogling	55.6	27.9	52.7	22.9
Catcalls or sexual comments	27.7	13.9	33.3	15.4
Stalking or following	19.9	7.3	25	10.4
Obscene phone calls or text messages	10.5	5.1	15.8	6.8
Online harassment, such as sending obscene pictures	9.1	4.6	20.3	11.3
Touching on intimate parts of the body when didn't want	2.4	1	5.2	1.2
Exposing his private parts	0.5	0.1	5.2	1.3
Forcing to have sex	0.6	0.2	1.2	0.4
Any of the above acts of sexual harassment/assault	61.2	33.1	59.7	29.7

Qualitative participant Chahine, a 24-year-old student who also works as an accountant in Nefta, says he was the victim of regionalist violence by a university teacher in Tunis. However, he acknowledges that women are more vulnerable to violence. He admits that he himself sometimes harasses (although he does not use the word harass) women in the street; he says, “I whistle, I say to them shbih ellouz manbouz, and all that klem “. Other young men in the qualitative research admit to “scanning” girls’ bodies (akin to “ogling” as used in the survey instrument) and find this “totally normal”. This ordinary violence affects not only women but also men who are considered “effeminate”, the markhoufin

Violence against the LGBTQI+ community

In 2018, three associations fighting for equality and the rights of LGBTQI+ people in Tunisia published the first "Survey on Violence against LGBTQ People" aiming to measure the frequency of verbal, psychological, physical and sexual violence committed against this community in Tunisia. To do this, the researcher Abir Kréfa, collected data from 300 people. The results of the survey show the presence of massive and systemic violence. The frequency of verbal and physical harassment, sexual or not, was described by 45.6% of the respondents: these people report the insistence with which their identity is questioned in the workplace and note that questions on this subject have made them uncomfortable. These questions are also repeated in public spaces, schools, on the Internet or on the telephone, with the same consequences. 14% of the respondents had experienced harassment in the workplace, nearly a quarter had been confronted with it in the school environment or in public spaces and more than a third in the family or friends' circle. As for name-calling, more than half of the respondents have experienced it in public spaces because someone knew assumed or wanted to know about their sexual orientation or gender identity.

Physical violence (hitting, slapping, or physical abuse) was reported by 32.3% of respondents at least once in their lives by someone close to them in the past 6 years. More than 30% had experienced such treatment in public and school spaces, either from peers or from administrative or educational staff. Threats or attacks with a weapon or dangerous object and attempted murder in public spaces were experienced by 24% of the respondents. With regard to police violence, about 13% of respondents experienced at least coercive sexual touching by one or more officers, while 15% experienced extortion attempts or were extorted money by officers because of their sexual orientation or gender identity presumed by police officers. A range of violence by police officers in public spaces was reported: name-calling, verbal harassment, sexual harassment, touching, rape or attempted rape.

The sexual harassment of these people is a continuum in the experiences of these people: nearly 30% have in their lives suffered at least one rape or attempted rape in the public space and more than half have been subjected to sexual harassment at least once. In schools, more than 30% have been sexually touched and more than 20% have been raped or attempted to be raped. Sexual violence is also present in the workplace (15% sexual touching, 7.9% rape or attempted rape): in the family and close friends (19% have experienced sexual touching). Most of the violence is perpetrated by men (88%), in both public and private spaces. The survey also takes into account the violence specific to the experience of belonging to this social group, which can put them in danger, in particular forced outings (revealing a person's sexual orientation or gender identity without their consent and knowledge). Forced outings have been observed in school (more than 60%) and in the world of work (about 40%), resulting in absenteeism, falling grades, fear, isolation, etc.

While LGBTQI+ issues were deemed to be too sensitive for deep examination in the survey, the qualitative interviewees did address the subject in more detail. For the majority of qualitative interviewees, homosexual practices elicited violent condemnation. It became apparent, however, during the course of our interviews, that it is not so much "sexual experimentation" or sex acts between men (or between women) which is condemned, but rather the legitimacy of homosexual identity itself. In other words, respondents held strongest rejection for those who would who fully embrace the status of homosexuals in society.

Ahmed, who is 18 and works in Djerba, would like a stricter penalty for homosexuality. He calls for application of the death penalty, stating, “How can a man agree to have sex with another man!? It’s not acceptable, it’s against nature!! They must be killed or hanged.” For some, homosexuality is “unnatural”. For others, it is both “unnatural” and “against religion”. Mounir, the 37-year old merchant, affirms that he does not know the precise content of the religious texts which relate to homosexuality, but insists nonetheless that these texts must be applied:

Mounir: It’s a sin! shariâa must be applied!

Interviewer: What does shariâa say about this?

Mounir: I don’t know.

Interviewer: So if shariâa says stoning to death, this should be applied?

Mounir: Listen, God is not unjust, if God has imposed something, it must be applied, I can-not argue over issues like this, for which religious laws are clear, this is how I was educated, for such a thing, there is a red line not to be crossed, I cannot excuse or justify it.

Many interviewees gave similar answers, even those who are not aware of the existence of Article 230 of the Tunisian Penal Code, an article that dates back to the French colonization and which condemns, not homosexuality, but sodomy and sexual practices between women. Those who are aware of this article generally believe that it should be reinforced with stronger and more coercive sentences including the death penalty, or, at the very least, that the current penalty—a one- to three-year prison sentence—should remain intact. Other interviewees believe it is necessary to exile homosexuals to another country. Such widespread views are clearly extremely dangerous for LGBTQI+ individuals living in Tunisia, and emphasize the urgency of legislative change, community norm shifts, and other support services needed to protect the human rights of LGBTQI+ individuals in Tunisia.

4. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The findings of IMAGES Tunisia illustrate how patriarchy is still dominant in public and private life; even as men want to be seen as more progressive than their fathers and more supportive of their partners, their in-depth attitudes and behaviors don't always match. The story is not entirely negative, however, with significant support for some legislative changes to protect women's rights. There also seems to be a positive attitude shift taking place toward women's role in certain public spaces and leadership positions. Even as women's main responsibility and duty is still seen in the private sphere as caregivers, there seems to be more and more support, if not follow-through, for men taking on deeper roles as fathers and caregivers as well.

These and other IMAGES findings can be used to strengthen policies, programs, and campaigns in Tunisia in numerous ways. The overarching goal of IMAGES is to build an understanding of men's and women's practices and attitudes about gender equality to inform, drive, and monitor efforts to promote gender equality, particularly at the public decision-making level. With these incredibly rich new data on hand, movements to prevent violence against women, promote the full realization of women's rights, achieve equality in care work, and shift social norms now have a powerful new tool to inform all of their efforts. Anyone wishing to draw upon these data to advance rapid, powerful change in Tunisian society would do well to:

4.1 Builds on previous legislative advances pushed by 60 women's rights advocates

Every major legislative advance to protect women's rights has been the result of pressure from civil society and women's movements in particular. These movements should lead the way to demolishing ALL discriminatory laws against women, especially with regard to inheritance. Equality in inheritance can establish a fair sharing of wealth between the sexes, help achieve economic autonomy for women, and can change Tunisians' attitudes about gender discrimination. Expanded paternity leave for new or adoptive fathers is also an important policy step to encourage men's increased involvement in care work.

4.2 Ending the journey of full political participation of women in Tunisia

We must push political parties to further dedicate themselves gender equality in political work and to provide more opportunities for women and youth in political participation, especially at the level of assuming authority responsibilities. For example, this can include setting up mechanisms related to internal management and structuring in the parties law that allow more women and youth to reach decision-making positions.

4.3 Harnessing the Power of Education

Schools are a vital location for the socialization of our young people, including related to gender roles and norms. We must work to review educational programs in schools at various levels to support gender equality. This includes setting up training programs for teachers and school staff on the idea of gender equality on the one hand and aiming to address the phenomenon of violence (physical and symbolic) in schools as one of the institutions of socialization. This should also include adoption of sexual education within school programs to enable the child and adolescent with cognitive and cultural mechanisms that protect them from sexual violence and harassment. It is also essential to train various educational cadres on the culture of non-violence and developing their own programs to spread the culture of human rights, equality, active citizenship, non-discrimination, and the right to differ.

4.4 Look to local feminism, women's rights, LGBT rights, and non-violence movements and voices for guidance on what messages to prioritize and how

None of the issues addressed in this study are new or entirely surprising to the brave groups of activists already working for generations in Tunisia to bring about a more just and equal society. Any effort to advance on these findings at policy, program, campaign, or educational level must be brought into alignment with the objectives and ongoing efforts of these activists.

4.5 Using Image Data to Identify Highest Priority, Most Harmful, or Largest Priority Situations to Deal with

IMAGES Tunisia data have uncovered a tremendous amount of richness in understanding the landscape of gender related attitudes in the country. All of this richness must now inform future campaign and program efforts. As earlier sections have, Tunisian respondents did not demonstrate widespread opposition to women's right to work outside the home or pursue economic opportunity. That is not to say that these attitudes don't exist in Tunisia, but rather they did not emerge as the absolute top priority according to IMAGES responses. By contrast, the rates at which respondents (a) hold victim-blaming views of sexual harassment, (b) approved of women's forced marriages to their rapists, and (c) granted decision-making power and "guardianship" disproportionately to men all stand out as particularly high. Deeper analysis of these and other findings will provide a helpful prioritization exercise for gender equality movements in Tunisia.

4.6 Draw widely accepted positive attitudes to demonstrate that there is public support for some aspects of equality

The inverse of the previous strategy is also true: where respondents already seem to hold positive attitudes in favor of gender equality, campaigners would do well to amplify this and establish these ideas as social norms. Some examples may include the fact that significant majorities of men and women supported prosecution of those who perpetrate sexual harassment, or that very few respondents supported giving boys educational priority over girls even when resources are restricted. There are many other examples.

4.7 Drawing support for the various policies expressed in the responses to the questionnaire

Similarly, many respondents – in some cases the vast majority of men and women – already support policies or legislative ideas that could bring about greater equality in Tunisia. One particularly notable example is the widespread support expressed by men and women alike for protections for domestic workers and also for women's right to pass her nationality to her husband. These findings can demonstrate to elected officials that many pro-social policies are actually popular.

4.8 Advocacy for Preventive Measures - Don't Focus Only on the Response

This study revealed notable rates of childhood experiences of violence as well as adult experiences of intimate partner violence and street harassment. It is tempting, when looking at these findings, to call for more and better legislation to punish the perpetrators of these acts of violence. This kind of legislation is an important element of the effort to end violence, but it should not be the only element. IMAGES Tunisia also showed the strong linkages between childhood exposure to violence and using the same violence in adulthood; furthermore, attitudes that justify violence were common. Against these realities, it is arguably more essential to focus on *preventing* violence before it happens, as opposed to solely a focus on punishing those who use violence after they have done so. Preventative measures can take many forms, from community-wide campaigns to challenge social norms supporting violence, to curricula for youth where they can learn healthier relationship and anger-management practices, to healthier and better expressions of non-violent masculinity in popular media, and beyond.

4.9 Find out ways to share surpluses in addition to just numbers

The qualitative research participants in this study generously opened their hearts and told their personal stories to help deepen the study's understanding of the gender dynamics at play in Tunisia. The fullest and best use of the research results would not sideline these testimonies, but rather draw upon them to tell complex and specific stories about gender inequality in the country. The quantitative statistics in this report are very powerful indeed, in all the ways expressed above. But by definition they can only speak to broad trends, not the specific lived reality of any one person in Tunisia.

Unmet needs

The 2021 State of the World's Fathers report, which is informed by and features IMAGES data, takes an exclusively structural focus on the issue of equality in care work. Inequalities in care at home are influenced by many structural inequalities in our societies, including in Tunisia, which are driven by government inaction or insufficient support programs. As such, the advocacy targets of this recent report resonate in Tunisia as well:

1. Put in place national care policies and campaigns that recognize, reduce, and redistribute care work equally between men and women.
2. Provide equal, job-protected, fully paid parental leave for all parents as a national policy.
3. Design and expand social protection programs to redistribute care work equally between women and men, while keeping a focus on the needs and rights of women and girls.
4. Transform health sector institutions to promote fathers' involvement from the prenatal period through birth and childhood and men's involvement as caregivers.
5. Promote an ethic of male care in schools, media, and other key institutions in which social norms are created and reinforced.
6. Change workplace conditions, culture, and policies to support workers' caregiving – and mandate those changes in national legislation.
7. Hold male political leaders accountable for their support of care policies, while advocating for women's equality in political leadership.

The findings of the IMAGES MENA Tunisia study provide valuable insights in order to understand where changes are needed and what progress is being made towards a more gender-equitable society. The authors thank you sincerely for your interest and invite you to visit <http://www.menandgendersurvey.com> and <http://www.imagesmena.org> to learn more about IMAGES locally, regionally, and globally.

5. ENDNOTES

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- 3 Law no. 85-68 of July 12, 1985, ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, JORT. 1985, n° 54 of July 12-16, 1985, p. 919. On this Convention, La non-discrimination à l'égard de femmes entre la Convention de Copenhague et le discours identitaire, Colloque, Tunis 13-16 January 1988, UNESCO-CERP, 1989.
- 4 Decree-Law No. 2011-103 of October 24, 2011, authorizing ratification of the withdrawal of a declaration and reservations made by the Tunisian government, and annexed to Law No. 85-68 of July 12, 1985, ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The Acting President of the Republic, On the proposal of the Minister of Women's Affairs, Considering the law n° 85-68 of July 12, 1985, ratifying the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, In view of Decree-Law No. 2011-14 of March 23, 2011, on the provisional organization of public authorities, Having regard to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 18, 1980, Having regard to the deliberation of the Council of Ministers. Enacts the following decree-law:
Article 1 - Is authorized the ratification of the withdrawal of the declaration of the Tunisian government relating to the paragraph 4 of the article 15 and the reservations emitted relating to the convention on the elimination of all the forms of discrimination with regard to the women concerning the paragraph 2 of the article 9, of the paragraphs c, d, f, g, h of the article 16 and of the paragraph 1 of the article 29, and annexed to the law n° 85-68 of July 12, 1985, bearing ratification of the convention on the elimination of all the forms of discrimination with regard to the women.
Art. 2 - The Government of the Republic of Tunisia shall deposit with the Secretary General of the United Nations the act of withdrawal of the declaration and reservations mentioned in the above-mentioned article 1, and annexed to the present decree-law.
Art. 3 - The present decree-law will be published in the Official Gazette of the Tunisian Republic. Tunis, October 24, 2011.
- 5 See for example: Monia Lachheb, «Devenir footballeuse en Tunisie,» Cahiers d'études africaines [En ligne], 209-210 | 2013, online 06 June 2015, accessed 17 June 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/etudesafriaines/17382>. This is a semi-structured interview survey on the modes of constructing masculinity among Tunisian women soccer players.
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- 7 Danièle Kergoat, «Division sexuelle du travail et rapports sociaux de sexe», in: Jeanne Bisilliat, and Christine Verschuur (Dir.), Genre et économie : un premier éclairage, Geneva, Graduate Institute Publications, 2001, p. 78.
- 8 In 2016, one in four employed women worked in the civil service (26%), compared to 17% for men. 39% of public service jobs are held by women in the public administrations of education, health, social protection, family and childhood and then leisure, culture and worship. On the other hand, women are largely over-represented in the two main areas of education and health. Regional governments are a major employer: in 2016, 78% of civil servants were employed there, 49% of whom were women, compared with 15% for central government and 7% for local authorities; UN Women and Government Presidency, Presence of women in the public service and access to decision-making positions in Tunisia, Tunis, 2017.

- 9 Article 7: States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and in particular shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right(a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof, to hold public office and to perform all public functions at all levels of government; (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country. CEDAW Convention. Adopted on December 18, 1979 by the General Assembly of the United Nations and entered into force on September 3, 1981 after being ratified by 20 countries.
- 10 Hafidha Chekir, «Women's political participation between law and practice,» Heinrich Böll Stiftung, Tunis, July 2013.
- 11 Dorra Mahfoudh et al, National Survey on the Time Budget of Men and Women in Tunisia, Tunis, MAFFEPA/ONUFEM, 2011.
- 12 Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, A gender analysis of the situation in Tunisia before and after January 14, 2011, GTZ, Tunis, 2012, p. 24
- 13 Dorra Mahfoud 2018, Op. Cit. p. 25
- 14 ATFD, Back to history for a future without violence against women, Tunis, 2017.
- 15 Comprend toutes les catégories d'enseignement primaire et inférieur (pas de scolarité, école maternelle, primaire ou préparatoire)
- 16 Comprend l'enseignement secondaire/le lycée et les écoles professionnelles
- 17 Désigne le niveau d'enseignement supérieur et comprend le diplôme, l'université partielle ou continue, la licence, le diplôme d'études supérieures et la maîtrise de niveau supérieur.

