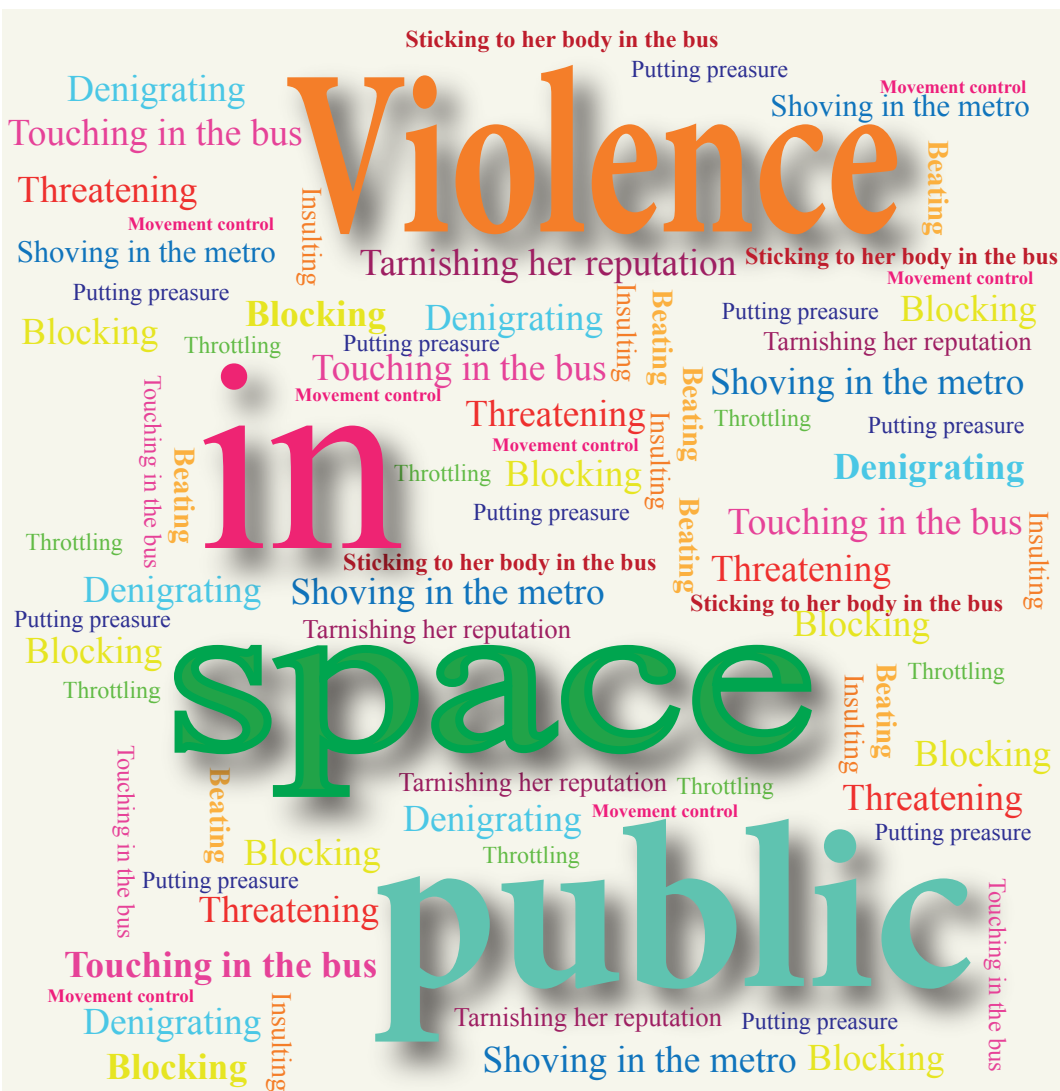


The Gender-Based Violence in public Spaces in Tunisia



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(SUMMARY)

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INTRODUCTION

In Tunisia, women have taken further several strides towards de facto equality with men at the legal level, but also less obviously, at the level of daily perceptions and practices.

With impetus of former President Habib BOURGUIBA, through the promulgation of The Personal Status Code and thanks to women's militant movements (Tunisian Association of Democratic Women, The National Union of Tunisian Women, Tunisian Women's Association for Research and Development...), Tunisian women imposed an equal status at different social levels. Girls' education, for instance, represented a national priority at the heart of the educational policy during the sixties, together with the right to work that witnessed an important progress, in comparison to other countries in the region. So, after the independence, women's integration within the social development and wealth creation were considered as a political priority.

Even though, discrimination against women remains a reality in Tunisia, similarly to what is occurring in the world¹ (for example the studies conducted by The National Board for Family and Population respectively in 2007 and 2010).

¹. <http://www.unwomen.org/fr/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures>.

Until now, studies have focused on the gender-based violence (GBV) in the private space (domestic violence, spousal violence or abuses against the intimate partner). The focus on violence in public spaces is only expressed secondarily and even still marginal.

It is within this context that the Center for Research, Studies, Documentation and Information on Women (CREDIF) carried out, with the support of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), a project of a national study on “The Gender-Based Violence in Public Spaces in Tunisia”.

In fact, this shift in focus from the private to the public is tied to the historical and political context that Tunisia witnessed since «the events for January 14, 2011»²

This study includes two key elements :

- Describing violence in the public space and specifying its size : the matter is to describe the various forms of GBV against women abused in public spaces. This description has been strengthened by a measure of GBV prevalence according to the specific target of women profile and the type of the public space. Women's access to public space, the access conditions to this space, as well as the adopted strategies.
- Understanding the secrets of these practices : this is to explore the social logic that “justifies” these practices and standardizes them. Within this context, the socially-psychological theory responds to the social perceptions (Moskovichi, 1961) and supports the approach adopted in this study.

2. «The several labels for January 14, 2011 events» reveal the current political stakes in Tunisia, Labels like revolution, rebellion, foreign powers controlling the Tunisians, December 17 and January 14 are referring to the same events.

Such study embodies, on the one hand, a national quantitative survey of the Tunisian population representative sample, on the other hand, a qualitative survey, which includes individual interviews with Tunisian women and men throughout the country, so as to deepen the quantitative survey results.

Two major activities paved the way to those two surveys :

- Organizing an intellectual debate-session on the research subject matter, with the participation of a group of researchers and representatives of civil society and public institutions.
- Qualitative survey through "Focus Groups", including seven groups with different profiles (two groups of men and five groups of women) distributed in a number of areas.

Those two activities, coupled with the United Nations Organization's definitions³, enabled us to outline the GBV indicators that are specific to Tunisia.

3. *The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women defines the term «violence against Women's as follows : «any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to Women's, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life».*

Definition of Concepts

The Gender-Based Violence :

The gender approach enables us to understand the social, cultural and historical violence against women, in turn; it shows the cultural and social criteria attributed to the biological sex. So, it is a binary classification that creates two social groups ranked according to special qualities (...). Therefore, the gender approach aims to create sexual differences, then presents them as natural, in order to reuse them later (...)⁴.

The gender skills show men's social and economic authorities and privileges as «natural» and of course are not a result of a social building. Furthermore, they sometimes assume that the concept of violence represents a natural and fundamental expression of masculinity.

Judith Butler⁵ asserts that gender belongs to a system of relations, which aim to strengthen the male's domination and demeaning alternative identities or erasing them (female and male homosexuality, heterosexuality and transgender).

Public Spaces :

The definitions of the public space are various ; they are indeed based on the space functions (spaces of exchange, kindness, civilization, debate...), also the space nature (city, countryside...). So, the definitions of the public space cover a large field and include all spaces related to «non-private», such as: real, virtual, symbolic, open, closed, large or nar-

4. Libre, 2008 p5 : *Gender, Violence and Public Spaces (in French only)*.

5. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble : Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 1990.

row, the coffeehouses, institutions, urban and rural areas, communication networks, political realm and the cyberspace.

The public space could be defined as all real or digital platforms that allow interaction outside the private spaces among different social actors, who do not necessarily know each other.

Regarding the definitions of the public space, we particularly focused on four types, namely: the transportation, educational, leisure and workplaces.

We had to make a selection, in order to identify types for those spaces. Therefore, we selected, after numerous meetings, three main spaces according to their functions:

- Transit stations: they are divided into two types: the street, because it is a crossing place, which includes houses, public institutions, shops and squares, also the means of transport, because they are crossing places and means of transportation, including different public means of transport and stations.

- Leisure spaces: places destined to leisure and recreation, such as: the coffeehouses, restaurants, hotels, festival and public parks. Along the same lines, it is taken into consideration that leisure is not available to all social classes and not an aspect of all lifestyles, but we added the term "leisure spaces" to refer to free time.

- Professional and services spaces: places that only affect women who work or have worked and related to the workplace : the coffeehouses, restaurants, and restrooms. Those spaces are entitled as semi-public places, because they enable dating. Professional spaces embody internal relationships among workers. The first group gathers relationships in public and private institutions (among co-workers, employers and employees). The second group gathers relationships among employees and citizens at services spaces (municipalities, custom services, weekly markets, trade centers and hospitals).

Selected Indicators for This Study :

We consider as violence against women (based on CEDAW definitions of violence) all social and individual behaviors that denote male domination and discrimination of women. We explored, in particular :

- Any restriction (compared to men) or discrimination in access to empowerment areas (education, vocational training, labor...).
- Any restriction (compared to men) or discrimination in access to self-fulfillment spaces, leisure and active participation in social life (participation in associative activities, trade unions, political parties, sports and web surfing).
- Any violence belonging to the following four forms of violence :
 - **Psychological** : insulting, saying unpleasant words, disparaging / humiliating, taunting others' bodies or clothes, threatening, taking the place of a person when queuing, whistling at others and following someone in the street.
 - **Sexual** : annoy, whistle, undressing in front of someone, attempt to touch / touch, doing a signal or saying words of sexual intimation, and coerce sexual relation.
 - **Physical** : slapping, assault with weapon or knife, pushing, shoving, biting, hair pulling, prevention of movement, beating, taking something by force, strangulation and attempt to murder.
 - **Economic⁶** : disparage the work of another, underpay, devalue the work of the other, put pressure on someone, humiliate the other, deprive the other's right to vacation, exploit people's labor, use blackmail, to under pay, and deprive someone from upgrade, and denigrate someone.

⁶. It is noteworthy to signal that this type of violence will be only considered in workplaces.

Quantitative Survey

Samples Selection :

Samples were identified, in cooperation with the Tunisian National Institute of Statistics, on the basis of a stratified two-stage sampling :

First Stage : 200 areas were randomly selected, distributed to 7 economic zones (Grand-Tunis, North-East, North-West, Midwest, Mideast, South-East and South-West.). Along the same lines the geographical region selected (urban or rural) was in proportion to the number of targeted peoples in those areas.

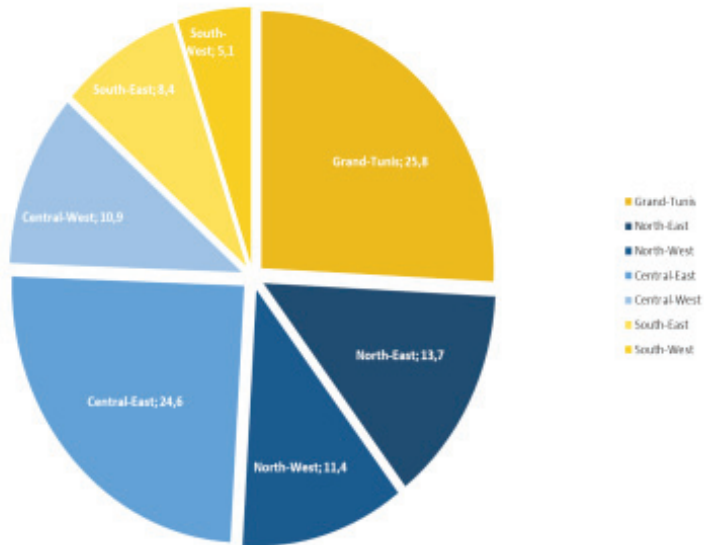
Second Stage : in all these preliminary units (clusters) questioned families were automatically selected with the same probability within the cluster, which belongs to the sample. 15 women and 5 men in every cluster, aged between 18 and 64 years, were polled.

Size and Distribution of Sample

Distribution of Staff and Subjects Percentages by Region

	Staff	Percentage	Population 2014 (INS)
Grand-Tunis	1001	25.8	23.2
North-East	531	13.7	13.9
North-West	441	11.4	11.5
Central-East	952	24.6	23.3
Central West	424	10.9	13.2
South-East	327	8.4	9.1
South-West	197	5.1	5.6
Total	3873	100.0	

Distribution of Sample by Region



The sample was then so faithful to the parent population structure (since it was closer to the population distribution by region), enabling us to talk about a representative sample.

Results

Prevalence of Violence in Public Spaces :

53.5% of women involved in the survey say that they have experienced some form of violence in a public space during the last four years (2011-2015). This figure includes women who work and those who do not work, those who travel within large cities or between cities and those that do not travel much. In other words, owing to such considerations this percentage includes women highly concerned with the public space (through their daily activities, positions and housing zones, etc.).

Prevalence of Violence in Public Spaces by Form :

Prevalence of Violence by Form

Psychological Violence	Physical Violence	Sexual Violence
78.1%	41.2%	75.4%

Prevalence of Psychological Violence : 78.1% of women respondents reported that they have experienced some form of psychological violence in public spaces.

We identified this violence by different forms : “if she was followed by walking, by moto cycle or by car”, which represents the most frequent actions (experienced by 24% of women). The second most frequent act involves 22% of women who were insulted.

Prevalence of Physical Violence : 41.2% of women respondents reported that they encountered some forms of physical violence in public spaces. “Taking something by force” is considered as the most prevalent form of violence targeting women by 33%.

Prevalence of Sexual Violence : 75.4% of women respondents reported that they have experienced sexual violence in public spaces. 23% were annoyed, 24.3% of them were disturbed more than 10 times, and then comes physical contact by 22.6%.

Prevalence of Violence against Women by Form and Housing Zone :

Among women victims of violence, we find significant differences between the three forms of violence demonstrated in different cities. Acts of violence against women differ from city to another. So those gaps are

due, neither to the sample, nor to any other gap. The following table emphasizes these gaps :

Prevalence of Violence by Form and Governorate

Governorate	Percentage of Psychological Violence	Percentage of Physical Violence	Percentage of Sexual Violence
Ariana	71.5%	43.8%	76.6%
Ben Arous	68.9%	43.7%	60.2%
Tunis	79.6%	50.0%	75.0%
Manouba	74.5%	46.9%	56.9%
Biserte	58.7%	19.4%	79.0%
Nabeul	89.0%	35.7%	87.9%
Beja	82.9%	34.3%	71.4%
Jendouba	56.4%	33.3%	69.2%
Kef	55.2%	17.2%	86.2%
Siliana	64.0%	28.0%	72.0%
Kairouan	59.3%	40.7%	70.4%
Sousse	92.1%	62.1%	85.7%
Monastir	85.2%	60.7%	85.2%
Mahdia	88.9%	22.2%	55.6%
Sfax	75.6%	26.1%	68.1%
Gabes	92.9%	24.1%	76.9%
Gafsa	50.0%	42.9%	85.7%
Sidi Bouzid	63.3%	50.0%	73.3%
Kasserine	78.6%	50.0%	61.9%
Kebili	68.4%	26.3%	89.5%
Tozeur	95.5%	22.7%	77.3%
Tataouine	81.8%	30.0%	72.7%
Mednine	89.1%	35.3%	67.3%

This table shows that the governorates of Sousse and Monastir register the highest rate of violence against women regardless of the form. In fact, there are specific rates related to some cities, such as: Le Kef, which is characterized by the lower rate of physical and psychological violence, but at the same time it is classified among the highest cities of sexual violence. While, Gabes is highly affected by psychological violence (92.9%). Kebili registered the highest rate of sexual violence against women (89.5%).

Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence in the Workplace :

58.3% of women reported that they have experienced some form of violence in the workplace. A very few number of women were abused in this area. But the question raised here is : "Do you think that Tunisian women encountered this form of violence ?"

So, the answer reveals significant rates : 37% of women believe that psychological violence occurs more than 10 times, 29.2% think that physical violence occurs more than 10 times and 34.4% believe that sexual violence occurs more than 10 times in the workplace.

Prevalence for Women Victims of Violence According to Women's Profiles :

Until now, the revealed findings are concerned with violence prevalence of the overall sample. We try to scrutinize the results analysis, in order to identify women's profiles (civil status, educational level, type of activities, etc.), who are victims of violence in terms of the gender approach.

Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence According to Woman's Civil Status :

Is violence against women in public spaces related to the civil status ? We wanted to measure the gender-based violence prevalence of each civil status, so we find that among all the surveyed fiancée women, almost 80% encountered violence in the public sphere. Then comes the single

women who up to 74.5% reported that they have experienced some form of violence in public spaces. Divorced and married women come at last rank, almost 50%.

Percentage of Women Victims of GBV in Public Spaces Linked to Their Civil Status

Civil Status	% of Women Victims of GBV Linked to Their Civil Status
Single	74.5%
Fiancée	79.9%
Married	47.3%
Widow	35.3%
Divorced	54.1%

Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence by Activity Type:

Among the surveyed students (6.3% of the overall sample), 88.5% experienced violence in public space. Among women job-seekers (5.3% of the overall sample), 81.7% experienced violence in public spaces. Then come the working women (22.1% of the overall sample), of which 67.3% said that they had encountered violence in public spaces.

While, women at home and jobless ones (respectively 65% and 1% of the overall sample) are relatively the least targeted in the spectrum of violence against women by 43% and 46.4% respectively.

Percentage of Women Abused in Public Spaces Linked to Their Principal Activity

Principal Activity	% of Women Abused in Public Spaces with Respect to Their Principal Activity
Student	88.5%
Employee	67.3%
Job-Seeker	81.7%
At Home	43%
Jobless	46.4%
Other	71.4%

Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence by Professional Status :

It seems that the cases of gender-based violence significantly differ in terms of the professional status, because these cases are not reported in the public space in an identical way. Indeed, among senior executives, 75.3% reported that they had experienced violence; 69.6% of junior executives and clerks. The female workers are in third place with a rate of 66.8%.

These results call to raise questions because women junior and senior employees who proclaim on cases of violence against them are more than women clerks or those working in the private sector. Does this translate facts, or probably due to the easiness of talking about violence among senior employees in contrast to those in the private sector ?

Perhaps what allows asking this question are taboos surrounding such phenomenon that drive the victims to keep silence so as to avoid going into this talk for fear of losing part of their freedoms.

Percentage of Women Abused in Public Spaces Linked to Their Principal Activity

Professional Status	% of Women Victims of Violence in Public Spaces by Professional Status
Senior Employee	75.3%
Junior Employee and Clerk	69.6%
Private Business	61.1%
Worker	66.8%

Prevalence of Gender-Based Violence by Level of Education :

More women achieve high education levels, more they claim to encounter violence in public spaces. Indeed, 76.4% of women with higher education reported being victims of GBV in public spaces against only 26.3% of women who have never been at school.

To explain these figures, several readings could be presented, such as: women are more likely subjected to violence from frequenting public spaces, which is a theatre of violent actions. Or the silence about the taboos on violence in the public sphere decreases gradually when reaching high levels of education.

Percentage of Women Victims of Violence in Public Spaces by Level of Education

Never Been at School	Primary	Preparatory	High	Higher
26.3%	41.0%	60.7%	65.5%	76.4%

Prevalence of Violence by Forms and Women's Profiles :

In this part we will thoroughly analyze the relation between women's features and the form of violence. In other words, is there a relation between the form of violence (psychological, sexual and physical) and women's profiles ?

Prevalence of Women Victims of Violence by Form and Civil Status :

Among women victims of violence there is a significant difference in terms of the violence form (except in relation to physical violence) and the civil status.

Percentage of Women Victims of Violence in Public Spaces by Form and Civil Status

Civil Status	Physical Violence	Psychological Violence	Sexual Violence
Single	45.3%	80.9%	87.6%
Fiancée	39.3%	82.3%	92.5%
Married	39.2%	76%	69.6%
Widow	45.3%	78.2%	50%
Divorced	52%	85%	72.5%

The female divorcees are those who are physically abused in public spaces with a rate of 52%, unmarried and widows come in the second rank with 45.3%. Psychological violence affects especially divorced women at 85% ; then the fiancée women to reach 82% and singles by 80%. Sexual violence affects primarily the fiancées women, followed by singles, nearly 88%.

These figures emphasize that among women victims of violence there are 8 singles and fiancées declare that they experienced psychological violence and almost 9 of 10 reported that they experienced sexual violence.

Prevalence of Violence by Forms and Educational Level :

We classified women abused by the form of violence and educational level. Psychological and sexual violence are committed by different ways according to women's educational level, while physical violence is not linked to it.

Percentage of Women Victims of Violence in Public Spaces by form and Educational Level

Level of Education	Physical Violence	Psychological Violence	Sexual Violence
Never Been at School	39%	73.3%	48.3%
Primary	42.1%	72.5%	63%
Preparatory	37%	76%	85.2%
High	39.9%	80.3%	79.6%
Higher	45%	82.2%	84.4%

Limited Access to Spaces of Empowerment and Social Life Participation

Access to Education

Percentage of Women and Men by Educational Level

Level of Education	Men	Women
Never Been at School	3.3%	15.9%
Primary	23.5%	29.1%
Preparatory	13.2%	10.5%
High	40.8%	25.9%
Higher	19.2%	18.6%

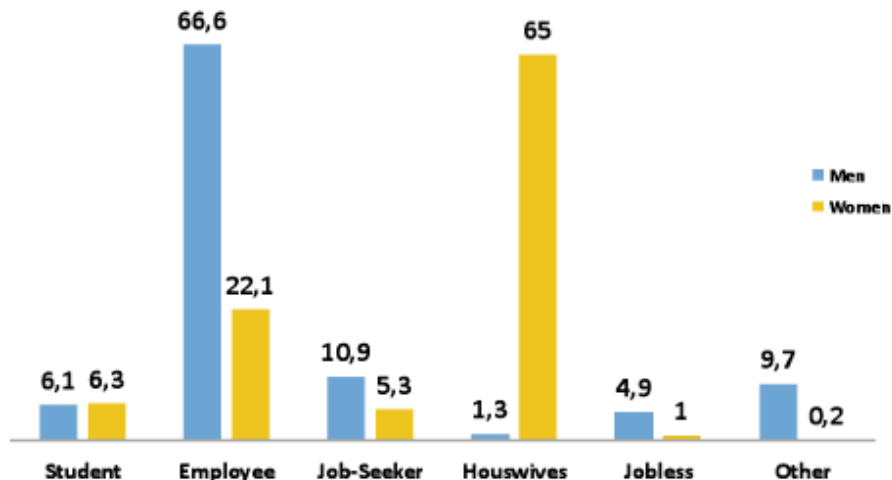
The percentage of women who have never been enrolled in school is almost 16% of the overall sample (the 2015 national average according to the INS is 25%). Among those, 45.1% did not exceed the primary level.

The situation is somewhat different for men: 3.3% only were never enrolled against 16% of women.

These differences with regard to access to education among women and men are statistically significant.

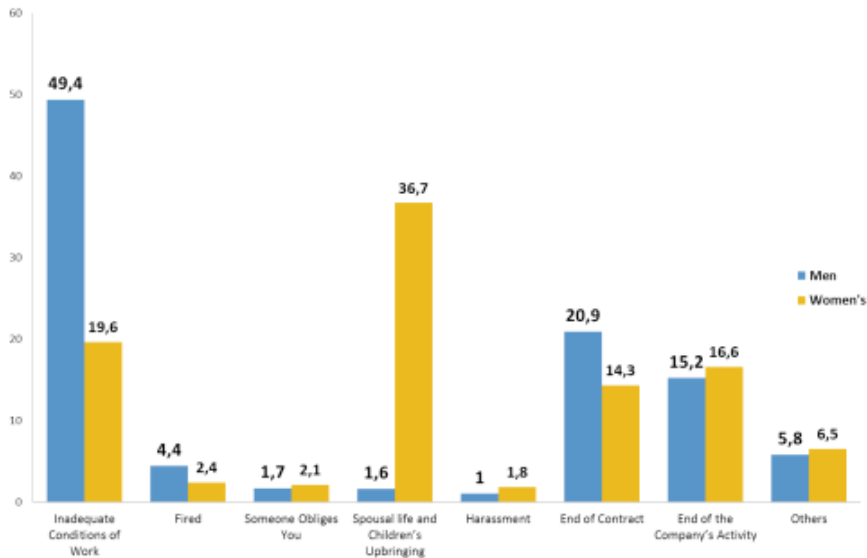
Comparison between Reasons of Women's and Men's Cessation of Work

Comparison between Reasons of Women's and Men's Cessation of Work



This figure indicates that men's and women's activities differ significantly. We discovered that 22% of women work, whereas 65% among women are housewives.

Reasons of Women's Cessation of Work at the Age of Working



The first main reason of women's working stoppage is spousal life and the children's upbringing by 36.7%. These reasons are considered as marginal according to men, so only 1.6% of them are concerned with.

The second main reason of women's working stoppage is the enterprise end of activity, while working conditions are the main reasons to stop men working.

Limited Access Requiring Special Strategy for Tunisian Women :

Exploited Spaces by Tunisian Women :

Answering the question : Where do you go when you go out ? We concluded the types of going out as declared by women : leisure activity, job, doing family-related concerns, associative, political and union activities, and family visits.

Comparison between Women and Men Declaring Going Out for Leisure Activity in Public Spaces

	% Men	% Women
Leisure Activity	48.3%	39.1%

Leisure trips represent 39.1% for Women and 48.3% for men. The means of leisure are various and include those linked to public spaces : cultural activities (theatre, cinema, festivals...), religious activities (mosque, mausoleum...), activities related to nature (traveling to mountains, seas, forests...) and sporting and touristic activities (travel and hotels).

Comparison between Women and Men Declaring Going Out for Family-Related Concerns or Healthcare in Public Spaces

	% Men	% Women
Yes	27.6%	41.3%
No	72.4%	58.6%
	100.0%	100.0%

41.3% of women declared that they go out for shopping or for performing family tasks, such as : to pick up the children from school or seek care. In contrast, only 27.6% of men are affected by this type of outgoing.

Conditioned Access to Public Spaces :

To go out, regardless of their marital status, 64% of women ask permission to a family member against 25% who declare that they do not need so. This is reflected to men as only 18.6% who ask permission against 73% who do not need to ask so.

Percentage of Women and Men Asking Permission from Family Members before Going Out

	Men	Women
Yes Always	12.1%	56.3%
Very Often	6.5%	8.2%
It Depends on the Place	8.0%	9.2%
Sometimes	7.8%	3.3%
Never	65.6%	22.9%

63% of married women require their husbands' permission to go outside, while only 17.3% of married men asking permission of their wives. In contrast, 28% of women declare that they do not need their husbands' permissions, against 74.8% of men who claim that they do not need their wives' permissions.

Percentage of Women and Men Asking Permission from the Spouse before Going Out

	Men	Women
Yes Always	12.6%	59.0%
Very Often	4.7%	4.8%
It Depends on the Place	7.8%	7.1%
Sometimes	5.1%	2.8%
Never	69.7%	26.3%

Behavioral Strategies in the Public Space :

79.2% of women are always trying not to attract attention, against 61.5% of men.

82.6% of women pretend to be busy and serious, most of the time, against 59.6% of men.

82.5% of women do not speak and laugh loudly, most of the time. Men are involved by 55%, while 29.3% of them declared that they are not involved.

Description of Perpetrators According to Spaces :

Perpetrators in the Streets

In streets, the actors of psychological, physical or sexual violence in the vast majority are unknown men (respectively 78%, 80.3% and 87.2%).

Percentage of Perpetrators in the Streets

	Psychological Violence	Physical Violence	Sexual Violence
Unknown Man	78.0%	80.3%	87.2%
Known Man	8.1%	9.2%	11.0%
Police Officer	0.6%	1.8%	0.3%
Passenger	11.9%	7.2%	1.0%
Other	1.4%	1.5%	0.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Perpetrators in Means of Transport :

Psychological violence in the means of transport are primarily committed by passengers peaking to almost 64%. It is worthy to note that these abuses are still committed to nearly 22% by the driver/cashier. Physical violence mainly committed by passengers (78%). Regarding sexual violence, 90% of women who experienced violence say that the passenger is the perpetrator; 6.6% say that the driver or the cashier is the perpetrator. While, the physical violence is mainly committed by passengers by 78%. Along the same lines, 90% of women who experienced sexual violence declare that they are primarily abused by a passenger, the driver or the cashier according to 6.6% of them.

Percentage of Perpetrators in Transportation by Violence Form and Respective Profiles

	Psychological Violence	Physical Violence	Sexual Violence
Driver/Cashier	21.6%	8.1%	6.6%
Passenger (man)	63.9%	77.9%	89.8%
Passenger (woman)	9.3%	2.9%	0.9%
Other	4.1%	8.1%	1.3%

Perpetrators in Leisure Spaces :

Only 1.1% of polled persons in leisure spaces declare sexual violence against 0.9% to psychological violence and 0.4% to physical violence.

Between 50% and 60% of women claim that the perpetrators are the customers and visitors of these areas.

It is noteworthy to signal that 10% of perpetrators are women by 9.7% of sexual violence, 9.1% of physical violence and 7.7% of psychological violence.

Perpetrators in the Workplace :

Regarding psychological violence in the workplace, the most frequent incidents of violence are «saying unpleasant words», «insulting», «ignoring», and «humiliating». Most often, it is the line manager who is the perpetrator of the violence, colleagues and customers come in the second position as emphasized by the following table :

**Percentage of Perpetrators : Psychological Violence
in the Workplace by Incident**

	Director/ General Manager	Line Manager	Colleague	Clerk	Customer
Saying unpleasant words	8.1%	30.9%	27.9%	2.2%	28.7%
Insulting	9.7%	34.0%	29.1%	2.9%	23.3%
Ignoring	8.1%	42.7%	28.2%	1.6%	18.5%
Humiliating/Denigrating	12.3%	44.3%	19.8%	1.9%	21.7%

For physical violence, the number of women victims of this type is relatively low. The perpetrators are, similar to psychological violence, the general managers, colleagues and customers.

**Percentage of Perpetrators : Physical Violence
in the Workplace by Incident**

	Director/ General Manager	Line Manager	Colleague	Clerk	Customer
Pushing/Shoving	2.5%	27.5%	37.5%	0.0%	32.5%
Throwing Something	2.6%	48.7%	25.6%	0.0%	23.1%
Blocking/Movement Control	5.0%	35.0%	25.0%	0.0%	35.0%
Taking Something by Force	12.9%	16.1%	12.9%	3.2%	54.8%
Throttling/Attempt to Kill	7.7%	38.5%	38.5%	0.0%	15.4%

Regarding sexual violence, harassment is highly affecting women in the workplace, most often, the colleagues who are responsible (43.8%). For the rest abuses, the line manager, colleagues and customers are the main perpetrators. It is noteworthy to signal that 13 women of the overall sample declare that they were raped in the workplace by 46.2% of colleagues, 30.8% of customers and 15.4% of the director or the line manager.

**Percentage of Perpetrators : Sexual Violence
in the Workplace by Incident**

	Director/ General Manager	Line Manager	Colleague	Clerk	Customer
Annoy	3.8%	21.0%	43.8%	1.9%	29.5%
Attempt to touch/touch	20.0%	40.0%	25.0%	0.0%	15.0%
Stiching to body	7.9%	34.2%	39.5%	2.6%	15.8%
Making gestures having sexual hints	5.1%	20.5%	53.8%	0.0%	20.5%
Saying words with sexual contents	5.0%	35.0%	43.3%	1.7%	15.0%
Rape	15.4%	7.7%	46.2%	0.0%	30.8%

The economic violence is the most common form that affects women more than all others.

Indeed, it is committed by the line manager, the director and the general manager. Underestimating women's work is the most common acts that are exercised by the line manager by 62.6%, the director and the general manager by 20.9%.

Percentage of Perpetrators : Economic Violence in the Workplace by Incident

	Director/ General Manager	Line Manager	Colleague	Clerk	Customer
Denigrating the Other's Work	23.5%	59.8%	10.6%	0.6%	5.6%
Under-paying	29.7%	58.3%	4.9%	0.0%	7.1%
Underestimating the Other's Work	20.9%	62.6%	10.1%	0.0%	6.4%
Putting Pressure	19.2%	67.4%	10.3%	0.0%	3.1%
Humiliating Behavior	22.2%	63.7%	11.7%	0.0%	2.3%
Depriving the other's Right to Rest	21.3%	65.4%	11.4%	0.0%	1.8%
Exploiting Other's Work	26.9%	59.4%	10.4%	0.0%	3.2%
Blackmailing	35.2%	50.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.7%
Low Income	29.4%	54.1%	6.9%	0.0%	9.6%
Depriving the other's Right to Promotion	29.3%	65.5%	4.3%	0.0%	0.9%
Tarnishing the other's Reputation	26.0%	55.2%	10.4%	0.0%	1.0%

Reactions of Tunisian Women against Violence

- **Immediate Reactions**

In short, the reaction of Tunisian women against violence in public spaces is rarely translated through direct self-defense against the perpetrator. This passive attitude is probably due to a fear of revenge. It is even stronger when violence is sexual. This phenomenon is considered as a social and

cultural taboo, that is why women do not talk about, nor reveal the perpetrator's name for fear of being revealed as victim of sexual violence taking into account the stereotypes and customs.

Percentage of Women's Reactions by Violence Form in Public Spaces

	Psychological Violence	Physical Violence	Sexual Violence
Insulting/Threatening	12.3%	19.9%	11.5%
Running/Crying	11.3%	22.9%	10.3%
Attempt to selfdefense	9.8%	9.9%	9.7%
Deciding not to do anything	61.9%	39.7%	65.7%
Other	4.6%	7.5%	2.8%

- **File a Claim**

In summary, a claim against a perpetrator in public spaces remains a marginal behavior. Sexual violence remains the most unveiled form by women. Only physical violence can relatively be denounced. Thus, it is not only domestic or spousal violence in the private space still covered.

Percentage of Women Filing Claims against Their Perpetrators by Violence Form

	Psychological Violence	Physical Violence	Sexual Violence
Yes	4.7%	17.8%	3.4%
No	95.3%	82.2%	96.6%

Women's Social Representations in Public Spaces

Finding the socially constructed meaning of women's presence in public spaces⁷ represents a pertinent insight to understand phenomena related to discrimination and violence against them.

To this end, we analyzed women's social representations in public spaces, which are based on four key factors :

First Factor : The woman is identified in the public space according to her family belonging : daughter of X or wife of Y.

Second Factor : the public space is a space of widespread sexual harassment against women.

Third Factor : Women should stay at home.

Fourth Factor : women's presence (the looklike, laugh, body and outfit) in public spaces is a source of disturbance.

Individual opinions could be classified in a different way around those four factors. In other words, women and men, often express their opinions on women's presence in public spaces based on those factors.

Thanks to a typical analysis, we could identify two groups positioned differently in regards to these factors : the first group is positioned in agreement with these factors as formulated, while the second one is in disagreement with them.

The social belonging analysis to the two groups reveals that the first group is composed of peoples aged 50 years and above, from men more than women, those who have a modest educational level (illiterate or cut-off from education) and women at home. But, the second group mainly includes people aged between 18 and 30 years having a higher education

7. *Read works of Moskovichi, 1961.*

level, also including more women than men and more senior employees than workers.

The Qualitative Survey

In order to strengthen the results of the quantitative survey, deepen and precise the unrevealed quantitative aspects, a qualitative survey was conducted in several areas and studied 23 women and 14 men. The outcomes of this survey are summarized in the following points :

- Women and men agree that public spaces witness degradation in terms of environmental hygiene and at the ethics of living in community. Verbal violence is seen as an integral part of this space, which has become less secured, since the revolution, especially for women.
- For women entertainment outside the marital or parental home is considered occasionally.
- There is no homogeneous public space in women's conception, so there are spaces of work and study, administrations, hospitals, markets, beaches, public parks and wedding places, where they are obliged to frequent.
- Women's access to public spaces contributes to the reproduction of symbolic violence in that it is not explored as their own space in the same way as men, because such space is considered as a risky place that needs conditions and justification.
- Women's conception of violence is tainted by uncertainty and turmoil, then, they are more concerned with sexual and physical violence, otherwise, they describe symbolic violence and moral harassment as normal behavior and justify them as pertaining to the man's "nature".
- In case of physical or sexual violence, usually the rescuer is the man, such as : her brother, husband, cousin, father and the neighbor, arranged by priority.

- In other cases of “private” violence, the management of GBV is the responsibility of women who must manage it through their behavior in public space and their dress style. Surveyed men confirmed such behavior.
 - Fear works for women as a lever of unequal movement in public spaces between sexes. It becomes the basis of the symbolic violence, which, in turn, is internalized by women and made as an ordinary matter.
 - Violence is perceived as a masculine feature. This represents the basis of social attribution that shows masculine strength, it has twin aspects: the man (the perpetrator) abuses unknown women; paradoxically he is, meanwhile, the rescuer of those who are related to him by kinship, neighborhood and friendship.
 - Men feel assaulted through factors linked to the environment, such as: aggression in transit stations and rubbish in streets more than gender-based violence issue.
 - No surveyed man assures that women can dress according to their willingness, due to the « oriental » society's reality, which obliges women to respect a determined behavior.
 - The concept of honor appears as worship and still in force in men's minds. So, such concept justifies that the society requires women's obligation by attitudes socially encrypted in public spaces, where they represent their brothers', fathers' and husbands' identities.
- All respondents unanimously admit the brothers', fathers' and husbands' responsibilities to protect women, because it is about the man's honor and the woman is only subordinate in this system of patriarchy. Neither her freedom, nor her identity are hers, indeed she is under the man's custody.
- The work of women has also been discussed at worst as a necessity imposed by the high cost of living, as a luxury for extra comfort for the woman. The chores are women's priorities.

- Women and men agree that the woman should adopt, in public spaces, a set of physical decency to be considered as "respectful", among them: "being covered", in addition, it is important to cover certain parts of her body, such as : the bosom, buttock, armpits, abdomen, arms and legs, at the same time, she has to avoid stretch clothes that show her charms, especially the buttock, between her thighs and her bosom.

Moreover, according to men, women's silence in the presence of men is a rule that should be respected, then, this silence is equal to clothes rules. So, the woman that " replies" at once becomes guilty and responsible of violence against her, because she did not properly learn how to ignore the man.

- We realized from all surveyed women and men, their awareness of the social feature related to all these standards. In fact, men call to fit with these rules more than to resist them. Such attitude could be justified when men as spectators not as active members of the community entrusted with a possible social change.

Everything happens as if the social life is not a constructed collectively. Hence, in men's representations, it is an external reality imposed by the fictional majority that is responsible for the entire decline in space, together with the material and visual pollution. Additionally, these attitudes show lack of confidence towards state institutions and perhaps this becomes true when they rarely advocate for the authorities in the event of an assault on women.

- All respondents are likely to prefer the remedy of the family rather than the state, the majority of the surveyed persons see that in case of physical or sexual violence, the woman should call her brother, father and neighbor.

A claim to the police station is not the first thing that comes to mind when you ask them the question on their reaction in case of aggression against women. The claim to the police is justified in their eyes in "extreme cases"

such as : rape or serious physical assaults, when woman's life is at the edge. Except those serious cases a judicial process is not an effective solution, due to difficulty to prove the assault. Also for fear of losing face, the husband or brother of the victim opts to defend the victim by acting in self-defense. Therefore, harassment in streets or in the workplaces is a matter that should be "settled only between men".

Conclusion

The relation between women and the public space remains a suspicious, conditioned and uncertain relation. Urban spaces, except for the capital, are similar to cities. The acquaintanceship defines, somewhat, the way of occupying space and the degree of its security. The common spaces (leisure spaces, means of transport and workplaces) are not considered as neutral spaces, but, they are spaces of classified groups and spaces of exclusion pursuant to the degree of belonging to the group occupying the space. Also, according to our survey, the female's presence does not indicate effective participation for self-fulfillment.

Another remark related to women's professional life reveals that women's employment rate has not developed since two decades, because it does not exceed 22.1% (see the General Census of Population respectively 1994 and 2004). Some surveyed women declared, in the qualitative survey, that their jobs only meet their financial needs and they wish to quit their jobs as soon as their family conditions would be improved.

Regarding schooling, many girls drop out from school for several reasons. Some of them said that marriage is the alternative social solution. The percentage of women who never go to school is 16% against 3.3% for men.

The Tunisian woman's image as active and emancipated one can be reconsidered, when the matter is related to power (economic, political and symbolic), presence and participation in social life. Associative and political life is linked to men (by 4.5% of active women in associations and only 2.5% of adherents in political parties).

The silence of women acts as a shared social code, a method to avoid the worst. Such a connection, shared by the majority of respondents (men and women) explains the situations in which genders daily interact.

The Woman's body is at the heart of this symbolic power struggle. The taming of the body is made on a continuous basis by controlling movements : 91.9% agree that is better for a woman not to attract attention of men by her smile or movements ; controlling access to public space: 63.5% of women require the permission of their husbands to go out; delimitation of mobility : 77.5% strongly agree on the idea that the woman is threatened when she leaves home.

Recommendations

Fighting against GBV in the public space needs to target multiple levels by acting on both : the social representations and daily practices. Then, those two levels influence one another mutually (read Claude Flament's works 2003, on Dynamics of Social Representations).

- Implementing a national policy to further ensure safety in public spaces mainly streets and transit stations : install cameras in various locations, such as : in means of transport to deter potential aggressors and provide evidence capable to encourage women to follow the legal process.
- Organizing further training sessions on gender-based violence, particularly for service providers (man-woman) in daily contact with women (ONFP, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Social Affairs, etc.).
- Organizing awareness-raising campaigns on the theme of violence against women in the public space in the media, schools and public transportation.

- Supporting areas dedicated to sports, such as : jogging track and youth centers.
- Punishing actions against uncivilized behavior, such as : throwing garbage, showing disrespect, saying obscene words, and acting indecently.