

#ENA ZEDA SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN TUNISIA

From Taboo to Freedom of Speech



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INTRODUCTION



Since 2017, many people around the world, including victims of sexual violence, are speaking out publicly on social networks to challenge silence. We are witnessing, several social movements such as #MeToo, #DisSonNom, #agressionNonDenoncée, #OnVousCroit, #LaHonteDoitChangerDeCamp, #StopFeminicides, #MeToo Incest and, in Tunisia, #EnaZeda (#MoiAussi), marking an unprecedented wave of online testimonies denouncing sexual assault, harassment, indecent assault, violence, abuse of children, incest, rape, etc.

These various movements have produced anger, indignation, solidarity and the sentiment that the lives of women and girls are not protected despite an egalitarian legal protection and public policies. These movements have also sparked a wave of demands for legal and psychological support. They have even produced a significant number of books², manifestos, essays, articles and columns in traditional media, shared on social media, to express and amplify women's anger and outrage against all forms of submission and control that societies allow and legitimize over their bodies.

In Tunisia, the virtual movement has been spontaneous, growing gradually. The starting point was the sexual harassment of a high school girl by a member of the Tunisian Parliament. The young victim sent photographs to a page and the administrator of the page posted them on social networks, producing a shock wave effect and gradually spreading the word. Aswat Nissa contacted the young girl to support her, defending and accompanying her throughout her trial³. The unplanned appearance of the #EnaZeda hashtag in October 2019, was an opportunity for Aswat Nissa to create a private Facebook group. This group was organized, with a charter and a questionnaire for those who wanted to be part of it. Messages began to flow in, accumulate, and a community was formed as a safe virtual space. Misogynistic messages and attacks are filtered out and potential harassers are dismissed by the association's moderators. The group, which has more than 40,000 members, has helped sustain the movement and fostered interest in the issue of sexual harassment. This trend has, also, manifested itself on other new pages.

3 The trial finally took place on 12 November 2021 and the accused was sentenced to one year in prison with immediate execution for sexual harassment and indecent assault.

2

^{1 #}DisSonNom is a movement against sexual violence that publishes a list of potential aggressors. The names are collected according to testimonies delivered by victims in DisSonNom's private messaging, on Facebook and Instagram. A protocol is followed by the volunteers and the victims remain anonymous.

² CThese include in particular the works of:

[•] Monia Ben Jemia, La sieste du grand pere {The Grandfather's Naps}. Published by Cerès Editions in February 2021,

[•] Isabelle Aubry, La premiere fois quand j'avais six ans {The first time I was six years old... } Published by XO Editions 2021

[•] Camille Kouchner, La famille grande, autopsie d'un inceste {La Familia grande, Autopsy of an incest}. Published by Seuil 2021

[•] Wanessa Springora, Le consentement, Edited by Grasset, 2020.

Through the creation of the Facebook group EnaZeda, Aswat Nissa, which has been campaigning since its creation in 2011 for the active defense of women's rights in Tunisia, is part of the internationalization of feminist movements fighting against all forms of subordination, appropriating social networks and communication technologies that are lifting the taboo on the issue of sexual violence.



RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY



This study aims to understand the protest movement against harassment and sexual violence in its sociological and psychosociological dimensions. The research process consists of three parts:

The first part focuses on an analysis of the national and international context as well as the legal norms that guide practices, to show the positioning of the #EnaZeda movement in all the digital feminist movements fighting against violence and for women's rights on the web.

In the second part, we attempt to understand the experience and the rationale behind the actions of women who have suffered sexual violence, employing athe content analysis methodology⁴ of their speeches. This sectionis, considers that testimonies are a moment of interaction and (re)construction of people's unity. The testimonies of #EnaZeda were therefore the subject of a thematic content analysis divided in three phases:

- A preliminary reading of the testimonies followed by a synthesis and a systematic codification of textual data and information using the ATLAS-TI software to extract the main core meanings, divided into sub-themes;
- These sub-themes were then processed and classified to elaborate a categorization grid and identify the meaning given by people to each theme;.
- Finally, codification and categorization served as a basis for initiating thematic analyses and data interpretation.

This content analysis allowed us to grasp the social reality through the words of those concerned, to go beyond the descriptive and to produce an analysis of the experience of people confronted with different types of violence and harassment. Lifting the veil on a normally hidden facet of our society placed us at the heart of the prejudices and sufferings, but also of the struggles and resilience of women and girls (and also of some men).

A third part of this study is devoted to assessing, on the basis of the results of an online questionnaire survey, the social/societal impact that the digital movement #EnaZeda has had in Tunisia, on both the individual and the collective levels.

4 According to A.Muchielli, cContent analysis corresponds to (translated) "a generic term designating all methods of document analysis, most often textual, making it possible to explain the meaning or meanings that are contained and/or the manner or ways in which they manage to make sense" (Muchielli 1996, p. 36).



BACKGROUND



NATIONAL CONTEXT

How can we explain the success of #EnaZeda in Tunisia and the scale of the movement that denounced harassment, assault and sexual violence by shaking social networks in 2019-2020 by sparking hundreds of testimonies and thousands of comments and reactions?

We believe that the effect can be explained by both historical and present-day circumstantial factors. Recall that since the 80s, the women's rights movement has mobilized for the re-appropriation of women's bodies and for their sexual and reproductive rights.

Tthe struggle of feminist associations is inscribed in this context, for example dealing with violence against women and girls, against sexism and male domination, as well as their justification and legitimation by society at the turn of the 1990s.Organic Law 58-2017 on the elimination of violence against women, promulgated on 11 August 2017, is the result of decades of struggle. The feminist protest of the #EnaZeda movement is a continuation of a former fight that has today taken root within associations working for equality, for the rights and assistance of victims, and more generally for the liberation of speech and of the female body from the grip of the patriarchy, such as "l'Association tunisienne des femmes democrats (ATFD, L'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFTURD) and l'Union Nationale des femmes de Tunisie (UNFT).

A second factor contributing to the visibility and scale of the phenomenon is the fact that the institutional context is relatively favourable to fighting gender-based violence. The institutional good- will and the involvement of public authorities in the fight against gender-based violence was manifested in 2008 by the launching of a program on "Violence and gender equity" at the National Office for the Family and Population (ONFP)"⁵. This program led to the publication of the "National Survey on Violence against Women in Tunisia" (ONFP/AECID) in 2011 which publicly acknowledged the extent of gender-based violence.

In parallel, after 2011 the public authorities set up , a national commission to initiate "a process of strategic reflection" that takes up and revises the "National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women through the life cycle " (adopted in 2008 and revised in 2013).

⁵ Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, "La violence de genre, un objet difficile a construire» {Gender violence, a difficult object to build}, in Violence basée sur le genre, etat de la questionen Tunisie. (2007)



The post-revolution socio-political changes of 2011 are changing the stakes and visions. Above all, they give a major role to civil society, including women's/feminist associations that have become more numerous and have brought about new perspectives of action and advocacy. Civil society mobilization for equality and for the protection of women and girls against violence, lead to the inclusion of these principles in Tunisia's new 2014 constitution and is reflected in lifting reservations on CEDAW by the Tunisian State.

It bears mentioning that one of the major achievements of the Tunisian Constitution of 2014 is the commitment of the State to taking all necessary measures to eliminate violence against women. However, many public policy decisions and measures are not efficient, especially due to a lack of an adequate budget or a lack of a real political will.

It is in this context of legal recomposition, social movements challenging gender-based violence and feminist demands, that Organic Law 58-2017 on the elimination of violence against women was prepared.

The demands of civil society (women's/feminist associations, human rights associations, minority rights groups, etc.) focus on the denunciation of violence but also on the promotion of all sexual and reproductive rights (right to abortion, the recognition of sexual orientation, etc.) and affirm that the intimate (and not only the private) is more than ever a political issue.

The fight of human rights activists and feminist associations against gender-based violence continues after the promulgation of Organic Law 58-2017 for its effective implementation. Gathered in October 2015 in a National Associative Coalition against Violence against Women (CNAV), associations continue to mobilize for the defense of this law, especially for the translation of this law into concrete measures. So far this has been a major challenge with the increase in violence after 2011 and especially during the Covid-19 pandemic, marking a more general climate of impunity.

The #EnaZeda campaign in 2019 and the more general movement denouncing sexual harassment and assaults on women and girls were certainly triggered in the wake of the #MeToo movement, which invaded the world, Yet, they would not have had this magnitude without **feminist appropriation of social networks** and the new forms of online mobilization.



In Tunisia, a country where women and especially young people are major users of social networks (women being almost equal to men⁶), the unifying role of #EnaZeda has given them opportunities for expression, denunciation and visibility in the fight against gender-based violence. This online feminist mobilization has shaken up the web and renewed the debate on social relations between women and men. It has allowed many women to testify as victims of harassment, violence and assault. The #EnaZeda movement has also shown that violence takes place in all environments and moments of life (childhood, family, school, work, leisure, walks, etc.).

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

The denunciation of sexual violence by social movements that are committed to emancipating intimate spaces have largely escaped social visibility despite important advances that have concretized feminist principles of equality and freedom.

The scale of the #MeToo movement in 2017, following the Harvey Weinstein case⁷ was attributed to women personalities who denounced sexual harassment (public women, actresses, activists, etc). It was especially amplified by social networks (500,000 testimonials in a few days, three million tweets on twitter in 3 months). However, this movement was not born out of an abyss. Rather, it is part of a longer struggle of feminists for the appropriation of their bodies in their most intimate dimensions. Additionally, the movement is preceded by other movements⁸ in various countries (notably in India for example, the campaign to denounce the gang rape of a student in New Delhi in 2012).

The strength of the MeToo message is to suggest that "I too have been a victim of harassment, sexual assault, rape or attempted rape." Out of empathy, women and girls can also understand that "I too am a woman, and I can be a victim at any time". It is therefore a movement that, beyond the differences in age, status, class, color, nationality, etc., concerns all women and girls and becomes a relay and a watchword of international solidarity and sisterhood.

⁸ The #MeToo movement was actually launched in 2007 by Afro-feminist activist Tarana Burk. It was taken over, ten years later, by the actress Alyssa Milano.



⁶ Women They make up half of Instagram users, 44% of Facebook and Messenger users and 39% of LinkedIn users, respectively. Source: -Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, Le cyber harcèlement sexuel : Une nouvelle forme de violence basée sur le genre. Édité par F.F. EBERT- Tunis, Novembre 2021 {Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, Cyber Sexual Harassment: A New Form of Gender-Based Violence.

⁷ Weinstein, a leading man in the Hollywood industry, was accused of rape and sexual assault on 93 women (Source: Rape and sexual violence in Human Sciences n°304, 2018, page 24.)

By staging a "collective us", to protest and denounce sexual violence, feminist movements thus become a lever for changing societies. As véronique Nahoum-Grappe states (translated), #MeToo is " A women's social movement of the 21 st century, which knows how to use the technological tools of the time to reveal a point of view not taken into account despite the extent of its massive and tragic reality".





⁹ Véronique Nahoum-Grappe, #MeToo: Je, Elle, Nous. In Revue Esprit 5/2018

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK



Sexual harassment, indecent assault, assault, sexual violence, rape, etc. What are we talking about?

It is no longer necessary to demonstrate that laws guide behaviour. So how does Tunisian law define and deal with cases of harassment, sexual violence, indecent assault or rape?

Let us recall the substance Law 58-2017, according to which, sexual violence is defined as (translated) " any act or word whose author aims to subject a woman to own sexual desires or to the sexual desires of others, by means of coercion, pressure or other means, likely to weaken or undermine the will, and this, regardless of the relationship of the perpetrator with the victim " (Article 3 of Law 58-2017).

According to this law, sexual violence includes sexual harassment, rape, indecent assault, and incest. The notion of consent, (defined as an expression of a will between two autonomous persons in full possession of their faculties and discernment and supposed to be equal) is not clearly mentioned in the law, yet is indirectly alluded to by the words "coercion", "pressure", and "undermining the will".

Under "sexual harassment" comes any aggression by others including acts, gestures, words and other behaviors with a sexual connotation, that violate the dignity of the person and affect his modesty, with the aim of causing him/her to submit to the sexual desires of the aggressor or those of others, or by exerting dangerous pressures on him/her likely to weaken his/her ability to resist.

Law 58-2017 punishes harassment even if it is not repeated and is thus an improvement of the previous legal context. However, recent studies demonstrate that judges still require repetition of the act despite the reform¹⁰. Anyone who commits sexual harassment is sentenced to two (2) years of imprisonment and a fine of five (5) thousand dinars¹¹. The penalty is doubled if the victim is a child, or if the perpetrator is an ascendant or descendant of the victim, regardless of the kinship degree. The same penalty is applied if the perpetrator has an authority over the victim or abuses the authority conferred on him by his duties.

10 See in particular : L'étude de l'ATFD sur L'accès à la justice des femmes victimes de violence. Entraves et défis {ATFD study on Access to justice for women victims of violence. Barriers and challenges.] Page 62. 2021.



¹¹ According to Article 226 b (new).

Law 58-2017 also reforms various provisions penal code. It recognizes the victim's legal status, which gives him access to a set of rights. These include : automatic right to legal aid, legal support and medical and social follow-up, fair reparation and coverage by public services or associations. However, in reality, these rights are not implemented and the majority of women victims of violence do not benefit from them.

In cases of sexual violence against minors, the legislation extends the conditions for aggravating the penalty by raising the age of discernment from 13 to 16 years, and by defining the crime of incest against a minor whose penalty is life imprisonment. Other important legal achievements include the criminalization of economic and political violence, the impossibility for the rapist to escape prosecution if he marries his victim, the recognition of rape not only on women but also on men. In the latter case, rape used to be treated as an "indecent assault"¹².

The law also broadens the concept of sexual harassment to include street harassment. In cases of sexual abuse, it provides for new aggravating circumstances, if the victim is a child, if the perpetrator is a spouse/ex-spouse or fiancé/ex-fiancé of the victim, and if the perpetrator has abused his authority over the victim or has taken advantage of a situation of vulnerability of the victim.

In the sphere of domestic violence, Law 58-2017 demonstrates progress in the protection of women. Domestic violence is no longer defined as only physical, but also sexual, psychological/moral and economic. It is no longer considered a private crime and the withdrawal of the complaint by the victim does not stop the prosecution.

However the notion of "conjugal duty" is still alive in practice and representations, which suggests that marriage is always accompanied to some degree, by sexual coercion of the wife. In cases of non-consensual sexual relations on the part of the wife, the use of physical coercion is not clearly prohibited by Law 58-2017.

Recent studies note that according to Tunisian jurisprudence, there is an almost total absence of judicial judgment relating to the crime of marital rape; sexual relations during marriage are a legal obligation for both spouses. This is attested by the majority of court decisions, even after the promulgation of the law.

¹² For more details see in particular the guide on Law 58-2017 published by AFTURD developed by Monia Kari. Edition AFTURD/DANNER/Danish-Arab. January 2019.



Therefore, the freedom of interpretation entrusted to the judge, in particular in the event of divorce, is in contradiction with article 227 of the Penal Code on rape. It allows judges a refusal to classify marital rape as harm and thus leaves the door open to sexual and physical violence between spouses, which may explain the extent of domestic violence attested by all surveys and scientific publications.¹³

In the sphere area of indecent assault (including exhibition and voyeurism)¹⁴, sanctions provided for in the Penal Code stem from the same logic as that for sexual harrassment: "Indecent assault committed against a person of either sex without his/her consent shall be punished by a six-year imprisonment " (Article 228 new Penal Code). The sanction is doubled if the victim is a child and if the perpetrator is a parent, a person who has authority over the child and who takes advantage of the vulnerable situation of the child. In the workplace, sexual harassment is often committed against women who are confronted with situations of psychological or economic coercion.

The #EnaZeda movement demonstrated that harm is not taken seriously by superiors. In addition, few victims file complaints and most harassers escape punishment. Often, unsuccessful women have no other choice but to submit or leave their jobs. Sexual harassment at work has been/is a threat to women at many levels (psychological and moral, social and economic)¹⁵. The risks of sexual harassment and economic violence are all the greater as the current context is marked by a high unemployment rate, particularly that of women,¹⁶ and by the effects of COVID-19.

One important step in the fight against violence and harassment in the workplace¹⁷ is Tthe International Labour Conference's adoption of the International Convention on Violence and Harassment at Work (No. 190) at its 108th Session on 29 June 2019. The Tunisian government was among the member countries who voted in favour of the adoption of this convention. Advocacy is being undertaken by women in trade unions and associations in order to accelerate its ratification and implementation by Tunisia.

¹⁷ The term "gender-based violence and harassment" refers to violence and harassment against a person because of their sex or gender or having a disproportionate effect on persons of a particular sex or gender and includes sexual harassment (Section 1b)





¹³ See in particular the article "Production judiciaire des normes de vigilance de la société civile. Le cas de la sexualité en Tunisie par Maaike Voorhoeve in l'Année du Maghreb 16/2017. {Judicial production of civil society vigilance standards. The case of sexuality in Tunisia by Maaike Voorhoeve in the Year of the Maghreb 16/2017.}

¹⁴ Article 228, 228a and 229 of the Penal Criminal Code

¹⁵ See Inkykada, #EnaZeda, Harcelement sexuel au travail, elles temoignent {sexual harassment at work, they testify} [30 December 2019]

¹⁶ According to the INS, the unemployment rate is 17.8% in the first quarter of 2022; 23.8% for women and 15% for men. Among 14-to-24-year olds it is 41.6% for women and 40.4% for men.

As for child protection, Tunisian legislation also aims to protect children of both sexes from violence and sexual abuse. Thus, "Organic Law 58-2017 repealed certain articles of the Penal Code, including article 227 bis replacing it with article 227bis (New) which stipulates that (translated) "It is punishable by five (5) years of imprisonment for, anyone to voluntarily subject a child to a sexual act, whether female or male, whose age is above sixteen (16) years, and under eighteen (18) years with his/her consent. »

The Child Protection Code (2010) legally emphasizes (translated) "the right of the child to benefit from various preventive measures of a social, educational, or health nature and other provisions and procedures aimed at protecting him/her from any form of violence, or harm, or physical or psychological or sexual harm, or abandonment, or neglect that results in ill-treatment or exploitation". (Article 2). This Code also specifies the prerogatives of the Child Protection Officer who is responsible for interceding with the parents or any other person in charge of the child (girl or boy under 18 years of age), with a view of preventing all forms of harm or abuse that may threaten the security or the growth of the child.

We are therefore witnessing a criminalization of sexual abuse and sexual violence and the construction of new legal norms that redefine crimes, punish perpetrators and protect individuals: children, adolescents and adults and especially women and girls.

How do these changes in legal norms, which indicate political will and express a deep sense of societal demands for justice and individual rights recognition, translate into practice? Have they succeeded in changing the social representations, stereotypes and inequalities that continue to legitimize sexual violence against women and girls?

This study conducted by Aswat Nissa aims to provide answers to these questions through a qualitative analysis of women's free speech through the testimonies they posted during the #EnaZeda movement in Aswat Nissa's Facebook group #EnaZeda. Although the movement is ongoing, these testimonies relate to the period from 2019 to 2020.



PART ONE : #ENAZEDA SEXUAL HARASS-MENT FROM MENT FROM TABOO TO FREE-DOM OF SPEECH



The campaign and the #EnaZeda movement have denounced violence suffered by women, (sometimes also by men). This violence has been ignored for years, concealed in part due to shame, and the "preservation" of the intimate and the private as non-political.

It all began on October 10, 2019, when a high schooler took a picture of an MP masturbating in his car, just outside her school, allegedly to harass her. The photo was then posted on Facebook, immediately becominge viral on social networks. It triggered an impressive wave of testimonies about sexual harassment in Tunisia, freeing the voices of several thousand women and men, young people, as well as members of the LGBTQ+ community, many of whom have been victims of sexual predators.

In the aftermath of this high-profile case, the Aswat Nissa association and a group of young feminists created the EnaZeda Facebook group to support the high school student and organize her defense. Gradually, encouraged by the girl's audacity, many victims of sexual violence began to post testimonies. The #EnaZeda movement reactivated memories and traumas, sometimes even allowing victims to discover, at the turn of a testimony, the identity of a former aggressor, and pushed them to express themselves about a trauma they believed was buried forever.

The #EnaZeda group supported an impressive number of testimonies that poured in from everywhere. The wave of testimonies raised by the case of the Tunisian MP demonstrates that, women and girls from all horizons are concerned regardless of their age, social origin, marital and professional status, etc. Even those who seem to be protected by higher levels of education, socio-professional status or political position do not escape patriarchal domination at one time or another in the course of their life.

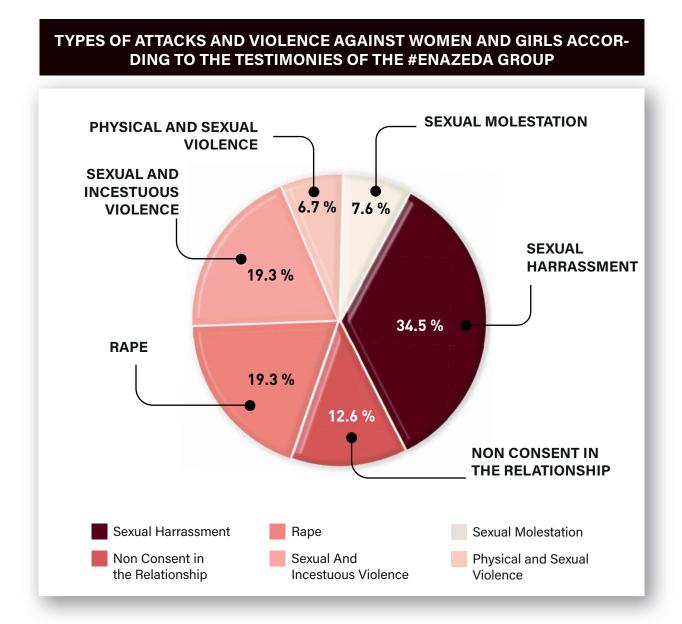


OVERVIEW OF THE #ENAZEDA GROUP'S TESTIMONIALS



We first present an overview of the testimonies, the types of violence identified, the perpetrators, the places the violence takes place, and the consequences. This part is followed by a qualitative in-depth analysis.

What kinds of violence are women and girls exposed to during their life cycles? Each person can be the subject of several types of aggression, but we advance the assumption that women are most likely to insist on experiences which mark them the most, which they have not been able to talk about and which demand more support from others.





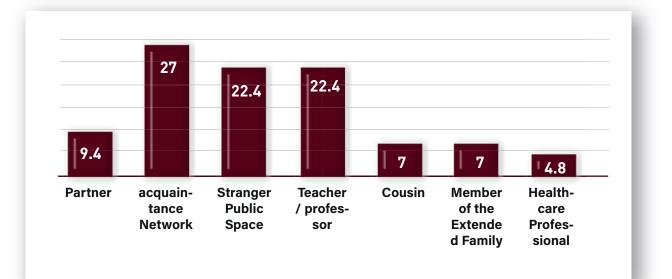
TYPES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE :

The graph above shows that:

- Sexual harassment is the most common type of violence discussed in testimonies, mentioned in more than a third of (34.5%).
- Rape was discussed in almost one in five testimonies (19.3%).
- Incest accompanied by violence was also discussed by one in five women (19.3%).
- One in ten women (12.6%) testified having experienced sexual violence in their relationships, from non-consent in intimate relationships, or even marital rape.
- Sexual touching and physical and sexual violence are not negligible, discussed in 7.6% and 6.7% of #EnaZeda testimonies, respectively.

WHO ARE THE HARASSERS AND PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE ?

Perpetrators of violence include non-strangers in many cases, including "acquaintances", such as friends, colleagues, or neighbours (27%). Others are in a relationship of authority (or domination) with the victim, such as teachers (22.4%) or health personnel (4.8%). Strangers and harassers in public spaces stand out in 22.4% of testimonies. Partners and extended family members (uncles, grandfathers, cousins, etc.) are cited in 23.4% of testimonies, whose behavior ranges from incest, touching and sexual harassment or even rape.



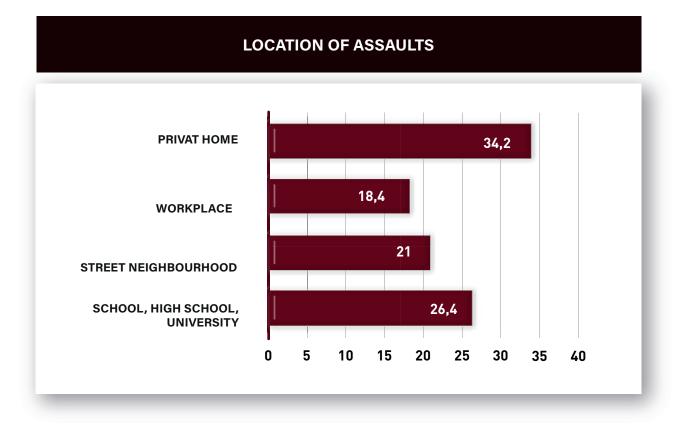
PERPETRATORS OF ATTACKS ACCORDING TO ENA ZEDA TESTIMONIES (%)



WHERE DOES THE SEXUAL VIOLENCE TAKE PLACE?

The location of sexual violence varies from one perpetrator to another. The primary location mentioned in testimonies is the private and intimate space (the marital home, family home or other private place), cited in 34.2% of testimonies.

In one in four cases, sexual harassment took place in relatively protected places such as school, university or the workplace, affecting 26.4% of pupils who testified and nearly two out of ten working women (18.4%). No less important is street or neighbourhood harassment cited in 21% of testimonials.

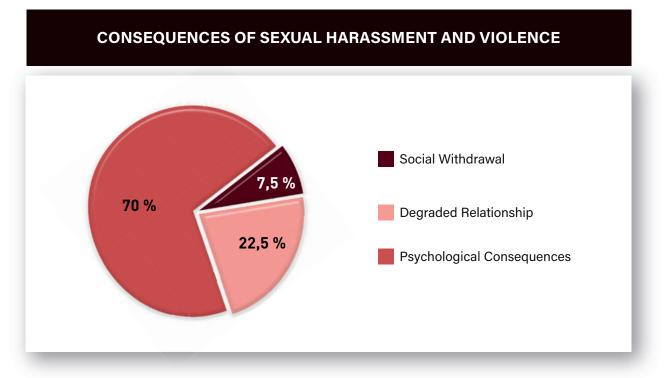


CONSEQUENCES FOR VICTIMS

The consequences of sexual harassment and violence are diverse and impact the social behaviour, psyche and intimate life of the victim. The psychological scars appear to be catastrophic in number. Among the women and girls who testified, seven out of ten (70%) had or were still suffering. Testimonies also noted that relationships between couples were affected when the spouse had been a victim, during her married life or before, of forced sexual relations, rape or sexual harassment (22.5% of testimonies).



Finally, 7.5% of victims of sexual harassment or violence said that they had withdrawn into themselves, reducing their movements and any contact with others to a strict minimum as a means of "refuge and protection".



Certainly, the Constitution (Article 14) and Law 58-2017 afford the victims, rights to file a complaints, along with access to information, to obtain free legal aid, health and psychological follow-up, and fair reparation. Yet, despite all this, women face all sorts of disparaging obstacles and constraints, including social stigmatization, lack of knowledge of their rights, difficulties in obtaining legal aid and legal support, insufficient economic resources, prejudice of judicial police officers or even judges and, above all, the slowness of judicial proceedings¹⁸.



¹⁸ See "L'Accès à la justice des femmes victimes de violence. Entraves et défis » 'Access to justice for women victims of violence. Obstacles and challenges"). ATFD study op. Cit.

WOMEN'S RESISTENCE AND DENUNCIATION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE



SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND ABUSE IN THE FAMILY AND THE ENVIRON-MENT:

Domestic violence is no longer thought to be uncommon, considering children and adolescents experience the first forms of sexual abuse or assault in the pirvate and family space. Several studies have shown that incest, for example, is not uncommon. Thus, in France, an IPSOS Survey carried out in November 2020 by the association *Face à l'inceste*¹⁹ focused on incest faced by the French revealed that 10% of the population or 6.7 million French people said they had been victims of incest. Eight out of ten victims are women. Moreover, this proportion has increased over time from 3% reported in 2009 to 6% in 2015.

According to testimonies posted on #EnaZeda, the perpetrator of violence includes (or has included) a relative of the family, a young person or a trusted adult, a family relative, a neighbour, a gardener, a neighbourhood grocer, and so on. Female (or male)²⁰ victims often do not speak for various reasons: they are not listened to, they are not believed, they are forced into silence or even worse they are perceived as guilty.

Early childhood: memories of intra-family sexual abuse

Many women's testimonies (young and old) were made by survivors of sexual abuse reflecting on their personal history, on what they experienced during early childhood or adolescence and on the fact that they did not talk about what happenedit. It was often before the age of 10 and even between the ages of 4 and 5 that most of the first memories of sexual abuse were pinpointed most frequently in narratives :

« The body of a 7-year-old girl! ", "I was less than 10 years old; "I must have been 4 or 5 years old"; "I was a little girl and I was no more than 5 years old; ... I experienced all this when I was not 7 years old! "It started when I was 9 years old"; "I was 7 years old when I was raped and harassed by the same person until I was 12 years old"; "I was 6 years old and it was my uncle who was 6 years older than me"; ... etc. »



¹⁹ https://facealinceste.fr/ is the site of this association that fights the taboo of incest: it was founded by Isabelle Aubry, survivor of incest. The publication of her book, The First Time I Was Six Years Old... (op.cit.) has sparked the development of a community (the largest in Europe) that includes more than 7000 members.

²⁰ We only analyzed data on girls and women, as the testimonies of men and boys are scanty and unrepresentative.

Testimonies very often evoked assaults suffered at an age when young girls did not understand what was happening to them. Some say they obeyed under constraint or fear, others thought that "that's how it happens" and still others thought it was a game. This is evidenced by one of the members of the group #EnaZeda who, when she was 7 years old, was harassed by an older cousin who, by proposing a collective game of hide and seek, intentionally chose an isolated and narrow place to hug and kiss her.

Another woman had a similar experience, remembering that as a child, she often found herself alone with her brother's young friend who took advantage of her brother absence to show his sexual organs and touch himself in front of her. She said, "I didn't understand anything about it, I only knew that my parents had told me it was something wrong!" However, unlike many other children, she was fortunate to have understanding parents who were there to listen to her, believe her and reassure her on a subject that largely remains taboo. In most of the cases cited, the subsequent awareness or the testimony itself, revived a deep trauma in the victims.

When the assault happens during childhood, it takes the form of lewd behaviour, a sexual harassment by an adult, by a child older than the victim or by a teenager who seems to discover his sexuality and avail it by exposing himself or by soliciting the reactions and participation of others:

« We were invited to my mother's cousin's; her son was preparing his baccalaureate. He always offered to teach me how to read... In his room, he undressed and exposed his sexual organs. He was trying to hold me close to him... Fortunately I managed to save myself. I didn't say anything to my mother because I was afraid of being punished »



Child sexual abusers know the weaknesses of their victims and thus attract them with sweets, toys or small pets:

« I was 5 years old, we had neighbours and we exchanged visits. One of the sons was 17 years old. He would lure me into a house under construction by giving me chocolate and show off in front of me and harass me. This was repeated several times until the day he did it with another little neighbour who screamed calling out all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood who beat him »

Finally, while the circle of relatives can present dangers, it can also in certain situations be a resource for victims to defend themselves against sexual abuse and maltreatment by listening to them, reporting harms and offering support, understanding or care.

Testimonies and carving the space for such comments with #EnaZeda revealed that one of the barriers to dealing with sexual violence in early childhood is that the harm suffered by the child is not taken seriously. There is a denial by those surrounding the child, or even a certain tolerance on the part of the society, justified by the false idea that as the child grows up he/she will end up forgetting. These justifications are contradicted by testimonies and numerous clinical studies²¹ which show that incest has serious effects in the short term: including sleep disorders, loss of appetite, school failure, running away, loss of self-esteem, loss of confidence in others, fear, depression, early delinquency, etc. As for the long-term effects, they include stigma and traumatic sexualization. (impotence, sexual frigidity, dissatisfaction, etc.).

Adolescence: the age of sexualizing bodies and trivializing violence

In adolescence, especially between the ages of 12 and 18, girls are subject to all kinds of behaviours on the part of boys and men, to attract their attention. This can include physical contact or sexual touching, sometimes inside the family circle (older cousin, uncle or other parents or a trusted or authoritative adult), sometimes at school, and sometimes still on the street.



²¹ See in particular L'enfant victime de l'inceste: de la seduction traumatique à la violence sexuelle {The Child Victim of Incest: From Traumatic Seduction to Sexual Violence } by Yves-Hiram Haesevoets, Hubert Van Gijseghem, Philip D. Jaffé. Edited by De Boeck, 2015.

EnaZeda's testimonies have shown that women, now adults, often do not remember their exact age at the time of the events:. " I was a little girl and I accompanied my mother to my paternal aunt, it was her son... ». The memories of this period are vague, buried deep within:

« I was at fault and I was afraid that my mother would punish me because I put myself in danger. But I was less than 10 years old. How could I have understood anything about this. I didn't even think I was giving him pleasure when he told me to touch him, I thought it was a game, but I knew confusedly that there was something fishy.»

The few studies available suggest that in adolescence, romantic relationships are often described in a negative way and that violence, touching and even rape, evoke women's guilt and silence. The guilt of the victims comes from their confusion with their adolescent desire and, by choosing to remain silent, they accentuate their feelings of guilt. Indeed, according to a study conducted by CREDIF in 2019 on "gender-based violence inflicted on adolescent girls and their needs in terms of services", the majority of adolescent girls (12-18 years old) do not know about Organic Law 58-2017 nor about their rights in terms of sexual and reproductive health. They believe that violence is limited to physical violence and results from male domination. In addition, the study reveals that they internalize verbal or psychological violence, due to their inability to perceive and consider it as a form of violence.

Socialization plays a major role in adolescents' attitudes towards harassment and sexual violence. In boys, violent and transgressive behaviour is part of initiation to virility. Becoming "a man" means being tough, rebellious, brawling, brutal, taking risks (drugs, alcohol, speed), resisting physical and psychological pain, overcoming fear and not hesitating to employ insults against women and "weak" ones²². These rites of virility (rujûla) that reinforce dominant social norms are part of what some anthropologists call "passing tests"²³.

²³ David Le Breton, Rites de virilité à l'adolescence. {Rites of virility in adolescence}. Fabert Éditions, Brussels 2016.



²² Nadia Tazi, Le genre intraitable. Politiques de la virilité dans le monde musulman. (PThe intractable kind. Politics of virility in the Muslim world). Essay, Editions Sud. Page 17

Family culture, school culture and social order contribute to the construction of the social dimension of virility but are not always based on peaceful values. On the contrary, the traditional model of virility – a model of exclusion and segregation – can only flourish by maintaining the resentment of the oppressed, fierce competition and even hatred between men."²⁴ Virility is therefore a binding order of the masculine, "a norm which, by signifying strength and power above all, ensures a status of dominance".

The harassment of pre-pubescent and adolescent girls is a frequent phenomenon and is also taking new forms with the evolution of communication technologies, including cyber sexual harassment.²⁵ The first exposure to online violence takes place between the ages of 14 and 16, an age when adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable. According to a study conducted in 22 countries of 14,000 women aged 15 to 25,²⁶ about 6 women out of 10 say they have been victims of online harassment and abuse: Social networks and the world of teenagers remain conducive to body shaming suffered by 39% of Generation Z Women. Sexual harassment also affects 37% of respondents. The risks for young victims who are in the midst of identity building are a loss of self-esteem, a feeling of guilt and helplessness, a state of stress or even depression.

HARASSMENT OF MINORS IN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOL

Bullies can sometimes be found on the way to school or in front of school, and they may also be the teachers:

«In middle school, a teacher always touched the girls, he slipped his hand behind their backs and unclipped their bra... there were also boys who lowered their pants... at the age of 17, I also suffered sexual harassment from another teacher.

Since the age of 4, I have lived in fear and I ended up seeing sex everywhere." I hated this teacher's subject, but I had to learn. He had rented downstairs from us and he was giving me private lessons twice a week... »



²⁴ Lucile Peytav in, Le cout de la virilité, ce que la France économiserait si les hommes se comportaient comme des femmes. {The Cost of Manhood: What France Would Save If Men Behaved Like Women}. Editions Annie Carrière 2021. Page 77.

²⁵ Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, Le cyber harcelement sexuel chez les jeunes {Cyber sexual harassment among young people}. Publication F.F. Ebert/Génération Equality.2021

²⁶ Alice Huot, Le Cyber harcèlement: Facebook , le pire reseau pour les adolescentes. In ADN Trends and mutations. October 2020

In "games" with classmates or sometimes even in relationships with teachers, high school girls are exposed to touching. Remembering their school past, some members of the #EnaZeda group do not hide (in their testimonies) their bitterness and regret at having felt weak, at having submitted, and not been able to defend themselves, react or speak at the time of the facts:

« I was 14 years old and my teacher was a model for me, a man of advanced age... He was trying to keep me last in class after my classmates left. I escaped, but I sometimes had to come back to collect my things... The day I put on a dress, his eyes pierced me and he did the impossible to isolate himself with me by sending the others out. Within seconds, his hands passed from my hair, to my chest, and then between my legs. Under threat I had to be silent. ».

Very young (or even older) victims are caught off guard in the face of aggression and many times their first reaction is a state of being stunned²⁷, a situation which puts them at the mercy of their aggressor. This fear-panic, which paralyzes them and deprives them of their capacities, seems precisely to arouse the interest and satisfaction of the aggressor. Shame but also fear that petrifies them are often accompanied by strong feelings of guilt:

« I was then 14 years old, on the way to school a man was chasing me. on a motorcycle, and his unzipped pants down. Yet my hair was tied, and I wasn't playing coquette...»

27 One phenomenon well known to psychiatrists : is that during violence or rape, neurobiological mechanisms of defence come into action to react to extreme anxiety suffered, , where the brain produces morphine and ketamine to calm stress. The victim is stunned, as if dissociated from his/her own body, which reduces psychic and physical suffering. This phenomenon is still largely ignored and the rape victim must prove that s/he is not lying; This is one of the reasons why rape victims do not file a complaints.



Sexual harassment is a real power relationship, an invisible grip²⁸, that men exert on women and on the youngest and most fragile in particular. The latter do not always perceive the difference between an innocuous compliment or a false paternalistic joke as a form of sexual harassment.

As several testimonies affirmed sexual harassment of adolescent girls is one of the causes of dropping out of school or high school. Quite often, girls (or boys) are also silent because violence continues to be considered by many families as part of the educational discipline. Indeed, UNICEF surveys confirm that violence against children remains a common and widespread practice in society: more than 80% of girls and boys aged 2 to 14, from rich and poor backgrounds, have experienced at least one form of violence (psychological or physical punishment) in the family and 1 in 3 children under the age of 5 suffered acts of abuse and negligence.

In some families, children are trained obedience and taught to submit to those in power. This situation, characterizes the patriarchal family structure (where power is held by men), is out of step with legal texts calling for respect for the needs and rights of children and the values of equality between women and men.

It is no longer necessary to demonstrate, after the numerous psychological studies on child protection, that violence, sexual abuse and rape, suffered during childhood and adolescence, have intense and lasting psychosocial consequences. In adulthood, these impacts can result in serious prejudice to the victim: difficulty in forming a lasting relationship or in forming and maintaining intimate relationships deemed satisfactory.²⁹

STUDENTS : BETWEEN EDUCATION AND DOMINATION

Adolescence marks the age of entry into adult life and the time of higher education, as well as the prolongation of violence mentioned earlier. During university life, sexual harassment marks a "rite of passage," and is a, a relatively common phenomenon in most countries.





²⁸ See Vanessa Springora's book, Le consentement (published by Éditions Grasset 2020), in which she recounts the predatory hold of the writer Gabriel Matzneff on her when she was between 13 and 15 years old. Following the publication of this book, All of Matzneff's books, including the one on "The Under Sixteen" (a diary of the writer recounting his sexual relations and rape of minors), are withdrawn from the market.

²⁹ Clémentine Gérard, Consequences of sexual abuse experienced in childhood on the married life of victims in adulthood: In Notebook on child maltreatment, 2014/1

Rites of passage are at times violent, and mark all societies, whether modern or ancient, accompanying changes that punctuate the life cycle. The exercise of violence and sexual harassment against women and girls confirms, maintains and perpetuates male domination.

This may explain why universities, prestigious colleges and campuses are frequently the scenes of misogynistic acts and sexual harassment. Feminists and human rights militants continue to denounce the dangerous traditions of rites of passage, such as hazing³⁰ and other sexual violence. "Rape culture" sometimes forces female students to interrupt their studies.

Even university-imposed rules on consent³¹, as well as hashtags³² denouncing violence, have failed to curb sexist norms known within these spaces.

Supporting the findings of Tunisian studies about the topic³³, members of the #EnaZeda group who went to university said that they had been, from the age of 18, the target of sexual harassment and sexist cyber harassment by their classmates, administrative staff and even teachers: "I was a student in a Higher Institute... ", "It was during my 2nd year at university... ", etc.

During university life or while doing internships, some were exposed to various forms of sexual violence (inappropriate comments, sexual exhibition, degrading remarks, etc.). This can be understood as a test of submission imposed on women by patriarchal culture, even as a condition for being integrated into a peer group.

³³ Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, Cyber Sexual Harassment: A New Form of Gender-Based Violence, op.cit. This study reveals that according to the results of an e-survey of 2436 people of both sexes, 92% are women between 18 and 39 years old and more than half (50.6%) are female students.



³⁰ It is, according to the French dictionary, an initiatory rite of passage set up by the elders for the newcomers within a school, a group, ... Hazing consists of a set of bullying, humiliation, vexations that can be funny, but also dramatic. This practice is now prohibited in several countries.

³¹ As an example, Paris-Dauphine University created in 2018 a Monitoring Unit on Discrimination, Sexual Violence and Hazing, responsible for preventing and punishing violence and discrimination, as part of a policy that aims to make the university an egalitarian place (Source: Experiences of discrimination, hazing and sexual violence by students: Report on the situation at Paris-Dauphine University, by Céline Bessières et al. (2018)

³² One example is #BalanceTonStage, a student initiative that denounces cases of sexual harassment during student internships.

« I finished medical school and was in residency. At the hospital, a colleague, who was also my boss, greets me with "You wh..., are you still here?". It was his way of speaking, obscene and insulting like "you're not focused, are you sex starved?" Even the technicians were not spared his words below the belt, and even the patients. When a patient is under anesthesia, he seizes the opportunity to show me his sex.... All his words are accompanied by touching. I heard all sorts of words, not only from him, but I had to always shut up my mouth and leave the place in silence, because you feel that you are nothing in front of him and that if you speak, you risk your future. »

Faced with this problem and because they refused to give in to a teacher's advances, some students decide not to attend classes anymore or redo their year. Stalkers in the university space say they are willing to reveal the content of an exam as "sexual remuneration". Most students are unable to file complaints due to lack of sufficient evidence, the administrative authorities do not take them seriously, there is a lack of solidarity from classmates or due to fear of reprisals from the harasser.

Ultimately, in universities as in other institutions, sexual harassment is the expression of a power relationship between men and women, playing the role of a subtle mechanism that aims not only to discipline the conduct of women but also to remove them from intellectual and social life as well as from the production and transmission of knowledge.

SEXIST AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC SPACES: DAILY LIFE OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

Women who spoke publicly during the #EnaZeda movement drew attention to a long banalized phenomenon: street harassment.



Women face harassment in public spaces early in life, in the form of whistles, insistent looks, and/or comments about their bodies or appearances. From puberty onwards, women become aware that they are an object of desire, or a sexual object. Some even feel that their bodies do not belong to them, and discovering their femininity, it is often accompanied by discomfort and embarrassment.

Street stalkers are most frequently strangers³⁴. The national survey conducted by CREDIF in 2016 on 3873 women aged 18 to 64 mentioned that 87.2% of women were victims of sexual violence, 80.3% of physical violence and 78% of psychological violence, by unknown men in the public space.

The testimonies mention that the are "followers", on foot, on motorcycles or in cars", but also "fondlers" or "people who rub"³⁵ in public transport:

« I was in college and I remember the day I was in the subway to go home. I felt something slipping under my vest. I froze in place. It was an elderly man who lifted my vest and then my dress and slipped his hand... that day I decided to remove the veil because in my country, whether you veil yourself or not, men undress you just by gazing at you.».

In this regard, the same CREDIF survey mentioned that in terms of transportation, sexual violence is 9 of out 10 times at the hand of another passenger.

34 The survey conducted by CREDIF in 2016 mentioned that 87.2% of women surveyed were victims of sexual violence, 80.3% of physical violence and 78% of psychological violence by unknown men.

³⁵ CREDIF study on violence in public spaces (2016)



« I was barely 18 years old and still a student when I suffered one of the worst oppressions! Feeling the alcoholic breath of a man who kept looking at me, from the moment I arrived at the bus station, I did not feel safe. He approached me on the platform, I felt uncomfortable, He looked at me from top to bottom and called

out at me

Cute you are... how old are you?" I didn't answer and just drank water without looking at him... He came closer to me again. I jumped into the street in front of a car that was driving very fast. I almost died because of that dirty guy! The driver of the car did not spare me either, he also shouted at me "assuring" words like "you blind whore... ». I ran without looking back, shaking with fear.

The magnitude of the "fondlers" phenomenon in public transport in particular has prompted some countries to take action. In France, for example, brigades of police officers dressed in civilian clothes were created to patrol, identify aggressors and arrest them.

The testimonies from women in the #EnaZeda group relating to this form of harassment, indicate that women are often petrified by fear. They tend to adopt avoidance strategies, most often fleeing confrontation with the aggressor few file complaints.

Indecent assaults or crimes of sexual exhibition are also part of women's daily lives (mentioned in many testimonies). The phenomenon is marked by men who exhibit their nudity or sexual attributes in public spaces. Women and girls see them on city streets, in front of high schools or gyms, on the road in the evening on their way home, etc. Some women or girls reported being the target of sexual voyeurism³⁶ such as being watched by a man in the toilet of a public establishment, or being filmed while they were getting dressed (in a hotel, hospital, gym, etc.).



³⁶ According to Robert dictionary (translated from French): "Voyeurism is the attitude of he, or she, who observes someone with complacency without being seen by him/her." The voyeur is "a person who watches for his own satisfaction and without being seen, the manifestations of the sexuality of others". In psychiatry, the voyeur is a sexual pervert." Exhibitionism also comes presents itself in degrees from "eExhibiting" which means "showing, presenting, producing, representing", to "showing with ostentation or shamelessness". In psychiatry, the gesture corresponds to a "sexual perversion", to a "morbid obsession that pushes certain subjects to show off their genitals".

Even when they are not accompanied by physical aggression, these acts constitute violence because they are carried out without the consent of the other and are a threat and attack on his/her dignity.

One of the first studies, carried out on the issue by the National Office for Family and Population (ONFP - 2007)³⁷, was called "Gender equity and prevention of violence against women", and showed that gender stereotypes and myths are real risk factors for violence. When it comes to psychological, verbal or economic violence, stereotypes are obscured, strongly assimilated and trivialized. As one researcher contends,³⁸ "Stereotypes are the very foundation of the fact that violence is possible without individual and especially social questioning". In fact, stereotypes prevent awareness of male violence against women, despite the well-established extent of this social phenomenon.

HARASSMENT ON THE WORKPLACE: RESISTANCE TO ADVANCES AND DISQUA-LIFICATION OF COMPLAINANT

Sexual harassment at work is one of the most widespread forms of discrimination and has a high cost to both individuals and the community. It is not often reported because its denunciation is accompanied by uncertain outcomes, considering evidence is difficult to establish by victims who risk being accused of slander³⁹.

According to the ILO, sexual harassment at work is defined as (translated) "sexual behaviour that is untimely and insulting to the person in question. It takes two forms, either professional benefits if the victim accepts sexual relations (in exchange for salary increase, promotion, job retention or even recruitment) or hostile working conditions if the victim does not accept⁴⁰.

Harassment can be verbal (comments about appearance, questions about privacy, sexual bullying, phone calls, or insistent and indecent messages). It can be physical(touching, annoying proximity, violence.)

⁴⁰ ILO/ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work



³⁷ Dorra Mahfoudh Draoui, « La violence de genre: un objet difficile à construire: Revue analytique des recherches et programmes d'action traitant de la violence à l'égard des femmes ». In Équité de genre et prévention de la violence à l'égard des femmes (Édit. ONFP- 2007) (Gender Violence : A Difficult Object to Build: An Analytical Review of Research and Action Programs Dealing with Violence against Women." In Gender Equity and Prevention of Violence against Women (Ed. ONFP-2007)

³⁸ Welzer-Lang Daniel, Les hommes violents, Édit. Indigo et Côté femmes, Paris, 1996

³⁹ Luc Boltanski et al., La dénonciation, In Actes de la Recherche en sciences sociales. Vol. 51-1984.

Sexual harassment in the workplace can also be non-verbal in the form of suggestive gestures, a presentation or exhibition of sexual objects (videos, photos or other sexual content and without the consent of others). As an example, we quote this testimony:

« When I received my work uniform, in person by the accountant, he started by asking me questions about my personal life, my family, my mother's name, where I live and with whom, if I had someone in my life, etc. Nothing to do with what we have in common, ie, work. I started to wonder and then I said to myself, " Let it go., I'm not going to see him all the time!" Then he followed me to the locker room where I had to change, I thought he was just passing by but he stops at the door and so I wait. After a while, he said jokingly, come on, show me how you're going to change in front of me! »

Sexual harassment is indicative of power relations constructed in the professional space. Sexual violence at work particularly amplifies the precarious situation of many young women applying for a job or working on a fixed-term contract (CDD) who are therefore exposed to unemployment at any time. This violence certainly affects women who are socially, physically or psychologically vulnerable, but also women who have significant resources to deal with such situations⁴¹.

There is ample evidence that in the professional world, sexual harassment is a source of humiliation, disparagement/depreciation of women's work, degradation of professional relationships, stress, and demotivation. Thus, in several countries, protests and indignant hashtags against sexism at work arise every year⁴². In Tunisia, sexual harassment at work has so far been of little interest to trade unions. In a context of power relations and socio-professional inequality, sexual harassment limits women's access to decision-making positions and prevents their potential and free expression.

⁴² Examples include #PayeTonTaf, #PayeTaBlouse, #BalanceTonBoss (to denounce sexism at work) or #BalanceTonStage (to denounce cases of sexual harassment of students during their internship)





⁴¹ See the testimonials « #EnaZeda : le harcèlement sexuel au travail. Elles témoignent », réalisés par Inkyfada. Décembre 2019 [https://inkyfada.com/fr/2019/12/30/ena-zeda-harcelement-sexuel-travail-tunisie/] (#EnaZeda: sexual harassment at work. They testify", made by Inkyfada. December 2019 [https://inkyfada.com/fr/2019/12/30/ena-zeda-harcelement-sexuel-travail-tunisie/]

In short, in whatever form it takes, sexual harassment at work poses a threat to women's right to work, poses a risk to their mental and physical health and illustrates their loss of economic autonomy. It can diminish their performance, deprive them of promotions, force them to give up their career or even quit their jobs. This discrimination further aggravates inequality between women and men, reinforces the glass ceiling, and deprives the country of their skills.

VIOLENCE WITHIN COUPLES: THE DIFFICULTY OF FREEING ONESELF FROM THE CONTROL OF THE OTHER

Rape is often perceived as caused by strangers in public or semi-public spaces. Sexual assault and coercion experienced by women and girls in relationships or while dating are minimized. Law 58-2017, despite its accomplishments, does not recognize marital rape. The difficulty of recognizing sexual violence or rape within married couples comes from the normalization of sexual coercion in marriage without associating it with physical violence. Victims often do not dare to file a complaint or tell their loved ones.

This raises the question of consent within the couple, as "Expressed or implied consent, externalized or internalized, remains a matter tied to the intimacy of the subject"⁴³. The emergence of the social movement #MeToo or #EnaZeda has shown that it is first the "We" of the revolt that is expressed, then it is the turn of the "I" and its traumas. Feminist struggles have shown the difficulty of thinking about women's autonomous consent in the context of a hierarchical conjugality so perfectly natura-lized by legislation"

In matters of sexuality, giving in or suffering is not consenting, because consent presupposes the equality of partners and the equality of social conditions that make choice possible.

The notion of "conjugal duty" still persists in the Tunisian context, even in the minds of judges.

⁴⁴ Alexandre Jaunait and Frédérique Matonti, L'enjeu du consentement. in "Raisons politiques" 2012/2 nº 46



⁴³ Geneviève Fraisse, Le consentement, Editions Seuil, 2007.

The majority of testimonies in the #EnaZeda group concern couples of young adults who are dating and sometimes about to get married. Several stories recount aggressions experienced in adolescence in the very beginnings of relationships, or during first love experiences. Forced sexual violence, in the context of a romantic relationships is doubly traumatic because the victim confided in and voluntarily trusted the aggressor. The initial consent in the relationship makes it difficult for the victim to report the sexual acts imposed on her without her explicit consent. In this sense, several testimonies highlight feelings of isolation and insecurity in relation to their abusive partner, because the victim is often convinced that she will not be understood, that she will be ill-judged by her family or by the police if she files a complaint.

Testimonies about violence within couples, whether or not bound by marriage, take different forms including harassment and psychological violence that appear to be particularly destructive. Situations are sometimes described as "nightmares" because the victims no longer feel able to go through with their decision, to have control over their bodies, their time, their will and simply their lives. They feel trapped in a relationship and blame themselves for being submissive. To maintain his grip, the aggressor's tactic is to manipulate his victim, devalue her, convince her that she is not normal, that she should even cure herself, etc. One of the former victims who managed to get out of one such humiliating power relationship, testifies:

« I stayed with him for almost a year, during which I paid attention to how to dress, I avoided being alone with him, a year during which he manipulated me, bombarded me with reproaches because I did not want to give in to his desires. I wanted to break up but he always managed, I don't know how, to make me change my mind and make me swallow that I misunderstood wrongly, that I was not normal, that I was sick, that I was the opposite of all the other girls ... I came to wonder if everything he said was true, if I was really not normal, maybe he was right after all... but later I understood, because I was well supported, that he was abusing me morally and that he was the one to be sick! »



Several testimonies relate to events that took place during adolescence, including sexual acts and even rapes in which young women were victims during a period when they first started romantic relationships. These "forced sexual initiations" are often undertaken by young people the same age as the victim in search of experiences. These young men are socialized with their peers according to an image of male virility built on dominance over women and their bodies.

Several young women tell how these acts are accompanied by comments such as "you will like it", "it is normal to feel pain the first time", etc. Sometimes they become victims of rape. This often takes place in locations that are not a priori dangerous. For example, a young woman recounts how she was raped by a man she was dating, in his room, at his parent's house.

« After having lunch with his mother and sister, he asked me to go to his room, I was a little hesitant, but he insisted so much[...]. He started kissing me and he kept telling me that we were just going to flirt, no need to freak out, I remember the fear that invaded me at that time, a lot of tears and a lot of no, please stop ... a few minutes of struggle but he was already holding both my hands after undressing me he stared at me ... and... he penetrated me with all his strength. I remember getting up with pain everywhere to go to the bathroom and vomit. That day, I came back alive, but part of me was dead. »



IMPACTS ON VICTIMS

#ENA ZEDA IN TUNISIA: OF SPEECH





PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PHYSICAL TRAUMA

Testimonies in the #EnaZeda group show that psychological trauma related to childhood rape or incestuous sexual assault persists into adulthood. The victims revealed painful traumatic memories with the testimonies, long kept hidden:

« I was a victim of this person when I was 12 years old. To see his face again after so many years upset and sent me into fury but allowed me to talk about it for the first time. I am now 30 years old... I never forgot that incident, nor did I talk about it. »

Some people attest having experienced a loss of self-esteem, and find it difficult to trust people people in both friendly but especially in romantic relationships. Many young women have maintained their persisting shock and had difficulty living life within relationships, experiencing fear of being touched, because it reminds them of the aggression:

« I still suffer a lot and I'm unable to have a normal life.
I made several psychiatric emergency consultations. I have no more emotions, after having cried so much; I died from the inside. ».

In the case of the first romantic encounters, testimonies revealed that adolescence and the transition to adulthood is "the period of all risks" and that several young women have suffered physical and sexual violence. Without sex education, young women (and their partners) do not know their bodies and the line between flirting and actual sex is blurred. Accounts show that several acts are coerced, imposed with violence and without the young women's consent.



Even when women have followed trusted friends, they sometimes find themselves trapped and raped. This is a traumatic situation physically, psychologically and socially. These young women feel that they are devalued and that they no longer have any chance of having a couple's life as. this testimony emphasizes:

« I found myself in the crossfire, not only did he rape me, and no one would believe that he took me by force and broke me: in addition, I could not leave him since no one will want me (because I am no longer a virgin). He did with me what he wanted, until he got tired and then he let me down! »

Couple relationships can be differentiated from other kinds of relationships as they are based on affection and trust. People lower their vigilance when with their partners, searching fulfilment, trust, security, etc., therefore sexual violence within the couple relationship is an attack on this relational private sphere.⁴⁵ We have identified several physical and psychological consequences associated with such violence in the testimonies. At the physical level, many people report pain, injury, difficulty having sex, etc. At the psychological level, the stories indicate that the victims have expereinced depression, lost all positive images of themselves, live with anxiety, fear and especially shame and guilt.

SEX AND COUPLE LIFE IMPACTED BY ASSAULTS

Victims suffer for a long time and take years to restabilize and regain some semblance of normality:

« This story devastated me, to the point that I lost a lot of good people because as soon as someone touched me, I would block myself, and at the same time I could not find a reason. I always ended up telling myself that men are all the same. Until the day I met a guy. I told him everything and thereon he continuously supports me. »

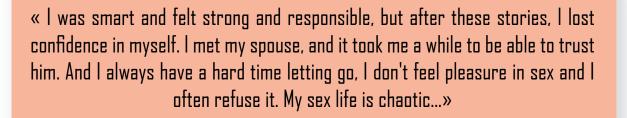
45 Boucher, S., J. Lemelin and L. McNicoll (2009)..Viol conjugal et trauma relationnel. Sexologies, 18, 141–146. (Marital rape and relationship trauma. Sexologies, 18, 141–146



Women victims of their partners or spouses rarely seek the help of health professionals or even associations. Out of shame and guilt, they find it difficult to admit that they have been raped or become victims. As a result, few receive psychological support to help overcome their traumas.

Moreover, in a society that devalues and even criminalizes relationships outside of marriage, these young women feel helpless and are left at the mercy of their abusers.

In their process of healing, resilient victims sometimes hav the chance to meet a spouse or companion, who supports them and restores their confidence:



This testimony also shows that these women need to regain confidence and reclaim their body and sexuality to finally have a married life and / or a fulfilling sex life.

WITHDRAWAL INTO ONESELF, FEAR OF GOING OUT, HIDING ONE'S BODY

Self-censorship and withdrawal are one of the strategies adopted by women to cope with and survive the fear of bad encounters. Women are always alert; to protect oneself, they do their best to be as invisible as possible in the public space:



« Today, I am 23 years old; when I walk on the street, I am scared, I am always on guard, my keys are set in an American fist in my hand. I always ask my friends to pick me up or accompany me to my door, they think I am paranoid and that I'm exaggerating. I avoid taxis and public transport as much as I can. Today, I can no longer afford to wear dresses, skirts, shorts, tight-fitting clothes or low-cut clothes unless someone picks me up by car and drives me back home ».

Others hide their bodies and wear only dark coloured clothes or veil themselves, still others choose old women's loose clothes, and avoid anything that can highlight their figure.

These reactions have emerged in other Tunisian studies on women's sexuality⁴⁶ and its relationship with veiling⁴⁷. For young women and especially adolescent girls, the veil is often seen as a way to protect themselves from sexual harassment and to camouflage their femininity.

DENOUNCING AND BECOMING "THE GUILTY"?

At the time of the incident in question, most women do not file complaints because they are afraid of being accused of having provoked the aggressor's behaviour, or of having "sought" or deserved what was happening to them. However, many regret it today (years later) because they are unable to find peace, confront the perpetrator of the aggression or prove the aggression they suffered:

« At the time I could not file a complaint because I was afraid of becoming the culprit (as is the case for many women in Tunisia). In addition, I had no proof, since the harassment (hand movements, a money proposal, etc.) was done in his office In short, this incident affected me too much (even if there wasn't rape), and my helplessness in the face of this abuse of power still disgusts me to this day ».

46 Ben Smail Nedra, Vierges? La nouvelle sexualite des femmes tunisiennes {Virgins? The new sexuality of Tunisian women}. Lectures, Les livres. 2012



⁴⁷ Sellami Meriem, Sexualite preconjugale, souillure et reconstruction de soi. Les adolescentes au prisme d'une politique du corps. { Premarital sexuality, defilement and self-reconstruction. Adolescent girls through the prism of a politics of the female body in Tunisia}. The Year of the Maghreb, (17), 2017, 101-117

Despite the adoption of Law 58-2017, the police environment is not yet sufficiently open and welcoming to victims:

« I went to file a complaint with El Gorjani, they sent me to a small room in the basement that was supposed to be specialized in fighting violence against women and children. The lady looked at me in amazement and said, "ch3andi na3malek ena taw? (What do you want me to do for you now?) ». I told her it was her job to do something, and I had to wait for a long time before she sent me to another officer who made a report and then sent me back without further explanation! The law is far from reality, we are attacked all the time without State institutions lifting a finger. »

Several women pointed out that filing a complaint was not easy because of various environmental obstacles, including the judicial system. They have the impression that everything and everyone is ganging up against them.

One of the victims was harshly dismissed by the investigating judge who is supposed to investigate the perpetrator and bring him to justice:

« Today I went to see the judge, he kicked me out of his office shouting at me: "You looked for it [the assault], I don't just have your case to deal with! And I'm not going to put people in jail at your request!" My case has been awaiting trial for over a year. This same judge, during at he confrontation with the perpetrator of the rape, proposed that I marry him, and said that I participated in the crime since I went to his house! »

This testimony shows the difficulty for victims to be acknowledged as such, despite the steps forward made by Law 58-2017 on rape and the new article 227 of the Penal Code. Women live in situations where the denial and minimization of aggressions they have been victims of is yet another violence that they must suffer.



However, some still managed to find force to break silence and dared to file a complaint:

« I went out. The next day I was in tears and unlike several victims here in Tunisia, I decided to sue him. I informed my family, my friends, my boss, a lawyer... »

Several survivors of sexual violence welcomed the opening of the group #EnaZeda to be able to denounce perpetrators of harassment, as this student puts it:

« I was waiting for this day to denounce this pervert, who did not let go even after my departure by trying to contact my French supervisor as a way to visit my present lab. »

The passage of time heals wounds and, when the context is favorable, women can speak freely. This has been the case in Tunisia for the past ten years thanks to associative and institutional denunciations of violence against women and also, social networks. Rape victims who have not been able to find the needed help and support, take years to overcome stigma, shame and guilt. To put their suffering into a narrative:

« I am not ashamed that I was raped. I am not ashamed to say that I am a victim. But I can only say that now, eight years after my rape, because I was able to confide in good people who encouraged me to talk to specialists and go to therapy. But I wish I were helped before; I would have liked to be listened to from the moment I started talking about it. These eight years have been a hell of anxieties, nightmares, fears. Never reject someone who comes to talk to you about sexual violence; this means sending him/her to hell ».



REACTIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY: OMERTA AND THE CODE OF SILENCE

Women testify about the silence imposed by families on victims when it comes to sexual abuse and rape of children and adolescents, whose rights are sometimes sacrificed to maintain the cohesion or honour of the family:

« We went to see the grandmother and told her everything! She told us that the uncle has always had strange behaviours and that we must think about the family. It shocked me tremendously ».

Other young women have found themselves in difficult situations where an uncle turns out to be an aggressor, but most do not dare to talk about it because they fear being the cause of a shock in the family:

« I recognized him (my uncle) and I didn't understand anything anymore... I forbade myself to talk to him about it... there was also the fact that he was my uncle... my brothers did not treat me gently... but my uncle did... with the growing inconsistency in my head I continued to let him do it by making him believe that I was asleep... he never went beyond touching... »

This woman remembers using her courage to tell her mother about her uncle's actions. This confession was not heard; it was worse as it destroyed the relationship between the daughter and the mother:

« One day I took my courage with both hands and went to tell Mom what was happening. I had said almost nothing... I had a lump in my throat... I did not cry and I wanted to say everything in every detail but I could only say and repeat 3 or 4 times (in the space of 5 long minutes): My uncle comes next to me in my bed... My uncle comes next to me in my bed... my mother ordered me to keep quiet... She became cold towards me... she changed my room and that was it! »



The women who testified did not hesitate to condemn the behaviour of some families, and some mothers, who are complicit in this code of silence. They stressed that: "Telling a child that what he has experienced is nothing, and that we should not be silent and think about the family, is more criminal than what predators do!" They believe that by maintaining silence, families offer these predators "a good playground", and the opportunity to quietly continue to abuse other children:

« That bastard..., if he was able to do this to all my cousins, it is because he had accomplices at home. ».

« I don't know where I found the strength to detach myself from his grip and run to join my parents who were just in the next room... he wasn't even afraid of the scandal. And I was silent... »

REACTIONS IN THE WORKPLACE

In the workplace, the mechanisms for monitoring sexual harassment, adopted by the State or by the trade unions, have changed little and proved ineffective, as reactions are still to the detriment of those who file complaints for having been subjected to sexual violence:

« He wanted to kiss me by force, I evaded it, slapped him and grabbed him by his tie and screamed. As a result, I went before the disciplinary board and I was fired for 3 days, because this director is known to be pious and practicing, and so the culprit could only be me! This is the explanation given by another director, a woman like me! »

This testimony demonstrates that the complainant becomes the accused, including to female colleagues. Some still manage to make themselves heard but they face a real challenge or even threats of workplace transfer or dismissal. They rarely manage to convince other colleagues to join their cause:



« I needed so much courage, I who usually take risks lightly... How do I report to my Hierarchical bosses? It was the hardest oppression I may have ever suffered. They just called me for an urgent meeting with the top official and seated me in front of him and my direct boss as if in a trial; I was summoned, "... He told you in Arabic?? (As if in English or any other language, it would be normal or less poignant) ... Listen, we know you are reasonable and very flexible, we count on you to be able to manage your daily life... Do you want to change position? ...

Ah, it is important that the other collaborators do not hear about this story.."

In light of the aforementioned testimonies, we can deduce that the #EnaZeda movement has defied Tunisian society's expectations by putting words on taboos, in the goal of denouncinge sexual harassment, violence, and its concealment as well as the destructive risks generated by fantasies and hegemonic masculinity. Abuse and sexual harassment within families was often discussed in this cyber community and there were many reported cases of incest.

Like #MeToo, the #EnaZeda movement and the Facebook group have played the role of a supportive community, a real space for the exchange of experiences and advice, informing in particular the risks of sexual violence in educational institutions, workplaces, public transportation, neighbourhoods, etc.

The #EnaZeda movement is a fight of the "I" and the "We", of women as individuals, as well as of all women and girls who live and share a common reality and struggle for their rights and , for equality, against the overwhelming violence suffered by thousands.



PART TWO : **THE IMPACT** O F T H E **#ENAZEDA** MOVEMENT





Almost two years after the beginning of the #EnaZeda movement, Aswat Nissa launched an e-survey to assess the individual and social impacts of the virtual movement.

The survey questionnaire we designed in this context focuses on closed-ended or multiple-choice questions. In addition to questions on the person's status (gender, age, social and/or professional status, family status), we identified their relationship to sexual harassment (witness and/or victim or both), places and circumstances, the experience and effect of women's freedom of speech, reactions to posted messages and their effects on women's behaviours, victims, men and potential perpetrators. These fifteen questions are followed by an appreciation of the #EnaZeda movement in general, its impact social change in Tunisia, as well as recommendations.

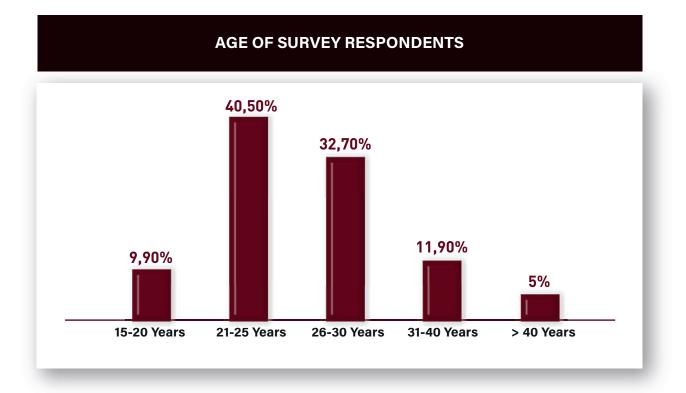
The questionnaire was published on July 6, 2021 on the #EnaZeda group which currently (October 2021) has more than 41,000 members. It was then shared on Aswat Nissa's Facebook page as well as on the Jamaity platform. This questionnaire was shared again in September on the Aswat Nissa page, which brings together more than 50,000 subscribers, as well as on university groups, including the Faculty of Legal, Political and Social Sciences of Tunis group and the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Tunis group. A total of 104 people responded to the questionnaire as of October 8, 2021 and were selected for analysis. Without claiming representativeness, this survey is interesting because it confirms the results from the testimonial analysis.



CHARACTERISTICS AND PROFILE OF THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Almost all of them are women: men represent only 4.5% (5 men in total). It is difficult to say, given the small number, whether this is a lack of motivation regarding the subject or whether it is a resistance mechanism.

Age at the time of the survey shows that the women are young, with more than 8 out of 10 under 30. They are sometimes very young, as one in ten is under 20. In addition to the fact that young people are heavy users of the Internet and social networks, it can be assumed that young women in particular were more numerous and more motivated to participate in this e-survey, either because they are actually concerned by situations of sexual harassment or because they anticipate in empathy, that they too may one day have to face it.



The vast majority of respondents (83%) were single, married women represent 14% and divorced women barely 3%. The significant amount of single respondents is linked to the proportion of single people in the Tunisian female population under 30 years of age (the average age of Tunisian women at first marriage is 30 years). It can also be explained by the new forms of virtual sociability among young people .

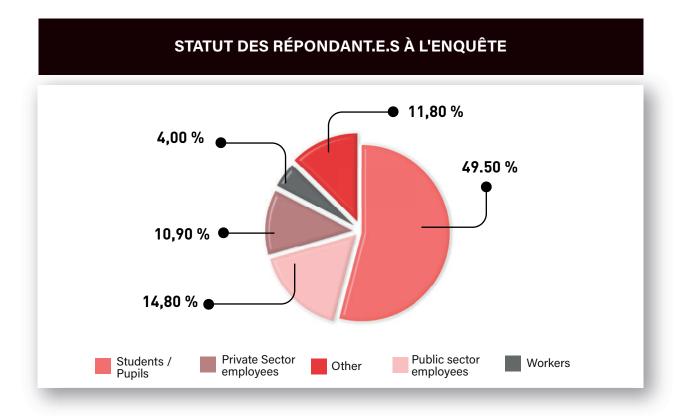
⁴⁸ In a study we carried out on "Cyber sexual harassment: a new form of violence against women (F.F. Ebert 2021), we noted that there are 7300,000 FB accounts in Tunisia, 56% of users are male and 44% female. They are very young: 41% are between 13 and 24 years old





SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL STATUS:

Among those who responded to the survey on harassment and sexual violence, female students made up almost half (49.5%), followed by working women, including: employees in the public sector (20.3%), employees in the private sector (14%) and female workers (4%).

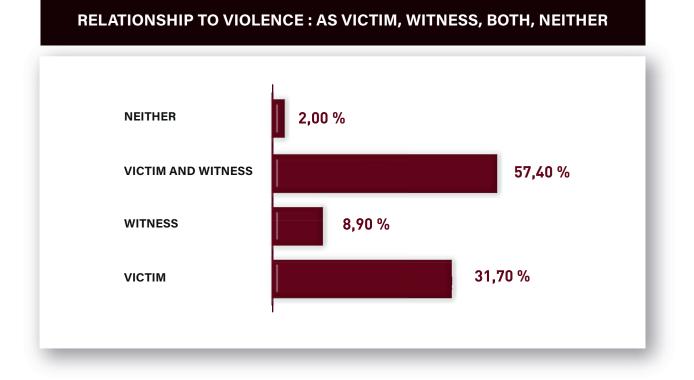


As can be seen, those who responded were mainly active women in the public, professional or school space (companies, administration, educational institutions, political spaces) who are also users of public spaces (street, means of public transport, etc.). This does not exclude the possibility that sexual harassment is (or has been) experienced in private or intimate spaces (as seen above int numerous testimonies).

RELATIONSHIP TO SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND VIOLENCE

Following other surveys, notably those carried out by CREDIF, women unanimously declare that in Tunisia, sexual harassment affects many people, mainly women (96.9% of responses).





The graph above reveals that almost all survey respondents personally experienced sexual harassment: more than half have been both witnesses and victims, nearly one in three have been mainly victims (31.7%) and more rarely they have only been witnesses (8.9%). This explains the magnitude of testimonies and speech on social networks.

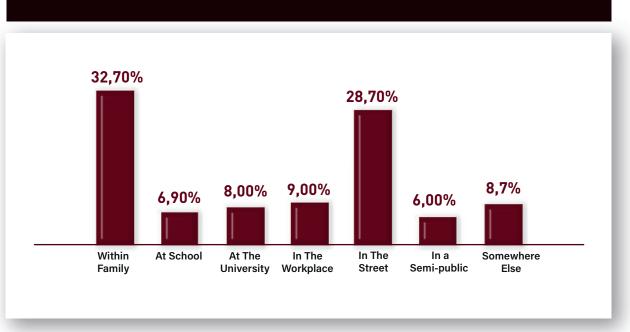
PLACES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

- The family appears as the major site where violence and sexual harassment manifest themselves. It is cited by one out of three women (32.,7%). These are cases of family violence especially against children and adolescents, domestic violence or violence within couples: The result confirms what has emerged from the overall analysis of the testimonies.
- Public space and the street also present risks of sexual harassment and sexism in general, as stated by 28.7% of respondents, confirming the results of previous surveys⁴⁹
- Educational places of learning such as school and university together represent a significant percentage of where violence is experienced, according to 14.9% of respondents.





⁴⁹ CREDIF, La violence dans l'espace public. 2016. (violence in the public space)



PLACES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The work environment is a place where inequality and sexual harassment are not uncommon. However, it was reported in only 11% of those who responded to this e-survey, which seems underestimated (or under-reported) considering to the percentage of working women in our sample.

ENVIRONMENTAL REACTIONS TO VICTIM TESTIMONY

Those who expressed themselves through messages or testimonies made during the #EnaZeda movement on sexual harassment, say they had a favourable and even very favourable reception (53.5%). Less than one in twenty consider that the reception was unfavourable (4.7%). The others did not participate or do not wish to respond.

EXPECTATIONS RAISED BY THE #ENAZEDA GROUP

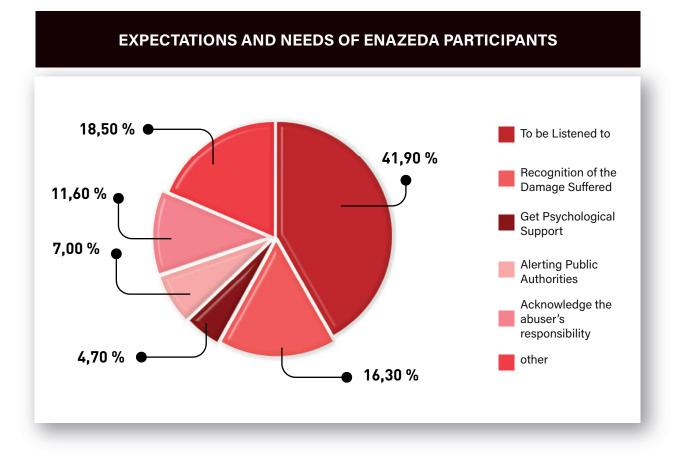
The expectations of those who posted messages in the #EnaZeda group are diverse and appear in the following order of importance:

- They want to be listened to (41.9% of women)
- They hope that the harm they have suffered will not be underestimated. (16,3%);



- They would like to see the responsibility of the harasser recognized. (12,2%)'
- They have thought of alerting public authorities to this problem (7%);
- They need psychological support (4.7%);.
- The others have little or no expectations, or are not in the group.

Let us emphasize that services for listening, guiding and those for psychological or legal care are offered by associations and institutions. Yet, it seems that they do not reach those concerned, either for lack of information, or for need to remain anonymous, or due to remoteness. This encouraged Aswat Nissa to create a unit to legally and psychologically support victims, as we will see later.



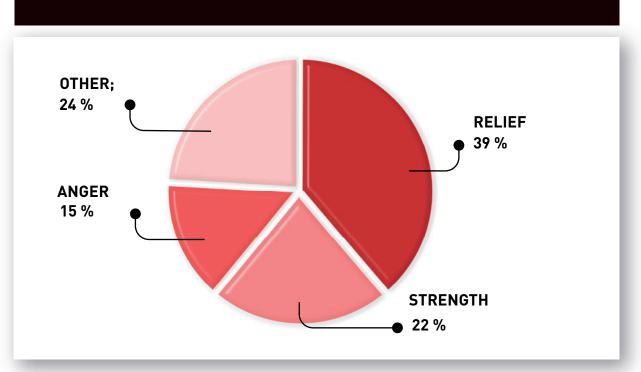
IMPACT INDIVIDUEL ET SOCIAL DE LA CAMPAGNE #ENAZEDA

Victims' strategies between withdrawal and resilience

As a result of the testimonies they posted, the movement had an immediate effect on people. We can assume that this impact is medium or long term.



In the first case, three feelings predominate in order of importance: relief, a sense of inner strength and anger (and others such as shame, disappointment, etc.).



FEELING AFTER THE TESTIMONY

The immediate impact is first of all a sense of relief, the feeling of having freed oneself from a weight, evoked by nearly 4 out of 10 respondents (39%). Second, it is the feeling of power or "feeling stronger" according to 22%. Others, (14.6%), continue to feel anger because by speaking out, they have relived the situation of sexual harassment and what it awakens, such as feelings of humiliation. The testimonies examined above also recall that women feel guilty towards themselves and could not carry out their full decision at the time of the aggression.

Anger is an energy and sometimes a mobilizing force. Thus, students from the Faculty of Legal, Political and Social Sciences of Tunis observed a day of anger against sexual harassment on November 11, 2021 to denounce the patriarchal culture that allows rapists and harassers (comrades, law enforcement officers, magistrates, etc.) to escape the sanctions provided for by law. Patriarchal culture legitimizes the humiliation and guilt of victims of sexual assault. This "rightful anger" also concerns Law 58-2017 which, according to the demonstrators, is not enforced by the authorities.



During the #EnaZeda movement, the vast majority of those who denounced violence, received rather positive reactions on the web (68.3%), while 22% were the target of criticism, hostile remarks, insults and obscenities, attacks and cyber violence (10%).

It can be said that, awareness results in, resistance to change, which manifests in social attitudes. Violence against women appears to be indicative of inequality in relations between women and men and an indicator of male power and privilege.

After continued denunciations of sexist and sexual assaults and in the face of the reactions aroused on the web (whether favourable or not), how did women react?

I filed a complaint	9,8%
I consulted a psychologist or doctor	10%
I consulted an association	
I no longer use the Internet	10%
I became more discreet and sought to forget	27%
Didn't respond	43%

Among those who answered the question **two strategies were adopted: an avoidance strategy and a resilience strategy.** A third category of women simply did not answer the question.

Women were more likely to adopt the strategy of avoidance in the form of withdrawal and renunciation. Within this category, one in ten victims (or survivors) say they no longer use the internet and nearly three in ten (27%) have become more discreet, choosing to forget.

Those who adopted a resilience strategy instead, reacted by filing a complaint (9.8%) or by consulting a specialist (psychologist or doctor) to help them overcome the trauma and heal themselves (10%).



The #EnaZeda movement against sexual harassment has therefore encouraged nearly one in five survivors to adopt an active and resilient attitude.

It should be kept in mind that the female public who responded to this survey did not clearly cite taking advantage of associations, which may seem surprising, given the fact that many women's/feminist associations offer support and guidance services to women victims of violence.

In this regard, it should be noted that the Aswat Nissa has created, following the #EnaZeda campaign, a listening unit that provides legal and psychological care to women victims of violence. During the period 07/01/2021 to 26/08/2021, this unit received more than a hundred women victims of violence. The statistical summary of the consultations confirms the results of the study based on the testimonies and the e-survey:

- Characteristics of women and girls who are victims of violence: There is a predominance of young people (60% are under 35). The majority of them have a university level or are students (56%)
- The family situation: these are mainly single (51%) and married women (42%, and one out of three has dependent children);
- The places of the attack confirm the major weight of private space in 67% of the cases and social networks in 30% of the cases
- The aggressors are in order of importance: spouse (45%), friend/boyfriend (22%), stranger (20%), colleague/supervisor (8%) and parent (5%)

These data show that combatting violence against women and girls challenges associations fighting against violence, which is the most serious form of inequality between men and women. Despite their limited resources, Tunisian associations including and among them Aswat Nissa are engaged in a strong mobilization, facilitated by social networks and the inclusion of young people, thus contributing to an awareness of a long ignored sexual violence. Improved societal awareness

IMPROVED A BETTER SOCIETAL AWARENESS

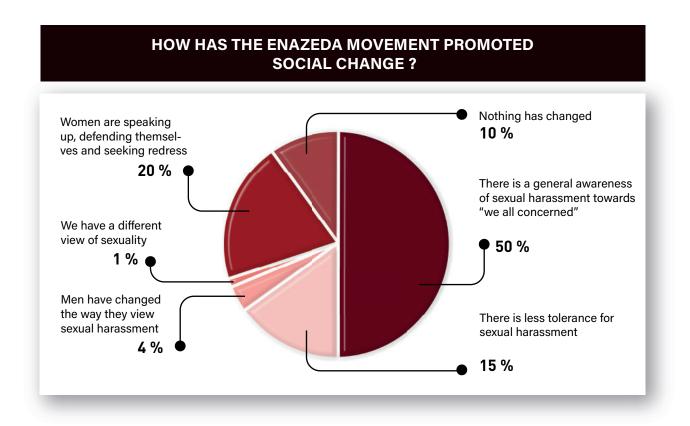
The e-survey showed that the #Enazeda campaign stimulated the social dynamics initiated by the Women's Rights movement in Tunisia, the promulgation of Law 58 and the #MeToo movement.

All this has contributed to:

• A general awareness of gender-based violence and sexual harassment (according to 50.5% of the respondents)



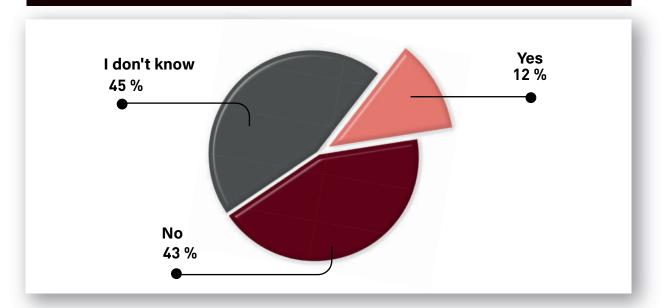
- The movement also pushed women to dare to speak out and defend themselves (according to 14.8%);
- We estimated that the #EnaZeda campaign has reduced tolerance for sexual harassment (14.85%)
- On the other hand, it has not really changed men's view on sexual harassment (4%) and even less the social outlook on sexuality (1%)



Awareness is growing; the efforts made by civil society and feminist associations to convince women to speak out, to raise awareness in public opinion and to advocate with public authorities are very real. The #EnaZeda movement has reduced sexual harassment, according to 12% of respondents, but much remains to be done, and the social dynamics that have been set in motion deserve to be strengthened.

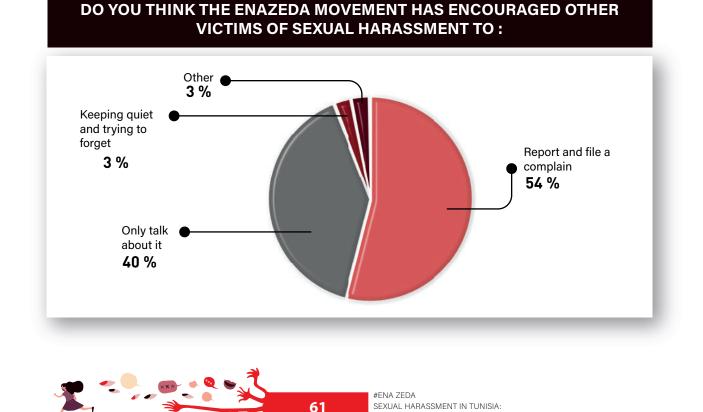


HAS THE ENAZEDA MOVEMENT REDUCED HARASSMENT?



On an individual and medium-term level, the evaluation of the #EnaZeda movement is rather positive and encouraging:

- More than half (54%) believe it has encouraged women to report sexual harassment and file complaints,
- Four out of ten say we need to talk and break the code of silence (40%).
- The dominant position of "remaining silent and seeking to forget" is defended by only a tiny minority (3%)!



FROM TABOO TO FREEDOM OF SPEECH

CONCLUSION



As was the case for other movements, the # EnaZeda movement that erupted spontaneously has not slackened. On the contrary, it has been exceptionally successful. With more than 45,000 members today, the Facebook group, which is a platform to help sustain the movement, has become a space to exchange experiences and good practices. In this group, many victims of sexual harassment and violence, mostly young women, regularly publish moving testimonies that, beyond their cathartic role, say a lot about our society, about social attitudes and representations, about the relationship between women and men, about the body and about sexuality in general.

The #EnaZeda movement, like #MeToo and others, has revealed the extent and costs of stereotypes and a culture of silence that society imposes on women in the face of gender-based violence. This is what has made some researchers say that (translated): "the consequences of this movement #MeToo can be enormous, provided that the entire veil be lifted, and not just a bit of it; pull out all the strings to rethink the issue of gender relationship, fight this status of male domination and destroy the idea of an irrepressible male desire "⁵⁰

The movement has freed speech and has also led people to rethink **the relations between women and men** by posing questions about sexual harassment and violence against women as the responsibility of all, and as an issue that questions our relations in the public and political sphere (administrations, companies, educational institutions, political spaces, etc.) and not only in the private and intimate sphere. During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown, the #EnaZeda group has been very active in helping the community as much as possible to share, exchange, popularize Law 58, inform about rape, consent, etc. Today, the Aswat Nissa association continues to collect testimonies concerning the fight against harassment and sexual violence by moving from the virtual space to the real space.⁵¹

This virtual feminist movement led by a civil society actor, the Aswat Nissa association, has had social impacts and contributed to advocacy for women's rights and equality. Numerous newspaper articles, scientific articles and books published in Tunisia bear witness to this. They show that there is a broadening of the debate on the body ⁵², on sexuality and on the intimate sphere ⁵³.

⁵³ See in particular Camille Froidevaux-Metterie, Le Corps des femmes. The Battle of the Intimate. Philosophie Magazine publisher, 2018.



⁵⁰ Françoise Héritier, Ethnologist and feminist who disappeared one month after the beginning of #MeToo excerpt from her statement during her last interview with Le Monde, on 5/11/2017)

⁵¹ In addition to its contribution to training and awareness-raising activities for units specialising in combating violence against women. Aswat Nissa is at the origin

⁵² of the initiative that pushed the municipality of Medenine to name one of the streets of the city the "Rue de la loi 58-2017". UNFPA. My body belongs to me : State of world population 2021 " The right to dispose of our bodies means that we have the power and the means to make choices, without having to fear violence or the intervention of others to decide for us. This means be able to decide if, when and with whom we wish to have sex. It means deciding for yourself if and when you want to have a child. It means being free to go to the doctor when we feel the need."

Certainly, taboos in terms of the body, sexuality and intimacy is still prevailing⁵⁴, but people no longer hesitate to talk about menstruation, menopause, physical norms, appearance, and intimacy from the lived experience of women. There is certainly a general awareness that probes us to question a reality that is difficult to understand and admit, but the impetus of the movement at the political level, its effective impact on institutions, on the judicial system and on the involvement of the authorities remain quite timid.



⁵⁴ In a country like France, one of the effects of carving room for freedom of speech, as a result of virtual feminist movements, has been an increase in women's reports of rape, which tripled between 2017 and 2018 (according to the INED VIRAGE survey and poll)

RECOMMENDATIONS



TO INSTITUTIONS:

- 1 Devote a necessary budget and human resources for the implementation of Organic Law 58-2017 on the Elimination of Violence against Women and Girls.
- 2- Ratify the Istanbul Convention (2011) which protects women against all forms of violence
- 3 Ratify ILO Convention 190 (2019) on violence and harassment at work and ensure its application by trade unions
- Promulgate a law that provides for the prevention, protection and punishment of cyber sexual harassment, considering it as a crime and an attack on the dignity of the person, and not a "private matter".
- **5** Give more importance to the issue of consent in legal texts and educational programs
- Overlop scientific studies and research on sexual violence and abuse (especially on little studied categories: adolescents, young people, students, etc.), in order to better prevent them.
- Strengthen the skills of stakeholders (Judges, special unit workers, health personnel, etc.) through knowledge and application of international standards for the protection of women and girls' victims of violence, as well as through initial and ongoing training about sexual violence, its consequences, and ways to identify and report it.
- 8 Initiate a new national survey on violence against women to measure the evolution based on in-depth and relevant quantitative and qualitative indicators.
- Improve and strengthen support services (legal, psychological, medical, etc.) and care for women and girls victims of violence and for survivors (telephone line, listening or shelter, etc.)
- Continue to inform and sensitize public opinion, women, men, children, young people on the problem of sexual harassment and sexual abuse (digital campaigns, awareness videos, debates on the national channel, educational guides, etc.)
- Promote a socialization and pedagogy that defends the rights of children and adolescents, provides them very early with information on limits not to be exceeded regarding intimacy, and instils in them mutual respect and the ability to defend themselves against sexual abuse.



TO ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS:

- **(2)** Support and assist victims to file complaints
- (B) Develop solidarity between women to encourage them to testify, react to aggression and/or file complaints
- Assist survivors of sexual harassment and violence to rebuild, overcome guilt, be autonomous and resilient
- **(**Involve more authorities, public institutions and the private sector in the fight against sexual harassment at work
- In the educational framework, propose and contribute to the establishment, of prevention and awareness programs about gender violence for students, students, teachers, and administrative staff
- Encourage/collaborate with educational institutions in sex education activities with adolescents and young people, and inform them about sexual abuse and ways to report it.
- Work with families to inform them about women's and children's rights, services and opportunities in cases of sexual violence or harassment
- Work for the improvement of, psychological care, and legal and medical follow-up, for child victims of sexual abuse, by specialized personnel.



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