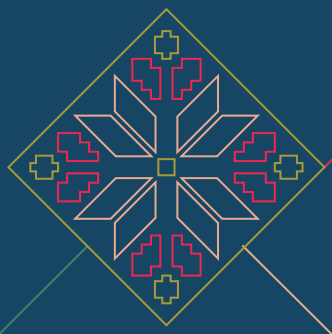
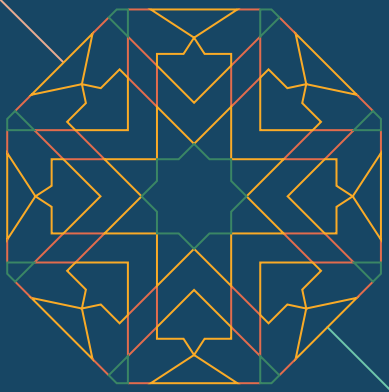
Understanding Masculinities:

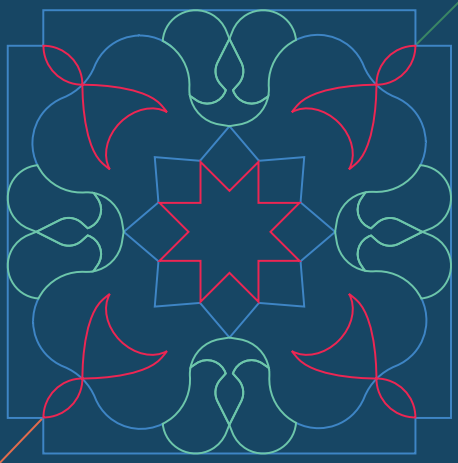
Results from the

INTERNATIONAL MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY SURVEY (IMAGES) – MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine







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About this Study

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey – Middle East and North Africa (IMAGES MENA) study includes quantitative and qualitative research with men and women aged 18 to 59 in Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine. Local research partners are: (1) *Egypt*: El-Zanaty and Associates; Social Research Center, American University in Cairo (AUC); (2) *Lebanon*: Connecting Research to Development (CRD); ABAAD; (3) *Morocco*: Association Migration Internationale (AMI); Rajaa Nadifi (independent researcher); Gaëlle Gillot (independent researcher); (4) *Palestine*: Institute of Women's Studies at Birzeit University.

The multi-country study and its dissemination were coordinated by Promundo and UN Women, under the UN Women Regional Programme *Men and Women for Gender Equality* funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), with additional support from the Arcus Foundation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands (via Prevention+), the U.S. Institute of Peace, the U.S. Department of State in partnership with Vital Voices, and the Oak Foundation.

This report presents the first round of IMAGES data collection in the MENA region that was carried out from April 2016 to March 2017. Other studies in the region are currently being planned. National reports are being produced in the four countries, further elaborating on the research findings and providing country-specific recommendations.

About IMAGES

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) is a comprehensive, multi-country study on men's realities, practices, and attitudes with regard to gender norms, gender-equality policies, household dynamics, caregiving and fatherhood, intimate partner violence, sexual diversity, health, and economic stress, among other topics. Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) created IMAGES in 2008. As of 2017, IMAGES has been carried out in more than 30 countries, including this four-country study. Additional partner studies inspired by IMAGES have been carried out in Asia by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), and other partners. IMAGES includes both women and men and is generally carried out with respondents aged 18 to 59. The survey is conducted together with qualitative research to map masculinities, contextualize the survey results, and provide detailed life histories that illuminate quantitative findings. The questionnaire is adapted to country and regional contexts, with approximately two-thirds of the questions being standard across settings. For more information, see: www.promundoglobal.org/images

Promundo

Founded in Brazil in 1997, Promundo works to promote gender equality and create a world free from violence by engaging men and boys in partnership with women and girls. Promundo's strategic partners in the United States (Promundo-US), Brazil (Instituto Promundo), Portugal (Promundo-Portugal), and Democratic Republic of the Congo (Living Peace Institute) collaborate to achieve this mission by conducting applied research that builds the knowledge base on masculinities and gender equality; developing, evaluating, and scaling up gender-transformative interventions and programmes; and carrying out national and international advocacy to promote gender equality and social justice. For more information, see: www.promundoglobal.org

UN Women

UN Women is the UN organization dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women. A global champion for women and girls, UN Women was established to accelerate progress on meeting their needs worldwide. UN Women supports UN member states as they set global standards for achieving gender equality, and works with governments and civil society to design laws, policies, programmes, and services needed to implement these standards. It stands behind women's equal participation in all aspects of life, focusing on five priority areas: increasing women's leadership and participation; ending violence against women; engaging women in all aspects of peace and security processes; enhancing women's economic empowerment; and making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting. UN Women also coordinates and promotes the UN system's work in advancing gender equality. For more information, see: www.unwomen.org

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Promundo and UN Women coordinated the study in partnership with the UN Women country offices in Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine.

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Understanding Masculinities:

Results from the

INTERNATIONAL MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY SURVEY (IMAGES) – MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

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Foreword

MOHAMMAD NACIRI

Regional Director, Arab States UN Women

There is a saying in Arabic, أول الشجرة بذرة, "a tree begins with a seed". And indeed, this study was a seed waiting to be planted. Working toward the empowerment of women in a region that is not always associated with gender equality has been one of the greatest blessings and honours of my life. I am humbled and inspired daily by the brave women and girls who defy the restrictive norms and expectations under which they live to speak up, stand up, and push forward for their rights – because that is what they do. In the face of staggering statistics – of low participation rates in economic and political life, of pervasive violence in private and public spheres alike, of tremendous societal pressure to conform to a very narrow definition of femininity – women and girls persist, counting small victories along the way.

We have seen progress. Governments in the region have pushed for equality; particularly in the last few years, they have adopted legislation to ensure equal rights, they have criminalized violence against women, and some have lifted all reservations on CEDAW. Still, the biggest obstacle of all is society: you and me and our neighbours, and the stereotypes and norms we harbour and perpetuate. We are all guilty of it, which is what makes those defiant women and girls all the more brave.

This is where the seed comes in. To break down the wall, to break through resistance to equality, we have to know it, we have to understand it, and, yes, we have to sympathize with it. This is no easy feat, and we knew it would be a challenge. Asking men and boys about their attitudes around equality? Pushing them to reflect on their own behaviour, and their role in society? As we discussed this with Promundo for the first time two years ago, and later with our other research partners, we knew we would be pushing boundaries. Not all men are perpetrators of violence or custodians of inequality, but all men – and women – must be part of creating a more just society. Our logic was simple: if we do not approach men, and give them a space in which to engage, then how can we expect them to become part of the solution?

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in the Middle East and North Africa is the most extensive comparative study of men and their views and experiences related to gender and gender equality ever undertaken in the region. Its results have shown us things we already knew but for which we did not have evidence – for example, that among many of the male respondents there is a sense of superiority, a conviction that they are entitled to protect and control their female family members.

Yet, I am hopeful. Across the four countries – Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine – we saw men and women who hold favourable views of women working outside the home. At the same time, we saw that men are less likely to be in favour of women in leadership positions – and even among women, many feel the same way.

For our work at UN Women, this report is an incredibly important tool in our programming, in our lobbying, and in our efforts to work with member states, civil society, and communities. Though the numbers alone may seem bleak, the research affirms that there are, among men and women alike, true champions who believe strongly in gender equality.

Amidst the stories of men's violence against women, we found stories of men's caregiving in the home. For every story of a man who compelled his daughter to marry against her will, there were stories of men who empowered their daughters. For every man who considered his job more important than his wife's or his sister's, we heard from men who viewed their wives' and their sisters' work as fully equal to theirs.

First and foremost, this study affirms the diversity of men in the four countries surveyed. And it is in that diversity that we see men whose attitudes and behaviour serve as models for what we need all men in the region to believe and to make possible every day: equality between women and men. Indeed, this study is a seed, and its stories will grow into a tree of hope and humanity.

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary **12**

Chapter 1: Studying Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) **22**

1.1 Background to Men and Gender Equality in the Middle East and North Africa 24

1.2 About IMAGES 26

1.3 IMAGES Questionnaire Application and Survey Design 28

Chapter 2: Methodology **30**

2.1 Overview 32

2.2 Survey Details 34

2.3 Construction of Key Variables 37

Chapter 3: Egypt **40**

Key Findings 42

Who Was Surveyed? 43

3.1 Introduction 45

3.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life 46

3.3 Childhood and Adolescence 58

3.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life 64

3.5 Conclusions 87

NGO Spotlight: Man Talk 89

Chapter 4: Morocco **90**

Key Findings 92

Who Was Surveyed? 93

4.1 Introduction 95
4.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life 96
4.3 Childhood and Adolescence 108
4.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life 114
4.5 Conclusions 141

NGO Spotlight: World of Difference 143

Chapter 5: Lebanon **144**

Key Findings 146
Who Was Surveyed? 147
5.1 Introduction 150
5.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life 153
5.3 Childhood and Adolescence 162
5.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life 166
5.5 Conclusions 191

NGO Spotlight: Masculinities Work in Action in Lebanon 193

Chapter 6: Palestine **196**

Key Findings 198
Who Was Surveyed? 200
6.1 Introduction 202
6.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life 205
6.3 Childhood and Adolescence 216
6.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life 220
6.5 Conclusions 251

NGO Spotlight: Together for Change 253

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations **254**

7.1 Conclusions 256
7.2 Recommendations 265

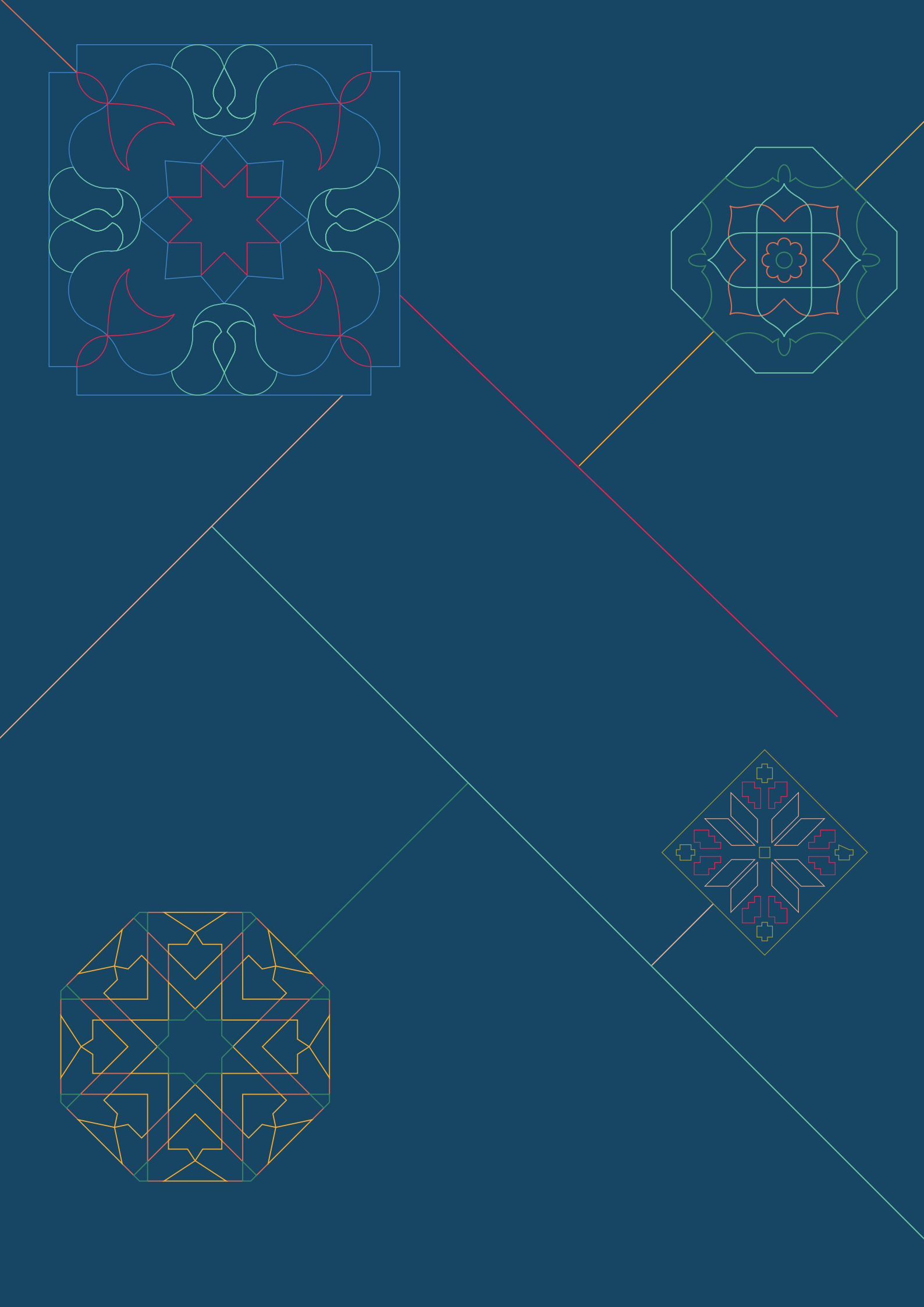
References **272**

Appendix A: Research on Masculinities in IMAGES MENA Countries **280**

Acronyms

AFEMENA	The Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality, Middle East and North Africa
AMI	Association Migration Internationale
AUB	American University of Beirut
AUC	American University in Cairo
CAPMAS	Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CES-D Scale	Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale
CRD	Connecting Research to Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
FGD	Focus group discussion
FGM	Female genital mutilation
GBV	Gender-based violence
GEM Scale	Gender Equitable Men Scale
GEQ	Gender Equality and Quality of Life Survey
HCP	Haut Commissariat au Plan
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IDI	In-depth interview
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IPV	Intimate partner violence

IRB	Institutional review board
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IUD	Intrauterine device
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PSU	Primary sampling unit
P4P	Partners for Prevention
QdM	Quartiers du Monde (Neighbourhoods of the World)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SRH	Sexual and reproductive health
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN ESCWA	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNWRA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
WHO	World Health Organization



Executive Summary

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey – Middle East and North Africa (IMAGES MENA) is the first study of its kind in the MENA region to take a wide-angle, comparative lens to the lives of men – as sons and husbands and fathers, at home and at work, in public and private life – to better understand how they see their positions as men, and their attitudes and actions toward gender equality. Equally important, IMAGES provides women's perspectives on these same issues. Its wealth of quantitative and qualitative findings (a portion of which are included in this report, and are also presented in greater detail in separately published companion country reports) complements a growing body of research on men and masculinities in the MENA region.

The results of IMAGES MENA cut through the stereotypes and prejudices that too often obscure the complexity of dynamic gender identities and relations in the region. The four countries included in this first phase of IMAGES MENA – Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine – are diverse, each presenting a particular political, economic, and social context that is central to the country-specific analyses presented in the multi-country report. The study results are strengthened by this diversity, and they show a rich variety, both across and within countries, of men's and women's perspectives on the ways in which gender roles and women's rights are changing in their own lives and in the wider world around them.

A majority of the men surveyed in the four countries support a wide array of inequitable, traditional attitudes. However, a sizeable minority – a quarter or more of the men surveyed in every country – show support for at least some dimensions of women's equality and empowerment. These men question violence against women, agree with certain laws that safeguard women's rights, support women in leadership positions, and often want to spend more time caring for their children. Many men who were interviewed, and many women as well, showed a mixture of equitable and inequitable attitudes and practices. However, too many men in the region continue to uphold norms that perpetuate violence against women or confine women to conventional roles, and they act on these attitudes in ways that cause harm to women, children, and themselves. There is a long and winding road that must be travelled before most men – and many women, too – reach full acceptance of gender equality in all domains.

With all the challenges, though, the pathways to progress are increasingly clear. IMAGES MENA's qualitative research showcases men and women who break the mould. While men's inequitable attitudes and practices prevail across the four countries, it is clear from this research that there are also individual men and women – from the elite to the most marginalized – whose life experiences show that gender equality is possible. Indeed, their voices affirm that gender equality is not a "foreign import", but rather can emerge from the societies themselves, given the right circumstances.

The following are key findings of the study, listed by major theme:

CRACKS IN THE ARMOUR: GENDER NORMS AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

A majority of men interviewed in the four countries support mostly inequitable views when it comes to women's roles. For example, two-thirds to more than three-quarters of men support the notion that a woman's most important role is to care for the household. Women often internalize these same inequitable views: about half or more of women

across the four countries support the same idea. In addition, strong majorities of men believe it is their role to monitor and control the movements of the women and girls in their households, a practice most men recalled starting in childhood. In some countries, majorities of women not only affirm but also appear to accept male guardianship; in others, they challenge the idea, in theory if not in practice.

The MENA region has some of the lowest rates of women's economic participation in the world. Given economic instability in the region in recent years, and high unemployment rates among youth (those aged 15 to 25), it is not surprising that three-quarters or more of men in the four countries, and women at nearly the same rates, support the priority of men's access to jobs over women's. Women are still widely defined – by men and women alike – as wives and mothers first, rather than by professional or workplace achievements.

Yet, there are cracks in the armour. Across the countries surveyed, about half of men – or fewer – believed a married woman should have the same right to work as a man. At the same time, a majority of men in all four countries would accept a woman as a boss, and were willing to work in gender-integrated workplaces. Much of this acceptance is theoretical, however; what emerges is that many men in the region support women working outside the home – as long, it seems, as he is still the main breadwinner and she is still the main caregiver and organizer of domestic life.

Which men were more likely to support gender equality? Generally, men with greater wealth, with higher education, whose mothers had more education, and whose fathers carried out traditionally feminine household tasks are more likely to hold gender-equitable attitudes. In Egypt and Morocco, men from urban areas had slightly more equitable attitudes. In Palestine, Egypt, and Morocco, there was little difference between younger and older men on gender attitudes, although in Lebanon younger men had slightly more equitable views.

In nearly every other country where IMAGES has been carried out (in other regions of the world), younger men have consistently shown more equitable attitudes and key practices than their older counterparts; in three of the four countries included in IMAGES MENA, this was not the case. In other words, in Morocco, Palestine, and Egypt, younger men's views on gender equality do not differ substantially from those of older men. Why are younger men in the IMAGES MENA countries not showing the same movement toward supporting women's equality as younger men in many other parts of the world? The reasons are multiple and dependent on the specific country context. Many young men in these three countries report difficulties finding a job, and as such, they struggle to achieve the socially recognized sense of a man as financial provider. This struggle may be producing a backlash against gender equality. Young men's inequitable views may also be a result of a general climate of religious conservatism under which the younger generation has come of age. While other research in the region has noted similar trends and posited similar drivers, further study is necessary to explore this phenomenon.

If young men's views are not leading the way to gender-equitable views in the majority of the countries studied, what factors are? Education emerges as key for both men and women. As with men, women with more education, with more educated mothers, and whose fathers carried out more traditionally feminine tasks in their childhood homes were generally more likely to have equitable views. Unlike men, however, younger women in every country held more equitable views than their older counterparts. The conclusion that

emerges is that younger women in the region are yearning for more equality, but their male peers fail to share or support such aspirations. This tension between the sexes plays out in public and private spaces across the countries of study, with important country-by-country variations.

CYCLES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

As other studies have shown, experiences of gender-based violence, particularly intimate partner violence and sexual harassment in the streets, are common for women across the region. All told, across the four countries, around 10 per cent to 45 per cent of ever-married men reported ever having used physical violence against a female partner, with approximately equal numbers of women affirming they had experienced this violence. Equally harmful to women's lives are high rates of emotional violence: between 20 per cent and 80 per cent of men reported ever having perpetrated some form of emotional violence against their wives. In all four countries, as seen in other parts of the world, men who witnessed their fathers using violence against their mothers, and men who experienced some form of violence at home as children, were significantly more likely to report perpetrating intimate partner violence in their adult relationships.

The roots of gender-based violence, as in other parts of the world, are found in women's limited power, in violence-supportive attitudes, and in highly violent childhoods. In all four countries, half to three-quarters of the men reported having experienced physical violence in their homes growing up, and two-thirds or more reported having experienced physical violence by teachers or peers in school. In all four countries, women had also experienced these forms of physical violence, but at lower rates than had men.

The violence men and women experienced as children turns into violence against their own children. Across all four countries, 29 per cent to 50 per cent of men and 40 per cent to 80 per cent of women reported using some form of physical punishment or other forms of violence against their own children. Women's higher rates of physical punishment against children are clearly a function of the fact that women carry out the majority of the caregiving. Violence against children is also gendered: in most countries, fathers tend to use more physical punishment against sons.

The other most prevalent form of gender-based violence in the region is street-based sexual harassment, mainly sexual comments, stalking/following, or staring/ogling. Between 31 per cent and 64 per cent of men said they had ever carried out such acts, while 40 per cent to 60 per cent of women said they had ever experienced it. When asked why they carried out such violence, the vast majority of men – up to 90 per cent in some countries – said they did it for fun, with two-thirds to three-quarters blaming women for dressing "provocatively".

Younger men, men with more education, and men who experienced violence as children are more likely to engage in street sexual harassment. More educated women and those in urban areas were more likely to report that they had experienced such violence. This finding, that more educated men are more likely to have sexually harassed (with the highest rate found among men with secondary education, in three of the four countries) – and that more educated women are more likely to have experienced sexual harassment – is one that deserves more research.

WHO IS IN CONTROL? HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING

Consistently, women and men in all four countries reported that men make most of the major household decisions, although, on the whole, men reported greater say in such matters than women acknowledged. Compared with men, women consistently reported less control over their decision to marry the person they wanted, when they wanted, with fathers having the final say in most cases. While men may have more autonomy when it comes to choosing a mate, they also reported feeling considerable pressure to cover the escalating costs of marriage and to provide for their families, in an era of rising unemployment.

Men expect to control their wives' personal freedoms, from what they wear and where they go to when the couple has sex. Two-thirds to 90 per cent of men reported exercising these various forms of control, with women affirming that their husbands sought to control them in these ways.

FATHERHOOD, DOMESTIC CHORES, AND CAREGIVING

When it comes to housework and childcare, attitudes translate into action – or the lack of it. The vast majority of the daily care of children and other household tasks are carried out by women, in all four countries. Just one-tenth to one-third of men reported having recently carried out a more conventionally female task in their home, such as preparing food, cleaning, or bathing children. In all four countries, men whose fathers had participated in traditionally feminine household work, as well as men who were taught to do this work as children, were far more likely to report contributing in this way within their own marriages.

In two countries – Egypt and Lebanon – women working outside the home may be a driver of men's greater participation in daily chores and caregiving. Among the small percentage of men in Egypt (10 per cent) whose spouses are working full time, 45 per cent reported participating in domestic work, far higher than men whose wives do not work. Similarly, in Lebanon, men with wives working full time reported doing more of the housework. It may be that men whose wives work were already predisposed to more equitable views (by agreeing to their spouses working), or it may be that women working outside the home pushes men to take on more care work. Whatever the case, even when men who are married to women who work outside the home do more of the housework, working women continue to face a double burden.

Still, there are encouraging trends when it comes to fatherhood. More than 70 per cent of men in all the countries reported going for at least some prenatal visits with a pregnant wife (although that male participation may reflect a degree of male control and male guardianship, as well as concern and caregiving). In all of the countries surveyed, half or more of the men said that their work takes time away from being with their children. In addition, around two-fifths or more of men in all four countries reported talking with their children about important personal matters in their lives; this points to an emotional intimacy not always associated with masculine behaviour. This suggests that fatherhood may offer a pathway for engaging men in the region in their children's lives in more positive, equitable, and non-violent ways, and, ultimately, in gender equality.

GENDERED HEALTH VULNERABILITIES AND WELL-BEING

In addition to gender relations, family dynamics, and gender-based violence, IMAGES includes questions on specific health issues, and compares men's and women's different health vulnerabilities. Across all four countries, the majority of men (two-thirds to three-quarters) reported that their health is better than that of other men their own age; for women, this was between one-half and two-thirds. In all four countries, upwards of one-quarter of men smoke, making it one of the leading contributors to the burden of disease in the region, with implications for men themselves and for women who care for them. Up to two-thirds of men who smoke think they smoke too much, and up to one-half of those who smoke said they have ever had a smoking-related health problem.

Men and women were both likely to show signs of depression. From 35 per cent to 52 per cent of women met a screening standard for depressive symptoms, as well as 26 per cent to 38 per cent of men. The effects of conflict and unemployment were frequently cited as reasons for, or aggravating factors in, depressive symptoms among men. Syrian refugee women and men in Lebanon alike reported that men, in particular, felt a sense of lost masculine identity as a result of the conflict and displacement. At least part of this mental stress was a result of men not being able to fulfil their socially prescribed role as financial provider. For example, the majority of men in Palestine reported being frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work or income. In Lebanon, some 37 per cent of Syrian refugee men said they had given up looking for work, alongside high rates of reported work stress and depressive symptoms among the Lebanese population as well. All told, one-fifth to one-half of men in the four sites reported being ashamed to face their families because of lack of work or income.

In sum, the results point to high levels of stress and prevalent mental health concerns among men and women, with specific gendered patterns. In most of the countries, the results show that a significant proportion of men are under enormous pressure (mostly economic), with little recourse to formal healthcare, including mental health services, particularly for smoking and substance use.

PUBLIC (IN)SECURITY AND ITS EFFECTS ON GENDER RELATIONS

Reflecting the realities in the region, particularly in the countries affected by conflict and displacement, IMAGES MENA includes questions on public security and the effects of conflict, examining the specific ways in which these affect women, men, and gender relations.

In all four countries, roughly equal numbers of men and women show high levels of fear for their family's well-being and safety, and for their own. Across countries, at least half of both men and women respondents reported such fears.

In Palestine, 65 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women reported one or more of 12 forms of occupation-related violence and other experiences within the past five years. The past few years have seen an escalation of occupation-related violence against Palestinians, in particular during the 2012 and 2014 Israeli wars against the Gaza Strip. When asked about their own occupation-related violence and experiences, respondents shared many direct ways in which the occupation had affected their lives. Men were more

likely than women to report having lost land; having been harassed, detained, or injured by soldiers or settlers; having difficulty accessing health services; and having lost work or educational opportunities due to the occupation.

In Lebanon, Syrian refugee men were between two and three times more likely than Lebanese men to report that they had ever been arrested, imprisoned, or detained by police, or to have experienced some form of physical violence in public spaces (either in their home country or elsewhere). Qualitative research findings with both Syrian refugees and Lebanese-born men suggest that financial hardship, conflict-related displacement, and unemployment play a role in men's use of violence against their wives and children.

Men in the four countries are often on the move, within or outside their own country, by choice or compelled by difficult life circumstances. In total, between 7 and 26 per cent of men in all four countries reported ever having migrated, either in their own country or abroad, to work, study, or live for at least six months. While conflict-related displacement is different from choosing to migrate for work or study, men's mobility has substantial effects on household relations regardless of the reason for it.

One result of migration for work, conflict-related displacement, or imprisonment – albeit in different ways – is that women in these circumstances, while their husbands are away, often take on new roles outside the home, and in the home a greater role in household decision-making. In the qualitative interviews, among conflict-affected respondents, it emerged that men were no longer able to provide financially (whether partially or fully) during the conflict or conflict-related displacement, and that women had had to take on the role of provider. In some cases, this is because women, being less likely to be arrested or harassed by security forces, had greater freedom of movement, and men had become dependent on them.

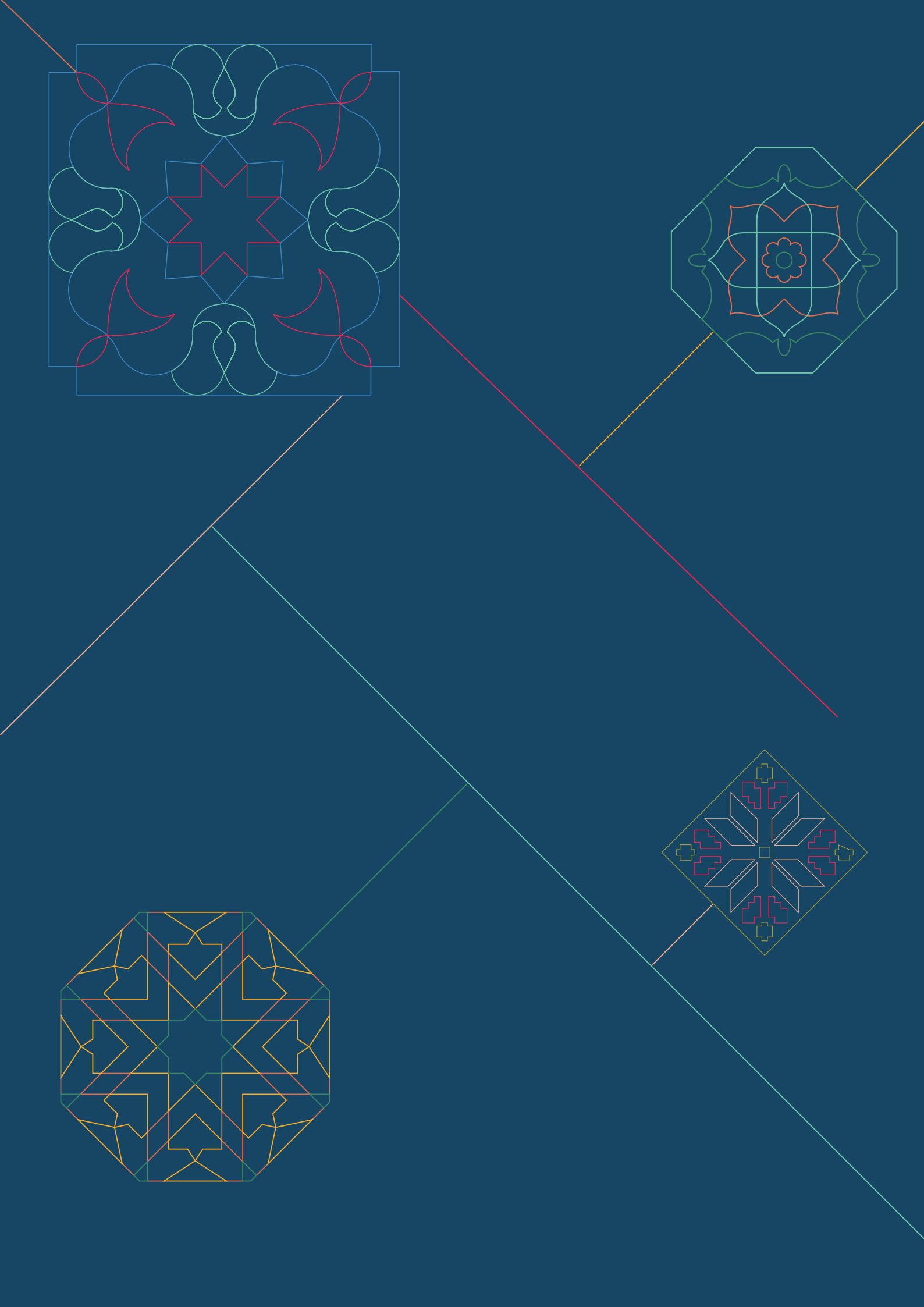
PATHWAYS TO GENDER EQUALITY: WHAT LEADS SOME MEN TO BE MORE EQUITABLE?

Across the four countries, around half of the men and a somewhat similar proportion of the women agreed that gender equality is not part of their traditions or culture. At the same time, men, and particularly women, hold many gender-equitable positions and are supportive of certain policies and laws enshrining equality for women in their countries.

What may drive gender equality ahead in the region? As part of the study, the research teams carried out qualitative interviews with "more empowered" women and "more equitable" men (identified via contacts from the community and from nongovernmental organizations, and defined as men who displayed more equitable views and practices than did most men in their social context, and women who were in leadership positions or professions that were traditionally male). The results of these interviews suggest the importance of life histories and family influence, as well as circumstance: some men had had to take on more caregiving because they had lost work due to displacement, conflict, or the job market. Other men had come to see their wives as strong and capable after they (the men) had spent time away from home, either migrating for work, or, in the case of Palestine, as political prisoners.

Family role models matter: having fathers who encouraged daughters to take on non-traditional professions or to work outside the home, or who allowed daughters to choose their husbands, seems to contribute to the emergence of more "empowered women". In some countries, among men, having more equitable and involved fathers or life circumstances that forced men to take on new household roles were the drivers of more equitable attitudes and practices. It is with these men “bucking the trend”, with the sizeable minority of men who already believe in equality, and with young women’s yearning for an equal playing field that movement toward greater gender equality may take hold and gradually ripple through ever-wider circles of men and women. Other men talked about how they came to understand the problem of gender injustice from their work, or from messages they had seen in the media.

The qualitative interviews yielded stories of tenderness, of deep caring and caregiving by men, and of men who supported daughters to make their own decisions about marriage. They yielded the stories of men in Palestine who had been imprisoned by Israeli security forces and who came to see the ability of their wives to manage the household and work while they were away, or who anguished over being able to leave prison in time to be with their wife when their child was born. There were interviews with Syrian refugee men, who struggled with their loss of status from no longer being providers, and who felt emasculated at having to depend both on humanitarian aid and on their wives – some of these men came to accept this new gender order; with men in Egypt, who supported their wives’ education and work; and with men in Morocco, who argued passionately for a level playing field between the sexes as a reflection of a just society. They are not the majority of men, to be sure, but they are key to a better future for women and men alike.



Chapter 1

Studying Men, Masculinities, and Gender Equality in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

This report presents results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey – Middle East and North Africa (IMAGES MENA), conducted in four countries: Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine. This multi-country summary, which brings together the quantitative and qualitative results for each country, is complemented by individual country reports, to be published separately.

1.1 – BACKGROUND TO MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

There has been significant policy and civil society attention to the rights and conditions of women and girls in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region in recent years. In contrast, there has been relatively limited research on men's attitudes and practices in terms of their partner relationships and their perspectives on gender equality.[1] As seen in this study and many others, men frequently dominate or control household decision-making, political and leadership spaces, and the daily lives of women and girls, yet relatively little of a systematic nature is known about how men perceive their attitudes and practices on such issues.

IMAGES MENA has been designed and conducted to help fill this knowledge gap. Specifically, the study seeks to provide insights into the following questions: Where are men in terms of gender equality in the MENA region? How are men of all ages, and younger men compared to older men, reacting to the gradual but significant efforts to improve the position of women and girls in the region? How are ideas about masculinity affected by political and economic stresses, and by the impact of the Arab Spring? In short, what does it mean to be a man in the Middle East and North Africa in 2017, and beyond?

Considerable advances have been made in the status of women in most parts of North Africa and the Middle East in the two decades since the landmark Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in 1995. Health indicators, including female life expectancy and maternal mortality (as well as under-five mortality), have improved notably in many countries. Female literacy has risen substantially, and in some parts of the region, women now exceed men in terms of attendance, as well as performance, in secondary and post-secondary education.[2] The vast majority of countries in the region have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and female political participation, at the ballot box and in government, has grown in several countries since the Arab uprisings.

Yet, these and other gains are matched by formidable hurdles and setbacks. At a regional average of 25 per cent, female labour force participation (referring mostly to formal sector employment) in MENA remains amongst the lowest in the Global South.[3] Women in paid work find their wages routinely lagging behind those of their male peers, along with their access to financial networks and resources. Rural, poor, migrant, and marginalized populations of women remain at a considerable disadvantage in terms of equal access to health, education, and other services and institutions. While gender equality is enshrined

1. For UN Women definitions of gender equality and various gender-related terms that are also in this report, see United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). (2014). *Gender Mainstreaming in Development Programming*. New York: UN Women.

2. World Bank. (2008). *The Road Not Traveled: Education Reform in the Middle East and North Africa*. MENA Development Report. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.

3. Jung, et al. (2016). *Against Wind and Tides: A Review of the Status of Women and Gender Equality in the Arab Region 20 Years after the Adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. New York: The Center for Women (ECW) at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA).

in constitutions across the region, laws on the books – and in practice – in most countries offer greater rights and freedoms to men than to women, a position reflected in various countries' reservations to CEDAW based on conservative interpretations of *shari'a*.[4] Opinion polls show that both sexes hold patriarchal views of the "rightful" roles and capacities of women.[5] Gender-based violence is still widespread, with growing research revealing substantial rates of sexual harassment in public spaces, workplaces, and schools, and, as seen in the results that follow in the country chapters (and in the separately published country reports), a high prevalence of domestic and intimate partner violence (IPV). The ongoing and lingering effects of armed conflict in parts of the region, and consequent migration, further jeopardize women's welfare.

Against this backdrop, gender relations in the Middle East and North Africa remain a topic of heated debate, all the more so with the political, economic, and social upheaval and conflict of recent years. But gender, as conventionally defined in the region, has distinctly female features: the vast majority of academic research, government policies and programmes, and civil society interventions are focused on women. Little research has looked at how men view gender equality, how their perspectives on gender relations are affected by conflict and social upheaval in the region, and what pathways toward gender-equitable attitudes and practices might be possible for men in the current context of the region. (For an overview of existing research on masculinities in the Arab region, see Appendix A: Research on Masculinities in IMAGES MENA Countries.) Nor is much data available on the impact of political, economic, and social shifts on men's view of their own place in their families and communities; nor on how these forces shape their own identities as men and their relations with others; nor on the ways in which these issues differ among the generations. These attitudes and practices have a direct impact on the lives and well-being of women and girls, as reflected in substantial rates of gender-based violence, amongst other challenges.

Understanding masculinities and men's views of gender equality in the MENA region also requires attention to men's gender-specific realities. Youth[6] unemployment rates in the MENA region are among the highest in the world – in excess of 20 per cent for young men in many countries and even higher for young women.[7] For young men in the region, social pressure to realize the "provider" model of manhood is a frequent source of tension. In a region where male employment is often a prerequisite for marriage, unemployment and poverty are often felt as emasculating. Although some women are providers for their households – mostly through work in the informal sector – many, and particularly younger women, lack access to jobs in the formal sector, which contributes to limitations on their physical, social, economic, and political mobility. Numerous studies, including nationally representative surveys, have found widespread frustration, marginalization, and alienation from social and political institutions, with profound implications for young men and young women alike.[8]

4. A number of Arab states maintain reservations to several CEDAW provisions, among them Article 2 (on discrimination against women); Article 9 (nationality rights); Article 15 (equality in law); Article 16 (equality in marriage and family relations).

5. World Values Survey. (2010-2014). *Wave 6: Official Aggregate v.20150418*. Madrid: World Values Survey Association.

6. Here "youth" refers to the definition used by the International Labour Organization as individuals aged 15-25.

7. United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UN ESCWA). (2016). *Social Policy Brief 8: Unemployment of Young Women in the Arab Region: Causes and Interventions.* Beirut: UN ESCWA.

8. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS). (2016). *Arab Human Development Report: Youth and the Prospects for Human Development in a Changing Reality.* New York: UNPD and RBAS.

Ongoing conflicts and their consequences in the MENA region bring distinct challenges for specific groups of men and for gender relations. The MENA region is home to nearly half of the world's internally displaced people and 57.5 per cent of all refugees in the world.[9] This includes Palestinian refugees, whose displacement is the result of one of the most protracted occupations in recent history. In the region as a whole, between 2000 and 2015, the number of armed conflicts and violent crises increased from 4 to 11. To give an indication of the impact of these conflicts on daily life, the Syrian economy has shrunk by an estimated 40 per cent since fighting broke out in 2011 – affecting young men's ability to find legal employment. Three in every four people in Syria are now living in poverty.[10]

The Syrian conflict has been a major driver of migration in the MENA region, to Europe and other parts of the world. Men, many of whom are from Syria, make up almost two-thirds of the refugees who have arrived in Europe since the start of 2015, and the majority are young and unmarried.[11] Attention to Syrian refugee men has often focused on their supposed risk to Europe and the United States, or on the relatively small number who have joined ISIS or other armed groups. And, while there has been considerable focus on the needs of refugee women, fewer studies have looked at refugee men's vulnerabilities.[12]

With migration from the MENA region to Europe, the United States, and elsewhere, as well as ISIS-inspired or -supported terrorist attacks in Europe and the United States, Muslim (and mainly Muslim Arab) men are seen, in certain quarters, as inherently violent or dangerous. Dramatic incidents of sexual violence – from gang rapes in Tahrir Square during Egypt's 2011 revolution to the 2016 allegations of mass sexual assault in Cologne and other European cities – have succeeded in "othering" Arab men, particularly single young men, as woman-hating sexual predators.[13] Many refugee-receiving countries have specific policies barring or raising obstacles to the entrance of unmarried men from the MENA region, and are more likely to admit families, women and children, unaccompanied minors, and married men.

In sum, to advance women's empowerment in the region and to provide a more nuanced view of men in the Middle East and North Africa, IMAGES provides much needed data and insight on men, masculinities, and gender equality in the Arab region. This study looks at four countries, chosen in part to reflect the diversity of the region, and includes conflict-affected areas. In spite of the limits of its geographical scope, IMAGES MENA offers key snapshots of the diversity of men, women, and gender relations in the MENA region.

1.2 – ABOUT IMAGES

IMAGES, created in 2008 by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), is a multi-year, multi-country effort to build the evidence base for the

9. UNDP and RBAS, *Arab Human Development Report*, 2016.

10. The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP). (2015). *Updated overview: 2015 Syria Response Plan and 2015-2016 Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan*. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

11. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) Operational Portal: Refugee Situations. *Mediterranean Situation*.

12. One of the few studies looking specifically at the situation of male refugees in the region is: International Rescue Committee (IRC). (2015). *Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugee Men in Lebanon From Harm to Home: Investigating protection gaps, needs and responses relevant to single and working Syrian refugee men in Lebanon*. Washington, D.C.: IRC, Asfari Foundation, and The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR).

13. A few examples of the academic literature on the "othering" of Muslim and Middle Eastern men and male refugees include: Griffiths, Melanie. (2013). ""Here, Man is Nothing!" Gender and Policy in an Asylum Context." *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 18, no. 4., doi: 10.1177/1097184X15575111. See also Charsley, Katherine, and Helena E. Wray. (2015). "The Invisible (Migrant) Man." *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 18, no. 4., doi: 10.1177/1097184X15575109.

ways in which public institutions and policies might be changed to better foster gender equality and to raise awareness, among policymakers and programme planners, of the need to involve men in health, development, and gender equality issues. It includes a questionnaire for men and for women and has both a core set of questions and new questions that are adapted in each country or region to include key and emerging, context-specific issues in gender equality, gender relations, and women's empowerment.

As of 2017, IMAGES and IMAGES-inspired studies have been carried out in more than 30 countries. IMAGES served as the basis for household surveys carried out by Partners for Prevention (P4P, the UN joint programme on engaging men in ending violence against women) and other UN agencies on men, gender, and gender-based violence. IMAGES was inspired in part by the *Gender Equality and Quality of Life* survey (GEQ) carried out in Norway in 2006. The IMAGES questionnaire was designed to include questions addressing the major issues relevant to gender relations, with an emphasis on men and women in heterosexual-partnered relations, as well as the gendered vulnerabilities of men and women.[14] Specific topics include:

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

The overall research questions that inspired IMAGES include:

- In light of the gains in and challenges to women's rights and empowerment in the region, **what are men's attitudes and practices in relation to women?** How do these compare to women's attitudes and practices? Are men internalizing the messages and policies calling for greater equality for girls and women in education, income and work, political participation, and health?
- **How do women perceive men's response to gender equality** and women's empowerment and rights? What are remaining barriers to women's empowerment?
- **What are men's attitudes and practices related to their own health and interpersonal relationships?** How much are men participating in the care of children and other domestic activities? How do men's care practices compare to women's?
- How common is **men's use of intimate partner violence and other forms of violence, including street and workplace sexual harassment?** What factors are associated with this violence? What do men think about existing laws on gender-based violence and other policies designed to promote gender equality?

14. While the IMAGES questionnaire is primarily designed to assess partner relations among men and women who are in heterosexual intimate partnerships, it also asks about same-sex relationships when local contexts permit, and asks about attitudes toward sexual minorities, understanding homophobia as a key component of how masculinities are socially constructed. In some settings, separate qualitative or "nested" studies have been included to focus on the realities of sexual minorities.

- **Are men's own lives improving as they embrace gender equality** and take on more equitable, flexible, and non-violent versions of masculinity?

The conceptual or theoretical framework for IMAGES emerges from the social constructionist approach to gender and gender relations. This approach posits that norms, attitudes, and practices related to gender are reinforced in families, social institutions, the media, and national laws and policies, and are internalized by girls and boys, women and men. IMAGES is also informed by a life-cycle approach, the idea that gender norms, in part, are internalized from childhood experiences and evolve over the course of a life through interactions with key social institutions and relationships. Accordingly, the IMAGES conceptual framework is constructed to assess the relationships between attitudes, childhood experiences and relationship factors, and current relationship practices and life outcomes. Multivariate and bivariate analyses look at these associations, which are further explored in the accompanying qualitative research.

The gender attitude questions that are employed include those from the Gender Equitable Men Scale (GEM Scale),[15] which assesses men's and women's beliefs toward a set of equitable or inequitable norms (see Chapter 2 for more details). The GEM Scale was developed by Promundo and the Population Council and is now widely adapted to suit specific cultural contexts and used globally as both a population assessment tool and an evaluation instrument.

The full IMAGES questionnaire is always adapted to local settings to include, to the extent possible, contextual issues. Among the additional topics included in IMAGES MENA are men's attitudes toward female genital mutilation (FGM) (Egypt), the specific effects of conflict (Palestine, Lebanon), and the gendered effects of migration.

1.3 – IMAGES QUESTIONNAIRE APPLICATION AND SURVEY DESIGN

IMAGES questions are taken from a number of standardized instruments on gender-based violence, gender attitudes, childhood experiences, and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and sexual and reproductive health (SRH) fields. The questionnaire is also based, in part, on the Norwegian *Gender Equality and Quality of Life* survey. In the more than 30 IMAGES surveys to date, when possible, hand-held devices have been used for data collection; when resources or local conditions have not permitted, the questionnaire has been paper-based and interviewer-applied, with extensive training of enumerators, given the sensitivity of the survey questions. The decision to use this method is based on availability of and experience with hand-held survey applications in the country; familiarity with the technology on the part of the implementing partner; and local conditions (for example, in some countries, electronic data collection is regarded with suspicion by respondents, thereby compromising results or putting enumerators at risk).

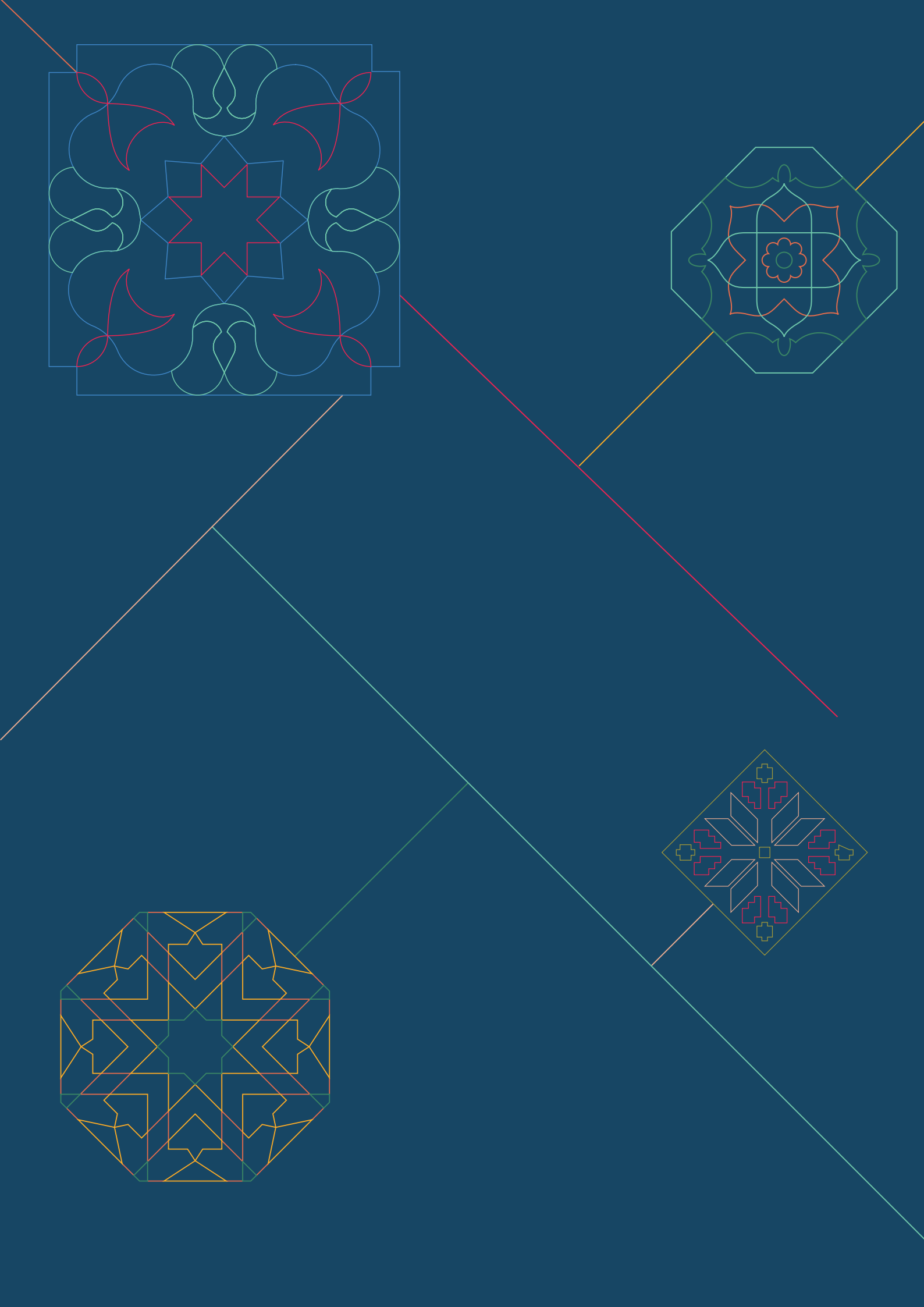
Following the design of the World Health Organization (WHO) multi-country studies on violence against women, IMAGES is generally carried out in a minimum of two major urban areas in each country. When funds and conditions allow, nationally representative samples

15. Pulerwitz, Julie, and Gary Barker. (2008). "Measuring Attitudes toward Gender Norms among Young Men in Brazil: Development and Psychometric Evaluation of the GEM Scale." *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 10, no. 3., doi: 10.1177/1097184X06298778.

that include rural areas are covered, as well. IMAGES follows standard procedures for carrying out stratified, random, representative household surveys in each participating city, region, or country. The questionnaire has approximately 250 items and takes approximately an hour, sometimes longer, to administer. In the case of IMAGES MENA, the survey instruments were pre-tested and adapted in all four countries to take into account local realities, as well as the needs of policymakers and practitioners. For each of the four countries in the IMAGES MENA survey, the study protocols were approved by institutional review boards (IRBs), and, where necessary, received government authorization.

For this four-country IMAGES MENA study, a year-long consultation, starting in 2015, was conducted with research partners in the region, as well as with civil society, UN Women staff in each of the countries, and government counterparts. A review of existing research and surveys on context-specific issues related to masculinities and gender equality in the MENA region complemented this process; these are referenced in the country chapters and in an accompanying overview of existing research (see Appendix A). This four-country consultative and review process led to the adaptation of existing survey questions and the creation of new, region-specific modules on:

- Gendered laws and policies in the MENA region;
- Women in public life;
- Gender-based violence in public spaces (also referred to as sexual harassment/assault in public spaces);
- Honour and honour killing;
- Men and marriage;
- Men and migration;
- Female circumcision/FGM (in Egypt);
- Men and the effects of the occupation (in Palestine).



Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 – OVERVIEW

IMAGES MENA consists of surveys with nearly 10,000 men and women between the ages of 18 and 59 from Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine, including those from both urban and rural areas (as well as refugee settlements, where appropriate). Table 2.1a presents a detailed breakdown of IMAGES data-collection sites and samples by country. Separate qualitative studies were carried out in each country.

TABLE 2.1a
IMAGES MENA Data Collection Overview[1]

DATA COLLECTION DETAILS	EGYPT	LEBANON	MOROCCO	PALESTINE
Sample size, men	1380	1050	1200	1200
Response rate, men (%)	99.8	89.6	99.7	~100
Sample size, women	1402	1136	1200	1199
Response rate, women (%)	99.9	94.8	99.7	~100
Total sample	2782	2186	2400	2399
Age group	18-59	18-59	18-59	18-59
Site(s)/Geographic representation	5 governorates selected to represent different regions of the country: Cairo, Menoufia, Sharkia, Souhag, Beni-Suef	All governorates in Lebanon were included to provide national representativeness of Lebanese and displaced Syrians. Due to restricted access to some camps, Palestinian refugee populations were included only in the qualitative study (forthcoming)	7 provinces and prefectures centred around Rabat: Rabat proper, Salé, Kénitra, Skhirate-Témara, Khémisset, Sidi Kacem, and Sidi Slimane	Randomized, nationally representative sample following the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics sampling framework and representing the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem
In-country quantitative research partner	El-Zanaty and Associates	Connecting Research to Development (CRD)	Association Migration Internationale (AMI)	Institute of Women's Studies and the Center for Development Studies, Birzeit University

1. Details of the sociodemographic characteristics and other sample features in each country are included in the country chapters that follow.

TABLE 2.1a CONTINUED

DATA COLLECTION DETAILS	EGYPT	LEBANON	MOROCCO	PALESTINE
Questionnaire application process (hand-held/paper)	Hand-held computer device	Hand-held computer device	Hand-held computer device	Paper questionnaire
In-country qualitative research partner	Social Research Center, American University in Cairo (AUC)	ABAAD (for Lebanese and Syrian participants); CRD (for Palestinian refugees) with assistance from independent researcher Jinan Usta (AUB)	Independent researchers Rajaa Nadifi (Hassan II University of Casablanca) and Gaëlle Gillot (University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)	Institute of Women's Studies, Birzeit University
Qualitative research design and focus	200 participants total in 20 focus group discussions on dimensions of contemporary masculinities and gendered relations in low-income areas of Cairo and Alexandria, and 35 in-depth individual interviews with men and women seen as breaking stereotypical gender norms from a number of governorates, (including Minya in the south and Behira and Daqahliyah in the north)	278 participants in 20 focus group discussions and 26 semi-structured individual interviews with Lebanese residents and Syrian refugees in: North and South Lebanon, as well as Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Interviews covered the effects of conflict on gendered relations and masculinities	10 focus group discussions on masculinities and changing gender roles and rights, with 119 women and men in a variety of lower and middle income, urban, and rural settings in and around Rabat, including the towns of Khémisset and Sidi Allal El Bahraoui (east of Rabat) and the village of Douar Ait Kaddour in the area of Ait Yadine (north of Khémisset). A further 27 in-depth individual interviews were carried out with men and women whose views and lived experiences challenge conventional gender norms	Individual interviews included: 10 "more equitable" men, 12 "more empowered" women, and 12 former political prisoners, including both men and women. Focus group discussions were also conducted with university students (two groups) and male former political prisoners (one group). Qualitative data collection took place in Jerusalem and the West Bank

2.2 – SURVEY DETAILS

Methods and Procedures

The adapted survey tools were translated into local Arabic dialects (as well as French for IMAGES MENA in Morocco) and, prior to full data collection, pilot-tested with respondents from different socio-demographic groups in all four countries. Data collection was completed between April 2016 and March 2017.[2] Questionnaires were administered face-to-face using hand-held electronic tablet devices (in Egypt, Morocco, and Lebanon) and paper questionnaires (in Palestine). Given the sensitive nature of the questions, and in accordance with IMAGES procedures, female interviewers interviewed women and male interviewers interviewed men. Strategic Consultative Groups, formed in each country with representatives from academia, civil society, government, and UN agencies, reviewed the overall research design and findings.

Qualitative Research

Country research teams developed their own qualitative research plans, combining a mixture of focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth individual interviews (IDIs). In general, across the four countries, FGDs were used to triangulate the survey findings, while in Egypt, Morocco, and Palestine, individual interviews were also used to identify and investigate "more empowered" women and "more equitable" men, in both cases referring to men and women whose life trajectories showed divergence from the gender norms of their settings. These life-history interviews were analysed to identify factors or circumstances that supported individual pathways to gender equality. In Lebanon, focus groups and interviews explored the effects of conflict on gender expectations, among other related topics, with both Syrian and Lebanese participants, and they expressly included men who resisted participating in armed conflict. In Palestine, a subset of in-depth interviews included former political prisoners whose specific life circumstances provided useful insights into gender relations and masculinities in the context of conflict. In contrast to the common IMAGES MENA household questionnaire used in all four countries, the qualitative component of IMAGES MENA was designed to account for greater local variability, thereby better capturing local specificities. In addition, each country used its own criteria for selection of qualitative participants, with a view to capturing, to the extent possible, diversity according to urban/rural location, age, sex, income, and religious and ethnic differences.

Sampling Frame and Design

The sampling frame and design varied slightly from country to country because of the different administrative structures present in each setting. All countries used a stratified, multi-stage cluster-sampling methodology, randomly selecting between 30 and 60 primary sampling units (PSUs), half of which served for sampling male respondents, and half for sampling female respondents. PSU selection was proportionate to the population of the larger administrative units (e.g., districts, governorates, prefectures). Within each PSU, households and respondents were randomly selected and interviews were conducted. Sample sizes were chosen based on expected levels of non-response or refusal. See the "Who Was Surveyed?" section at the beginning of each country chapter for details on the sampling methodology followed in that particular setting.

2. Egypt data collection took place in April 2016; Morocco data was collected in May and June 2016; Lebanon data was collected between June and September of 2016, with a "nested" intimate partner violence study conducted in March 2017; Palestine data collection was conducted October-December 2016.

Response rates were generally very high (around 90 per cent or more) in all four countries. Reasons for refusal or non-response included: sickness, unavailability of respondents (i.e., out of town or not at home), refusal to open the door or to participate in the survey, and premature termination of the interview.

Ethical and Local Considerations

The household survey and qualitative studies in each of the four countries were approved by ethical review boards.[3] The study followed standard ethical procedures for research on intimate partner violence (IPV). Researchers sampled men and women in different clusters to avoid interviewing men and women in the same household. All respondents were fully informed about the purpose and procedures of this study and were told that their participation in the survey was voluntary and that they had the right to terminate the survey, at any point, or refuse to answer any questions. Confidentiality of the interviews was strictly guarded. Prior to data collection, interviewers received training on gender, violence, ethical procedures in gender and masculinities research, and how to ask sensitive questions and respond to respondents in distress; in the case of questions about suicidal ideation, respondents were offered contact information for local service providers able to provide care and support.

In Egypt and Palestine, questions related to sexual attitudes and practices were omitted due to research partners' understanding of local cultural sensitivities and, in the case of Egypt, the requirements of local authorities. Similarly, in these two countries, questions related to parenting, intimate partner violence, and reproductive health practices and decision-making were asked only of married respondents. In Lebanon and Morocco, as well, only married respondents were asked questions related to parenting and intimate partner violence. In both of the latter countries, the reproductive health questions were asked of married and unmarried respondents alike.

Limitations and Challenges

Large-scale survey research in general, and IMAGES MENA in particular, presents noteworthy limitations and challenges. In order to cover the breadth of necessary topics in this study in sufficient detail, the survey questionnaire was long (typically taking more than an hour to complete). The length of the questionnaire was among the reasons respondents cited for refusing to participate in the study in some settings, and in Lebanon, a small number of questionnaires were excluded from analysis because they had not been sufficiently completed. The sensitivity of questions that related to certain topics – among them, violence and sexuality – also presented challenges for research teams. In anticipation of these challenges, data collectors' trainings included thorough discussions on topics of gender, violence, sexuality, and how to ensure a safe, comfortable environment for all survey respondents. While IMAGES draws on years of testing various ways to minimize social desirability bias and maximize the comfort of men and women answering sensitive questions, these are challenges in any survey research on such topics.

3. Approval was granted by: Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the American University in Cairo (Egypt); IRB at La Sagesse University (Lebanon); Salus IRB (Morocco); and the Committee on Research Ethics at Birzeit University (Palestine).

Other country-specific limitations and challenges include:

- **Egypt:** Local sensitivities meant that certain questions, including those related to sexuality, were not included, in accordance with the requirements of the Egyptian government's Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). These omissions are noted, where relevant, in this report.

- **Lebanon:** Lebanon posed particular political, demographic, and methodological challenges. Capturing an accurate cross-section of a country undergoing such dramatic demographic transformation – in which refugees make up nearly one-quarter of its population – is a challenging task. As such, it is likely that the IMAGES quantitative sample does not completely capture the full diversity of the rapidly changing Lebanese population. Lebanon's large, ever-growing refugee population, which is extremely mobile and about whom fully up-to-date data is unavailable, poses extreme challenges for survey sampling. Furthermore, certain areas were inaccessible to the study due to security concerns. As described in the country chapter, there were also challenges when it came to asking questions about IPV. To test alternative approaches to encouraging participants to feel comfortable responding to questions on this topic, the research teams decided to supplement the main IMAGES MENA Lebanon study with an additional "nested" sample on IPV using a shorter, more focused questionnaire. Despite these limitations and challenges, the findings presented in this study, as well as the forthcoming full Lebanese country report, make a significant (if imperfect) contribution to the body of knowledge on gender dynamics in Lebanese life.

- **Morocco:** Morocco's study, unlike those of the other three countries included in this report, focused only on one region within the country and thus is not representative of the breadth of Moroccan society. Rather, it reflects seven sampling areas in the Rabat-Salé-Khémisset region (see Table 2.1a). The region shares many of the same demographic features as Morocco as a whole, but is significantly more urban than the rest of the country.

- **Palestine:** Palestine's political situation presented particular, in some cases extreme, challenges to data collection. Field workers' movement was restricted, in certain cases, especially when Israeli security forces closed cities, such as Hebron and Jerusalem, during the data collection period. Also during data collection, a group of settlers attacked Palestinian civilians on main roads in Jerusalem, compelling the team to take additional security precautions. In addition, due to restrictions on travel, it was impossible for the researchers in the West Bank to travel to Gaza and vice versa, thereby doubling the length of the training period and necessitating the deployment of additional field supervisors. In Gaza, three field researchers were arrested and held for several hours by local authority security forces, which further complicated the data collection process.

Country results are presented in the following chapters, with findings summarized from seven separate research reports (including qualitative and quantitative findings) produced by the research teams in each country.[4] Because of the diversity of each country in terms of size, political and cultural realities, and differing sampling frameworks, the results are presented here by country rather than comparatively by topic. This presentation is also

4. These reports will be published in Arabic, French, and/or English in each of the four countries by their respective authors. See: http://promundoglobal.org/images and http://arabstates.unwomen.org.

intended to obviate a tendency in certain quarters to homogenize the MENA region, with direct comparisons that reinforce a simplistic and erroneous assumption that the region's countries have followed similar trajectories in gender equality and other aspects of social and political development. By presenting data from the four countries independently of one another, this report acknowledges the unique features, and futures, of each.

Data Analysis

Each country chapter presents findings from the quantitative research with summary observations and illustrative quotes from the qualitative research. For the quantitative research, chapters provide primarily descriptive statistics and bivariate analyses. Data were analysed using either the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) or Stata, generating descriptive tables and figures, and using t-tests and chi-squared tests to test associations between variables of interest. Unless otherwise stated, results reported in tables throughout this report are calculated using the full country sample. Where differences or associations are reported on a specific outcome by factor (e.g., age, wealth, educational attainment, or other variable), these are always statistically significant at a p-value of <.05.

2.3 – CONSTRUCTION OF KEY VARIABLES

Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale: To measure men's and women's gender-related attitudes in quantitative terms, IMAGES MENA asked respondents to agree or disagree with a range of statements on gender norms. Using validity tests, a sub-selection of these statements were then used to construct a MENA-specific version of the GEM Scale. Versions of the GEM Scale have been validated and widely used in studies in more than 30 countries, including all previous IMAGES reports (see Section 1.2).[5] The MENA-specific GEM Scale includes 10 items:

- A woman's most important role is to take care of the home and cook for the family.
- A man should have the final word about decisions in the home.
- There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.
- To be a man, you need to be tough.
- Changing diapers, bathing children, and feeding children should all be the mother's responsibility.
- A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together.
- A married woman should have the same rights to work outside the home as her husband.
- It is a man's duty to exercise guardianship over his female relatives.
- Unmarried women should have the same right to live on their own as unmarried men.
- Boys are responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters.

5. Pulerwitz, Julie, and Gary Barker. (2008). "Measuring Attitudes toward Gender Norms among Young Men in Brazil: Development and Psychometric Evaluation of the GEM Scale." *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 10, no. 3., doi:10.1177/1097184X06298778; Scott, et al. (2013). "An assessment of gender inequitable norms and gender-based violence in South Sudan: a community-based participatory research approach." *Conflict and Health*, vol. 7, no. 4., doi: 10.1186/1752-1505-7-4.

Respondents could choose one of four options to all of these items: strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. These four options were given integer scores from zero to three, where zero reflects the most gender-inequitable response and three represents the most gender-equitable response. The GEM Scale score presented in this report is the respondent's average response, on a scale of zero to three, combining all 10 items.

Depression scale: To measure depression symptomatology, the IMAGES MENA survey used the CES-D Scale.[6] This scale includes 20 statements of symptoms associated with depression, all of which have been used in longer, previously validated scales. Examples include "I thought that my life had been a failure" and "my sleep was restless", among 18 other items. Respondents reported whether they had experienced these symptoms "rarely", "some of the time", "a moderate amount of the time", or "most or all of the time", in the week prior to the survey. Most items reflect depressive symptoms, while some items reflect the absence of depressive symptoms. Each of the 20 statements was given an integer score from zero to three, where zero reflects the lowest reporting of depressive symptomatology and three reflects the highest. According to the international standard calculation, any respondent with a total score of 16 points or higher was said to have met the screening standard for depression.

Wealth index: The IMAGES MENA questionnaire followed the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) methodology for constructing the wealth index in each site. This included asking respondents about a range of assets and objects their household might or might not possess, including arable land, livestock, appliances, automobiles, and many others. The index was constructed using factor analysis in the combined women's and men's data set (so that women's and men's households were held to the same wealth standard), accounting for differences in wealth dynamics in urban and rural settings, and then dividing respondents into equal tertiles and quintiles based on their factor scores. While the wealth index calculation did not include respondents' self-reported income earnings, some analysis related to reported income is also included in the country chapters. The full procedure for calculating the wealth index from the DHS questionnaire module is available online at www.dhsprogram.com.

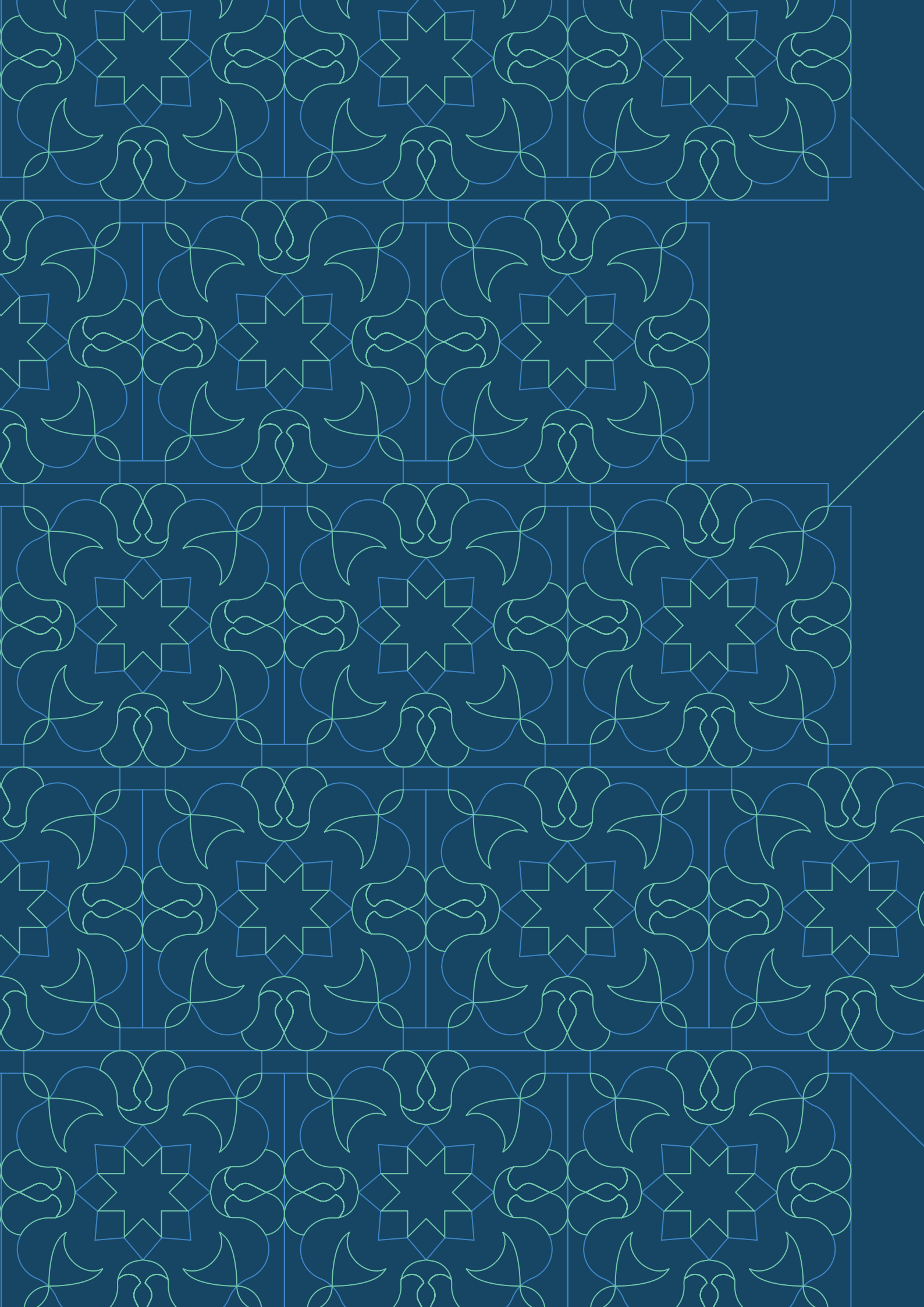
Intimate partner violence: The IMAGES MENA survey sought to measure men's perpetration and women's experience of intimate partner violence using a standard battery of questions. These questions measured four types of intimate partner violence: emotional, economic, physical, and sexual. Each question asked how often a certain act of violence might have occurred in the respondent's lifetime. If the respondent reported that the violence had *ever* occurred, then they received a follow-up question to determine whether this act had occurred within the previous year. Prevalence rates were calculated by adding up respondents who reported *any one or more* of the acts of that particular form of violence. Questions in this section never used the word "violence" or its Arabic equivalent, because of the shifting, subjective nature of this term. The IMAGES MENA questions and approach for measuring intimate partner violence followed guidance established by the WHO and PATH.[7] The questionnaire also included a smaller battery

6. Radloff, Lenore S. (1977). "The CES-D Scale: A Self-Report Depression Scale for Research in the General Population." *Applied Psychological Measurement,* vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 385-401, doi: 10.1177/014662167700100306.

7. Ellsberg, Mary, and Lori Heise. (2005). *Researching Violence Against Women: A Practical Guide for Researchers and Activists*. Washington, D.C.: World Health Organization (WHO) and PATH.

of questions to ascertain women's perpetration of intimate partner violence. Country chapters include detailed information on survey results related to intimate partner violence. Given local cultural sensitivities, an intimate partner was defined as a spouse in the four countries surveyed in IMAGES MENA.

Care work, domestic work, and caregiving: The questions included on this topic come from a variety of household surveys, including the aforementioned DHS and GEQ surveys. They were asked of men and women, each describing their own caregiving or domestic work and their male/female spouse's caregiving activities, with the caveat that these excluded any assistance the respondent or his/her spouse might have received through outside help by others.



Chapter 3

Egypt

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Key Findings

- **Men and, to a lesser extent, women hold inequitable views about gender roles and rights.** With a mean Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale score of 0.9 for men and 1.3 for women (3.0 being the most gender-equitable score), the majority of Egyptians have patriarchal attitudes toward male and female rights and relations. Wealthier men, those with higher education, and those living in urban areas tend to hold more equitable views, as do more educated, younger, single, urban women. Men who, as children, saw their fathers involved in housework also score higher on the scale.
- **Men are resistant to women working outside the home, and to their participation in aspects of political and public life.** However, two-thirds or more of men surveyed support educational equality for boys and girls and equal pay for equal work, and reported that they would be willing to work with female colleagues should women gain access to the workplace.
- **Women continue to carry the load when it comes to housework, while men make most of the household decisions.** These patterns begin in childhood, with men and women often following the models established by their parents. Both men and women reported having more power and control in household decision-making than the other gender acknowledges.
- **In spite of the gap in who does the daily caregiving, men would like to do more.** While more than 60 per cent of men said they spend too little time with their children because of work, nearly half also participate in some aspects of childcare. Almost half of men and women reported being in favour of paid parental leave for fathers.
- **Men and women experienced high rates of violence growing up.** Almost one-third of men were beaten as children at home, and more than 80 per cent were physically punished by their teachers. Girls were less vulnerable to physical violence at school, but more vulnerable at home.
- **Economic uncertainty and women's low labour-market participation mean that men face tremendous pressure to be providers.** Almost 80 per cent of men are the main breadwinners for their family. More than half of men reported frequently feeling stressed due to lack of work, and worried about not being able to meet their family's daily needs. More than 60 per cent of male respondents worried about their ability to provide their families with daily necessities, among other concerns.
- **Support for female genital mutilation is high. Some 70 per cent of men, and more than half of women, approve of the practice.** More than two-thirds of men and women said the decision to circumcise their daughters is made jointly between husbands and wives.
- **Men and women alike reported high rates of men's use of violence against women.** Almost half of men reported having ever used physical violence against their wives. More than 70 per cent of men and women said they believe that wives should tolerate violence to keep the family together.
- **Street sexual harassment is commonly perpetrated by men and frequently experienced by urban women.** More than 60 per cent of men reported ever having sexually harassed a woman or girl, and a similar proportion of women reported such unwanted attentions. More women than men blame the victim for having been harassed.
- **In spite of attitudes and practices favouring male privilege, between one-quarter and one-third of men said they support selected aspects of equality for women.** Understanding who these men are and why they are different is key to developing new programmes and policies to engage men in social change.

Who Was Surveyed?*

- 1,380 men and 1,402 women, aged 18 to 59, from five governorates across Egypt, were surveyed.
- Just under half of respondents live in urban areas.
- 60 per cent of women, and 70 per cent of men, have preparatory education or higher.
- 85 per cent of men are currently employed, mainly in skilled manual or white-collar jobs; around 85 per cent of women are housewives.
- Around three-quarters of respondents' fathers, and 85 per cent of mothers, received primary education or less; 7 per cent of men's mothers, and 14 per cent of women's, worked outside the home.
- According to the survey's household wealth index, just over two-fifths of men are poor, a fifth are in the middle bracket, and two-fifths are rich; just over a third of women are categorized as poor, almost a quarter are in the middle, and two-fifths are wealthy.
- More than 70 per cent of men and 80 per cent of women are currently married; around 2 per cent of women and fewer than 1 per cent of men are divorced. The mean age of marriage of respondents was 27 years old for men and 21 years of age for women.

* The characteristics of respondents in IMAGES MENA Egypt are consistent with nationally-representative surveys, such as the *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2014*, and reflect the demographic profile of Egypt. See Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], and ICF International. (2015). *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2014*. Cairo and Rockville: Ministry of Health and Population and ICF International.

TABLE 3.1a
Quantitative sample characteristics, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

	MEN		WOMEN	
	N	%	N	%
Type of settlement				
Urban	660	47.8	680	48.5
Rural	720	52.2	722	51.5
Age group				
18-24	240	17.4	237	16.9
25-34	368	26.7	468	33.4
35-49	493	35.7	484	34.5
50-59	279	20.2	213	15.2
Level of education				
No education	176	12.8	300	21.4
Primary school	231	16.8	233	16.6
Preparatory/secondary school	738	53.5	674	48.1
Higher	235	17.0	195	13.9
Employment status				
Currently employed	1,169	84.6	219	15.6
Unemployed (worked in the past)	90	6.5	21	1.5
Unemployed (never worked)	12	0.9	14	1.0
Other	109	7.9	1,148	81.9
Employment situation is mostly stable (agree or strongly agree)	**821**	**59.5**	**168**	**12.0**
Marital status				
Never married	362	26.2	123	8.8
Married	992	71.9	1,178	84.0
Divorced	12	0.9	32	2.3
Widowed	14	1.0	69	4.9
Age at first marriage (mean, standard deviation)	**26.5 (4.6)**		**20.1 (3.7)**	
TOTAL (N)	**1,380**		**1,402**	

3.1 Introduction

Support for and resistance to women's equality co-exist in Egypt today. "The shadow of a man is better than the shadow of a wall," is one of many proverbs in Egyptian folklore praising the advantages of men. In recent years, however, that shadow seems to have both lengthened and darkened. While the revolution of 2011 brought millions of Egyptian men and women together in a common cause, conservative forces continue to constrain the lives of women and girls and reinforce rigid ideas about manhood. At the same time, however, new, more equitable male voices and initiatives have emerged, both in social media and in civil society, to challenge masculine privilege and women's inequality. As the results from IMAGES MENA Egypt clearly illustrate, the shadow of an Egyptian man today has many shades.

"A section should be added in all education levels from school to university that establishes equality and does away with traditional norms that say a woman should stay at home. No, a woman has the right to equal rights, just like a man."

Man, 62 years old, women's rights advocate, Cairo

"I want to change everything. I want my children to live a good life. I want to enjoy my rights."

Woman, 41 years old, scrap metal dealer, Alexandria

3.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life

3.2.1 – MEN AND WOMEN, ROLES AND RIGHTS

Inequitable views about gender roles are common among women and men. While Egypt has made considerable legislative advances with regard to women's rights in recent years (see Section 3.2.4), as well as efforts to reduce such practices as early marriage, female genital mutilation (see Section 3.4.5), and sexual harassment (see Section 3.4.6), it still ranks low on gender equality, according to several international measures.[1] The findings of IMAGES MENA Egypt reflect this persistent inequality. As seen in Table 3.2.1a, men held mostly traditional views about household roles, with roughly 90 per cent asserting that a woman's most important job is to care for the home, and that a man should have the final say in household decisions (see Section 3.4.3). Men considered themselves responsible for women, with more than three-quarters believing it their religious and social duty to exercise guardianship over women (see Section 3.4.6). Only a quarter believed that women should have the same freedom to surf the Internet as men and, offline, fewer than a tenth accepted the idea of an unmarried woman having the same right to live on her own that a man does.

On some points, women were much more progressive than men, with almost half challenging the idea that men should have the final say in household decisions, and a third or more asserting the rights of women to live on their own or access the Internet. And yet, women held similarly patriarchal views on some topics. For example, three-quarters of women emphasized the importance of male guardianship, as well as the undesirability of husbands – and especially wives – having friends of the opposite sex.

1. For example, the 2016 Global Gender Gap Index (available at: http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/), which measures disparities between men and women, ranked Egypt 132 out of 144 countries worldwide. UNDP's Gender Inequality Index 2015 (available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII), which presents a composite measure of gender inequality across reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market, ranked Egypt 135 out of 188 countries.

TABLE 3.2.1a

Attitudes toward Gender Equality: GEM Scale Questions

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about gender roles and decision-making, violence, and perceptions of masculinity and femininity, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Attitudes toward gender roles and decision-making		
A woman's most important role is to take care of the home and cook for the family	86.8	76.7
A man should have the final word about decisions in the home	90.3	58.5
Changing diapers, giving baths to children, and feeding children should all be the mother's responsibility	98.0	85.2
Attitudes toward violence		
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	53.4	32.8
A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together	90.0	70.9
If another man in my community insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	85.7	*
Perceptions of masculinity and femininity		
To be a man, you need to be tough	26.6	22.9
I think it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work	9.7	17.5
A husband should not have friends of the opposite sex	76.9	69.0
A wife should not have friends of the opposite sex	92.5	84.9
It is a man's duty to exercise guardianship over his female relatives	77.9	79.1
Boys are responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters	79.8	60.9
Unmarried women should have the same right to live on their own as unmarried men	8.3	33.4
Women should have the same freedom to access sites on the Internet as men	25.7	41.6

* This statement was not included in the women's questionnaire

These overall attitudes toward gender equality were assessed using the Gender Equitable Men (or GEM) Scale, an internationally recognized and validated composite measure of attitudes toward men's and women's roles and rights (see Chapter 2 for methodological details). On a scale in which "0" represents complete rejection of gender equality and "3" full acceptance, men scored low at 0.9, and women higher at 1.3 (Table 3.2.1b). There was

relatively little variation in men's views by age, although urban men, and those with greater wealth, held slightly more equitable views. Younger, urban, wealthier, and single women also scored higher on the scale.

Education is clearly driving support for equality. Both men and women with higher education, as well as those whose mothers have higher education, scored higher on the GEM scale, women notably so. Parental division of household labour (see Section 3.3.2 for details) also contributes to more equitable attitudes; men and women whose fathers participated in housework also held more gender-equitable attitudes.

TABLE 3.2.1b

GEM Scale

GEM Scale score for men and women by selected background characteristics, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016*

		MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Overall average score		**0.9**	**1.3**
Wealth index	Rich	1.0	1.5
	Middle	0.9	1.2
	Poor	0.8	1.1
Education	Higher	1.2	1.8
	Preparatory/Secondary	0.9	1.4
	Primary	0.8	1.1
	No education	0.7	0.9
Marital status	Never-married	0.9	1.7
	Currently married	0.9	1.2
Location	Urban	1.0	1.4
	Rural	0.8	1.1
Age	50-59	1.0	1.1
	35-49	0.9	1.3
	25-34	0.9	1.3
	18-24	0.9	1.4

* GEM Scale scores range from 0 to 3.0, with 0 being most inequitable and 3.0 most equitable

"A man is someone who does not abuse or humiliate his wife or his children. He is someone who earns an income even when things are tough, but his income is not from illicit activities. Thirdly, a man is someone who is clear and sticks to his word. Yes means yes and no means no. This is masculinity to me."

Woman, 41 years old, liquefied gas seller, Cairo

"Femininity is a woman at home. She is queen of the home and of food and drink. She cares for her husband and children. This is what we were told."

Woman, 36 years old, truck driver, Minya

Manhood is seen in positive terms, but its attendant pressures are also recognized. Although few women or men in the survey thought that toughness was essential to being a man, qualitative interviews affirmed that men and women associate *al ragoolah*, or masculinity, with courage, strength, dignity, and fortitude. Men were considered to be street smart, exposed to the risks of the public sphere, but also to possess considerable strength. Younger participants tended to think of masculinity as the ability to impose one's will and to get one's way, whereas older respondents emphasized morality, resilience, and forgiveness. Religion was particularly important to many men in defining the "rightful" attributes of men and women. Some participants described Islam as a religion of equality, and believers who pray, fast, and perform their religious duties were also expected to share their wives' burdens.

"If we in Egypt applied the teachings of our religion correctly, you would find that men have a status and women have a status. But as long as men and women are not following their religion, you will find that everything is a mess."

Man, 37 years old, supporting his divorced sister, Minya

In these qualitative interviews, "good men" were defined not only by their ability (*qudrah*, in Arabic), but also by their responsibilities: the father who provides for his family; the neighbour who helps keep the peace; the brother who supports his siblings; the husband who satisfies his wife in and out of bed. Apart from responsibility, the other hallmark of masculinity in Egypt is freedom – to travel, to make decisions for oneself, to act without family control or censure. But such liberty comes at a price: the social and religious obligation to provide financially for the family. As in many other parts of the MENA region, and globally, changing economic conditions make this expectation increasingly difficult for men to meet. At the same time, the shifting status of women is putting many men on

increasingly uncertain ground. While old attitudes and traditional practices persist, the findings of IMAGES MENA Egypt presented in this chapter show small but significant shifts in the ways that men and women see themselves, and each other, in private and public life.

> "Women have overcome all obstacles. Now you can find a woman driving an articulated lorry or a microbus and taking passengers. Where is the difference? The difference used to exist in the old days when it was prohibited for a woman to sit when her husband was eating and when she used to have to stand, carrying the *qullah* [clay water urn] for him."
>
> **Woman, 41 years old, scrap metal dealer, Alexandria**

> "I have to tell you, in all honesty, there is now nothing called 'masculinity'. Masculinity is a thing of the past, in the times of grandparents, in the good old-days."
>
> **Woman, 45 years old, butcher, Cairo**

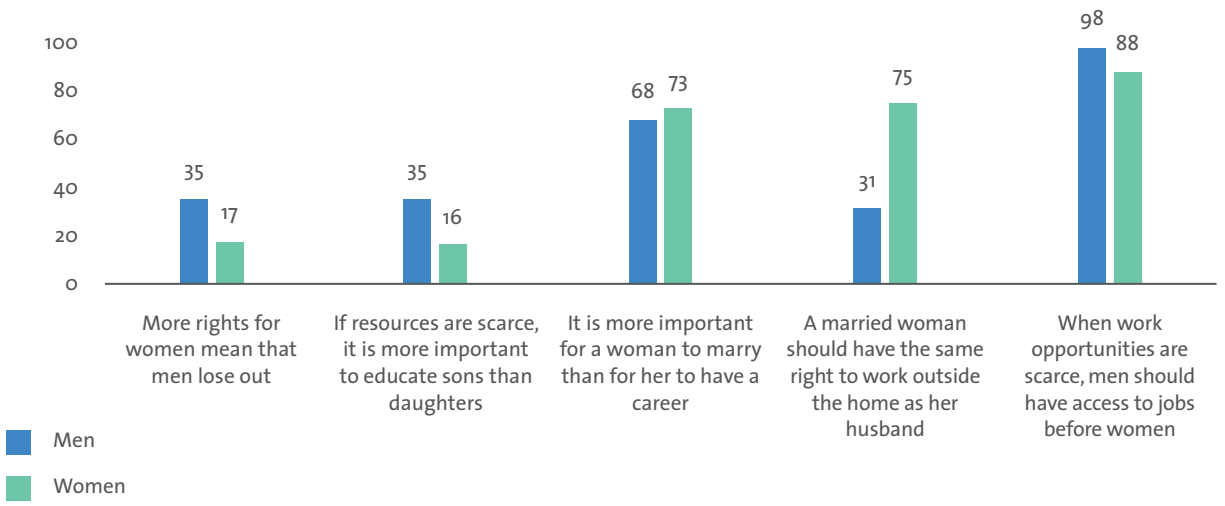
3.2.2 – MEN, WOMEN, AND WORK

Men strongly support the idea that they should be the primary breadwinners. While almost two-thirds of men surveyed rejected the notion that more rights for women mean fewer rights for men, most male respondents also supported men's economic dominance and traditional role as provider (Figure 3.2.2a).

FIGURE 3.2.2a

Female Education and Employment

Percentage respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's education and employment, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Two-thirds of men surveyed considered girls' education to be just as important as boys'; however, a similar proportion also felt that it is more important for a woman to marry than to have a career. Only around a third of men – mainly those with jobs or higher education – supported the idea of women working outside the home on the same terms as men. In contrast, three-quarters of women wanted the same right to work – though there were limits; when employment is scarce, almost 90 per cent of women said that men's employment is more important, and even more women than men agreed that, for women, marriage is more important than a career. Such attitudes are reflected in current realities. Egypt's rate of female labour-force participation is less than 20 per cent, among the lowest in the world,[2] and more than four-fifths of the survey's female respondents are housewives. This not only increases the pressure on men to provide, but leaves women in a dependent, but not necessarily dependable, situation.

"My circumstances prevented me from continuing my education, so I was happy and wanted [my wife] to continue hers. I told her, 'Get into college and I will pay your expenses'. She got a diploma and I encouraged her to go to university and she got a commerce degree. I had no problem at all; in fact, I was very happy."

Man, 62 years old, married to a more educated woman, Cairo

Consistent with these attitudes, men were unenthusiastic about guaranteed positions or quotas for women in the workplace. Egypt currently has quotas for female representation on local government councils and in the national parliament (see Section 3.2.3), but there is no such provision in public sector employment, nor in universities (where, nonetheless, women now make up more than half of the enrolment).[3] Only a third of male respondents supported a fixed proportion of places for women at university, in executive positions at work, or in parliament or the cabinet. In contrast, almost twice as many women as men were in favour of quotas in all three sectors.

When women *do* work outside the home, however, men are willing to share at least some of the attendant responsibilities and benefits. More than 70 per cent of men expected a working wife to contribute to household expenses, compared with more than 90 per cent of women. Almost three-quarters of men believed in equal pay for equal positions, while women were almost universally in favour of equal pay (Figure 3.2.2b).[4] Men were almost as willing as women to work with female colleagues, though significantly less enthusiastic about having a female boss.

2. Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], and ICF International. *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2014*, 2015.

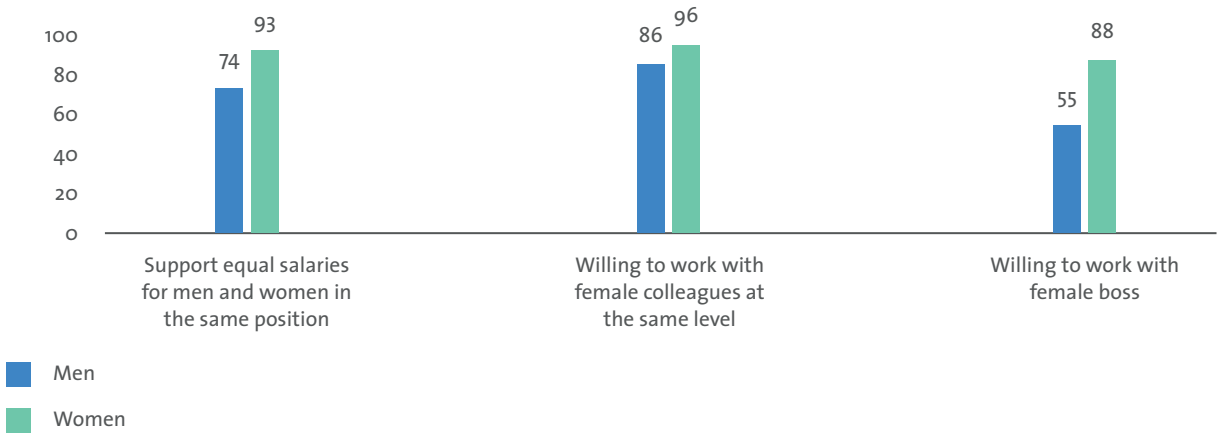
3. Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). (2015). *Egypt- Statistical Yearbook 2015, Education.* Cairo: CAPMAS.

4. While there is virtually no gender wage gap in the Egyptian public sector, men earn almost a third more than women for the same work in the private sector. See Said, Mona. (2015). *Wages and Inequality in the Egyptian Labor Market in an Era of Financial Crisis and Revolution*. Giza: The Economic Research Forum (ERF).

FIGURE 3.2.2b

Women at Work

Percentage respondents in favour of selected aspects of women's employment, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Qualitative research reveals anxiety among men and women about shifting gender roles. Some men described women's work outside the home as a destabilizing force within the family, supplanting the husband's "natural" role as a provider. Others worried about a woman's career drawing her away from her supposedly primary role as caregiver, putting children at risk. Some women were also concerned about the risk of a male backlash against demands for gender equality, making women shoulder more burdens and responsibilities, instead.

3.2.3 – WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Men recognize women's abilities to lead, but generally oppose their prominence in political life. The revolution of 2011 saw women on the frontlines of political protest – often at considerable personal cost – and subsequent rounds of elections have seen high turnout by the country's estimated 25 million eligible female voters. Over the past decade, female judges, police officers, marriage notaries, governors, and other public officials have been appointed in increasing numbers, albeit with hurdles once on the job. At a national level, women's political representation is at an all-time high, with almost 15 per cent of seats in the present parliament occupied by women. But this is only half the internationally-recommended threshold for female representation in parliamentary and other decision-making positions,[5] and with women ministers making up less than 10 per cent of the cabinet, Egypt has a long way to go to achieve gender parity in political life.

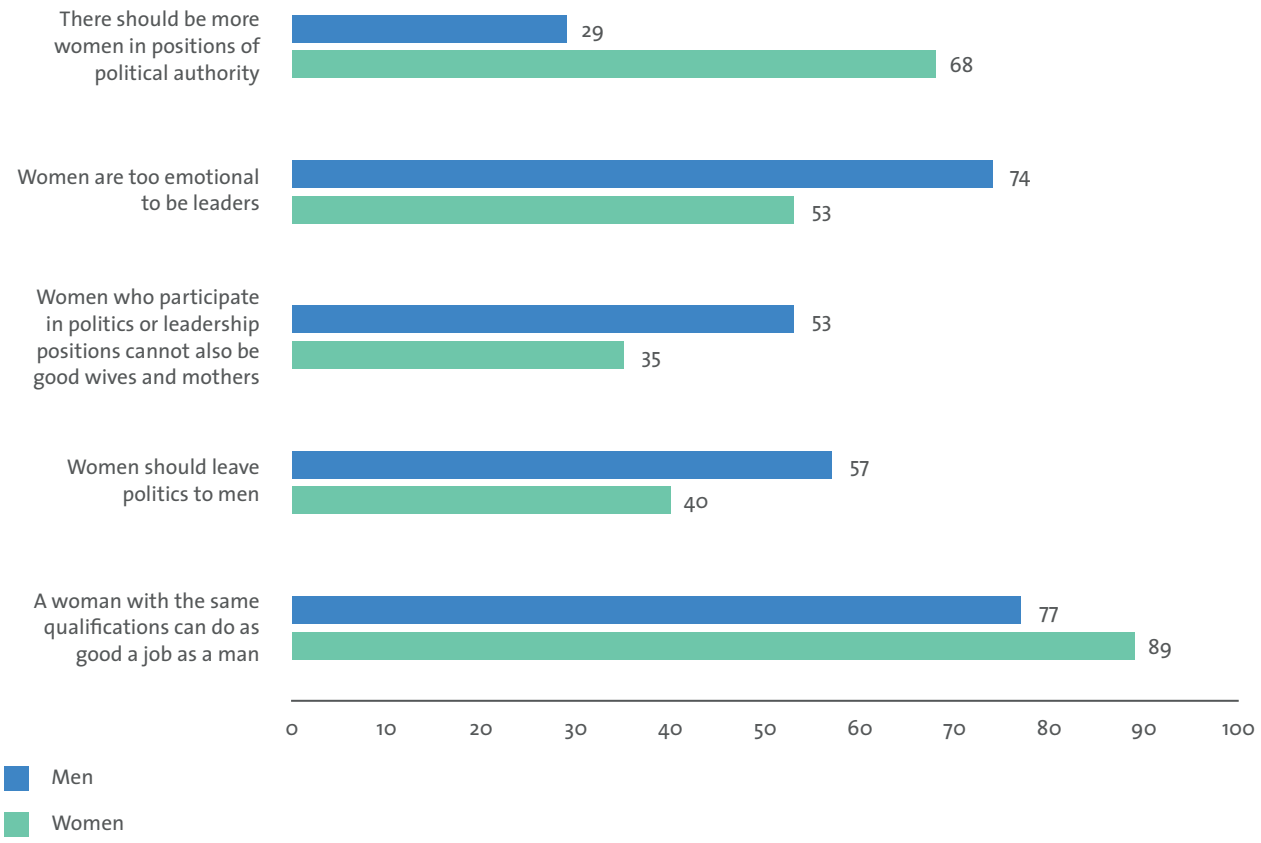
Roughly two-thirds of men opposed more women in positions of political authority, and more than half of men believed that politics are best left to men (Figure 3.2.3a). This is not necessarily a matter of ability – three-quarters of men asserted that a similarly qualified woman can do just as good a job as a man – but more a question of social norms: half of men doubted that women can be both effective politicians and homemakers, and almost three-quarters said that women are too emotional to lead. Younger men are particularly opposed to women's political leadership.

5. Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). (2015). *Women in Parliament: 20 Years in Review*. Geneva: IPU.

FIGURE 3.2.3a

Attitudes toward Women in Leadership

Percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's participation in politics and leadership positions, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Women were generally more supportive of women in public life. Still, a third to a half shared some of the same doubts about women's suitability to politics.

While a majority of men accepted women's leadership in civil society, government ministries, and parliaments, only a third or fewer accepted their participation in such traditionally male preserves as the courts, the army, or the police (Table 3.2.3a). And while they largely supported women's voice in politics, the gender-based violence which marred the events of 2011 (see Section 3.4.6), as well as the current political climate surrounding public demonstrations, may in part account for the almost two-thirds of men who said that women should not participate in political protests.

TABLE 3.2.3a

Women and Public Leadership

Percentage of men and women who approved of women's participation in particular public positions, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Women as heads of political parties	39.3	76.1
Women as members of parliaments/assemblies	71.7	91.1
Women as government ministers	58.9	85.1
Women as heads of state	13.2	37.8
Women as voters	93.4	97.7
Women as demonstrators in political protests	36.2	61.0
Women as police officers	36.0	66.2
Women as leaders of NGOs	71.1	91.9
Women as leaders of professional syndicates	56.0	87.0
Women as leaders of trade unions	52.0	84.9
Women as judges	20.9	43.6
Women as soldiers or combatants in the military or armed forces	2.6	25.0
Women as religious leaders*	40.9	77.4

* Not imams or priests

3.2.4 – GENDER EQUALITY AND THE LAW

Laws promoting women's rights attract mixed support from men and women. Egypt has brought many of its laws in line with the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) – provided such changes do not violate *shari'a*, which is the basis of personal status law. The past two decades have seen significant changes in the laws on marriage (raising the legal age to 18 for both men and women), nationality (allowing Egyptian women to pass citizenship to their husbands and children), divorce (permitting women to initiate unilateral divorce, or *khol'*), birth registration (giving mothers the same right to do so as fathers), and a number of other measures – though such steps forward are often more substantial on paper than in practice.

More than 60 per cent of men and women in the survey were aware of the existence of legislation promoting women's rights – mainly laws on divorce (see Section 3.4.2) and gender-based violence, including sexual harassment (see Section 3.4.6). Ironically, men were better informed on these issues than women were, with almost a quarter of female respondents unaware of the existence of any laws to protect their rights.

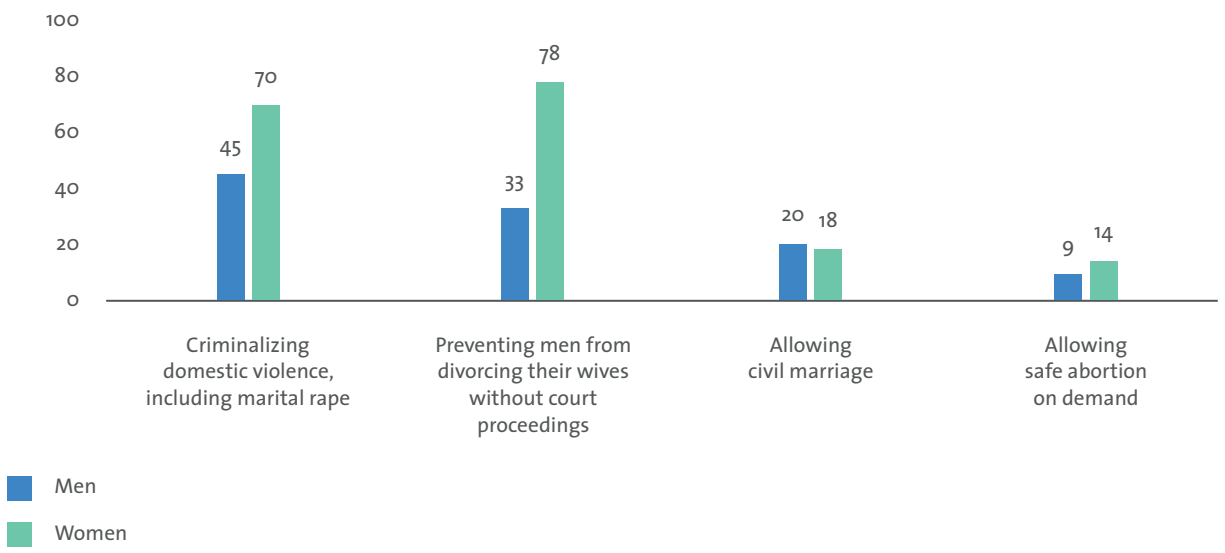
Despite limitations in the enforcement of these laws, almost 90 per cent of men considered them to be effective. Women were more sceptical of the practical benefit of such laws, with almost a third doubting their impact – principally due to poor enforcement and complicated legal procedures. Other obstacles cited included the weight of social norms that discourage women from speaking up on such matters, and the stigma and scandal that often ensue when women bring cases to light.

With regard to prospective laws, a third to a half of men favoured legislation that would criminalize domestic violence (see Section 3.4.6), or that would prevent men from unilaterally divorcing their wives without notice or legal proceedings – legislation that is currently under consideration by the government (Figure 3.2.4a). More than 70 per cent of women were similarly inclined. However, calls to allow safe abortion on demand[6] or civil marriage[7] are unlikely to gain much popular ground, given that a fifth or fewer of male and female respondents were in favour of such legal reforms.

FIGURE 3.2.4a

Legal Changes

Percentage of men and women who think that there should be a law on selected aspects of gender equality, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Such legislative reforms also elicited uncertainty. In qualitative interviews, men spoke about the impact of personal status laws – mainly divorce laws – on their own lives, for better or worse (see Section 3.4.3). Some men also voiced concerns about the potential misuse of such laws, in what they perceive to be an age of expanding rights for women.

6. Although abortion is illegal in Egypt, in practice, the law allows terminations in the case of danger to a woman's life and, in some cases, risk to her physical health or fetal abnormalities.

7. Egypt has no provision for civil marriage; all marriages are religious, with attendant restrictions. For example, interfaith marriages are not permitted for Muslim women in Egypt; both Coptic men and women must marry within their own faith.

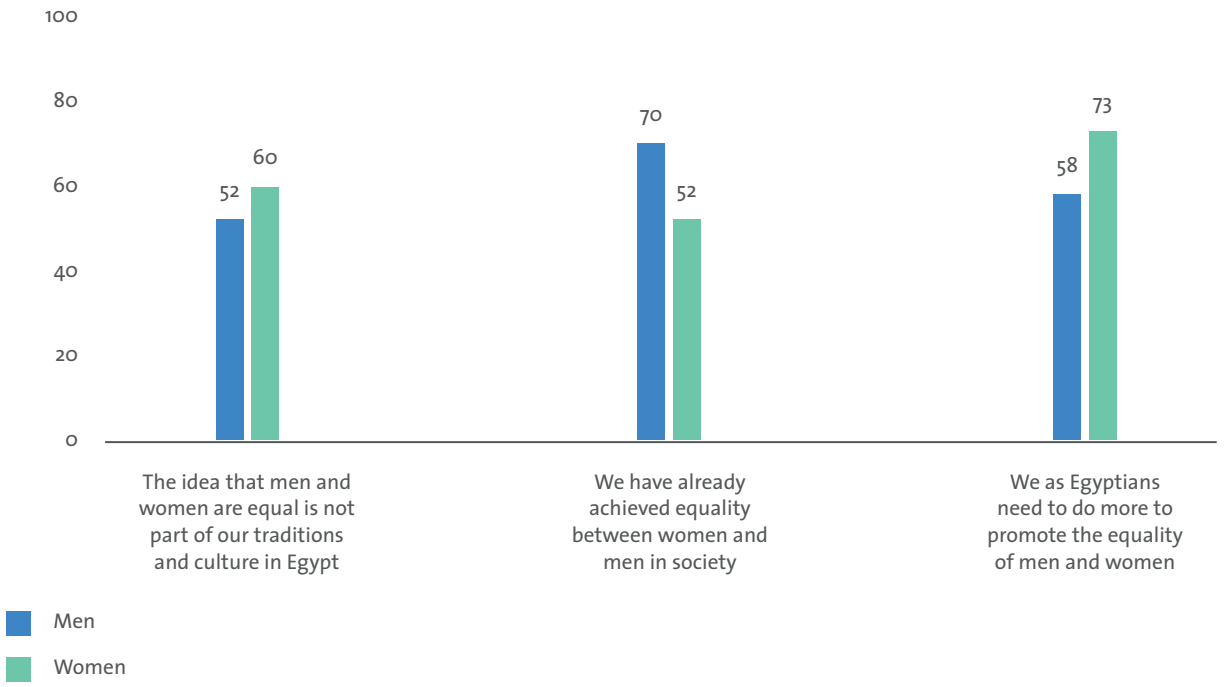
> "The new laws that support women have made them very brave and hard to control. Now, they can argue and fight with you, because you know that they are protected. Right now, if you talk to a woman, she would go to the police station and say that you were harassing her and you would get in trouble."
>
> **Man, 64 years old, Cairo**

More than half of men and 60 per cent of women agreed that gender equality "is not part of our traditions and culture in Egypt" (Figure 3.2.4b). Seventy per cent of men believed that equality has already been achieved, while, at the same time, almost three-fifths thought that more could be done to strengthen gender equality. Women were significantly less confident about their present equality, and were convinced in substantially greater numbers of the need for further efforts to establish their rights on a par with men's.

FIGURE 3.2.4b

Attitudes toward Gender Equality

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about gender equality, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



In-depth interviews and focus-group discussions affirmed this mixed picture. Many educated, urban men and women consider themselves to be on the path to equality. While some men embraced it, others were quick to note the risks of women gaining ground, including women talking back to men, acting without male permission, dressing or acting like men, or taking on conventionally masculine jobs. Given the heavy weight of tradition and social conformity, which is seen as hampering laws, policies, and practice, in qualitative interviews men, and especially women, acknowledged the long road still to be travelled before full rights for women are achieved.

"I think there is equality, but popular classes and people in informal developments and slums reject the idea of equality, because they see it as meaning that the woman becomes superior to the man. I think equality between men and women is normal."

Man, 35 years old, divorced and looking after his children, Cairo

"Nothing in our society creates equality between men and women. I don't think there is equality."

Women, 36 years old, truck driver, Minya

3.3 Childhood and Adolescence

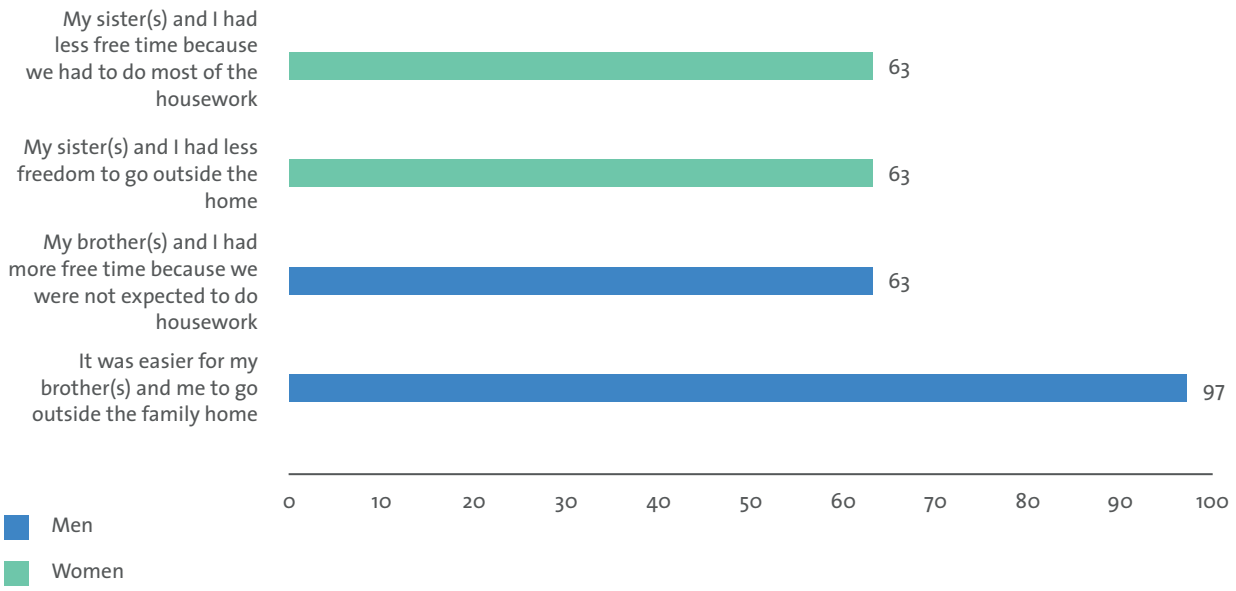
3.3.1 – GENDER ROLES AND RIGHTS IN CHILDHOOD

Gender inequality starts early in the lives of most Egyptian men and women. Four-fifths of men surveyed believed that boys should be responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if older than themselves, while only three-fifths of women approved of such male supervision (see Table 3.2.1a). Such attitudes are reflected in practice. Virtually all male respondents recalled having greater freedom than their sisters to go outside family home (Figure 3.3.1a). Around 60 per cent also recalled enjoying more free time because they were not expected to perform household chores, as were the girls of the family. This freedom comes at a price, however: more than half of men reported having had less leisure time in their youth because of family expectations that they would earn money outside the home.

FIGURE 3.3.1a

Childhood Responsibilities and Freedoms

Percentage of men and women aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about their perspective of how, when they were children, their experiences compared with those of their opposite-sex siblings, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



According to four-fifths of male and female respondents, the most important male figure in their childhood was their father. At the same time, in-depth interviews revealed that men and women alike were far closer to their mothers when they were growing up. This was seen, in part, as a function of her maternal role (mothers being remembered as more nurturing) and circumstance, since fathers were more often taken up with work or the challenges of making a living. Families were perceived as playing a pivotal role in the upbringing of boys, with fathers, in particular, considered the main role model for their sons' future lives as men.

"My father was very kind. When I would be upset or sad, he would sit next to me and ask me what was bothering me. If I needed money he would give it, and if he did not have it he would try to cheer me up. Whenever I had a problem, he would solve it for me."

Man, 46 years old, driver married to a more educated woman, Minya

3.3.2 – HOUSEWORK AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Few respondents saw their fathers carry out household chores, a pattern repeated by sons. When recalling their fathers' or other male relatives' participation in household chores, fewer than a third of male respondents said the men of the house ever cooked or cleaned (Figure 3.3.2a). Male respondents did, however, remember them taking charge of household shopping, as well as looking after the children. Younger, urban, wealthier, and more educated men (and women) were more likely to report their fathers having cleaned or cooked. Following their fathers' examples, fewer than a third of men recalled ever cooking or cleaning as adolescents; by comparison, women were nearly universally occupied with such tasks throughout their teenage years.

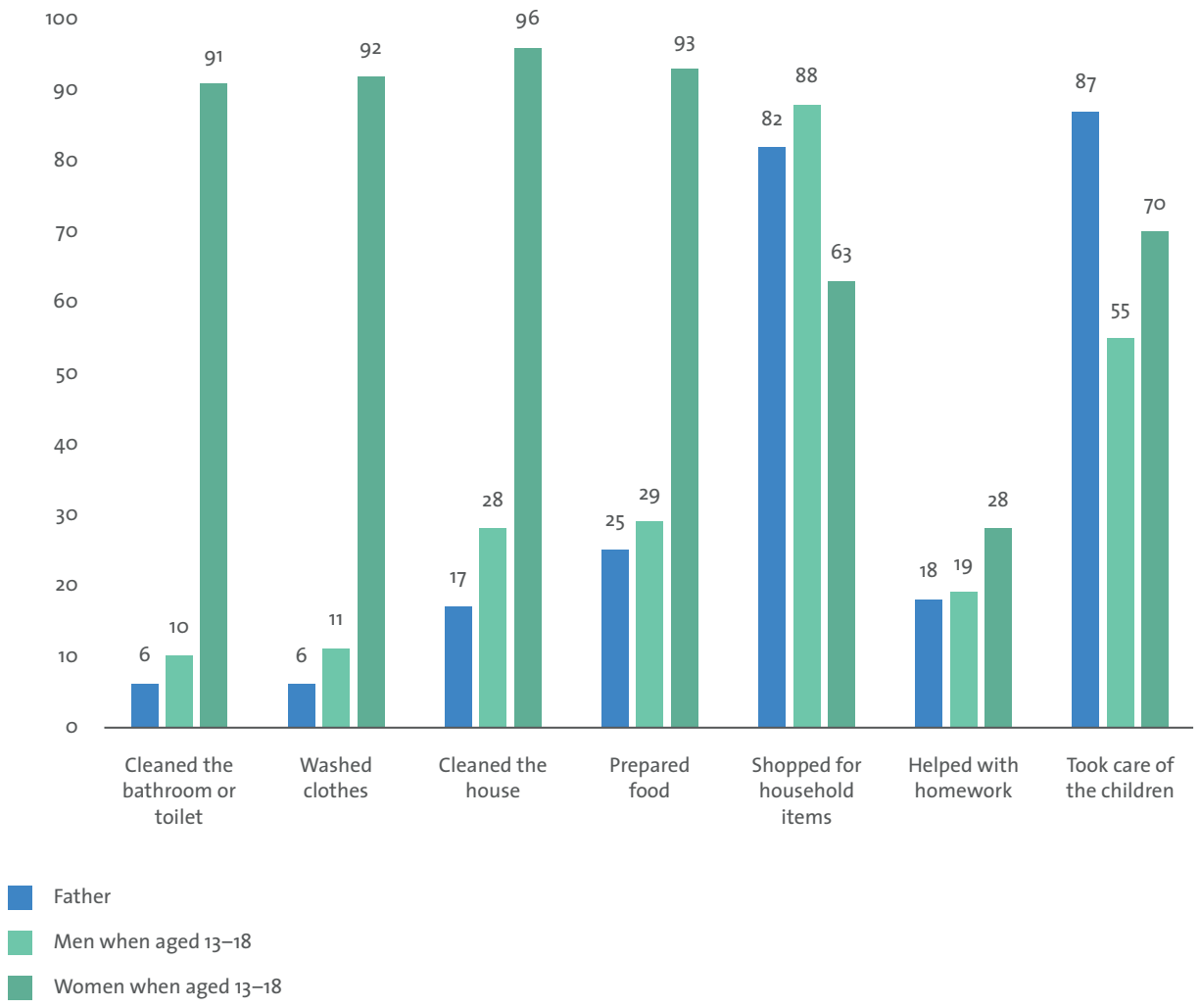
"My mother did all the household chores and my father did the shopping. I would do the shopping in his place at times. My mother rarely left the house. My father would sometimes fix things at home or do some of these jobs, but otherwise, my mother took care of everything in the house."

Man, 36 years old, women's rights activist, Cairo

FIGURE 3.3.2a

Household Chores in Childhood and Adolescence

Percentage of male respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting that their father or any other man (excluding male domestic workers) ever performed selected domestic tasks, and percentage of male and female respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting participation in selected domestic tasks when they were 13 to 18 years old, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



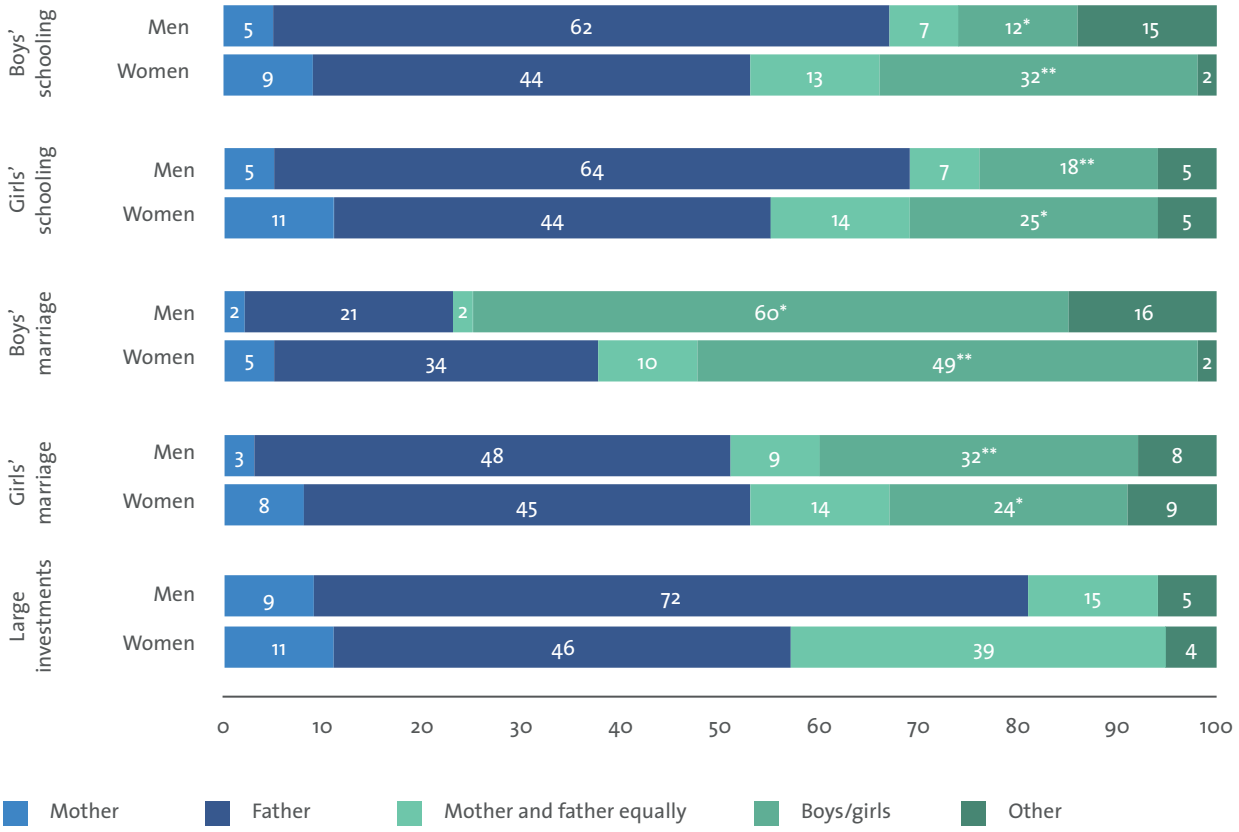
While fathers undertook little housework, by contrast, around half of male and female respondents reported that their fathers were the chief decision-makers on most domestic matters. For example, fathers most often had the final say on daughters' marriages, while only a quarter of female respondents reported that the decision of whom to marry was ultimately their own (Figure 3.3.2b). Men had much more latitude, with more than half of male respondents recalling that the decision to marry was solely up to them.[8] On matters such as schooling and large investments, both men and women recalled their fathers having the final say much or most of the time, though women remembered their mothers as considerably more involved in decision-making than men did.

8. Similar findings are reported in: Roushdy, Rania, and Maia Sieverding. (2015). *Panel Survey of Young People in Egypt: Generating Evidence for Policy and Programs*. Cairo: Population Council.

FIGURE 3.3.2b

Male and Female Decision-Making

Percentage distribution of respondents by person who had the final word on education or marriage of respondent and sibling(s) or on large household investments, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016***



* Respondents reporting on their own final word

** Respondents reporting on their opposite sex sibling's/s' final word

*** Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

3.3.3 – ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

Violence is a fact of life for most boys and girls in Egypt. More than three-fifths of men and women alike said that they were spanked or slapped by their parents (Figure 3.3.3a), reflecting the findings of other national surveys.[9] A third were beaten at home with an object, more than a tenth so severely that it left a mark. Around 30 per cent also recalled times in their youth when they had too little to eat.[10]

9. Such historical results are in line with current trends. A recent survey by UNICEF and Egypt's National Council on Motherhood and Childhood (NCCM) on violence against children in three major Egyptian cities found that more than three-fifths of 13-17 year old boys and girls had experienced physical violence in the year preceding the study (National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM) and UNICEF. (2015). *Violence Against Children in Egypt: A Quantitative and Qualitative Study in Cairo, Alexandria and Assiut*. Cairo: NCCM and UNICEF).

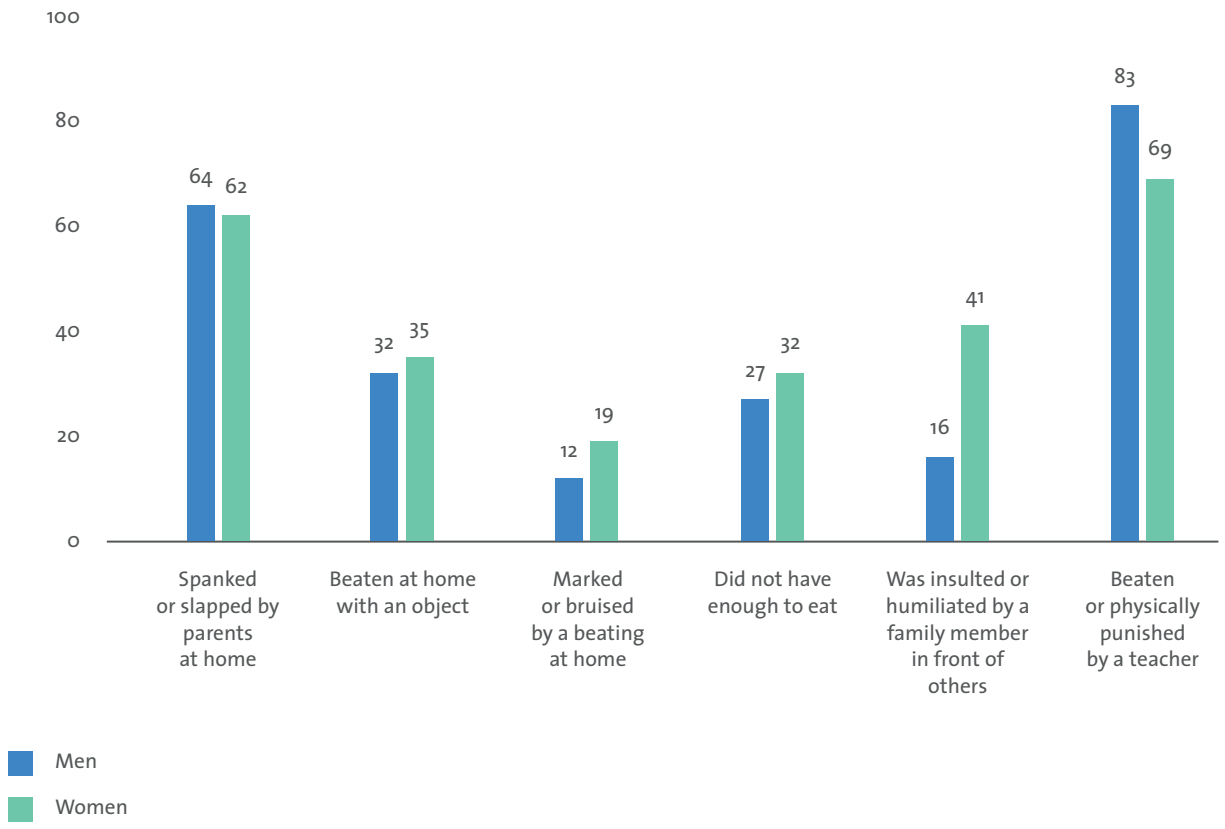
10. Due to local sensitivities, questions on childhood sexual abuse were omitted from the IMAGES MENA Egypt questionnaire.

Women were more likely to have been subjected to physical violence as children, and reported almost twice the rate of emotional abuse – being insulted or humiliated by family member – that men did. Boys are much more vulnerable to abuse outside the home: more than 80 per cent of male respondents reported having been beaten or physically punished by a teacher, compared with around two-thirds of their female peers. In qualitative research, men described a range of physical, emotional, and economic measures exacted by their fathers – being withdrawn from school as a boy to earn money for the family, for example (see Section 3.3.1). For some men, this created profound resentment, affecting not only their relationships with their fathers, but also with their sisters; others accepted it as a way of making them a man.

FIGURE 3.3.3a

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who experienced selected adverse events at home and at school before the age of 18, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



"My father was kind and tender with my sisters, but he was hard on us boys. You could say he wanted us to grow up and be something, so he was tough on us. It is different from one family to the next. Some families are tough on girls saying, 'Break a rib for a girl and ten others will grow in its place', and they prevent them from talking to outsiders or going out, but are less strict with boys and get them what they want.

"Even after I was married and had my son Mohamed, my father would come to my house and when we were talking, I would say to him, 'Man, forget it', and he would get up and slap me in the face; he did not accept me addressing him in that way. Now, when I think about it, he was right."

Man, 64 years old, widower raising children on his own, Cairo

A third of women and a fifth of men reported ever having witnessed their mother being beaten by their father or another male relative when they were children; other forms of physical violence experienced by mothers were not assessed. In qualitative interviews, significant numbers of men and women spoke not only of their mothers being physically abused, but of their anger with their fathers over such violence, and of frustration at their own inability to intervene.

"I used to be very upset with him [for beating my mother], but whenever I was close to insulting him, she would beat me. I felt sorry for her, but I was unable to forgive him, and even now I never ask for mercy from [his memory] like I do from my mother. What I saw him do to my mother makes me not want to remember him."

Woman, 41 years old, liquefied gas seller, Cairo

3.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life

3.4.1 – HEALTH AND WEALTH

Unemployment is one of Egypt's most pressing economic problems, with rates in excess of 30 per cent for men under 25.[11] While 85 per cent of men in the survey were currently employed, more than 40 per cent of male respondents described their jobs as occasional or seasonal, and a similar proportion said they spend most of their time either out of a job or looking for one (Figure 3.4.1a).

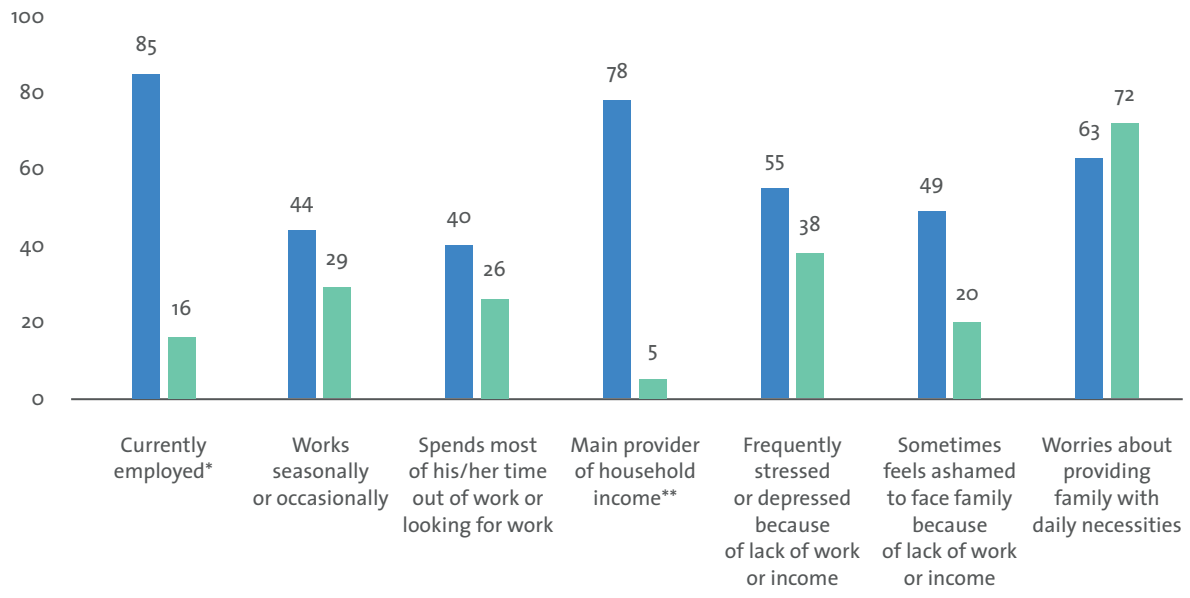
As discussed earlier, breadwinning is a key role for Egyptian men, with three-quarters of men and women surveyed citing the husband as the main income provider in their house. Yet this hallmark of masculinity, reinforced by societal expectations (see Section 3.2.1), is increasingly difficult to attain. Half or more of men in the survey were either ashamed to face their families or felt stressed or depressed because of insufficient work or income (Figure 3.4.1a). More than 60 per cent of male respondents worried about their ability to provide their families with daily necessities, among other concerns (Figure 3.4.1b).

11. "Unemployment, youth total (% of total labor force ages 15-24) (modeled ILO estimate)". *The World Bank*. 2016.

FIGURE 3.4.1a

Work-Related Stress

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about his/her work and financial situation, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Men

Women

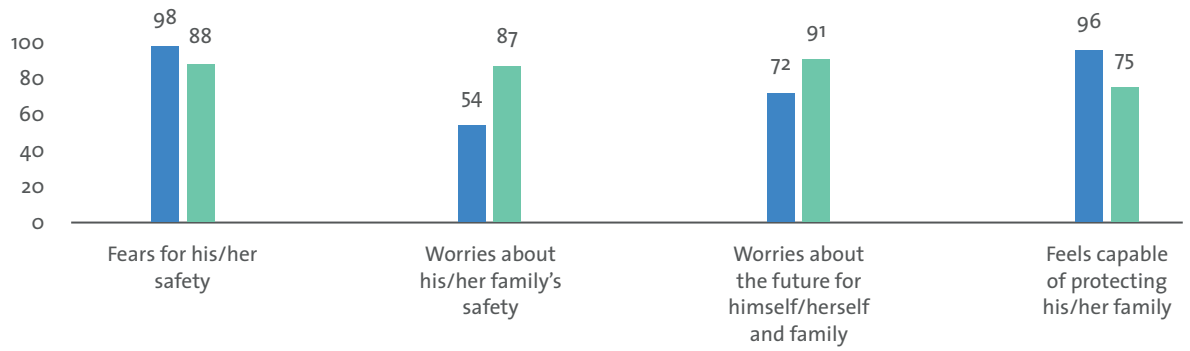
* 84 per cent of female respondents classified themselves as "housewives"

** Additional sources included parents and other relatives

FIGURE 3.4.1b

Individual and Family Security

Percentage of respondents with selected concerns about personal and family security, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Men

Women

> "The man has the primary responsibility to work and provide. The woman has the other responsibility of caring for home and children. If a man does not work, he will not be able to control his home, or his children, or even himself. That is the problem."
>
> **Man, 62 years old, married to a more educated woman, Cairo**

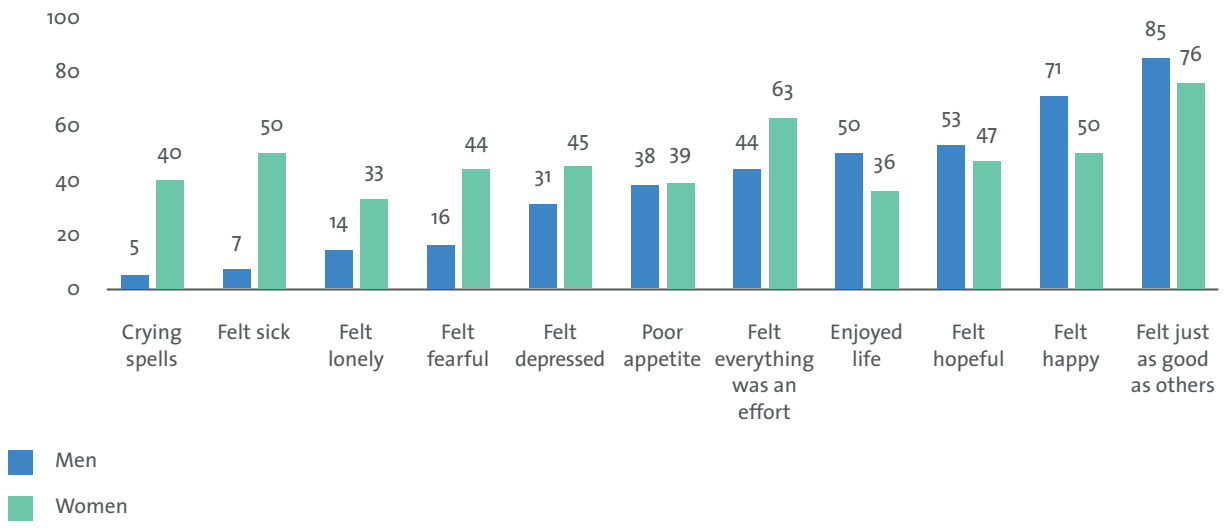
While men are stressed by work or the lack of it, women show signs of depression. In Egyptian folklore, a woman's lot is an unhappy one: "If the sad woman tried to be happy, she would find no place for herself", is one of many traditional sayings on the subject. Results from a 20-question standardized panel assessing depressive symptoms (see Chapter 2 for details), found that between a third and two-thirds of women had experienced loneliness, fear, depressed mood, restless sleep, feelings of sickness, crying spells, and other symptoms in the week preceding the survey – a considerably higher proportion than that of men (Figure 3.4.1c).

Five per cent of women (and fewer than 1 per cent of men) report ever having considered suicide, just under a third of them in the previous month alone. While women also expressed feelings of happiness, pleasure, hope, and confidence, far more men reported such positive emotions. In sum, according to the scale used in the survey, more than half of female respondents exhibited symptoms of depression, nearly twice the rate of their male peers.

FIGURE 3.4.1c

Emotional State

Percentage of respondents who reported experiencing selected feelings in the previous week, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Although more than 40 per cent of women, and more than a quarter of men, had consulted a healthcare provider in the preceding month, fewer than 2 per cent sought help from a mental health professional, in line with Egyptians' generally unfavourable views of psychiatry and psychotherapy. Fewer than a third of men and half of women turned to their own social circles for support. Married men relied heavily on their wives in times of trouble, with more than 70 per cent looking to their spouse for support, while a similar proportion of unmarried men depended mostly on male friends. In contrast, twice as many married women sought support from their other relatives as did from their husbands or female friends.

Men say they are satisfied with their health, but one in four has experienced problems related to smoking. When it comes to physical health, more men than women said they were satisfied with their current state of health (Table 3.4.1a). Almost three-quarters of men rated their health as good or very good compared with that of peers, and almost 90 per cent are satisfied with their bodies (although just over half would prefer a more muscular physique).

TABLE 3.4.1a

Perceptions of Personal Health

Percentage distribution of respondents, according to self-declared health status, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
In comparison to peers, respondent's health is		
Good or very good	73.5	55.8
Moderate	23.0	34.8
Bad or very bad	3.1	9.1
The respondent is happy with (his/her) body	**87.8**	**60.4**
The respondent would like to lose weight	**15.0**	**44.4**
The respondent would like to have a more muscular body	**50.5**	*
Smoking		
Respondent feels he/she smokes too much	69.8	**
Respondent has ever had a health problem related to smoking	51.0	**
Total number of respondents who smoke	**676**	**

* Not asked in the women's questionnaire

** Negligible number of respondents

Of the nearly half of male respondents who smoke, more than half of them said they have experienced smoking-related health problems, and two-thirds felt they smoke too much.[12] In qualitative interviews and group discussions, men placed the blame for their health problems on the difficulty of providing for their families in uncertain economic times. The desire for a more muscular body was less about attractiveness than money-making, since richer men were seen as being better able to take care of themselves, and stronger men were envied for their ability to work longer and harder. Men working multiple jobs to make ends meet complained of too little sleep, and in some cases, either too little to eat (leading to anaemia) or too much fast food (resulting in obesity). Many men described the pressures on them as so intense that smoking and stress-related drug-taking – mainly painkillers – are the only ways they can get through the day.[13]

> "Most men, now, to be able to work, need *birsham* [painkillers]. These [pills] are basic at the beginning of the day. As soon as you start a day's work, if you have no pill, you do not work. Today some people are really this dependent."
>
> **Man, 25 years old, worker, Cairo**

3.4.2 – MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Marriage decisions are generally made with or by the family, and the cost of marriage is seen as a burden by men. While marriage is not considered to be as crucial to achieving adulthood for men as it is for women, it is nonetheless an important milestone for both sexes (Table 3.4.2a). Despite regular moral panics about the decline and fall of marriage, the reality is that more than 90 per cent of Egyptian women and 70 per cent of Egyptian men are married by the age of 30 (see "Who Was Surveyed?").[14] Divorce is rare, with fewer than 3 per cent of men and women in the survey having legally broken ties with a spouse, in line with national figures.[15] While polygyny is authorized under Egyptian law, shifts in the economic climate, as well as in attitudes toward marriage, make it increasingly rare: fewer than 1 per cent of the men in the survey had more than one wife, in keeping with other, national studies.[16]

Marriage in Egypt is less a matter of individual choice than of family negotiation. Almost 90 per cent of men and fewer than 50 per cent of women thought the final decision to marry should rest with the couple themselves. While more than three-quarters of men in the survey made their own decisions about whom and how to marry, almost 90 per cent of women reported that, for them, this decision lay with other family members – mainly fathers (see also Figure 3.3.2b).

12. Due to social norms, virtually no female respondents reported smoking.

13. Due to government restrictions, the IMAGES MENA Egypt household survey was unable to probe alcohol and drug use among respondents.

14. Salem, Rania. (2015). *Changes in the Institution of Marriage in Egypt from 1998 to 2012*. Giza: The Economic Research Forum (ERF).

15. CAPMAS, *Egypt Statistical Yearbook, 2015 Education*, 2015.

16. Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], and ICF International. *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2014*, 2015.

Men and women generally agreed on what constitutes a socially acceptable marriage. Fewer than a quarter of never-married respondents were willing to marry a divorcé(e) or an older woman/younger man; fewer than 10 per cent would consider a spouse of a different religion (Table 3.4.2a). In keeping with their resistance to women's work, fewer than a fifth of men believed it important for a woman to work outside the home after marriage, whereas more than 60 per cent of women considered it a priority. However, close to half of men and women alike were against a man marrying a more educated woman, consistent with the fact that more than 60 per cent of respondents are married to a spouse with a level of education similar to their own.

Men are expected to bear most of the costs when it comes to marriage, from a big wedding onwards. This has become an increasingly heavy load to bear, with more than 70 per cent of men reporting that the cost of their own wedding was a burden on their families. In spite of this, fewer than a third would have liked to see more of the costs shared with the bride's family, consistent with findings from national youth surveys on cost-sharing in modern weddings.[17]

TABLE 3.4.2a

Attitudes toward Marriage

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about marriage, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
If a man does not marry, he is not a man	2.9	12.5
It is more important for a woman to marry than for her to have a career	67.7	72.7
A man should not marry a woman who has been previously engaged	19.4	24.3
A man should not marry a woman who is more educated than he is	46.8	44.6
I would approve of my son marrying more than one wife*	43.4	8.2
I would approve of my daughter marrying a man who already has other wives*	9.5	4.4
Asked of never-married respondents only		
It is important for a future wife to work after marriage	15.2	61.7
I have no problem with marrying a person who has been divorced	11.3	14.6
I have no problem with marrying an older woman/a younger man	15.7	20.3
I have no problem with marrying someone of a different religion	6.6	2.3
Total number of never-married respondents	**362**	**123**

* Question asked of Muslim respondents only

17. Roushdy, Rania, and Maia Sieverding, *Panel Survey of Young People in Egypt*, 2015.

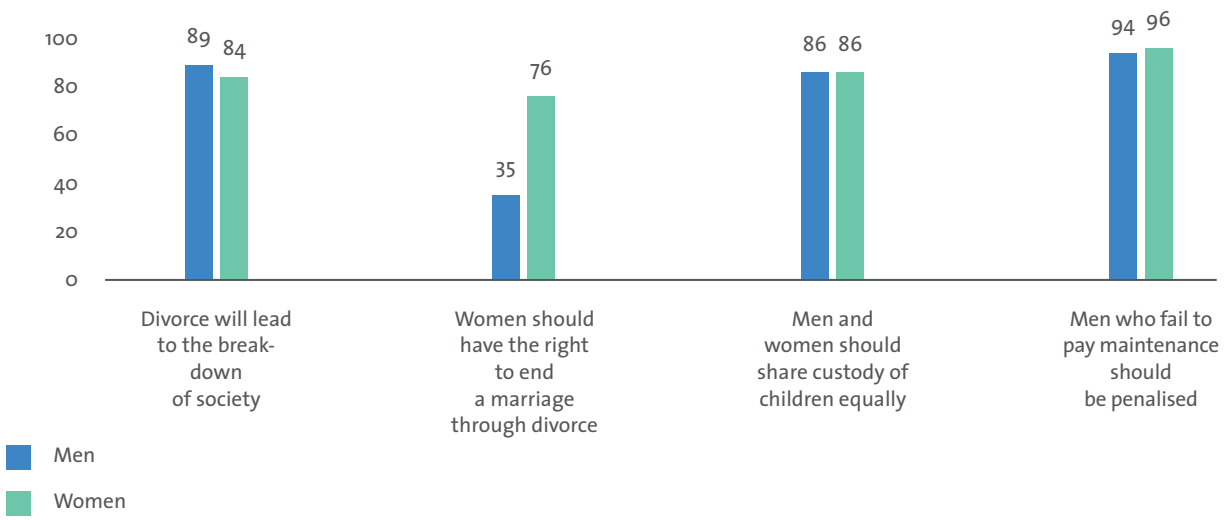
Divorce is a source of anxiety in Egypt, particularly among men. Although only a small minority of respondents considered divorce to diminish the respectability of individual men or women, almost 90 per cent believed that it will lead to the breakdown of society (Figure 3.4.2a). Divorce law is particularly complex in Egypt, with different types of divorce authorized for men and women. Men were resistant to women initiating divorce, with just a third in favour of the right of women to do so, less than half the proportion of women who were in favour.

> "Of course, these laws have had negative effects. Before, women were blind [unaware] and her husband was a Si Sayed [a fictional patriarch] and she had to obey his bidding. Now her eyes have opened to every big and small issue, and she can threaten her husband with *khol'* [wife-initiated divorce]."
>
> **Man, 45 years old, Cairo**

FIGURE 3.4.2a

Attitudes toward Divorce

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about divorce, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



On other aspects of divorce, the vast majority of men and women believed that laws relating to alimony, housing rights, child support, and visitation rights favour women. More than 80 per cent of men and women supported equal custody rights for mothers and fathers, and more than 90 per cent believed that fathers who fail to pay maintenance should be penalized. In qualitative interviews, however, some divorced men were resentful at the ways in which these laws play out against them, and saw the family courts (established in 2004 to handle such cases) as a particular source of female power and privilege.

> "All the laws are favouring women, the reason behind any divorce is the woman not the man. We need to change these laws. Unacceptable."
>
> **Man, 35 years old, divorced, Daqahliyah**

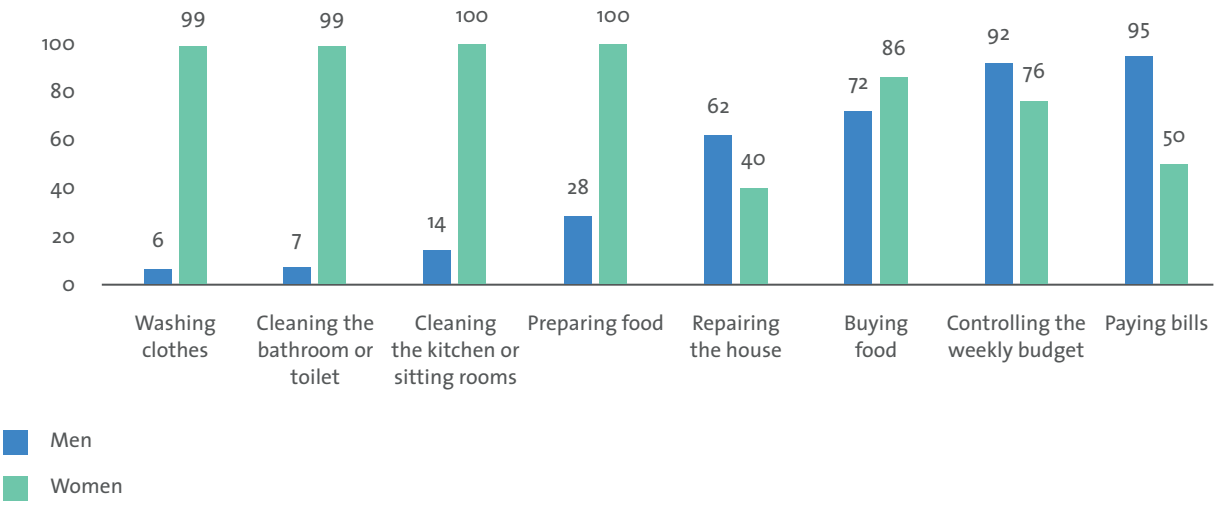
3.4.3 – HOUSEWORK AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING

Women perform the majority of domestic work, with some exceptions. The highly-gendered division of labour in the homes of boys and girls (see Section 3.3.2) continues in their lives as husbands and wives. Among ever-married men, fewer than a quarter reported having participated in conventionally female household tasks such as cooking or cleaning in the previous month (Figure 3.4.3a). Their participation in housework is largely confined to traditionally male tasks, with more than three-fifths taking on repairs and more than 90 per cent paying bills. Men who are more educated, and the minority whose wives work full time, were more likely to report undertaking domestic chores, as were those whose fathers were more involved in domestic tasks, and those who themselves engaged in such housework as children.

FIGURE 3.4.3a

Division of Household Labour

Percentage of ever-married respondents according to participation in housework in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



"They are not used to seeing a stay-at-home man. They are used to men going out to work because that is how the whole world is."

Man, 39 years old, whose wife is the main breadwinner, Cairo

"A man is a man, a woman is a woman, I work hard and do my part. I need to go home and find things ready, don't ask me to do anything extra. I'm the man."

Man, 61 years old, Minya

Women, too, largely repeat the pattern established in childhood, engaging mainly in "feminine" domestic tasks, but also taking on some "masculine" chores, as well. Almost all men and women agreed that women perform the lion's share of housework; even the small percentage of female respondents who work full-time reported having to do double-duty at home. Nearly all male respondents were highly satisfied with this state of affairs, and a similar proportion believed their spouses to feel the same. Indeed, more than 95 per cent of women surveyed claimed to be content with this division of labour.

Qualitative findings suggest that men will sometimes "help" with household chores, but this is far from systematic, and is usually strictly for private consumption. One female participant described how her husband "helps" with the laundry because of his concern that she might damage their expensive washing machine, but would never hang up the laundry, in full view of the neighbours. Such experiences underscore the tension between the public and private faces of masculinity.

"When I ask my husband to buy something from the market, he forgets to buy one or two items on purpose to make me tell him, 'Fine. I will buy things myself next time'."

Woman, Cairo

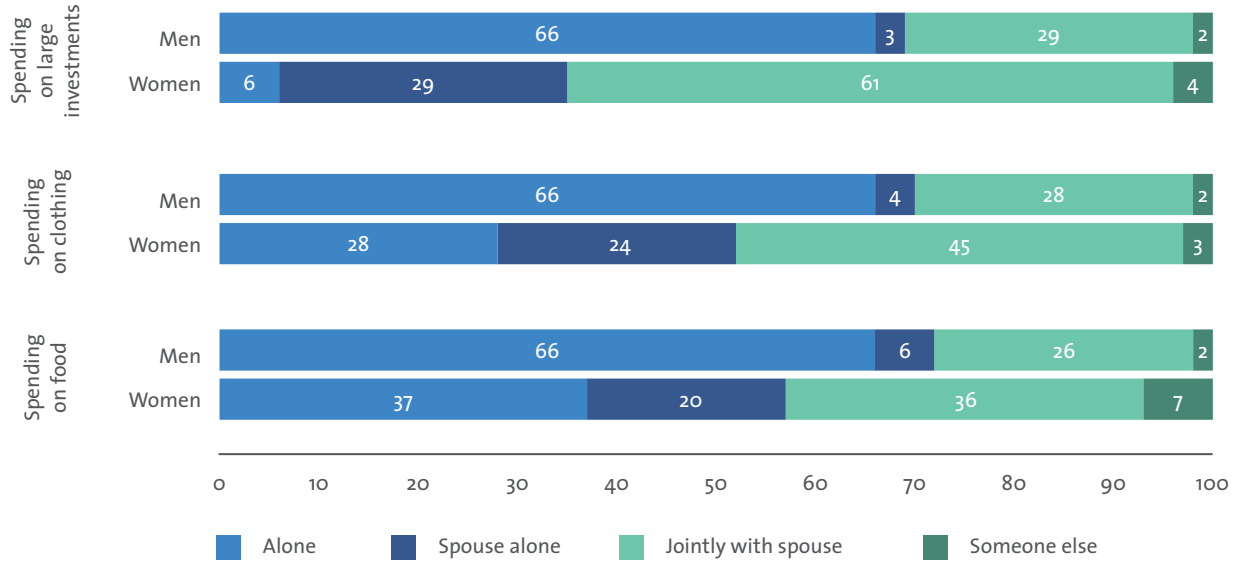
While the division of housework may seem clear cut, the balance of household decision-making is more complex. Two-thirds of men claimed to have the final say when it comes to household spending on various items (Figure 3.4.3b). However, women have a dramatically different perspective. They claimed more power, with some two-thirds or more saying either that they themselves have the final say on spending or that they share this decision-making with their husbands.

Older men, men from rural areas, and men with primary education were more likely to say that they dominate household decision-making. Those men who saw their fathers sharing decisions with their mothers on household investments were significantly more likely to do the same with their own wives. For women, working outside the home is a source of perceived power in decision-making: working women were more likely to make household decisions than their stay-at-home counterparts.

FIGURE 3.4.3b

Household Spending

Percentage of ever-married men and women reporting who has the final word on household spending decisions, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Men on the Move

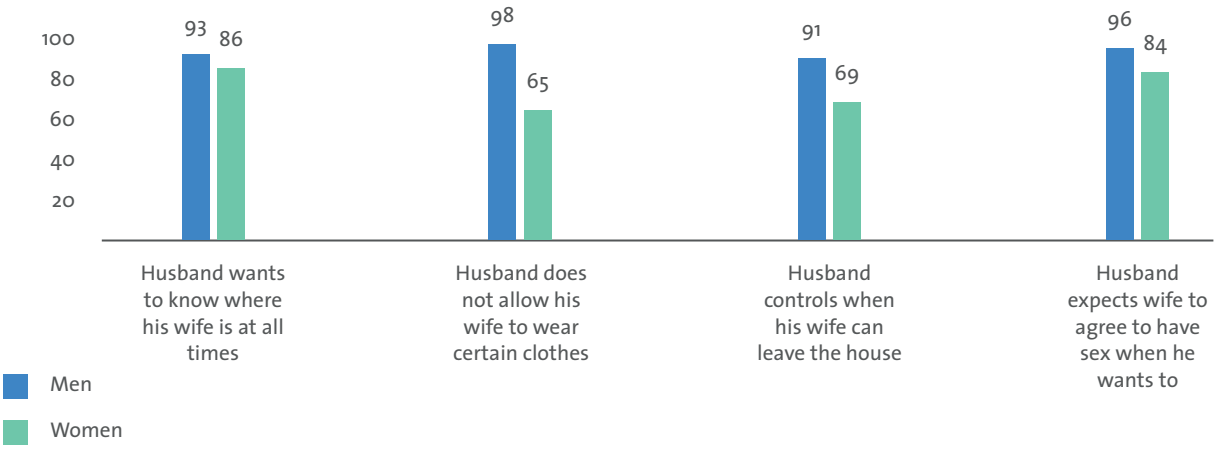
Nearly one in five men in the IMAGES MENA Egypt survey has migrated at least once in his life for more than six months, leaving his family behind; the vast majority of these migrants travelled to work in another country within the MENA region. When asked about financial decision-making before, during, and after this migration, three-quarters or more of men said the balance of power between themselves and their wives stayed the same. Women whose husbands had migrated, however, told a different story: almost 40 per cent said they made more financial decisions when their husband was away than they had before his departure, though fewer than 10 per cent retained this power after his return. Consistent with men's responses, almost 20 per cent of women said their husbands had more power after his return than he had before he left.

Men's dominance over women extends to women's movement and other personal freedoms. Virtually all of the men surveyed said they control what their wives wear and whether they can leave the house; that they want to know where their wives are at all times; and that they expect their wives to have intercourse on demand (Figure 3.4.3c). Two-thirds or more of women affirmed this control over their lives by their husbands. In practice, women have more autonomy on some matters, with more than three-fifths reporting that the decision to visit friends and family, for example, is either theirs alone or made jointly with their husbands.

FIGURE 3.4.3c

Spousal Control

Percentage of ever-married respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about the relationship with his/her spouse, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



3.4.4 – FATHERHOOD

Men are more involved in childcare than in housework, and would like to do more. Around 85 per cent of women with children in the survey had received some form of antenatal care during their most recent pregnancy. More than 70 per cent of married male respondents reported attending at least one antenatal visit with their wives, the vast majority sitting in on the consultation. Women, however, tended to remember the situation differently, with only two-fifths recalling their husband's presence at such visits. During delivery, however, three-quarters of male and female respondents alike said that men were present for the birth of their youngest child, albeit in a different room, given prevailing cultural norms and hospital regulations around childbirth.

A significant proportion of men and women supported paternity leave to encourage greater engagement of fathers after the birth of a child. While maternity leave is mandated under Egyptian law, no such provision is made for fathers. Just over a tenth of men surveyed took time off after the birth of their youngest child (Table 3.4.4a); this leave was a week, on average, and the vast majority of it was unpaid. However, many more would like the option: around half of male and female respondents were in favour of paid paternity leave of up to two weeks.

Childcare and child discipline are largely women's work. Where daily caregiving is concerned, fewer than 10 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women felt that there is shame in men taking care of children or contributing to housework (see Table 3.2.1a). The view, held by the vast majority of men and women, that changing diapers, bathing, and feeding children should be a woman's responsibility, is reflected in daily life (Figure 3.4.4a). While infant and toddler care is the preserve of women, more than two-fifths of men reported ever having fed or supervised their children. Still, more than three-quarters of these men reported that, while they have lent a hand, their wives do most of this work. In contrast, almost three-quarters of men reported playing with their children, an activity which they largely shared with their wives.

TABLE 3.4.4a

Parental Leave

Percentage of respondents who took or would like to take paid time off at the birth of their child, and desired duration of leave, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

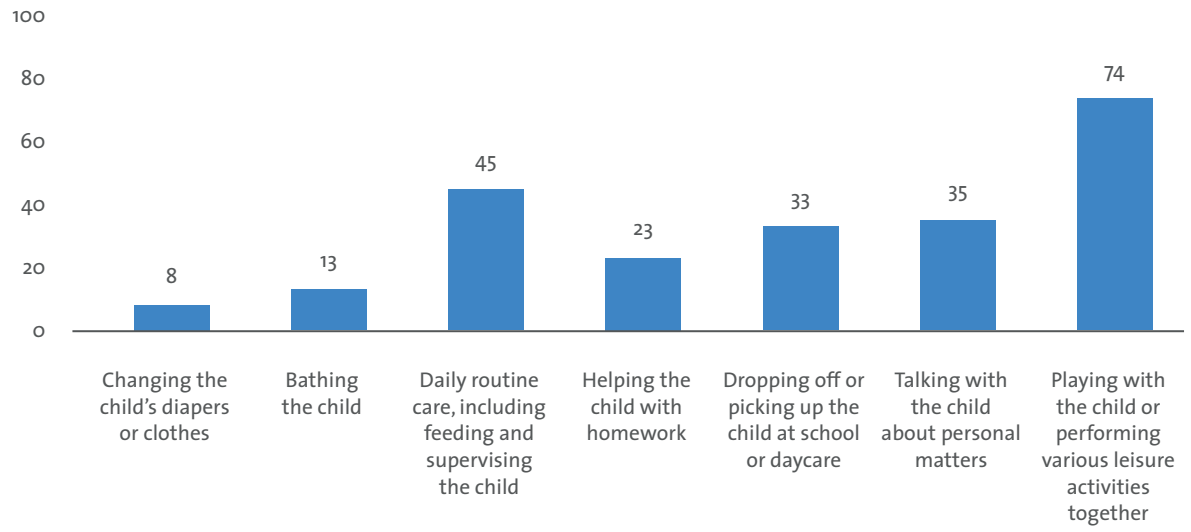
	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
You/your husband took time off work within six months of your youngest child's birth to help care for your child*	12.9	19.7
Total number of respondents with one or more biological children	**966**	**1204**
Would you like to have the option of paid parental leave for fathers?	44.6	53.3
Desired duration of leave		
Less than one week	33.0	41.3
One or two weeks	53.5	48.7
Three to six weeks	7.6	7.5
More than six weeks	5.8	2.5

* Women were asked about husband's parental leave

FIGURE 3.4.4a

Fathers and Childcare

Percentage of ever-married men who performed childcare tasks related to their youngest child (under age 18) while that child was living at home, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Almost two-thirds of men reported that they spend too little time with their children, due to work or the search for it. And while almost two-thirds of women saw their husbands' role in childrearing as primarily that of a financial provider, only 40 per cent of men agreed with this assessment. This suggests that men desire involvement beyond breadwinning, more so than women seem to acknowledge.

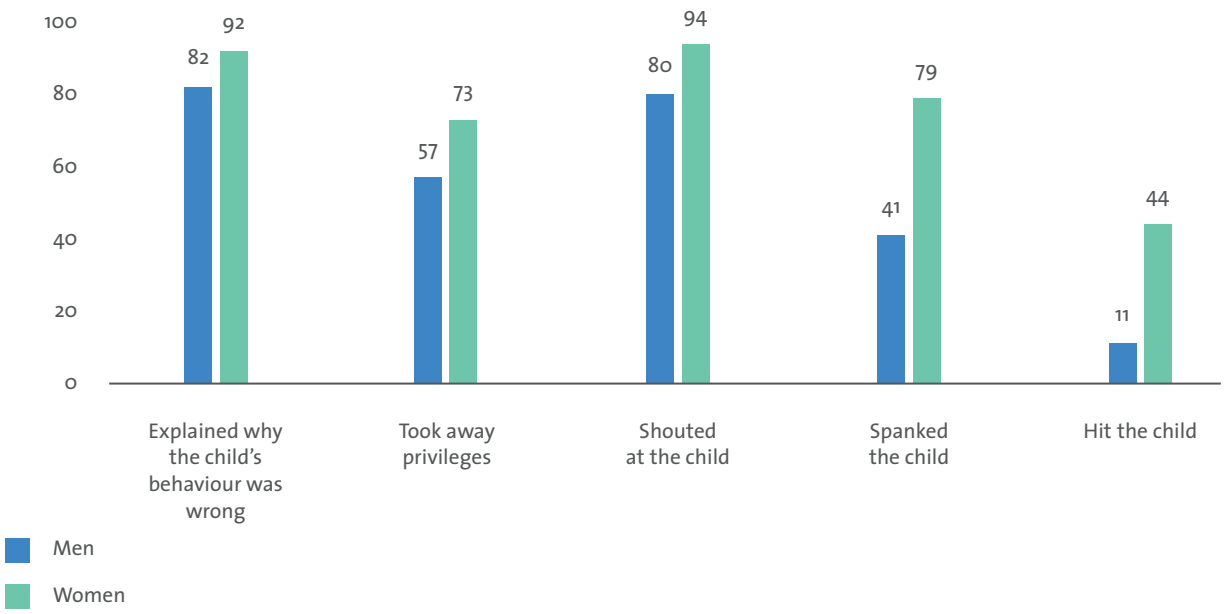
Just as most daily childcare tasks are undertaken by mothers, women play a central role in child discipline. When asked about selected disciplinary methods with their children aged 3 to 14, in the month preceding the survey, more than 80 per cent of men and women reported verbally disciplining their sons and daughters (Figure 3.4.4b). Physical measures were far more commonly used by women than by men.

> "When women experience violence from their husbands, they become nervous and take it out on their children. They have too many worries to be able to tolerate their children or be patient with them."
>
> **Woman, 28 years old, Cairo**

FIGURE 3.4.4b

Child Discipline

Percentage of respondents with children aged 3 to 14 who used selected child disciplinary methods in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Younger, wealthier, and more educated fathers were less likely to use harsh physical discipline with their children than were other men. In qualitative research, men and women noted that corporal punishment, particularly that of younger children, is a mother's responsibility. Paternal discipline was seen as something to be exercised in exceptional circumstances, for example, in the case of older children transgressing religious teachings. Many men noted that times are changing and that such shows of paternal force are no longer the norm, but when exercised, are part of the duty of good father.

3.4.5 – FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION (FGM)

Support for female circumcision is high among women and men alike. An overwhelming majority of the women in the sample, 92 per cent, reported having been circumcised, consistent with other national surveys.[18] While these and other studies have examined women's attitudes toward and experience of FGM in detail, IMAGES MENA Egypt is among the few studies to gauge men's support for FGM and to quantify men's attitudes and engagement in the practice.

In Egypt, girls are usually circumcised around 10 years of age. Conventional wisdom, and existing literature, maintains that mothers and grandmothers are the main decision-makers as to FGM, with the men of the family essentially bystanders to such intimate affairs. However, IMAGES MENA Egypt finds that more than 80 per cent of women and 90 per cent of men agree that men are involved in deciding whether a daughter is circumcised, with roughly two-thirds of all respondents reporting that male and female family members together have the final say in the matter (Table 3.4.5a).

TABLE 3.4.5a

Decisions about Female Genital Mutilation

Percentage distribution of currently married men and women with daughters, IMAGES MENA, Egypt 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Men in the respondent's family participate in the decision about (his/her) daughter's circumcision	96.2	83.4
Who in the respondent's family has the final say on whether a girl is circumcised?		
Female family members	4.0	20.4
Male family members	26.8	4.7
Both male and female family members	66.4	71.4
Neither male nor female family members	2.8	3.3
Total number of respondents with one or more daughters	**777**	**898**

18. Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], and ICF International, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey, 2014*, 2015.

Egypt has seen decades of national campaigns and community initiatives to eradicate FGM, culminating in a 2008 law criminalizing the practice. Such initiatives, which have focused on changing attitudes and practices among women, appear to be paying off: just over half of female respondents in this study approved of FGM or believed the practice should continue (Figure 3.4.5a), a sharp decline over approval rates found in earlier national surveys.

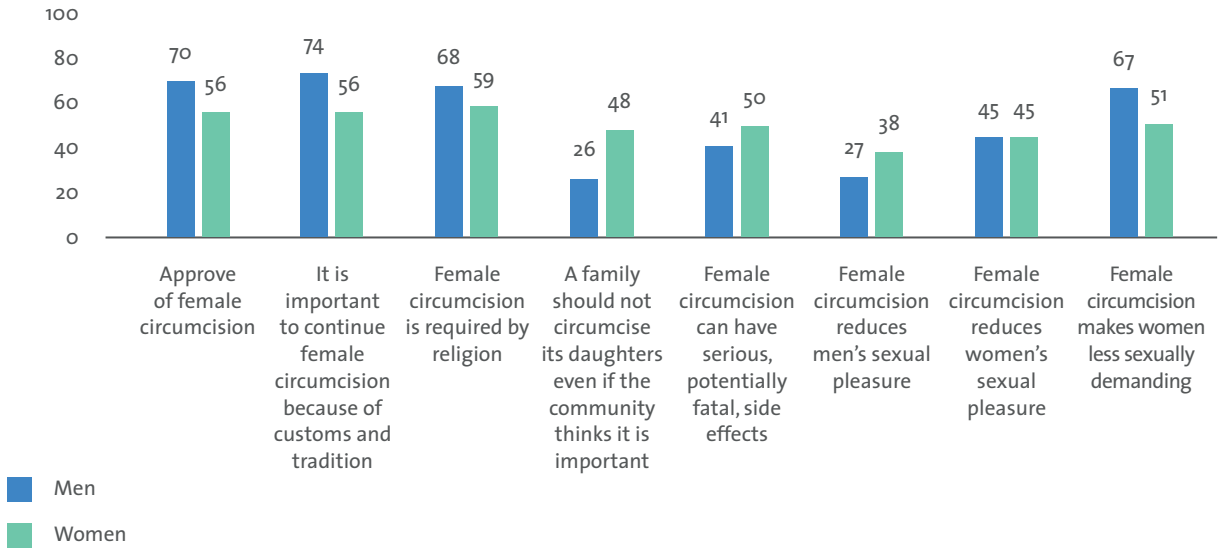
Indeed, men were significantly more supportive of FGM than women were: around 70 per cent approved of the practice and endorsed circumcision of their daughters. Men were also more supportive than women were of continuing the practice because of tradition, because of its status as a perceived religious obligation,[19] and because of the importance they place on adhering to community norms. More than half of men and women alike were sceptical about the medical risks associated with FGM or its impact on men's sexual pleasure. However, they agreed on its effect on female sexuality: more than two-fifths believed that FGM reduces women's sexual pleasure, and more than half of women and two-thirds of men believed that it makes women less sexually demanding (see Section 3.4.6).

Qualitative research reveals the complexity of male engagement in FGM decision-making. Some men and women, in qualitative interviews, maintained that men do not play a major role in FGM decisions in the home, and that the decision is one for a mother to make. On the other hand, some respondents also argued that largely Western online pornography had increased men's support for FGM; knowing that Western women are uncircumcised, such imagery is thought to reinforce male arguments that the procedure is necessary to curb female sexual desire, and to strengthen men's determination to have their own daughters circumcised.[20]

FIGURE 3.4.5a

Attitudes toward Female Genital Mutilation

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about female circumcision, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



19. Due to official restrictions, IMAGES MENA Egypt did not include questions about personal religious belief or practice.

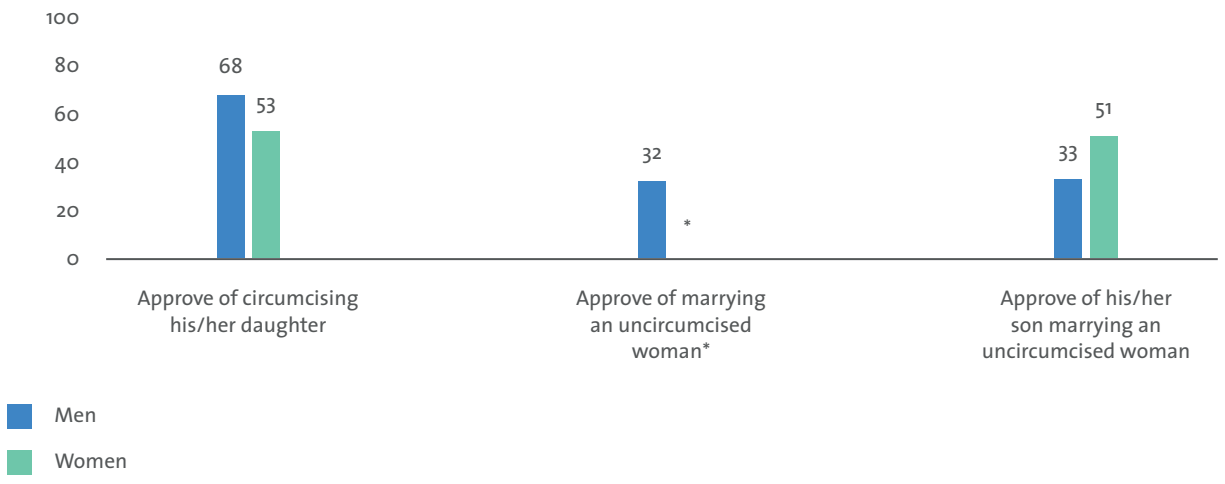
20. Fahmy, et al. (2010). "Female genital mutilation/cutting and issues of sexuality in Egypt." *Reproductive Health Matters*, vol. 18, no. 36, pp. 181-190, doi: 0.1016/S0968-8080(10)36535-9.

At the same time, however, a significant minority of men appeared unsupportive of FGM: around a third of men surveyed were opposed to circumcising their daughters, while upwards of a third would be willing either to marry an uncircumcised woman themselves or to see their sons do so (Figure 3.4.5b). Urban, wealthier men, as well as those with higher education, were significantly more likely to oppose FGM than were other male respondents.

FIGURE 3.4.5b

FGM in the Future

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about female circumcision, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



* This question was not asked in the women's questionnaire

> "I am against [female] circumcision and so is my husband. I still remember the day when I had it done. A girl is old enough to remember and the painful memory never goes away. My mother and his mother wanted us to circumcise our daughter, but we both refused, and I said, 'Why should I cut a piece off my daughter's body?'"
>
> **Woman, 24 years old, Cairo**

3.4.6 – GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Men's use of violence against women is widespread, both at home and on the streets. Over the past decade, gender-based violence in Egypt has gone from a private taboo to an issue of public discussion. This is particularly true of sexual harassment in public spaces, which, having hit headlines at home and abroad during the events of the 2011 revolution, continues to excite popular debate, legislative activity, and civil-society action. While a number of national surveys have studied women's experiences of GBV, including sexual harassment, less is known about men's attitudes and experiences as perpetrators or victims of GBV, in either the public and private domain.

When it comes to domestic violence, more than half of male respondents believed that women deserve to be beaten on occasion, and 90 per cent asserted that women should accept such treatment in order to preserve the family (see Table 3.2.1a). While women strongly disagreed with their male counterparts on the former point, they were far more willing to tolerate violence for the sake of family unity.

Nearly half of Egyptian men have used physical violence against their wives. More than 8 in 10 ever-married men reported having been emotionally violent toward their wives at some point in their lives. Just over half of ever-married men surveyed had carried out one of these acts of violence in the previous 12 months (Table 3.4.6a). Physical violence is also common: almost half of male respondents had ever slapped, shoved, struck, or otherwise physically abused their wives, with a fifth of ever-married men reporting physical violence against their wives in the previous year.[21] More than half of men and women reported that such acts of violence were committed in front of children. Furthermore, a fifth of men reported ever having used forms of economic violence against their wives.

Women report experiencing violence at lower rates than men report perpetration, except in the case of economic and sexual violence. On the whole, women's reported rates of experiencing physical and emotional abuse were lower than men's of perpetration.[22] As has been seen in other countries where IMAGES has been carried out, the biggest gap between men's reports of perpetration and women's reports of experience was in the case of sexual violence. One in six women reported having been forced to have sex with her husband, while almost no men reported having committed such abuse.

In the Egyptian penal code, marital rape is not classified as an offense. However, more than 80 per cent of the men surveyed believed that a woman should have the right to refuse to have sex with her husband (Figure 3.4.6a), and by the same token, fewer than a fifth of men believed that a man has the right to have sex with his wife if he supports her financially. Rights in theory, though, are different from those in practice; almost all men in the study said they expect their wives to have sex when they themselves so desire it (see Figure 3.4.3c). Women, for their part, were more inclined to uphold male privilege, and to subscribe to the notion that women are obliged to accede to their husbands' sexual demands. In short, men's underreporting of such violence may reflect a state of denial, and women's more frequent reports their lived reality.

21. IMAGES MENA also asked women if they had ever used violence against their husbands. Approximately 10 per cent of married women reported in the affirmative, the majority having belittled or insulted their husbands at some point, and 5 per cent reporting having ever shoved, pushed, or beaten their spouse.

22. The *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey 2014* (Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], and ICF International, *Egypt Demographic and Health Survey*, 2014) and *Egypt Economic Cost of Gender-Based Violence Survey* (United Nations Fund Population (UNFPA). (2016). *The Egypt Economic Cost of Gender-Based Violence Survey (ECGBVS) 2015*. Cairo: UNFPA, Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), and National Council for Women (NCW)) also assessed levels of spousal violence experienced by women, finding lower rates than IMAGES MENA Egypt. Such variation is due to differences in sample size, geographic scope, age range, as well as differences in the items included in the definition of spousal violence.

TABLE 3.4.6a

Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of ever-married respondents by acts of violence perpetrated by men and experienced by women, lifetime and 12-month rates, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016*

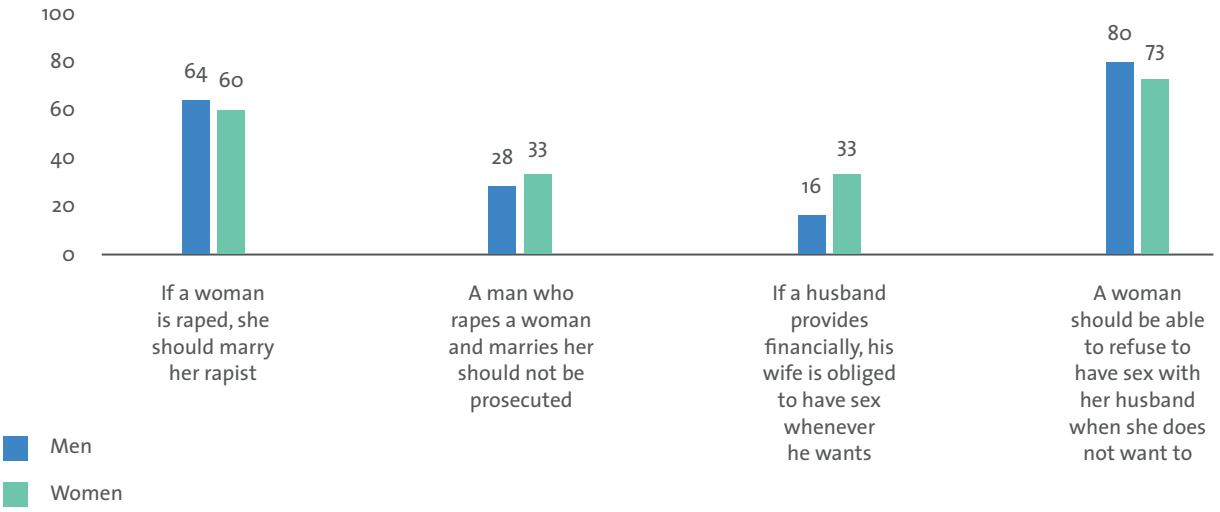
	MEN		WOMEN	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Violent acts				
Emotional violence	**82.3**	**53.8**	**66.4**	**33.6**
Insulted (his wife/her) or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	59.8	28.0	49.3	21.9
Belittled or humiliated (his wife/her) in front of other people	13.3	5.4	35.3	14.7
Scared or intimidated (his wife/her) on purpose for example by the way he looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	76.4	50.4	54.9	25.8
Threatened to hurt (his wife/her)	24.7	10.8	11.7	4.3
Hurt people (his wife/she) cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	5.9	2.2	13.2	5.5
Economic violence	**21.1**	**6.6**	**26.5**	**8.1**
Prevented (his wife/her) from working for wages or profit	3.2	1.2	10.9	2.4
Took (his wife's/her) earnings against her will	0.3	0.2	2.4	0.6
Kept money from earnings for personal use when the respondent knew (his wife/she) was finding it hard to pay for her personal expenses or household needs	6.0	2.8	13.0	5.5
Threw (his wife/her) out of the house	13.9	2.9	14.1	3.1
Physical violence	**45.2**	**20.5**	**43.7**	**13.8**
Slapped (his wife/her) or threw something at her that could hurt her	24.7	8.4	34.8	10.0
Pushed or shoved (his wife/her)	42.3	19.4	38.3	12.3
Hit (his wife/her) with his fist or with something else that could hurt her	3.0	1.0	15.3	4.3
Kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned (his wife/her)	1.8	0.8	10.9	3.6
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against (his wife/her)	0.3	0.2	1.2	0.2
Sexual violence	**0.7**	**0.5**	**16.4**	**5.5**
Forced (his wife/her) to have sex with him when she did not want to	0.7	0.5	16.4	5.5
Total number of ever-married respondents	**1,018**		**1,279**	

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

FIGURE 3.4.6a

Attitudes toward Forced Sex

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexual violence, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Which men are more likely to have used violence against their wives? As seen in other IMAGES studies, men who, as children, experienced violence at home were significantly more likely to exercise physical, emotional, or economic violence against their wives; and men who witnessed violence against their mothers in childhood were more likely to also use sexual violence against their wives. More educated and more gender-equitable men were less likely to engage in physical, emotional, or economic violence; richer men and those in urban areas were less likely to use emotional violence against their wives.

Qualitative interviews add nuance to these numbers. In focus groups and in-depth interviews, men described spousal violence as being a thing of the past, saying that women's enhanced status has made such violence less common and less acceptable. For some men interviewed in the qualitative study, male violence against women was considered irrational and a sign that men have lost control; this contrasts with notions of men's moral duty to discipline those under their supervision. Women in the qualitative study considered men's violence against wives to be far more common, and to be more consistent with what is expected of men than, for example, fathers physically disciplining their children. Men and women were in agreement, however, that male-female relationships are, by their very nature, complicated and, at times, confrontational. Participants essentially characterized wives as bearing the "natural" brunt, through spousal violence, of men's stress and frustration.

"My husband beat me. When I complained to his family, they said, 'What do you expect? Do you want him to take his frustration out on people on the street or in his home? You should tolerate your husband.' But my brothers got angry and kept me in my parents' home and said that I should not go home to him.

"I stayed three months [with my mother], until [my husband] realized his mistake and understood that by beating me he had lost his wife and children. But even then, when his mother came to visit, she tried to convince him that I was wrong. She expects me to be a sponge that soaks up his anger and frustration.

"He apologized and I went back to him. The beating decreased, and now he beats me slightly if we disagree. But before, he used to beat me 'till my face and body became blue. But now things are better."

Woman, 27 years old, Cairo

"My father used to beat my mother, me, and my siblings. When he died, as I was the oldest son, I started beating my younger siblings, too."

Man, 46 years old, Behira

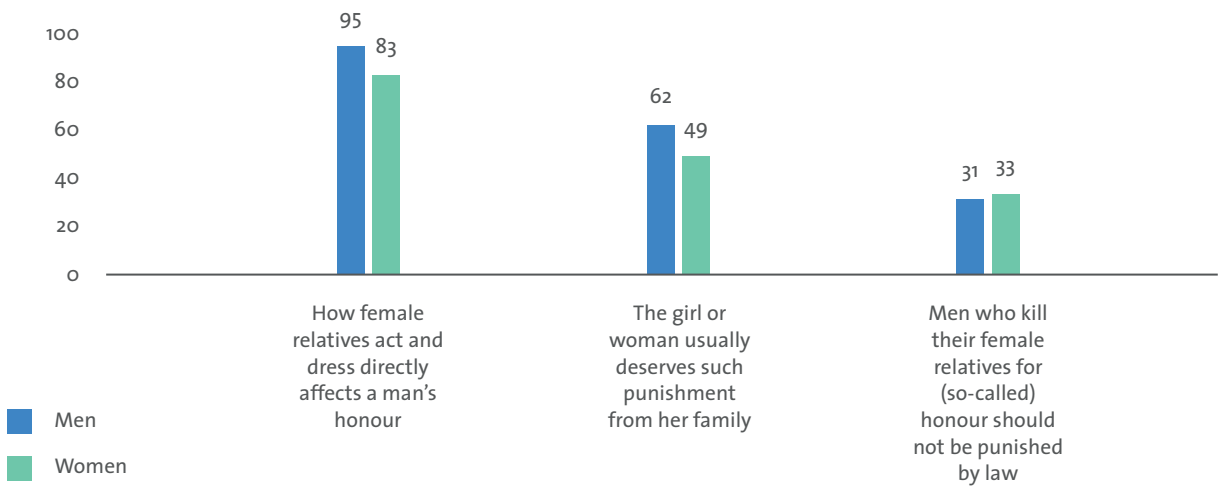
The majority of Egyptian men consider it their duty to protect the honour of women and girls in their family, and nearly three-fifths agree with honour killing in some circumstances. More than 90 per cent of men saw male honour as directly contingent on their female relatives' dress and behaviour (Figure 3.4.6b).

So-called "honour" killing – murder of relatives (usually female) thought to have impugned the family honour through perceived transgressions, generally of a sexual nature – is a nebulous subject in Egypt. Nearly 10 per cent of male and female respondents recalled hearing of an honour killing in their local community in the previous year, but such reports are, by their very nature, imprecise. More than three-fifths of men believed that the victim usually deserves such punishment, and nearly half of female respondents believed likewise. Egyptian law is slippery when it comes to honour killings, with courts having the discretion to dispense reduced sentencing. However, strong majorities of men and women seem to oppose such leniency: only around a third of men and women alike held the view that perpetrators should go unpunished.

FIGURE 3.4.6b

Attitudes toward Honour Killing

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about honour killing, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



Traditionally in Egypt, rape is considered an attack, not just on an individual women, but also against the men charged with her protection. Egypt's legislature is considering tightening the law on rape to include the death sentence in certain cases; the legal loophole that allowed assailants to escape punishment by marrying their victims was closed almost 20 years ago. Nonetheless, around 60 per cent of men and women continued to support the idea that a woman who is raped should marry her attacker (Figure 3.4.6a). At the same time, only a third of respondents considered that marriage to the victim should exempt a perpetrator from prosecution.

Street sexual harassment is a common practice among men in Egypt, most frequently against women and girls in urban settings. Although sexual harassment in Egypt hit the international headlines in 2011, the phenomenon predates such recent events: a range of surveys across the country have shown that women in public spaces experience high rates of verbal or physical violence.[23] IMAGES MENA Egypt results indicate that almost 60 per cent of female respondents have ever been exposed to sexual harassment – mainly in the form of ogling and sexual comments – more than a quarter in the preceding three months alone (Table 3.4.6b). Men's accounts were similar: almost two-thirds of men reported having ever sexually harassed a woman or girl (30 per cent in the previous three months), although men tended to admit to less intrusive acts.

Why did men commit such acts? Almost 90 per cent of those who had ever sexually harassed a woman or girl said they did so for fun or excitement. More than three-quarters of male respondents also cited a woman's "provocative" dress as a legitimate reason for harassment (Figure 3.4.6c). Women held even more conservative views than did their male counterparts, pinning the responsibility for harassment firmly on women for tempting men into such acts. At the same time, only 20 per cent of women said that women enjoy such attentions, compared with more than two-fifths of men surveyed.

23. See, for example, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). (2013). *Study on Ways and Methods to Eliminate Sexual Harassment in Egypt: Results/Outcomes and Recommendations Summary.* New York: UN Women.

Which men and women were most likely to have a history of sexual harassment perpetration/experience? Men who, as children, experienced violence at home or witnessed violence against their mothers were more likely to harass women than those who did not. Wealthier, more educated men were more likely to commit an act of sexual harassment than were their poorer, uneducated peers. Younger men aged 18 to 24 were more likely to sexually harass than were men over 50. Younger women were significantly more vulnerable to harassment than were their older peers, as were women in urban areas and those who were more highly educated, possibly because of their greater mobility.

TABLE 3.4.6b

Street-Based Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

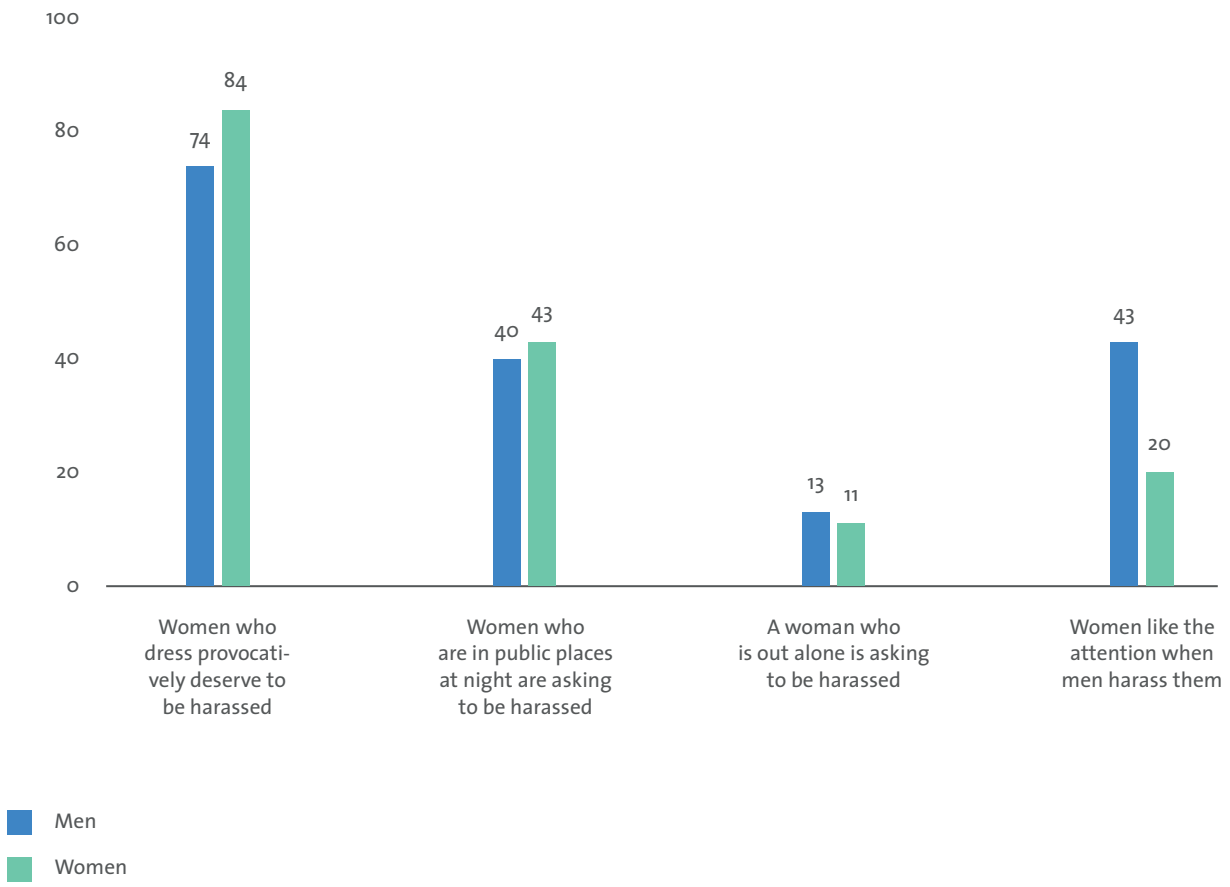
Percentage of men who have committed selected acts of sexual harassment/assault against women, and women who have experienced such acts in public spaces, lifetime and 3-month rates, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016

	MEN (PERPETRATED)		WOMEN (EXPERIENCED)	
	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)
Type of sexual harassment/assault				
Ogling	64.4	30.7	47.4	20.0
Catcalls or sexual comments	15.2	8.7	45.6	17.8
Stalking or following	14.8	4.7	29.1	7.8
Obscene phone calls or text messages	2.3	0.8	13.1	4.6
Online harassment	0.7	0.6	2.3	0.5
Forcing a woman or girl to have sex	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Any of the above acts of sexual harassment/assault	**64.4**	**30.9**	**59.6**	**28.6**

FIGURE 3.4.6c

Attitudes toward Sexual Harassment/Assault

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexual harassment/assault against women, IMAGES MENA Egypt 2016



3.5 Conclusions

"In my village, some people do not understand me. They say, 'He is not a man as he does not behave like other men, and is not stern and strict' – because I let my mother, sister, or daughter get an education, for example, or work. This is her right to education. For them it means that I am not a man, but I think that women and men have equal rights."

Man, 62 years old, married to a more educated woman, Cairo

The findings of IMAGES MENA Egypt show that the patriarchy is alive and well, in public and private life. Both men and women, on the whole, hold inequitable attitudes about the rights and responsibilities of women compared with those of men. Younger Egyptian men are not necessarily more supportive of gender equality, possibly because the more difficult economic circumstances in which they find themselves make it harder for them to achieve a socially recognized sense of manhood. It may also be a result of the general climate of religious conservatism under which a younger generation has come of age.

But some factors do make a difference. Men's education, for example, is associated with a lower use of spousal violence and greater engagement in household chores. And, as seen in many other IMAGES studies, history has a way of repeating itself. Men who saw their fathers and mothers more evenly share housework and decision-making are more likely to do the same themselves as adults. Men whose mothers were educated are themselves more likely to hold gender equitable views. By the same token, however, men who were exposed to violence in childhood are more likely to use violence against their wives and to engage in sexual harassment.

IMAGES MENA Egypt also finds that men take fatherhood seriously, involving themselves to varying degrees in their children's birth and upbringing. It is clear that men want more time to spend with their children and see themselves as more than just financial providers. Such engagement extends to practices such as FGM, in which men play a significant decision-making role – a clear call for new programmes and policies to bring men and boys into the efforts to prevent the practice. More broadly, men's interest in fatherhood, and its clear impact on the ideas and practices of their children, is a key entry point for efforts to shift the gender balance.

The findings of IMAGES MENA Egypt point to high levels of stress and mental health concerns among men. The study shows a significant proportion of men under enormous pressure, with little recourse to formal healthcare, including mental health services, particularly for smoking and substance use. There is an evident need for more accessible and affordable healthcare services tailored to men's needs.

Finally, it is important to note that attitudes and actions can change for the better. Although the majority of men in IMAGES MENA Egypt cling to traditional gender rights and roles, on any given issue, a quarter to a third (or more, in some cases) hold more open, more equitable views. For those men who are more progressive in their practices, their actions, more often than not, represent pragmatic choices based on circumstance rather than ideological stands on gender equality or calculated resistance against the pressures of social convention. When these men undertake jobs that are usually associated with women, they do not see themselves as lesser men, men with "broken wings". The challenge ahead lies in identifying and supporting these daily demonstrations of gender equality and the men behind them, for their own sake as well as that of future generations who should follow their lead.

NGO SPOTLIGHT
Man Talk

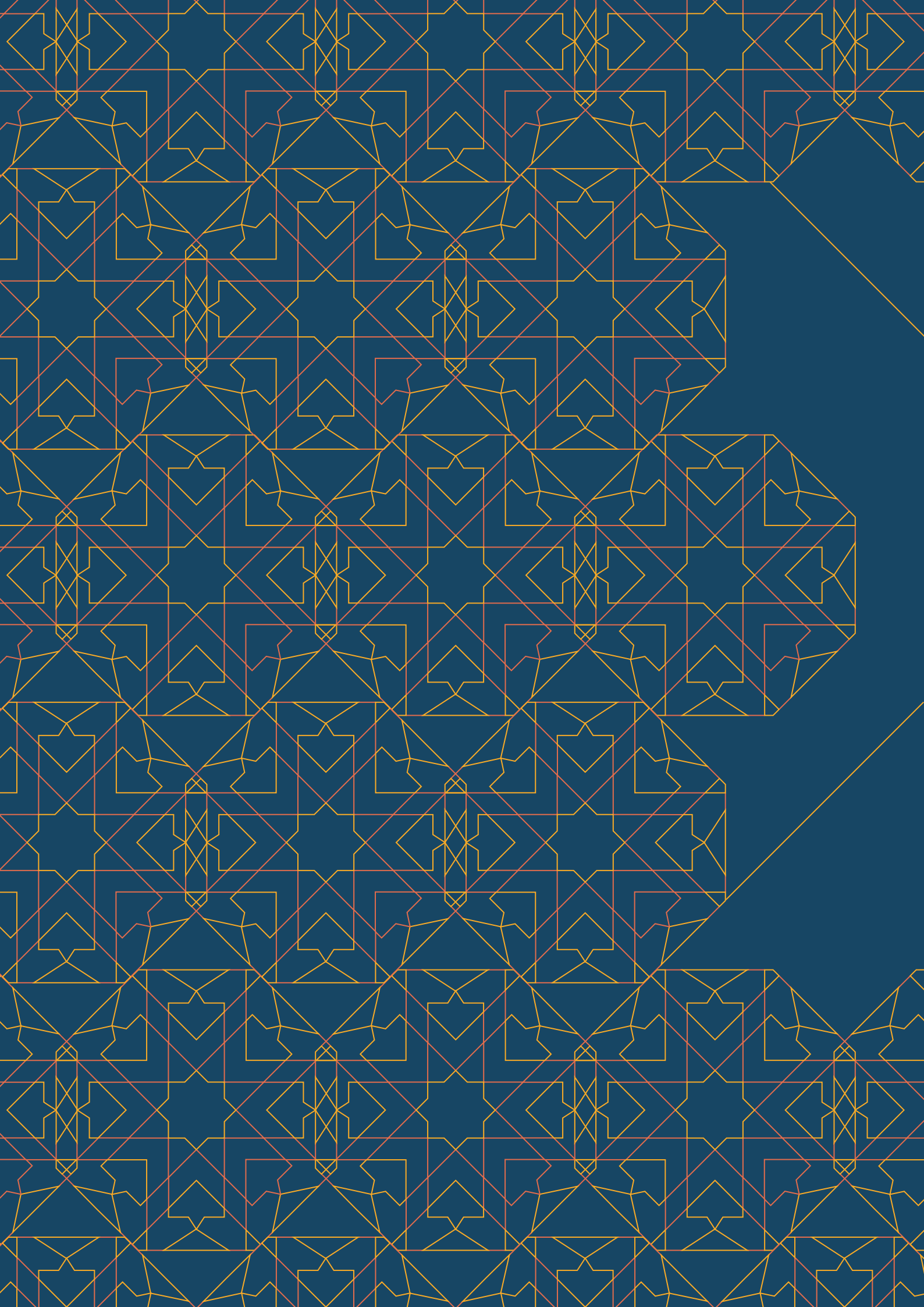
What women want is a question that rarely bothered the men of Manila Sheiha, Tamoh, and Badrashein, villages in Giza. Until, that is, they found themselves in the unlikely position of attending a workshop on women in politics run by ACT, an Egyptian NGO. For more than two decades, ACT has been working with local partners across the country to promote awareness, and achievement, of women's political, economic, and social rights – no easy task when women, however willing, are prevented from taking part by their husbands. So ACT decided to tackle the men themselves, inviting them along with their wives to workshops on the importance of women's political engagement.

For these men, the workshops were a revelation, providing new insight into the everyday conditions of women's lives and women's potential beyond the daily grind – a reality that the men had scarcely considered, and that their wives rarely had time to communicate. "It seems we don't know anything about our wives," was the realization of many a participant. For some men, the workshop transformed initial scepticism about the wisdom of their wives moving beyond cooking and cleaning, to enthusiastic support for their candidacy in local elections.

Central to such change, say ACT volunteers, is the message: "We explain that a woman's problems affect the whole family, so solving them also helps men. And we show models from the community in which women are so much better at communicating than men, so they can represent men better than men could themselves." ACT finds that this strategy of enlightened male self-interest resonates with men, and has proved successful in a number of its other political empowerment projects, including a training of dozens of young men to mobilize communities in support of female candidates in the 2013 and 2015 parliamentary elections.

ACT's work with men extends beyond the ballot box. The group is best known for its activities on gender-based violence; in 2012, it co-founded Shoft Taharrosh (I Saw Harassment), a ground-breaking initiative bringing young men and women together to combat sexual harassment (see Section 3.4.6). The project's hundreds of volunteers assemble on feast days and other occasions when sexual harassment can reach fever pitch, assisting women and girls under siege on the streets. Aside from chasing off male assailants, the men of Shoft Taharrosh also try to teach their peers not to harass women in the first place, with outreach activities on the streets of cities and towns across the country. Their message to other men is simple: imagine if the woman under attack were your mother, or wife, or sister? This approach plays more to male notions of guardianship and protection of women than it does to concepts of gender equality, but it is a message that hits home for many men.

Work with men and boys on gender equality is still rare in Egypt. ACT is helping to widen the fold by bringing the work of other, smaller civil society groups to light and recognizing their efforts. Examples of such groups include a community association in rural Giza that mobilized neighbourhood men to petition the local government for better street lighting to reduce street harassment; and a group in an informal settlement in Cairo that has created a cadre of "Safe Tuk-Tuks", whose drivers have been trained to cease and desist the sexual harassment of female passengers. The challenge, says ACT, lies in bridging the gap between community-based associations, which are generally run by men, and women's rights groups, which are usually staffed by women. Be it individuals or institutions, helping men and women to better understand, and communicate on, each other's problems and possibilities is key to improving conditions for all.



Chapter 4

Morocco

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Key Findings

- **Men and, to a lesser extent, women hold mixed views about gender roles and rights.** With a mean GEM score of 1.2 for men and 1.7 for women (3.0 being the most gender-equitable score), the majority of men hold patriarchal views on many aspects of male and female rights and relations. Men with more education and with more educated mothers tend to have more equitable views.
- **Men are open to women working outside the home and to their participation in political and public life.** More than three-quarters support educational equality for boys and girls, and more than half believe in equal rights to work for married women and men. For their part, a majority of women challenge norms that restrict their roles to the domestic sphere, and they are more strongly in favour of their right to work and to occupy positions of public leadership.
- **Women continue to carry the load when it comes to housework, while men make most of the household decisions, either on their own or jointly with their wives.** These patterns begin in childhood, with men and women often following the models established by their parents. Both men and women reported having more power and control in household decisions than the other gender acknowledges.
- **In spite of the gap in who does the daily caregiving, men would like to do more.** While more than half of men said they spend too little time with their children because of work, almost half are involved in some aspects of childcare. More than 80 per cent of men and women reported being in favour of paid parental leave for fathers.
- **Men and women reported high rates of violence growing up.** More than 60 per cent of men were beaten as children at home, and 80 per cent physically punished by their teachers. Girls were less vulnerable to physical violence at school, but at home, were almost as vulnerable as their male peers.
- **Men are the main breadwinners, but women and youth feel the economic pressure as well.** Two-thirds of men are the main financial providers for their family. Women, and men under age 35, reported frequently feeling stressed due to lack of work, and around two-thirds of male and female respondents worried about not being able to meet their family's daily needs.
- **Men and women are concerned about the present and anxious about the future.** Virtually all men and women reported fearing for their own safety and more than three-quarters reported worrying about their family's prospects. Around one-half of women, and one-quarter of men, exhibited depressive symptoms.
- **Men and women alike reported high rates of men's use of violence against women.** More than half of men reported having ever been emotionally abusive toward their wives, and 15 per cent reported having ever used physical violence against them. More than 60 per cent of men and almost half of women believe that wives should tolerate violence to keep the family together.
- **Street sexual harassment is commonly perpetrated by men and frequently experienced by women.** More than half of men reported ever having sexually harassed a woman or girl, and more than 60 per cent of women reported such unwanted attentions. More women than men blamed the victim's appearance for provoking harassment.
- **Morocco is in a time of transition, where laws outstrip practices and men and women find themselves on shifting ground.** While men are largely in favour of legislation promoting women's political, economic, and social rights, this stance on gender equality in public policy is at odds with their attitudes toward – and practices in – private life, which tend toward more conservative views of women's rights and roles. Men and women talked about a "crisis of masculinity". Both are struggling to find new ground where public and private roles and rights align.

Who Was Surveyed?*

- 1,200 men and 1,200 women, aged 18 to 59, from seven provinces and prefectures within the Rabat-Salé-Kénitra region of Morocco were surveyed.
- Three-quarters of respondents live in urban areas.
- Just over 40 per cent of women, and 60 per cent of men, have secondary or higher education.
- Approximately 80 per cent of men are currently employed, mainly in skilled manual or white-collar jobs; around 60 per cent of women are housewives.
- Around 60 per cent of respondents' fathers and 80 per cent of respondents' mothers had no formal education; 14 per cent of men's mothers and 23 per cent of women's worked outside the home.
- According to the survey's household wealth index, around a quarter of men are classified as poor, a third are in the middle bracket and almost half are rich; three-fifths of women are classified as poor, a tenth are in the middle bracket and more than a quarter are rich.
- More than three-fifths of men and two-thirds of women are currently married; around 6 per cent of women and fewer than 2 per cent of men are divorced. The mean age of marriage of respondents was 29 years old for men and 21 years old for women.

* The IMAGES MENA Morocco sample is not nationally representative. While the socio-demographic profile of the Rabat-Salé-Kénitra region generally reflects that of Morocco as a whole, it is significantly more urban; where relevant, survey findings from rural cohorts are highlighted in the text. IMAGES MENA Morocco respondents are broadly representative of the Rabat-Salé-Kénitra region, as assessed in the 2014 national census, with several notable differences. The IMAGES sample contains a higher proportion of male, and to a lesser extent female, respondents with higher education; where relevant, findings from less-educated cohorts are highlighted in the text. A higher proportion of men in the sample than in the region are married, and the mean age of marriage of the sample is younger than that of the region, particularly so for women.

TABLE 4.1a

Quantitative sample characteristics, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN		WOMEN	
	N	%	N	%
Type of settlement				
Urban	900	75.0	900	75.0
Rural	300	25.0	300	25.0
Age group				
18-24	208	17.3	214	17.8
25-34	277	23.1	352	29.3
35-49	459	38.3	444	37.1
50-59	256	21.3	190	15.9
Level of education				
No schooling	146	12.2	389	32.4
Primary school	318	26.5	271	22.6
Secondary school (collège)	471	39.3	340	28.3
Higher (supérieur)	265	22.1	200	16.8
Employment status				
Employed	946	78.8	290	24.2
Unemployed (worked before)	55	4.6	58	4.8
Unemployed (never worked)	20	1.7	74	6.2
Unemployed	179	14.9	778	64.8
Employment situation is mostly stable (agree or strongly agree)	**750**	**73.2**	**248**	**25.1**
Marital status				
Single	419	35.0	279	23.3
Married	758	63.1	789	65.8
Divorced or separated	21	1.8	67	5.6
Widowed	2	0.2	65	5.4
Age at first marriage (mean, standard deviation)	**29 (5.8)**		**21 (5.1)**	
TOTAL (N)	**1,200**		**1,200**	

4.1 Introduction

Morocco is in a time of social transition, when men's and women's support for gender equality is on the rise, but so, too, is uncertainty as to what it means for their own lives. A walk across Morocco's capital, Rabat, is a study in contrasts, and in many ways reflects how the men and women of this city, and surrounding region, see their roles and rights. Rabat's new town is a place of wide avenues, public squares, and green spaces, the product of Morocco's early 20th century history. The medina, on the other hand, is the legacy of an older tradition, where narrow, winding alleys lead to private courtyards behind heavy doors.

The findings of IMAGES MENA Morocco mirror such distinctions. Over the past two decades, Morocco has passed landmark legislation on many aspects of gender equality, and has seen the rise of an active and extensive civil society and media promoting women's rights. At the same time, this progressive wave has been matched by a rising tide of Islamic conservatism, which supports more rigid framings of gender roles and responsibilities. While, on the whole, men and women endorse public and political moves toward greater gender equality, in private life the situation is more ambiguous. Although men still assert their authority at home, they also find it under pressure, in part due to shifts in the public sphere. And while some women embrace greater equality, others wonder if progressive policies can make a difference in their daily lives and, if so, whether such change is necessarily for the better. The findings of IMAGES MENA Morocco provide snapshots of this complexity among men and women in and around the capital, and offer a glimpse of the diversity that characterizes the country as a whole.

"We are in a crisis when it comes to social change in Morocco. We're no longer anchored in tradition, but not in modernity either. We are between the two without knowing where to place ourselves, and this is why the problems are increasing. We have not yet fully grasped that if we believe ourselves to be the same, equal, in everything, that this means a redistribution of [gender] roles."

Woman, in her 20s, women's rights activist, Rabat

4.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life

4.2.1 – MEN AND WOMEN, ROLES AND RIGHTS

Men's views on gender roles are broadening on many fronts, but women are ahead of them on most issues. By many measures of gender equality, Morocco ranks low, both globally and among other countries in the MENA region.[1] The findings of IMAGES MENA Morocco present a mixed picture. As seen in Table 4.2.1a, men held largely traditional views about household roles, with just over 70 per cent asserting that a woman's most important job is to care for the home, and that a man should have the final say in household decisions (see Section 4.4.3). Men considered themselves responsible for women, with more than three-quarters believing it their duty to exercise guardianship over women (see Section 4.4.6).[2] Almost 60 per cent also believed that it is important for men to be "tough". However, men were also more willing to accept a range of women's personal freedoms, with half to almost three-quarters agreeing that women should enjoy the same rights as men to live on their own, or access the Internet.

For their part, women challenged many of these patriarchal framings of gender roles and rights. More than half disagree that women are mothers and homemakers first and foremost, or that men should have the final say. They are equally dismissive of male guardianship, and more than 80 per cent assert a woman's right to live alone or surf the Internet. On some topics, though, women hold the patriarchal line: for example, three-quarters or more of both male and female respondents are against husbands and wives having friends of the opposite sex.

1. For example, the 2016 Global Gender Gap Index (available at: http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/), which measures disparities between men and women, ranked Morocco 137 out of 144 countries worldwide. UNDP's Gender Inequality Index 2015 (available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/composite/GII), which presents a composite measure of gender inequality across reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market participation, ranked Morocco 113 out of 188 countries.

2. For Muslims, the basis for this social norm can be found in the Qur'an, 4:34: "Husbands should take good care of their wives, with [the bounties] God has given to some more than others and with what they spend out of their own money".

TABLE 4.2.1a

Attitudes toward Gender Equality: GEM Scale Questions

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about gender roles and decision-making, violence, and perceptions of masculinity and femininity, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Attitudes toward gender roles and decision-making		
A woman's most important role is to take care of the home and cook for the family	71.5	48.7
A man should have the final word about decisions in the home	70.7	46.8
Changing diapers, giving baths to children, and feeding children should all be the mother's responsibility	72.4	53.7
Attitudes toward violence		
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	38.2	20.6
A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together	62.2	45.9
If another man in my community insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	69.7	*
Perceptions of masculinity and femininity		
To be a man, you need to be tough	61.6	56.9
I think it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work	37.5	24.4
A husband should not have friends of the opposite sex	79.7	75.4
A wife should not have friends of the opposite sex	74.4	79.0
It is a man's duty to exercise guardianship over his female relatives	76.8	56.4
Boys are responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters	64.2	50.2
Unmarried women should have the same right to live on their own as unmarried men	53.3	80.4
Women should have the same freedom to access sites on the Internet as men	77.0	89.3

* This statement was not asked in the women's questionnaire

These overall attitudes toward gender equality were assessed using the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale, an internationally recognized and validated composite measure of attitudes toward men's and women's roles and rights (see Chapter 2 for methodological details). On a scale in which "0" represents complete rejection of gender equality and "3" full acceptance, men scored on the low side at 1.2, and women slightly higher at 1.7 (Table 4.2.1b). There is relatively little variation in men's views by age or wealth; rural men scored lower than their urban peers. Younger, single women scored higher than their older, married counterparts.

Education, however, clearly makes a difference in support for equality. Men with higher education scored notably higher on the GEM scale, and women even more so. Moreover, men with educated mothers themselves also held more equitable views; again, a similar but even more pronounced trend is evident among women.

TABLE 4.2.1b

GEM Scale

GEM Scale score for men and women by selected background characteristics, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016*

		MEN	WOMEN
Overall average score		1.2	1.7
Wealth index	Rich	1.1	1.6
	Middle	1.3	1.7
	Poor	1.3	1.7
Education	Higher	1.6	1.9
	Collège/Secondary	1.2	1.7
	Primary	1.1	1.6
	No education	1.0	1.5
Marital status	Never-married	1.2	1.8
	Currently married	1.2	1.6
Location	Urban	1.3	1.7
	Rural	1.0	1.6
Age	50-59	1.2	1.5
	35-49	1.2	1.6
	25-34	1.2	1.7
	18-24	1.3	1.8

*GEM Scale scores range from 0 to 3.0, with 0 being most inequitable and 3.0 most equitable

Men and women perceive a "crisis of masculinity", with economics largely to blame. In qualitative interviews, men and women defined masculinity by moral, physical, and domestic authority. To be a "real" man is to exercise key characteristics: responsibility, steadfastness, loyalty, honesty, dignity, reason, hard work, and respect for others. Men were defined by the example they set through their actions, principles, and labour. Male participants in rural areas tended to emphasize men's strength – decisive, physically powerful, providing for and controlling the family, even if this means recourse to violence.

Female participants described "ideal men" as giving women their due, respecting their rights, and not expecting them to carry the entire burden of housework on their own

shoulders. Men defined such domestic masculinity in slightly different terms, as the capacity to look after one's wife and to see to her needs (in and out of bed). However, for them virility was defined less by sexual potency and more by the way men hold their own among others, especially in relation to those who stray from the heterosexual norm (see Section 4.4.5). Men are expected to be tough and stoic – crying, for example, is simply not an option, a fact lamented by the more egalitarian-minded and gay, bisexual, and transgender men in the study, who saw this masculine hard line as more of a straitjacket than a shield (see Section 4.5).

Men and women defined men's power as stemming in large part from their capacity to provide for their families. And so, in a world of shifting economics, where finding work is no easy matter and women are increasingly in the job market (albeit still in marginal numbers; see Section 4.2.2), men's power – and therefore their masculinity – is perceived as under threat. Both men and women drew a sharp line between manhood present and manhood past, when men were known by their authority – providing for the family and ruling the roost, with particular control over women. No more, as remarked by many women and regretted by many men in qualitative interviews.

"Before, it was he who ran the show, who provided for the needs of the family and ruled from the heart of his house. Now, he commands no more. Because the personality of today's man is weak...that is why he lacks virility. I think it is this lack of virility that makes a man today different from the man of yesterday."

Man, in his 30s, office worker, Sidi Allal Bahraoui

On the subject of religion, most survey participants described themselves as men and women of moderate faith, with the majority engaging in occasional prayer and more than 90 per cent reporting religious beliefs to be important in the way they lead their lives. In terms of gender equality, some participants invoked the Islamic principle of *qiwamah*, or male authority over women, as characteristic of a bygone age, no longer applicable in an era when women are making their own way in the world.[3] A few men and women interviewed in the qualitative research described Islam as discriminatory toward women; others blamed conservative interpretations of religion for boxing in both sexes. Others, however, saw their faith as a means to greater independence and self-realization, for both men and women.

"There is no relationship between religion and tradition. Tradition is produced by society and religion has nothing to do with that .... Tradition has affected me tremendously and badly, while religion was there to protect me. It gave me power, it allowed me to use my intelligence to share things .... This body that God gave me is my right, it does not belong to anyone else."

Woman, 45 years old, bookseller, in Sidi Allal El Bahraoui

3. For more on the principle of *qiwamah*, see Mir-Hosseini, Ziba, et al. (2016). *Men in Charge? Rethinking Authority in Muslim Legal Tradition.* Oneworld Publications. See also a forthcoming survey on *qiwamah* in the everyday lives of Moroccans by Aïcha El Hajjami and colleagues.

> "Religion has instituted inequality between men and women. We have to open up to a new interpretation for it to be compatible with universal human rights, equality, and democracy."
>
> **Man, 34 years old, human rights activist, Rabat**

In contrast to notions of masculinity, women were defined by their emotions – tender, expressive, loving, faithful, patient, dignified, modest, talkative. Even while evoking such stereotypes, male participants were also aware that these "feminine" features were socially constructed rather than inherent to women – more nurture than nature. For their part, female participants also saw a break with the past, describing women in previous generations as weak and dependent, fearful of their husbands, and confined to their roles as mothers and wives. Women today, they noted, were much more powerful – a few even managing to get their way and impose their will, as men have done in the past. Both male and female participants noted the ability of women to get along without men, a further source of anxiety for men already concerned about their social and economic station.

> "To be a man is to be responsible. And as I have to take care of everything, I feel that I am a man."
>
> **Woman, 45 years old, bookseller, Sidi Allal El Bahraoui**

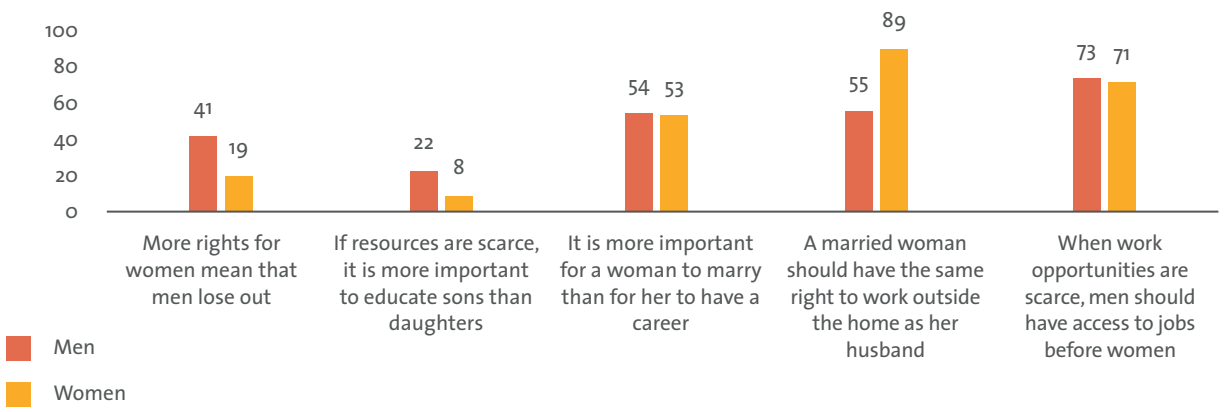
4.2.2 – MEN, WOMEN, AND WORK

Many men support a woman's right to work, and most women want to exercise this right. While more than 40 per cent of men surveyed agreed that more rights for women mean fewer rights for men, in practice, many male respondents are also willing to share their breadwinner role (Figure 4.2.2a).

FIGURE 4.2.2a

Female Education and Employment

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's education and employment, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



Although more than three-quarters of the men surveyed considered girls' education to be just as important as boys', more than half also felt that it is more of a priority for a woman to marry than to have a career. However, a similar proportion – especially highly educated men – supported the idea of married women working outside the home on the same terms as men. In contrast, almost 90 per cent of women wanted the same right to work – though there were limits; when employment is scarce, more than 70 per cent of women agreed with their male counterparts that men's employment is more important than women's, and they were aligned with men on the greater importance, for women, of marriage over a career. Such attitudes are reflected in current realities. Morocco's rate of female labour force participation is around 25 per cent, having fallen since 2000,[4] and more than half of the survey's female respondents are housewives.

"If the wife stayed at home to look after her children and her husband, the man would recover his masculinity and he would become a real man."

Man, in his 30s, unemployed, Khémisset

"It's a burden: you are expected to work, to marry, to secure a stable income. A man has to study, find a job, start a family. All this is part of his social role. It's very heavy for him."

Man, 37 years old, student, Rabat

Consistent with these attitudes, many men also supported guaranteed positions, or quotas, for women in the workplace. Morocco currently has quotas for female representation on local government councils and in the national parliament (see Section 4.2.3), but there is no such provision in public sector employment or in universities (where, nonetheless, women now make up almost half of the enrolment).[5] Around half of male respondents supported a fixed proportion of places for women at university, of executive positions at work, and of seats in parliament or the cabinet. In contrast, around three-fifths of women were in favour of quotas in all three sectors.

When women *do* work outside the home, however, men are willing to share at least some of their responsbilities and benefits. Three-quarters of men expect a working wife to contribute to household expenses, compared with more than 90 per cent of women. More than three-quarters of men also believe in equal pay for equal positions, while women are almost universally in favour of equal pay (Figure 4.2.2b).[6] While men are less willing than women to work with female colleagues, still around 70 per cent of male respondents accept women as peers or superiors in the workplace, with significantly higher acceptance among university-educated men than those without education.

4. Haut-Commissariat Au Plan (HCP). (2000; 2014). *Enquête Nationale sur l'Emploi* [National Study of Employment]. Casablanca: HCP.

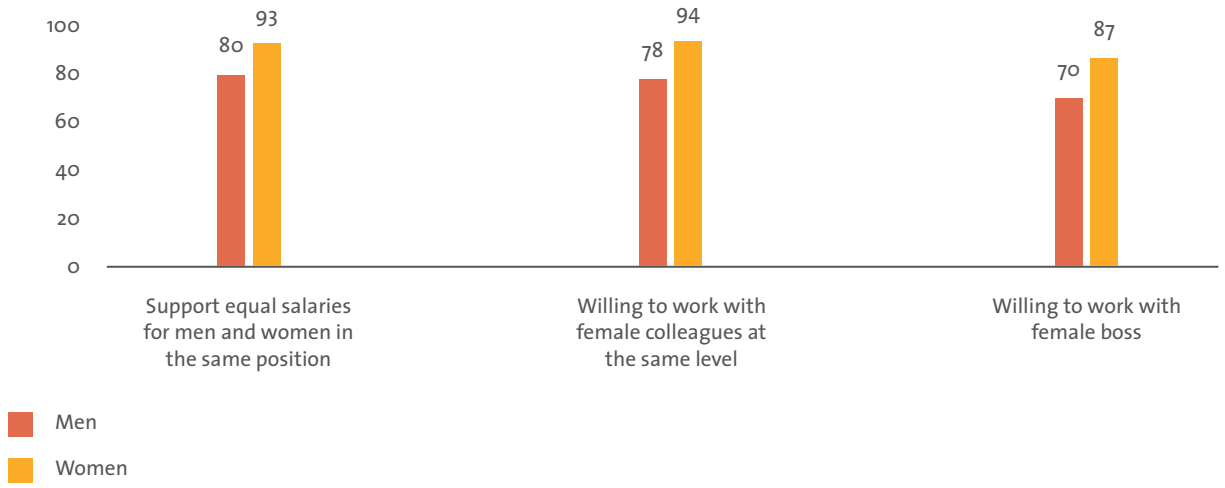
5. Haut-Commissariat Au Plan (HCP). (2016). *Femmes et Hommes en Chiffres* [Men and Women in Figures]. Casablanca: HCP.

6. In Morocco, the average wage gap between men and women in the workforce is just over 25 per cent. See Haut-Commissariat Au Plan (HCP). (2011). *Enquête Nationale sur la Mobilité Sociale Intergénérationnelle au Maroc* [National Study on Intergenerational Social Mobility]. Casablanca: HCP.

FIGURE 4.2.2b

Women at Work

Percentage of respondents in favour of selected aspects of women's employment, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



For all the positive views of women's work expressed in the household survey, qualitative interviews revealed deep fault lines between men and women. Male participants – particularly those with lower incomes or the unemployed – were anxious about the challenges of finding work and making a living, describing women's work as impinging on their rights and destabilising family life. Rural men also worried about the effects of men and women mixing in the workplace, and the risks of sexual harassment that this might pose for women. In general, men felt that a combination of women working and the promotion of women's rights (see Section 4.2.4) had diminished both their authority and their masculinity. For their part, many women saw work as their key to legal and personal autonomy. Other female participants suggested that it might even increase their appeal on the marriage market, at a time when men were struggling to make ends meet. At the same time, empowerment for some women was tinged with regret at what they saw as the passing of "real" men who would take care of them financially.

"It's the woman who now calls the shots, if she works outside the home or not. She decides. The value of a man has changed as compared with the past. The idea of 'masculinity' among men has disappeared, I mean, his personality before his colleagues and his family."

Man, 20 years old, youth club member, Rabat

"The man is supposed to be the one who works and protects, but he is like a child that needs looking after, not a partner."

Woman, 40 years old, NGO activist, Sidi Allal El Bahraoui

4.2.3 – WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Men recognize women's abilities to lead and support their prominence in public life. Women in Morocco occupy increasingly high-profile positions in public life. The 2016 parliamentary elections, for example, saw women occupy more than a fifth of seats in parliament. Such developments reflect popular attitudes. Two-thirds of men were in favour of more women in positions of political authority, and fewer than a third held that politics are best left to men (Figure 4.2.3a). Male respondents had confidence in women's abilities – more than 80 per cent believed that a similarly qualified woman can do just as good a job as a man. They also question social norms that keep women out of public life: slightly fewer than two-thirds of men rejected the notion that women cannot be both effective politicians and homemakers, and more than half disagreed that women are too emotional to lead. Generally, more educated men were more likely to support women in public life. Women were, by and large, more supportive of women in public life; still, a quarter to a third shared some of the same doubts that men had about women's suitability to politics.

More than 70 per cent of men supported women in assorted positions of public leadership, even in such traditionally male domains as the police, the judiciary, and the army (Table 4.2.3a); only slightly fewer men were prepared to see women as heads of government. Women were wholeheartedly in favour of women as public leaders, no matter the field.

FIGURE 4.2.3a

Attitudes toward Women in Leadership

Percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's participation in politics and leadership positions, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

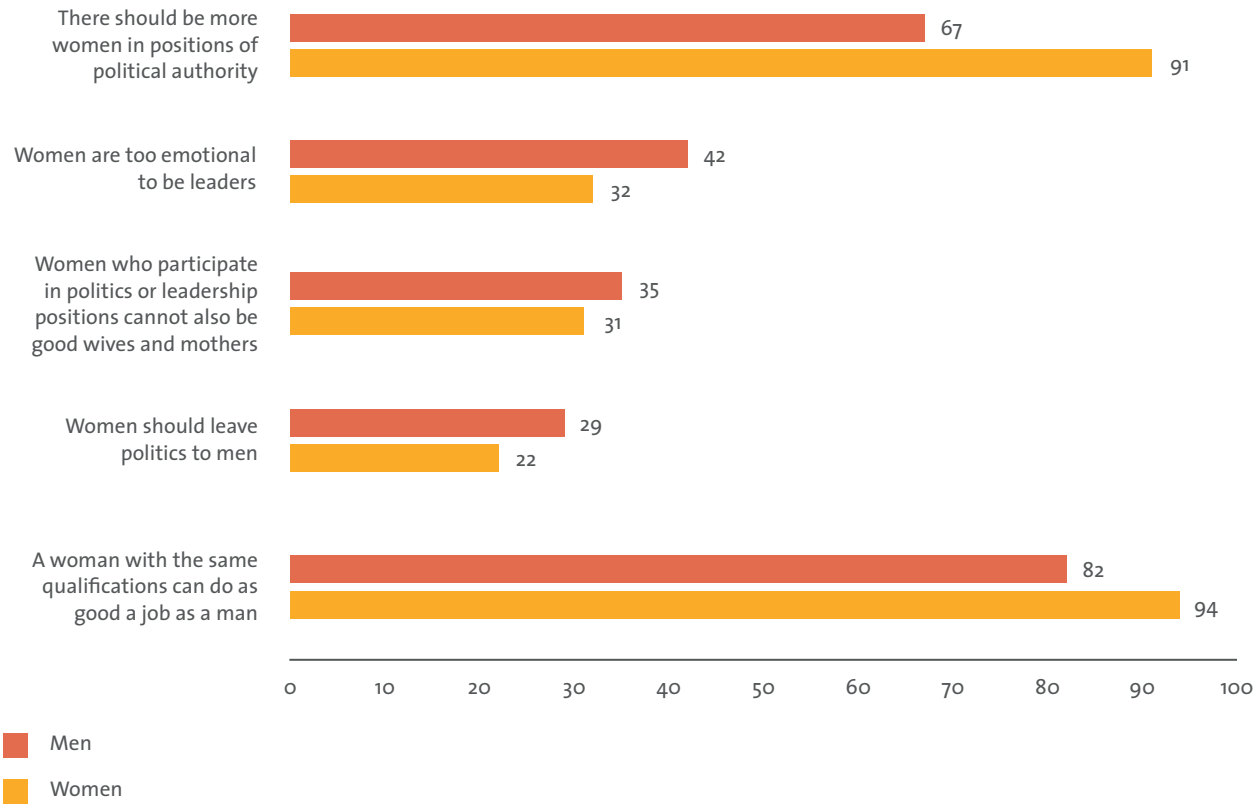


TABLE 4.2.3a

Women and Public Leadership

Percentage of men and women who approved of women's participation in particular public positions, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Women as heads of political parties	76.0	91.3
Women as members of parliaments/assemblies	79.5	93.3
Women as government ministers	77.7	90.0
Women as heads of government	62.0	82.4
Women as voters	86.1	95.0
Women as demonstrators in political protests	80.0	89.1
Women as police officers	79.0	93.8
Women as leaders of NGOs	81.9	95.3
Women as leaders of professional syndicates	80.4	94.4
Women as leaders of trade unions	79.9	93.3
Women as judges	79.4	95.1
Women as soldiers or combatants in the military or armed forces	70.7	87.6
Women as religious leaders*	90.1	97.8

* Not imams or priests

4.2.4 – GENDER EQUALITY AND THE LAW

Laws promoting women's rights attract considerable support from men, but even more from women. Morocco's landmark reforms to the *Moudawana*, or family code, in 2004, made several significant advances toward gender equality in law, including setting the legal age of marriage for both men and women at 18; granting women the right to initiate divorce; limiting the scope of polygyny; giving women of age the ability to act without their guardian's consent, and a number of other rights.[7] Recent years have seen further progress – at least on paper – including the right for women to pass nationality to their children in 2007, constitutional amendments in 2011 enshrining equal rights for men and women, and in 2012, and a repeal of Morocco's outstanding reservations to CEDAW.

7. In practice, such rights can be difficult to realize. For example, under-age marriage continues in Morocco, with a documented rise in cases from 2004-2013 (Idrissi, Hynd Ayoubi. (2014). *Étude sur la violence sexuelle à l'encontre des enfants au Maroc* [Study on Sexual Violence Against Children in Morocco]. Morocco: Amane, Conseil National des Droits de l'Homme, and UNICEF.) For a national survey of men's and women's attitudes toward individual provisions in the family code, as well as their perceptions of its impact on household relations, please see Malika, El Hajjamii, and Abdellah Ounnir. (forthcoming). *Dix Ans d'Application du Code de la Famille: Quel Changements dans les Perceptions, les Attitudes et les Comportements des Marocains et des Marocaines?* [Ten years of the Implementation of the Family Code: What Changes in Perceptions, Attitudes and Behaviours of Moroccan Men and Women?]. Ministère de la Solidarité, de la Femme, de la Famille et du Développement Social.

Almost half of men and 60 per cent of women with higher education were aware of the existence of legislation in the country promoting women's rights. However, fewer than 20 per cent of their least educated counterparts were similarly informed. Despite limitations in the implementation of these laws, almost half of men and 70 per cent of women considered them to be effective. Those who questioned their impact mostly cited poor enforcement and complicated and expensive legal procedures as compromising factors.

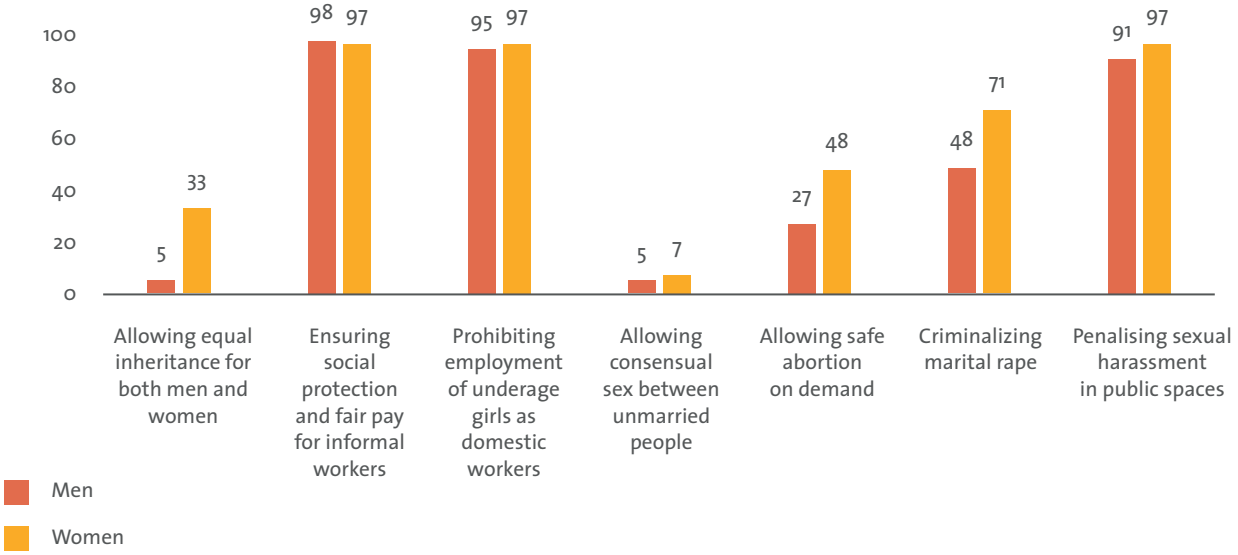
When it comes to legal reform, almost half of men favoured legislation that would criminalize marital rape (Figure 4.2.4a; see also Figure 4.6.4a), and more than 90 per cent supported legal sanctions against the perpetrators of sexual harassment in public places (see Section 4.4.6).[8] An even higher proportion of men were supportive of laws that would protect informal and under-age workers, many of whom are female. Like women, male respondents were unenthusiastic about the decriminalization of consensual sex between unmarried people.[9] They were also adamantly opposed to changing laws on inheritance, although a third of women are receptive to such calls by civil society.[10]

An even larger gap exists with regard to the legalization of abortion, legislation for which is currently in progress to permit termination of pregnancies in a wider range of circumstances than previously authorized;[11] only a quarter of men were in favour of abortion on demand, compared with almost half of women (see Section 4.4.5).

FIGURE 4.2.4a

Legal Changes

Percentage of men and women who think that there should be a law on selected aspects of gender equality, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



8. Morocco's legislature is currently reviewing a law which would criminalize violence against women, including penalties for sexual harassment of up to six months of imprisonment.

9. Morocco's national council on economic, social and environmental affairs has recommended abrogating the law criminalizing consensual sexual relations outside of marriage, thereby distinguishing such acts from non-consensual sex which is also illegal; the council considers conflation of the two in law as an impediment to women's ability to bring charges of rape. See Conseil Economique, Social et Environnemental. (2016). *Les Dimensions Sociales de l'Egalité entre les Femmes et les Hommes: Constats et Recommandations* [Social Dimensions of Equality Between Women and Men: Report and Recommendations].

10. The Qur'an specifies several rules on inheritance, among them, 4:11: "Allah commands you regarding your children. For the male, a share equivalent to that of two females".

11. For more on changes to Morocco's abortion law, see Lefébure, Anaïs. "Le Projet de loi sur l'Avortement Adopté par le Conseil de Gouvernement" [The Abortion Bill Passed by the Governing Council]. *The Huffington Post Maghreb-Maroc*, 6, Oct. 2016.

"As far as I understand, a man has the right to [inherit] twice as much as a woman. To my mind, this is unfair, because a girl helps her parents as much as her brothers do. When we were living with my parents, the girls worked hard and gave all they earned to their parents, while the boys went and bought things they wanted with their money. And after my parents died, my brothers took the largest share."

Woman, 45 years old, housewife, Douar Ait Kaddour

"The issue of inheritance is mentioned in Islam. As far as I am concerned, we shouldn't talk about such things because in the pre-Islamic period, a woman couldn't inherit anything and it was Islam that gave her a share. Have you seen anyone deprive their sister? You write a will and, look, you can give up some of the share to protect the future of your daughter, down at the municipality, in a legal fashion."

Man, 30 years old, officer, Sidi Allal El Bahraoui

In qualitative interviews and discussions, men and women noted various legislative changes promoting women's rights. Men spoke of the doors opening for women in all domains, and of their consequent "selfishness", putting work and rights ahead of husbands and family (see Section 4.4.3). For their part, women felt that such laws, at best, support only working women, leaving housewives unprotected and unrewarded for their domestic labour. Rural women, in particular, worried about the changes arising from such progress toward gender equality giving them rights in theory but not in practice. In fact, many women were of the opinion that such legal advances had made their lives worse, diminishing the respect and care that men once showed to them (see Section 4.4.6). In short, both sexes questioned whether such public progress had actually improved private relations between men and women.

"To be honest, it's rare to find a real man; the man has lost his masculinity with these new laws that give more advantages and freedom to women."

Man, in his 20s, student, Khémisset

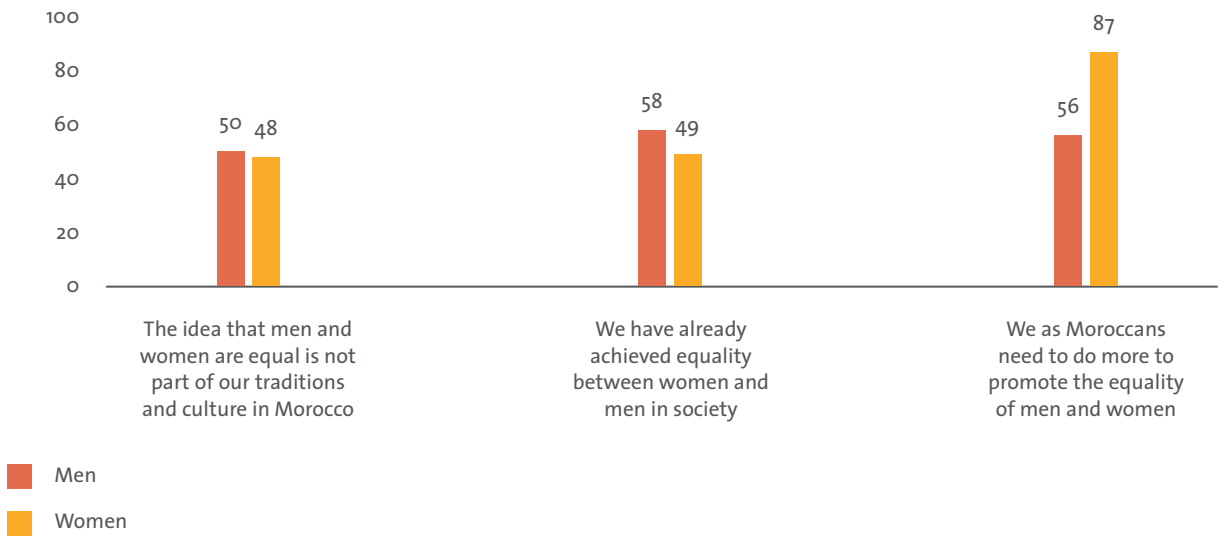
> "Honestly, the rhetoric on the rights of women, nothing like that exists. It's only talk. In Moroccan families and households, we still live by tradition, we have a culture that can't be remade in a moment. Even if a woman is educated, with a position, she worships the idea of masculinity and gravitates towards serving the man."
>
> **Woman, 30 years old, family education teacher, Rabat**

Around half of men and women agreed that gender equality is not part of Morocco's traditions or culture (Figure 4.2.4b). Just under 60 per cent of men believed that equality has already been achieved; fewer than half of women thought the same. And while more than 50 per cent of men thought that more could be done to strengthen gender equality, women had a strikingly different perspective on the future; almost 90 per cent asserted the need for further efforts to establish their rights equal to men's.

FIGURE 4.2.4b

Attitudes toward Gender Equality

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about gender equality, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



4.3 Childhood and Adolescence

4.3.1 – GENDER ROLES AND RIGHTS IN CHILDHOOD

Gender inequality, in practice, starts early in the lives of most Moroccan men and women. More than 60 per cent of men surveyed believed that boys should be responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if older than themselves, while only half of women approved of such oversight (see Table 4.2.1a). Such attitudes are reflected in practice. Almost 90 per cent of male respondents recalled having greater freedom than their sisters did to go outside the family home, and also recalled enjoying more free time because they were not expected to perform household chores as the girls of the family were (Figure 4.3.1a). This freedom comes at a price for some, however: more than 40 per cent of men reported having had less leisure time in their youth because of family expectations that they earn money outside the home.

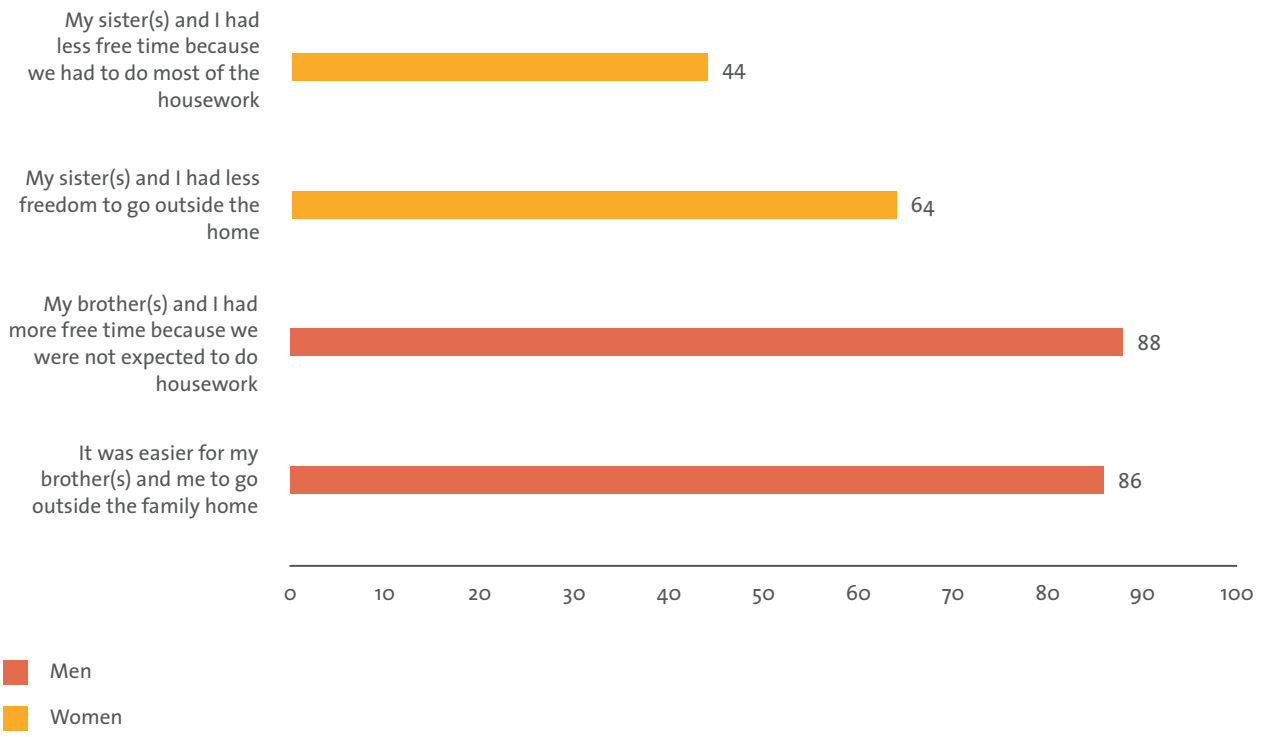
"I used to ask myself why I went to school and my sisters stayed at home to do the housework and be taught how to be housewives, how to bake bread. They were preparing them for a role, for the day a man arrived to take them as wives, and he would do the same in his house, make them into simple housewives."

Man, 26 years old, unemployed, Rabat

FIGURE 4.3.1a

Childhood Responsibilities and Freedoms

Percentage of men and women aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about their perspective of how, when they were children, their experiences compared with those of their opposite-sex siblings, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



4.3.2 – HOUSEWORK AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

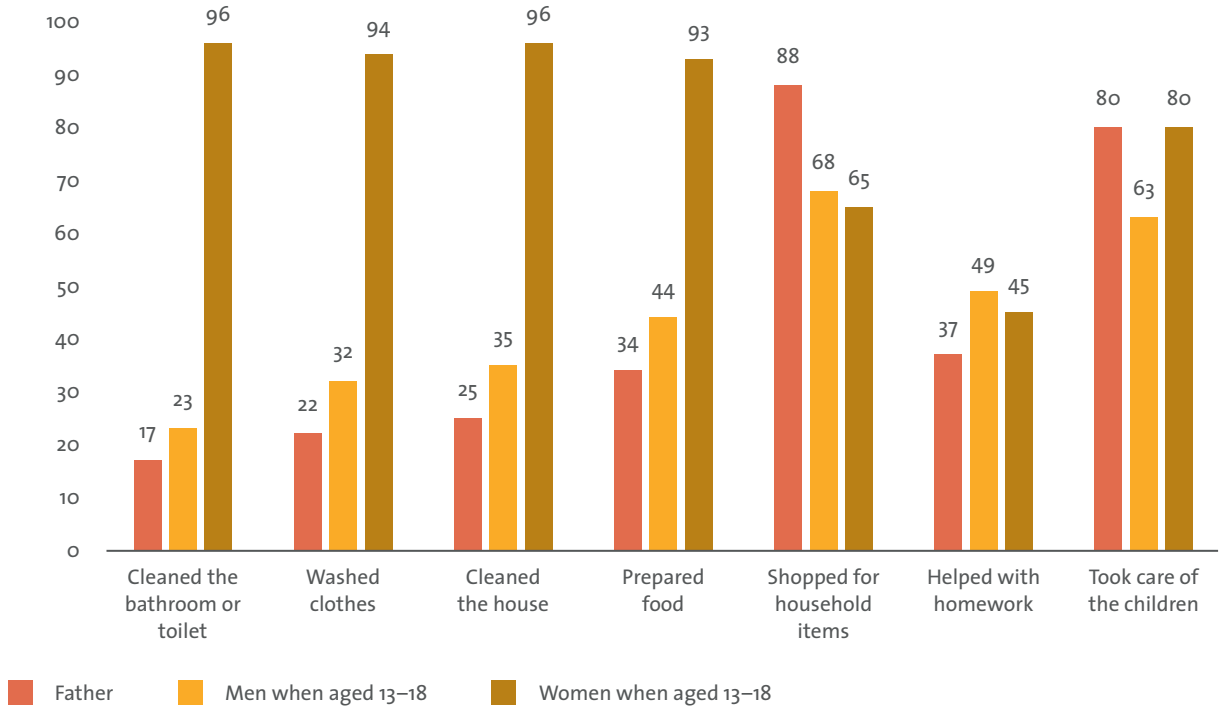
A minority of respondents saw their fathers clean or cook, a pattern largely repeated by sons. When recalling their fathers' or other male relatives' participation in household chores, a quarter to a third of male respondents reported the men of the house ever cooking or cleaning (Figure 4.3.2a). More, however, remembered them taking charge of household shopping, as well as looking after them and their siblings and, to a lesser extent, helping with homework. Younger, urban, middle-wealth, and more educated men (and women) were more likely to report their fathers having cleaned or cooked. Largely repeating the pattern set by their fathers, just a quarter to two-fifths of men recalled ever cooking or cleaning as adolescents themselves; by comparison, women were nearly universally occupied with such tasks throughout their teenage years.[12]

12. These historical patterns are in line with a recent national time-use study, which found that girls spend more than three-fold more time on domestic work per day than do boys (Haut-Commissariat Au Plan (HCP). (2012). *Enquête Nationale sur l'Emploi du Temps* [National Time-Use Survey]. Casablanca: HCP.)

FIGURE 4.3.2a

Household Chores in Childhood and Adolescence

Percentage of male respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting that their father or any other man (excluding male domestic workers) ever performed selected domestic tasks, and percentage of male and female respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting participation in selected domestic tasks when they were 13 to 18 years old, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



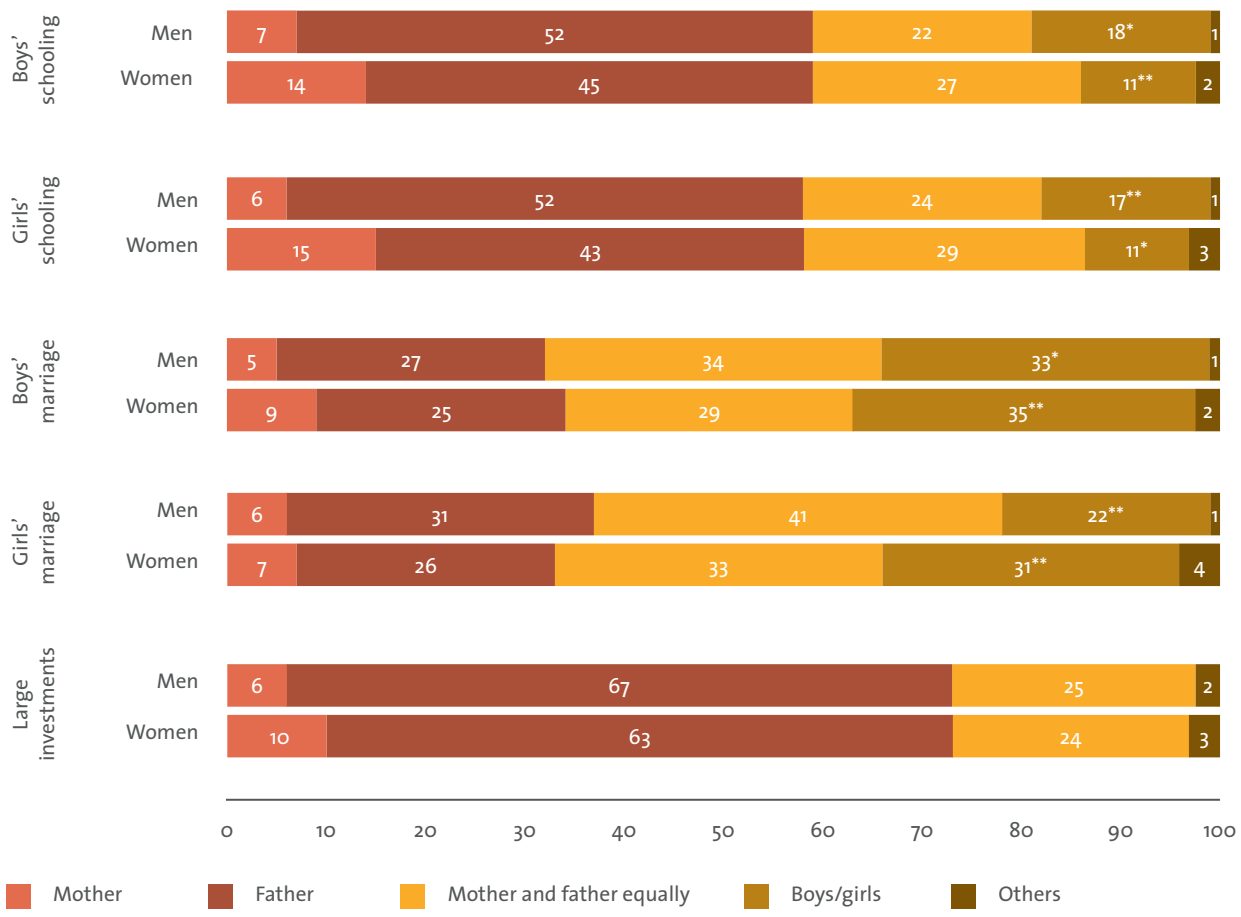
> "At home, there was no problem. We took turns doing the dishes and everything, my father, my mother, my brother, and me. But when we had guests, I was the one who had to be the woman who did the household tasks. [When I complained], my mother told me that I was shaming her in front of the others."
>
> **Woman, 26 years old, student, Rabat**

Fathers were more involved in decision-making than in housekeeping. On matters such as schooling and large investments, both men and women recalled their fathers having the final say most of the time, but around a quarter remembered these decisions being shared equally between their parents (Figure 4.3.2b). Such joint decision-making was even more pronounced when sons' or daughters' marriages were under consideration; only around a third of male and female respondents alike said they themselves had the final word when it came to their own marriages. On most matters, women remembered their mothers having more of a role in domestic decision-making than men recalled.

FIGURE 4.3.2b

Male and Female Decision-Making

Percentage distribution of respondents by person who had the final word on education or marriage of respondent and sibling(s) or on large household investments, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016***



* Respondents reporting on their own final word

** Respondents reporting on their opposite-sex sibling's/s' or on large final word

*** Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

4.3.3 – ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

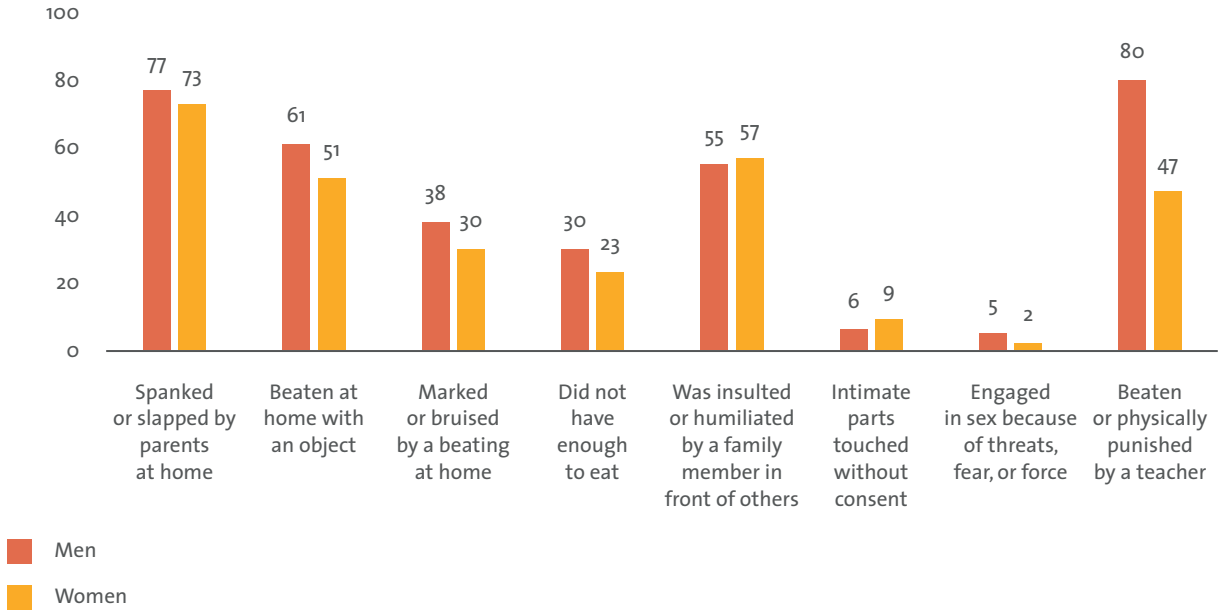
Violence is a fact of life for boys and girls in Morocco. Around three-quarters of men and women alike said they were spanked or slapped by their parents (Figure 4.3.3a). More than half were beaten at home with an object – roughly a third so severely that it left a mark.[13] Around a quarter recalled times in their youth when they had too little to eat.

13. For more on the various forms of childhood violence in Morocco, as reflected by national law enforcement statistics and other reporting, see Idrissi, Hynd Ayoubi, *Étude sur la violence sexuelle à l'encontre des enfants au Maroc* [Study on Sexual Violence Against Children in Morocco], 2014.

FIGURE 4.3.3a

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who experienced selected adverse events at home and at school before the age of 18, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



> "Like all Moroccan children, in a more-or-less conservative family, with parents who had little education and had the same values as Moroccan society, I was abused from time to time. My parents saw this as 'educational', as did the society of the 1980s and '90s. My father used to beat me; I'm still afraid of him. I experienced a sort of psychological violence, but that's normal."
>
> **Man, 34 years old, high school teacher, Rabat**

Women were slightly less likely to have been subjected to severe physical violence by their parents as children, but reported roughly the same rate of emotional abuse – being insulted or humiliated by family members – as men did. Fewer than 10 per cent of respondents recalled being sexually abused as children; while more women than men reported being touched without their consent, a higher proportion of boys (5 per cent) said they were forced into having sex.

"My parents always said that they were ashamed of me. That other people have girls but they did not bring a girl into the world. They said that the other [girls] excelled at housework, in contrast to me, who was [like] a boy. We used to scream at each other. My father told me to have an operation and to transform myself into a man. I told them that I don't want to be a man. I am a woman; I want to be a woman according to my idea of femininity, and how I want it to be."

Woman, 26 years old, student, Rabat

Boys are much more vulnerable to abuse outside the home: 80 per cent of male respondents reported having being beaten or physically punished by a teacher, compared with fewer than half of their female peers. More than a third of men and women reported ever having witnessed their mother being beaten by their father or another male relative when they were children. Older and less educated men were significantly more likely to have witnessed such maternal abuse than other male respondents.

In qualitative research, men described widespread physical violence in their youth, which was seen as an unexceptional fact of life, irrespective of wealth, education, or location. Male participants intimated a desire to break the cycle of violence that characterized their own childhood, to save future generations from the same experience.

"I used to be beaten quite a lot, mainly by my teachers. At home, it was rare, and when it happened, it was mainly with a sandal. Once I was hit with a frying pan, and I revolted. I left the house for three days; it was my big brother who interceded and resolved the situation."

Man, 33 years old, agricultural engineer, Rabat

4.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life

4.4.1 – HEALTH AND WEALTH

Most Moroccan men and women fear for their own and their families' safety. When asked about their experiences of street violence, around 20 per cent of men and women reported being robbed in the previous year. A quarter of male respondents had been involved in some form of affray, including fistfights and assaults with a weapon, in the preceding 12 months; around 15 per cent had ever had a run-in with the law, be it an arrest or harassment by the police or the army.

When asked about their safety, present and future, men and women in the survey were clearly concerned, with an almost universal fear for their own security (Figure 4.4.1a). Women, in particular, were anxious, not just for themselves but for their families, with around 90 per cent expressing unease about their current welfare and prospects. However, men and women were equally confident in their ability to protect their families from such harm.

Men remained the main providers for their families, reporting more than three times the rate of labour force participation that women did (Figure 4.4.1b). At the same time, unemployment rates for young men and women hover around 20 per cent.[14]

14. More on young men's and women's experiences of, and attitudes toward, employment can be found in the recent Sahwa youth survey, which examined young people's lives across multiple dimensions in several MENA countries, including Morocco, Egypt, and Lebanon. See: www.sahwa.eu

Around two-thirds of male and female respondents worried about meeting their families' daily material needs. One-quarter to one-third of respondents felt either stressed, depressed, or ashamed due to lack of work or income. Women, as well as men under 35, felt these pressures in particular.

> "Men are in competition with one another for the young man of the family to be better than his neighbour. This creates tremendous stress and unremitting social and family pressure on the young man."
>
> **Man, in his 20s, student, Rabat**

FIGURE 4.4.1a

Individual and Family Security

Percentage of respondents with selected concerns about personal and family security, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

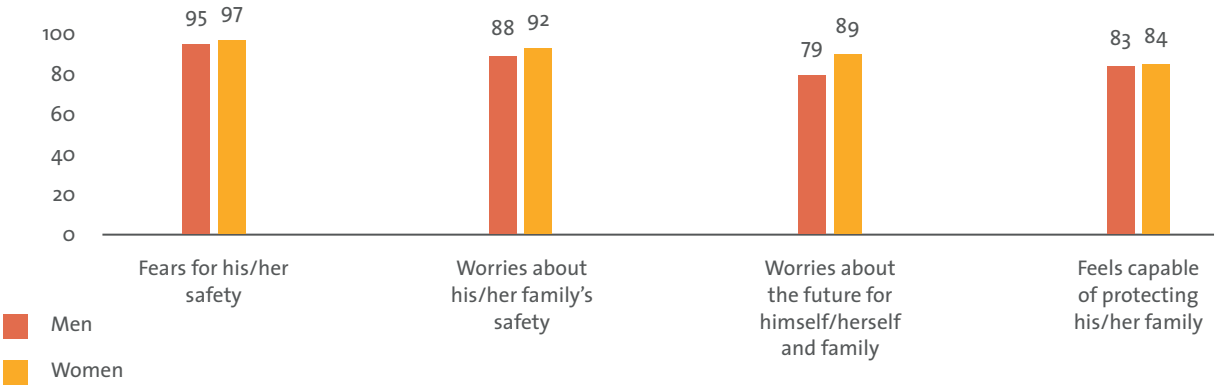
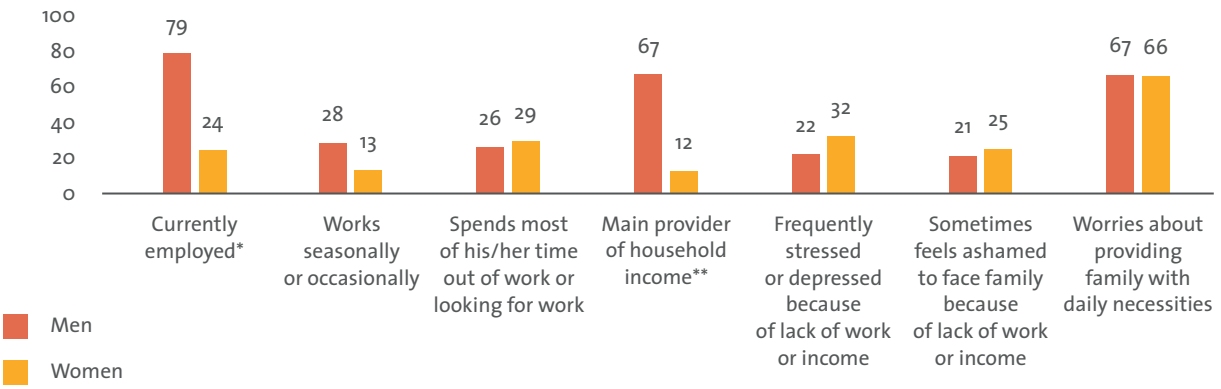


FIGURE 4.4.1b

Work-Related Stress

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about his/her work and financial situation, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



* 57 per cent of female respondents classify themselves as "housewives"

** Additional sources of income include parents and other relatives

A minority of men, and a majority of women, exhibit signs of depression. Results from a 20-question standardized panel assessing depressive symptoms (see Chapter 2 for details), found that 42 to 63 per cent of women experienced loneliness, fear, depressed mood, restless sleep, feelings of sickness, crying spells, and other symptoms in the week preceding the survey – considerably more than men did (Figure 4.4.1c).

Three per cent of women (and fewer than 1 per cent of men) reported ever having considered suicide, a third of those in the previous month alone. Women also expressed feelings of happiness, pleasure, hope, and confidence at rates comparable to their male counterparts. Still, almost half of women in the survey exhibited symptoms of depression according to the standardized panel, compared with around a quarter of their male peers.

Fewer than 10 per cent of women, and far fewer men – fewer than 1 per cent – sought help from a mental health professional, in line with Moroccans' generally unfavourable views of psychiatry and psychotherapy. Around two-fifths of men and three-fifths of women turned to their own social circles for support. Married men relied principally on their wives in times of trouble, while unmarried men depended mainly on male friends. In contrast, married women sought support from their other relatives and female friends much more than they did from their husbands.

Men say they are satisfied with their health, and rarely seek healthcare services. When it comes to physical health, more men than women said they were satisfied with their current state of health (Table 4.4.1a). More than three-quarters of men rated their health as good or very good compared with that of peers, and more than 80 per cent were satisfied with their bodies (although just over 40 per cent would prefer a more muscular physique).

FIGURE 4.4.1c

Emotional State

Percentage of respondents who reported experiencing selected feelings in the previous week, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

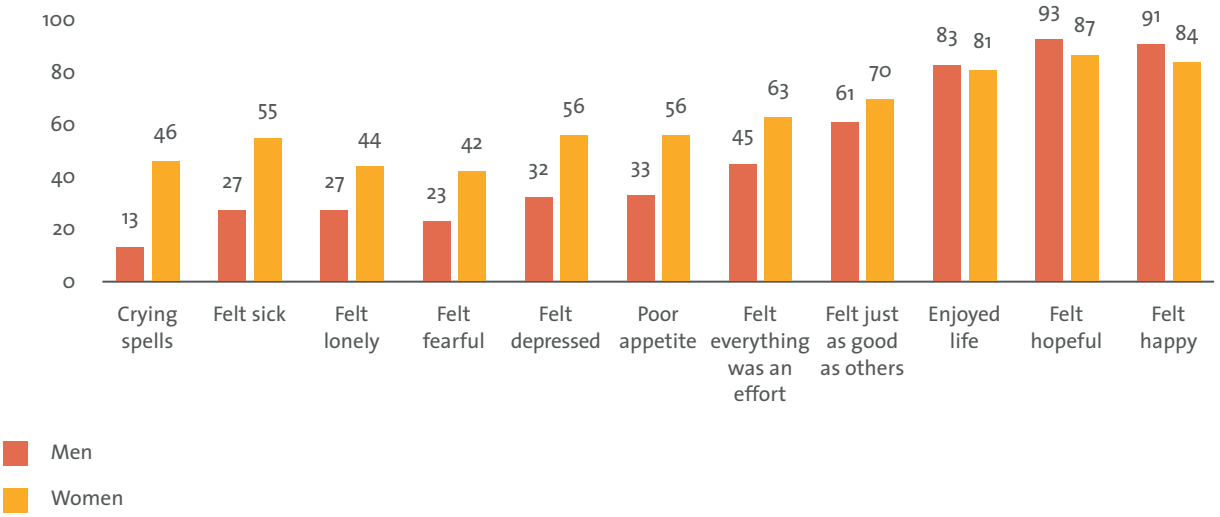


TABLE 4.4.1a

Perceptions of Personal Health

Percentage distribution of respondents, according to self-declared health status, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
In comparison to peers, respondent's health is		
Good or very good	79.0	59.3
Moderate	18.6	33.0
Bad or very bad	2.4	7.7
The respondent is happy with (his/her) body	**81.9**	**83.1**
The respondent would like to lose weight	**22.9**	**39.4**
The respondent would like to have a more muscular body	**44.3**	*
Smoking		
Respondent feels (he/she) smokes too much	58.7	**
Respondent has ever had a health problem related to smoking	33.5	**
Total number of respondents who smoke	**281**	**

* Not asked in the women's questionnaire

** Negligible number of respondents

Of the one-quarter of male respondents who smoke, a third said they have experienced smoking-related health problems, and almost 60 per cent felt they smoke too much.[15] Fewer than 10 per cent of men had ever tried marijuana or other drugs. Men tended to steer clear of healthcare services, with a third never having consulted a medical professional.

15. Due to social norms, virtually no female respondents reported smoking.

4.4.2 – MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Many men are prepared to see their wives work after marriage, but feel it is more important for a woman to marry than to have a career. While marriage is not considered as crucial to achieving adulthood for men in Morocco as it is for women, it is nonetheless an important milestone for both sexes (Table 4.4.2a). Around three-fifths of the IMAGES MENA Morocco sample were married, higher than the regional or national average (see "Who Was Surveyed?"). Divorce is rare in Morocco, but rates for women in the survey are higher than the national average.[16] While polygyny is authorized under Moroccan law, the economic climate, as well as a number of legal provisions – among them, one that obliges husbands to secure the approval of existing wives before taking another – present practical hurdles, and virtually no men in the survey were married to more than one wife.

> "A man can't be a whole man without a woman. He needs a wife to enter into the frame of masculinity. To be a man, he needs to form a household, to be responsible. That means you are independent, you and your family. You don't need anyone else."
>
> **Man, 43 years old, shopkeeper, Douar Ait Kaddour**

Marriage in Morocco is a matter of both individual choice and family involvement. More than 80 per cent of men and women alike thought the final decision to marry should rest with the couple themselves. Such attitudes are reflected in practice, at least for men: while more than half of male respondents made the decision about whom and how to marry themselves, fewer women enjoyed such exclusive freedom, with a third saying the final word lay with other family members or jointly with their future spouse (see also Figure 4.3.2b).

Given the importance of marriage for women, female respondents appeared to be more flexible in their criteria of a socially acceptable match. More women than men were prepared to marry a divorcé/e or a younger man/older woman; a quarter were even ready to marry a man of a different religion (Table 4.4.2a), although this is not permitted for Muslim women under Moroccan law. Around two-thirds of women believed it is acceptable for a man to marry a woman with more education, although, in fact, only 10 per cent of married respondents are in such an arrangement. Female respondents drew the line at polygyny, however, the idea of which was significantly more popular with men; more than 90 per cent of women believed that wives should be able to exercise their legal right to refuse their husbands permission to take another wife, while fewer than 20 per cent of women approve of either their sons or daughters entering into polygamous unions.

16. Haut-Commissariat Au Plan (HCP). (2014). *Rencensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat* [National Survey of the Population and Settlements]. Casablanca: HCP.

TABLE 4.4.2a

Attitudes toward Marriage

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about marriage, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
If a man does not marry, he is not a man	9.2	8.0
It is more important for a woman to marry than for her to have a career	53.5	52.6
A man should not marry a woman who is more educated than he is	33.8	31.3
Current wives should have the right to refuse their husband taking another wife*	56.9	91.8
I would approve of my son marrying more than one wife*	68.5	16.9
I would approve of my daughter marrying a man who already has other wives*	44.2	10.6
Asked of never-married respondents only		
It is important for a future wife to work after marriage	60.9	73.3
I have no problem with marrying a person who has been divorced	35.0	59.6
I have no problem with marrying an older woman/a younger man	26.9	34.3
I have no problem with marrying someone of a different religion	30.6	23.5
Total number of never-married respondents	**419**	**279**

* Question asked of Muslim respondents only

Men are expected to bear most of the costs when it comes to marriage, from the wedding onwards. In a time of high youth unemployment, this has become increasingly burdensome, and is in large part seen as responsible for the significant rise in the age of marriage for men and women in Morocco in recent years. Around 60 per cent of men in the survey reported that the cost of their own marriage was a burden on their families, although fewer than 20 per cent would have liked to see the bride and her family bear more of the expense. Around 60 per cent of unmarried men believed it is important for their future wives to work, a view supported by almost three-quarters of single female respondents.

In qualitative interviews, women were defined, by male and female participants alike, as wives and mothers, no matter their professional achievements. For their part, male participants spoke of pressure to compete against other men for success on the marriage market, and of the extreme financial pressures of matrimony – particularly for young men struggling to muster the resources necessary to support a wife and family. Male participants also spoke of the shift to nuclear family structures as exacerbating the

financial pressure, extended families no longer being the fail-safe source of economic assistance they once were. While survey results show men reluctant to share wedding costs – arguably a question of family pride and public appearances – male participants spoke of women's "excessive" material expectations. At the same time – and in contrast to the survey findings – many of the men in the qualitative interviews and discussions said they preferred their wives to stay at home, even if this meant husbands carrying a heavier financial load.

"Today, a man has to be of a high standing, with a university diploma, to be able to marry and have children. A salary of 3,000 dirhams [USD 300] is not enough for the needs of a family. And so women also have to go to work. That's a problem."

Man, in his 20s, youth club member, Khémisset

"I'm all for marriage with a woman who works, to cope with the cost of living together, and to make decisions together, as well."

Man, 34 years old, student, Rabat

"Marriage has become 'mission impossible' for youth today. We break the back of the young man who wants to marry. We don't help him, but we should. If we don't, what will happen? We are strangling him. It's impossible for a young man to marry under these conditions."

Man, in his 30s, employee, Sidi Allal El Bahraoui

While divorce is a source of concern in Morocco, women are more supportive of their right to break from their husbands. Although a minority of respondents considered divorce to diminish the respectability of either men or women, more than 80 per cent believed that it will lead to the breakdown of society (Figure 4.4.2a); in the survey sample, divorced women, in particular, were significantly more likely to suffer from depressive symptoms than were their married or single counterparts (see Section 4.4.1). Men were more resistant to women initiating divorce than were women themselves, with close to half of male respondents rejecting the right of women to start proceedings.[17]

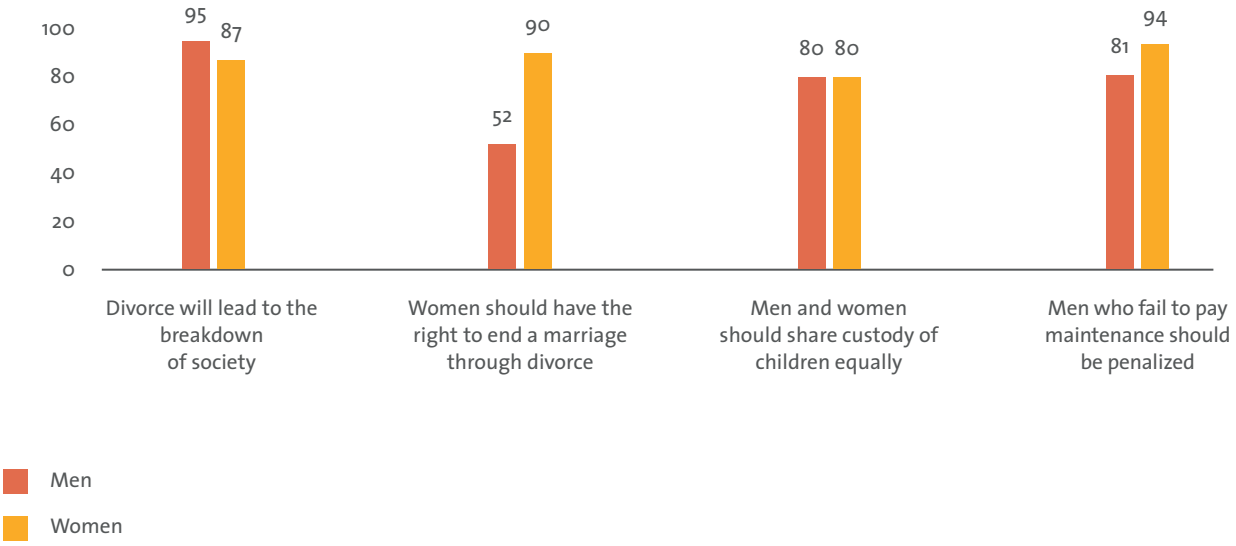
On other aspects of divorce, the majority of men and women believed that laws relating to alimony, housing rights, division of assets, child support, and visitation rights either favour women or treat both spouses equally. Eighty per cent of men and women supported equal custody rights for mothers and fathers, and more than 80 per cent believed that fathers who fail to pay maintenance should be penalized.

17. Under the *Moudawana*, Morocco's family code, women able to initiate divorce on a variety of grounds.

FIGURE 4.4.2a

Attitudes toward Divorce

Percentage of respondents who agreed with divorce-related statements, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



4.4.3 – HOUSEWORK AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING

Women perform the majority of domestic work, with some exceptions. The highly-gendered division of labour in the homes of boys and girls (see Section 4.3.2) continues in their lives as husbands and wives. Among ever-married men, a third or fewer reported having engaged in such conventionally feminine domestic work as cooking or cleaning in the previous month (Figure 4.4.3a), in line with a recent national survey on men's and women's time use.[18] Their participation in housework was largely confined to traditionally male tasks, with three-quarters taking on repairs and more than 90 per cent paying bills. Urban, more educated men were more likely to report undertaking domestic chores, as were those who were similarly engaged as children, and those who saw their fathers do the same.

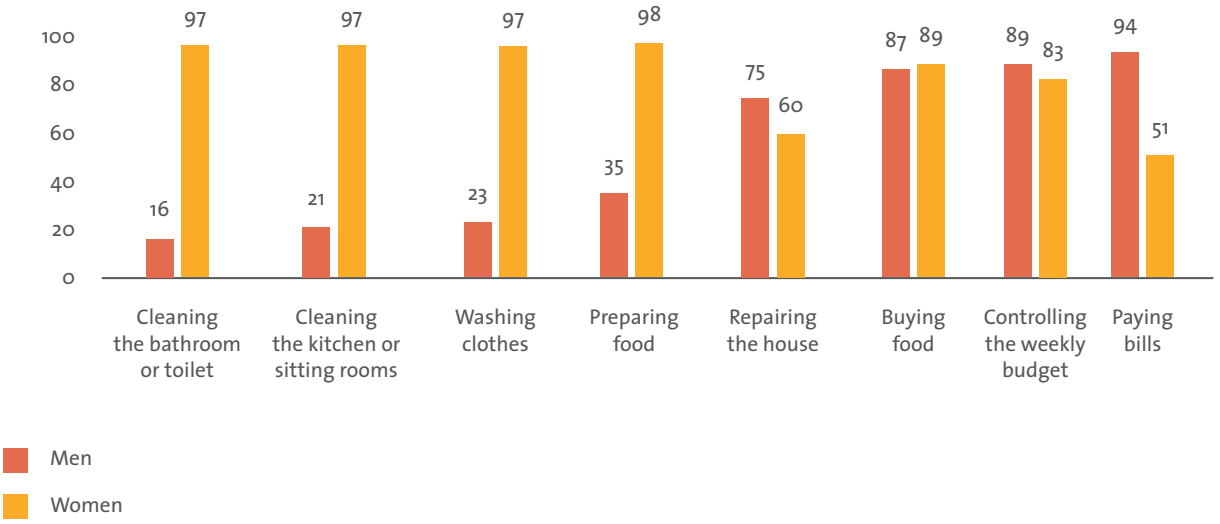
> "If you treat women well, people think your masculinity is weak or that you are effeminate. You find that in the home. For example, I find it relaxing when I do the dishes, especially after mentally-taxing work; for other men, it's shameful to enter the kitchen because it will weaken their masculinity and discredit them."
>
> **Man, 60 years old, human rights activist, Rabat**

18. In analysing how men and women spent their time in the preceding week, the 2012 *National Time Use Survey* found that less than a fifth of men's time was engaged with domestic work, compared with almost 80 per cent of women's hours; these proportions were reversed in the case of "professional" work, that is, paid employment (HCP, *Enquête Nationale sur l'Emploi du Temps* [National Time Use Study], 2012).

FIGURE 4.4.3a

Division of Household Labour

Percentage of ever-married respondents according to participation in housework in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



> "Women working outside the home is only acceptable if money is tight."
>
> **Man, in his 20s, technician, Khémisset**

> "If the woman works outside the house, who is going to stay with the children? Who will attend to their education? We will bring up a generation of badly educated children, who will have personality disorders or psychological problems. Me, I'm OK with my wife working, so long as she has time for the family."
>
> **Man, in his 20s, Douar Ait Kaddour**

Women, too, largely repeat the pattern established in childhood, performing mostly conventionally female tasks. Men and women saw this division of labour differently. While 60 per cent of male respondents reported that they share housework equally with their wives, more than three-quarters of women said that they themselves do most of the work around the home. Despite this difference, almost 90 per cent of men and women alike were satisfied with this division of work, and believed their spouses to be similarly content.

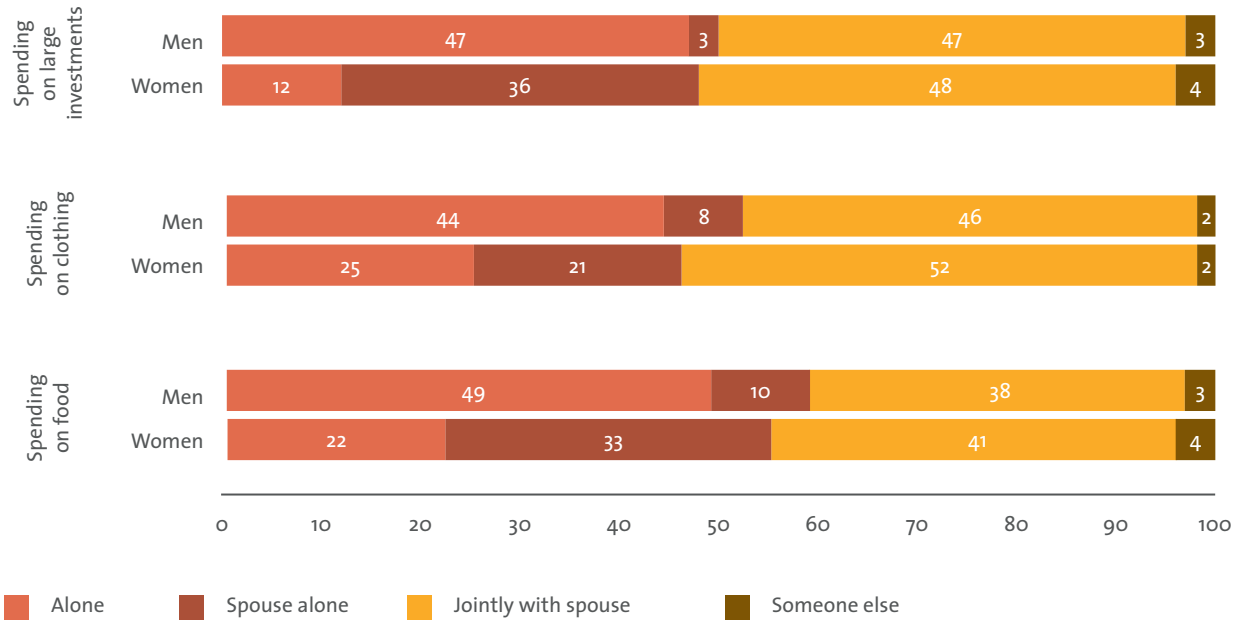
> "He has been educated this way, that his place is to be seated, and me, I have to serve him [like] Si Sayed [a fictional patriarch]. For him to throw off this habit is difficult. There is a saying in the countryside around [the town of] Beni Mellal, 'If you want to teach a puppy, kill the older dog'. If you want to educate, you need to do so by example. The situation that a woman finds herself in is of her own making. It's she who accepts doing everything while he sits around; she plays a part in this."
>
> **Woman, in her 20s, women's rights activist, Rabat**

While the division of housework may be unequal, household decision-making is more evenly shared between husbands and wives. Almost half of men claimed to have the final say when it comes to household spending on various items (Figure 4.4.3b). Less-educated, rural men were more likely to say they make such decisions alone. Among the other half, the majority said they share this decision with their spouses. While women agreed that close to half of spending decisions are made jointly with their spouse, they also claimed more individual decision-making authority than men acknowledge.

FIGURE 4.4.3b

Household Spending

Percentage of ever-married men and women reporting who has the final word on household spending decisions, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



"In working outside, I have a lot more to do. I make my living, but at the end of the day, I don't have much more power."

Woman, in her 30s, employee, Rabat

Men's dominance over women extends to women's movement and other personal freedoms. Around 90 per cent of men surveyed said they control what their wives wear and want to know where they are at all times; however, men exercise less control over whether their wives can leave home (Figure 4.4.3c). Women affirmed significant spousal control over these aspects of their lives, though significantly less than men reported. In practice, women have somewhat more autonomy, with almost two-thirds or more reporting that the decision to go out to visit friends and family, or to get a job, is either theirs alone or made jointly with their husbands. However, where sexual relations are concerned, 79 per cent of women reported that their husbands expect them to have intercourse on demand, compared with 62 per cent of men who claim such prerogative (see Section 4.4.6).

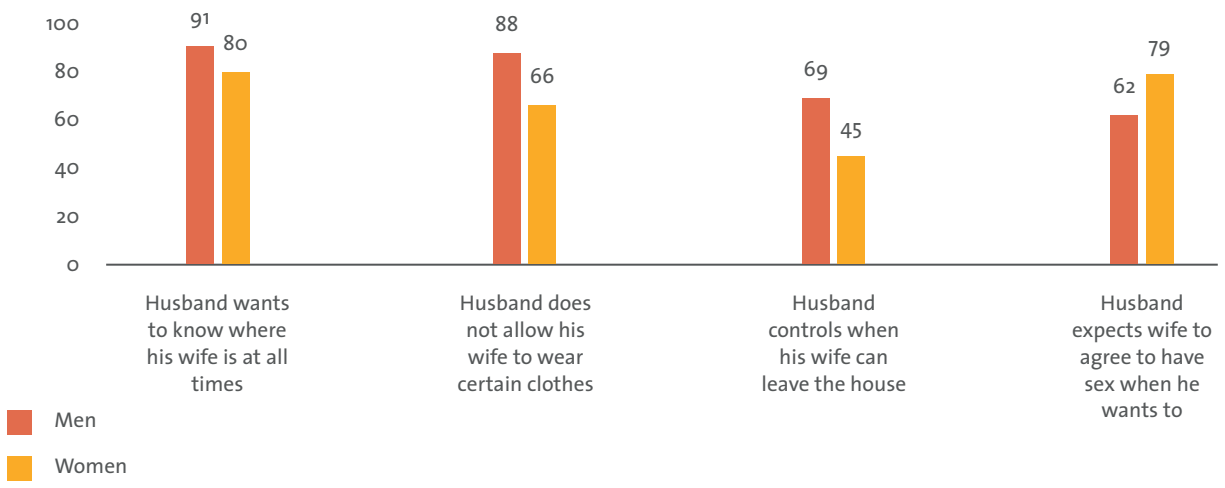
"To craft your personality so that some man can come along and re-educate you? Who does he think he is? He wants you to be cultured and for you to work, but that's in front of other people, so that they will say he made a good choice. But between you and him, he wants to dominate you, to decide what you wear. He thinks you don't have a brain; he becomes your guardian! No way I can accept that."

Woman, 29 years old, student, Rabat

FIGURE 4.4.3c

Spousal Control

Percentage of ever-married respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about the relationship with his/her spouse, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



Qualitative interviews revealed a mixed picture on household relations. Working women complained about their husbands leaving them to the double duty of working outside the home and doing most of the housework, as well. Irrespective of their education, wealth, or location, women rejected the idea that domestic chores were their responsibility solely by virtue of their sex. Men and women alike noted the pressure to conform to conventional household roles in order to keep up appearances. Men, for example, suggested they might clean or make a meal if their wives were ill, but would certainly want to keep such domestic contributions out of the public eye. However, many female participants expressed a desire to break free of such superficial constraints.

> "Where is it written in the Qur'an that I must always have a broom in my hand? That I was born with one?"
>
> **Woman, in her 20s, student, Rabat**

More egalitarian couples, while having reached a more even balance of labour at home, were conscious of how unusual their choices might seem to the wider world. In short, both men and women expressed unease and, in contrast to the survey findings, dissatisfaction with their domestic arrangements – men because they felt their authority was slipping away, and women because they saw themselves as bearing more responsibility without necessarily gaining more control over their own time.

> "A woman has many roles. Take my situation, for example. I'm a mother, a wife, a teacher, and a student. By day, I'm all that. My husband just has his profession, and at the end of the day, he comes home and complains that 'I'm tired', etcetera. He watches the TV while I make dinner."
>
> **Woman, 30 years old, Rabat**

4.4.4 – FATHERHOOD

Around 85 per cent of women with children in the survey had received some form of antenatal care during their most recent pregnancy. More than three-quarters of married male respondents reported attending at least one antenatal visit with their wives, the vast majority remaining either in a waiting room or somewhere outside the consultation. Women, however, remembered the situation differently, with only half recalling their husband's involvement. During delivery, however, more than 60 per cent of male and female respondents said that men were present for the birth of their youngest child, albeit in a different room, given prevailing cultural norms and hospital regulations around childbirth.

More than half of men reported that they spend too little time with their children due to work or the search for it. Their desire to be more involved as fathers starts early: around a third of men surveyed took time off after the birth of their youngest child (Table 4.4.4a), on average just under two weeks, and most of it paid. While maternity leave is mandated under Moroccan law, no such provision is made for fathers, and many more would like the option:

more than 80 per cent of male and female respondents were in favour of paid paternity leave, with most preferring leave of up to two weeks.

TABLE 4.4.4a

Parental Leave

Percentage of respondents who took or would like to take paid time off at the birth of their child, and desired duration of leave, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
You/your husband took time off work within six months of your youngest child's birth to help care for your child*	36.9	25.3
Total number of respondents with one or more biological children	**941**	**1011**
Would you like to have the option of paid parental leave for fathers?	80.2	84.7
Desired duration of leave		
Less than one week	17.8	15.7
One or two weeks	55.8	67.5
Three or more weeks	19.0	11.2
More than six weeks	7.4	5.6

* Women were asked about husband's parental leave

"So you try going to Doukkala [a rural district] and say [to a man], 'Go home and be there for your wife's delivery.' [He would say,] 'What, are you crazy? Look after my cow which is giving birth, or my wife?' He would prefer to stay with his cow."

Woman, 28 years old, community association leader, Rabat

Women carry the load in childcare and child discipline. When it comes to daily caregiving, around a third of men and a quarter of women felt that there is any shame in men taking care of children or contributing to housework (see Table 4.2.1a). The view held by the majority of men and women, that changing diapers, bathing, and feeding children should be a woman's responsibility, is largely reflected in daily practice (Figure 4.4.4a). While infant and toddler care is the preserve of women, 41 per cent of men reported ever having fed or supervised their children, and 59 per cent have played with them. It is worth noting that, in most cases, women noted less participation by their husbands than men themselves reported.

Child discipline is also shared between fathers and mothers, depending on the nature of the intervention. When asked about selected disciplinary methods with their children aged 3 to 14 in the month preceding the survey, more than 80 per cent of men and women reported verbally disciplining their sons and daughters (Figure 4.4.4b). Physical measures were far more commonly used by women than by men. Older, less-educated men and women and those in rural areas were more likely to physically discipline their children, as were wealthier respondents.

FIGURE 4.4.4a

Fathers and Childcare

Percentage of ever-married men who performed childcare tasks related to their youngest child (under age 18) while that child was living at home, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

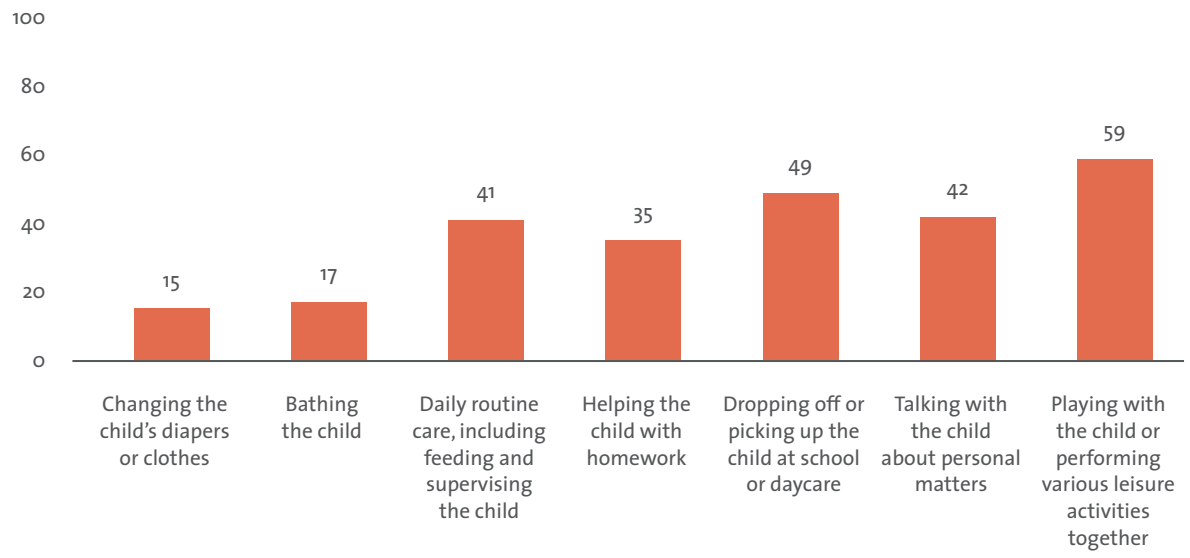
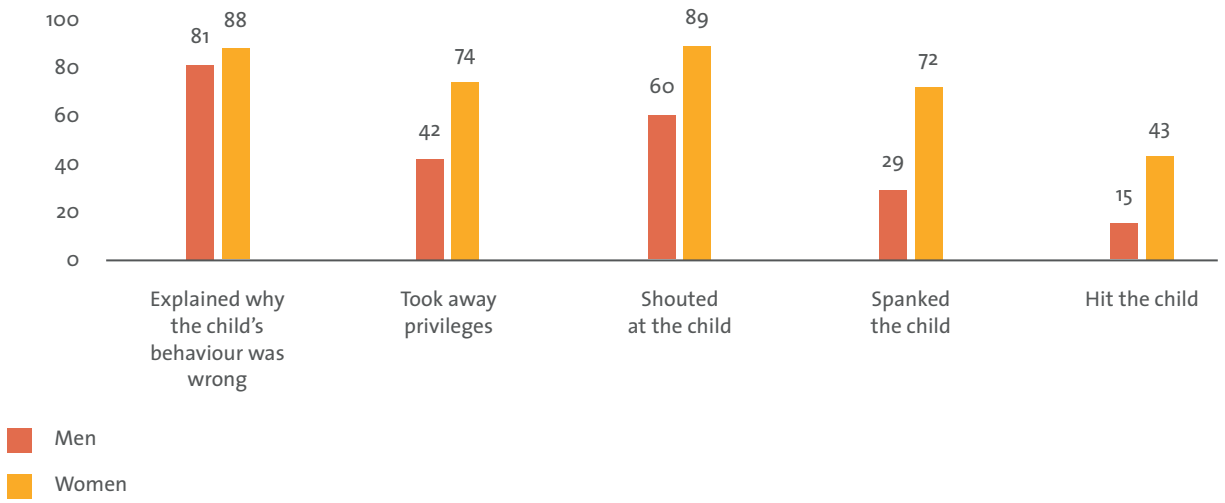


FIGURE 4.4.4b

Child Discipline

Percentage of respondents with children aged 3 to 14 who used selected child disciplinary methods in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



"Once, a cousin came to visit from France, and I saw how she raised her small child. She never hit him. When, for example, he took someone's mobile phone, his father would say, 'I'm going to punish you', and the child would start to cry. He had to sit in a corner without speaking and if he moved they would increase the duration of the punishment and so the child never again dared to take something that did not belong to him. Violence doesn't teach you anything; on the contrary, it just causes more problems."

Man, in his 20s, student, Sidi Allal El Bahraoui

4.4.5 – SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE LIFE

Women uphold double standards around sexual roles and rights more than men do. While sexuality remains a sensitive subject in Morocco, as it does across the Middle East and North Africa, a more open research climate allowed IMAGES MENA to pose questions on sexual and reproductive attitudes and practices in Morocco that were not possible in some of the other study countries.

Islam preaches pre-marital virginity for both men and women,[19] and sex outside of marriage remains illegal in Morocco (see Section 4.2.4). In practice, however, double standards prevail. More than three-quarters of men surveyed believed that women should be virgins upon marriage, while fewer than half thought men should be held to the same standard (Figure 4.4.5a). Women were even stronger supporters of this sexual inequality than men were, with greater proportions insisting on female virginity, and significantly fewer demanding the same standard for men. Around three-quarters of male and female respondents alike approved of virginity testing (see Section 4.4.6).

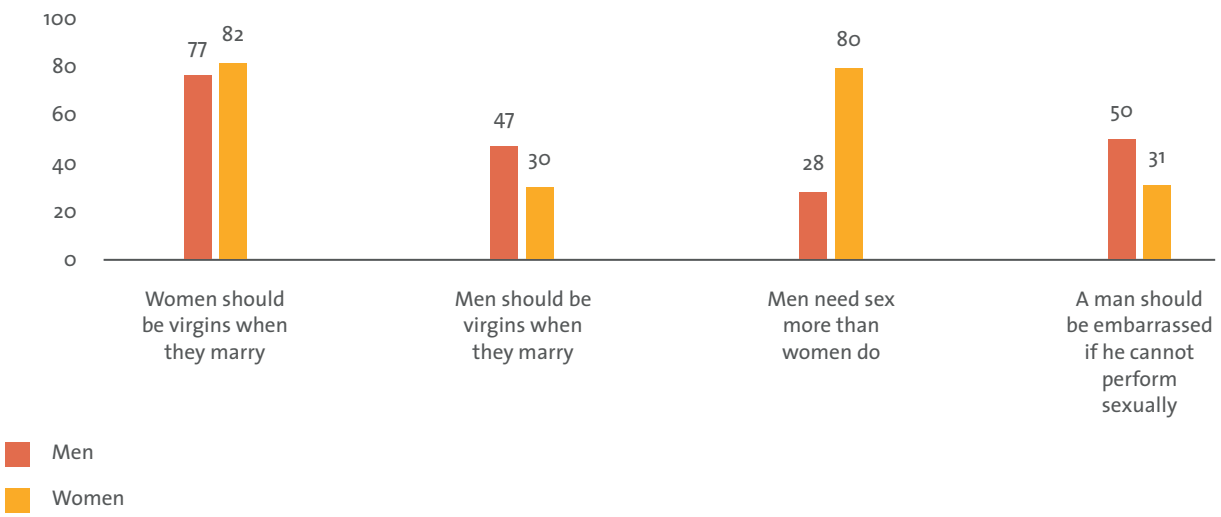
Men put more stock in sexual performance than do women, with half of male respondents believing that sexual impotence should be a source of male embarrassment. However, they were significantly less persuaded than female respondents were that their sex drive is any greater than women's, by a margin of 28 per cent to 80 per cent. Both men and women, however, made a distinction between sexual potency and reproductive capacity, with almost 95 per cent of respondents rejecting the idea that a man who can't have children is not a "real" man.

> "Men who base their identity on power and force see it as a tool of impregnation. He is the cock that impregnates the hen, and he doesn't care about other responsibilities. He has sex with his wife, but he does not make love with her."
>
> **Man, 60 years old, human rights activist, Rabat**

FIGURE 4.4.5a

Attitudes toward Sex

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexuality, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



19. El Feki, Shereen. (2014). *Sex and the Citadel: Intimate Life in a Changing Arab World*. Anchor.

Family planning decisions are shared between men and women. Among married respondents, more than 80 per cent of men and women alike described their relationship as good, or better. While around 90 per cent of men and women said they show their spouses affection, a similar proportion said they wish their partner would be even more affectionate. Similar proportions of husbands and wives claimed satisfaction with their sexual relationship, and said it is easy to speak with their spouse about sexual matters.

Around 60 per cent of married couples were currently using contraception, in line with national studies.[20] Men, even more than women, saw family planning as a joint decision: fewer than a fifth of male respondents thought it a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant, compared with a third of women surveyed. In practice, almost 90 per cent of men and 60 per cent of women said that decisions as to contraceptive use are shared between them.

Around 3 per cent of married men and about 5 per cent of married women had experience of abortion (see Section 4.2.4). Almost half of these men said the decision to terminate a pregnancy was shared between husband and wife. More than two-thirds said they accompanied their wife to the procedure, and nearly 85 per cent said they helped to pay for it, though women reported significantly lower rates of male involvement.

Qualitative interviews on abortion – a live issue in Morocco, with legislative reform in progress (see Section 4.2.4) – revealed mixed opinions. While many men and women were firmly convinced that abortion is against Islam (despite religious arguments to the contrary), they nonetheless recognized it as an unavoidable (if undesirable) measure in certain cases, and more-or-less tolerable so long as done discreetly. Female participants, in particular, were concerned about single women being left in the lurch by their partners, forced to face the social and economic consequences of trying to raise a child out of wedlock in a society that takes a hard line on sex and childbearing outside of marriage. While most participants described abortion in paternalistic terms as an expedient solution to an unfortunate situation, a handful of men and women – mainly those with a personal or professional interest in human rights – described such terminations as a woman's fundamental right.

> "I became pregnant. However, I was going out with a feminist guy who made lovely speeches, was the child of an activist family, everything you could want. But when I asked him to come with me to the gynaecologist, he refused. All those ideas I had [of him] evaporated … and I was left to face the consequences of the abortion by myself, with my female friends."
>
> **Woman, 26 years old, women's rights activist, Rabat**

20. Ministry of Health (Morocco), Pan Arab Project for Family Health (PAPFAM), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), World Health Organization (WHO). (2011). *Morocco National Survey on Population and Family Health 2010-2011.*

> "Abortion is essential as a solution to protect women, so the laws have to change. Some of them commit suicide or leave their kids in the street. They don't have choice, we are not going to shackle them. We have to find a solution."
>
> **Man, 30 years old, office worker, Sidi Allal El Bahraoui**

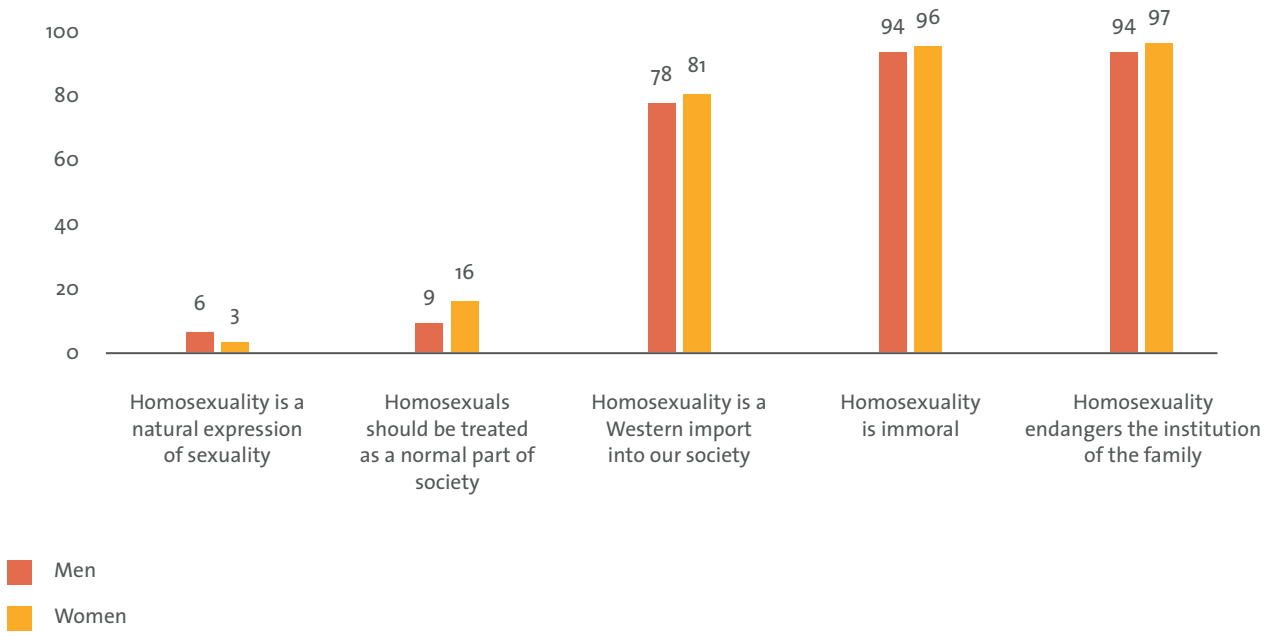
Men and women are widely intolerant of sexual diversity. Male and female homosexual acts are illegal in Morocco, although recent arrests and violent public assaults against men and women with alternative sexual orientations and gender identities have prompted a public debate on the place of such diversity in Moroccan society. Fewer than a fifth of men and women surveyed were aware of such laws; three-fifths of men and four-fifths of women who knew of such legislation supported criminalization.

This legal stance reflects a widely-held intolerance to any deviation from the heterosexual norm. While a minority of women were willing to consider homosexuality a normal aspect of society, more than 80 per cent view it as foreign, immoral, and a danger to the family, with men being only slightly less censorious (Figure 4.4.5b). More than half of male respondents believed that men or women who dress or behave like the opposite sex deserve public harassment; women were even less tolerant of such diversity. Around 90 per cent of men and women alike said that if they discovered that one of their male acquaintances was having sex with another man, they would break with him immediately.

FIGURE 4.4.5b

Attitudes toward Homosexuality

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about homosexuality, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



"We have to make them [homosexual men] disappear. Before, we used to say they should be killed, now they do what they want, but on the quiet. We can't keep them here because they give our society a bad name; they make us ashamed as men .... We need to collect them all in a boat and send them abroad, [where] they belong."

Man, 18 years old, student, Rabat

Most men and women in qualitative interviews were firmly opposed to homosexuality. Many described it as un-Islamic, immoral, unnatural, and even un-Moroccan, seeing it as an import from the West. Most participants shared the mistaken conviction that homosexuality is some sort of "gender problem" – possibly the result of childhood trauma, hormonal imbalance, poor education, or being raised in a family without a strong male presence – that could be cured through medical intervention.[21]

"It's not mentioned, 'homo', on our identity cards!"

"If they resemble other people, why marginalize them?"

"It's their business. Who wants to know?"

Men, 18 to 24 years old, students, Rabat

Men, in particular, described their homosexual peers as less than "real" men, and as giving Moroccan manhood, in general, a bad name. Homosexual men were seen as marginally acceptable if they looked and behaved like "ordinary" men; the failure to thus conform justified violent means to keep transgressive men in line. Male sex work was slightly more tolerated by some participants – the fact of having sex with men for a living, rather than for pleasure, making all the difference. Only a few men took a "live and let live" approach to any departure from a heterosexual norm. For their part, many LGBT participants in interviews described the pressure to meet conventional "masculine" standards and to live what they considered double lives as particularly onerous and as a point of quiet defiance.

"At any given moment, and to prove my manliness, I had to show that I was a macho fighting man, skip classes, smoke, drink alcohol, because society, unfortunately, obliges us to do so ... my friends said that to become a real man, I had to sleep with a prostitute. They suggested we do this as a group, but I refused. They were shocked and did not understand my decision, saying that, to show your manhood, this is something you have to do."

Man, 37 years old, LGBT rights activist, Rabat

21. El Feki, Shereen, *Sex and the Citadel*, 2014.

4.4.6 – GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Men's use of violence against women is widespread, both at home and on the streets. In line with Morocco's active public debates, civil society action, and government policy-making on women's rights, gender-based violence (GBV) has emerged as a topic of pressing concern. Morocco was one of the first countries in the MENA region to assess the prevalence of violence against women and girls in its 2009 national survey;[22] less is known, however, about men's attitudes and experiences, as either perpetrators or victims of GBV, in public or private.

Where domestic violence is concerned, just over a third of male respondents believed that women deserve to be beaten on occasion and more than 60 per cent asserted that women should accept such treatment in order to preserve the family (see Table 4.2.1a). While women strongly disagreed with their male counterparts on the former point, close to half said that a woman should be willing to tolerate violence for the sake of family unity.

Nearly half of Moroccan men have been emotionally violent toward their wives, but physical abuse is less common. More than half of male respondents had ever insulted, threatened, or scared their wives, almost a third in the preceding year alone (Table 4.4.6a). Economic and physical violence were less common, with fewer than a fifth of men reporting ever having perpetrated either type of abuse over the course of their marriage.[23] Around a third of the men who had used violence, and of the women who had experienced it, did so in front of children.

TABLE 4.4.6a

Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of ever-married respondents by acts of violence perpetrated by men and experienced by women, lifetime and 12-month rates, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016*

	MEN		WOMEN	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Violent acts				
Emotional violence	**51.3**	**29.0**	**61.2**	**35.1**
Insulted (his wife/her) or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	44.2	21.4	58.0	30.7
Belittled or humiliated (his wife/her) in front of other people	28.1	15.6	37.0	13.4
Scared or intimidated (his wife/her) on purpose for example by the way he looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	26.4	14.1	36.8	17.3

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

22. Haut-Commissariat Au Plan (HCP). (2009). *Enquête Nationale sur la Prévalence de la Violence à l'Égard des Femmes au Maroc* [National Survey on the Prevalence of Violence against Women in Morocco]. Casablanca: HCP.

23.IMAGES MENA also asked women if they had ever used violence against their husbands. Thirty-eight per cent of married women responded in the affirmative, the majority having belittled or insulted their husbands at some point, and almost a fifth reporting having ever threatened to hurt their spouse.

TABLE 4.4.6a CONTINUED

	MEN		WOMEN	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Threatened to hurt (his wife/her)	20.8	9.1	21.6	7.3
Hurt people (his wife/she) cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	9.5	5.0	16.2	5.1
Economic violence	**18.6**	**4.0**	**19.2**	**6.0**
Prevented (his wife/her) from working for wages or profit	7.3	2.6	11.7	3.6
Took (his wife's/her) earnings against her will	4.1	1.2	7.2	1.7
Kept money from earnings for personal use when the respondent knew (his wife/she) was finding it hard to pay for her personal expenses or household needs	3.2	1.2	7.3	1.8
Threw (his wife/her) out of the house	12.2	1.5	8.8	1.4
Physical violence	**15.9**	**5.4**	**26.2**	**10.4**
Slapped (his wife/her) or threw something at her that could hurt her	11.3	3.3	19.0	5.5
Pushed or shoved (his wife/her)	9.7	2.9	22.5	9.1
Hit (his wife/her) with his fist or with something else that could hurt her	7.2	3.1	14.5	4.7
Kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned (his wife/her)	3.9	1.8	10.0	2.9
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against (his wife/her)	1.1	0.5	3.1	0.7
Sexual violence	**5.7**	**2.2**	**23.4**	**9.1**
Forced (his wife/her) to have sex with him when she did not want to	5.7	2.2	23.4	9.1
Total number of ever-married respondents	**781**		**921**	

Women's reports of experiencing violence are higher than men's reports of perpetration, notably so in the case of sexual violence. On the whole, women's reported rates of having experienced physical, emotional, and economic abuse are higher than those of men's reported perpetration.[24] As in other countries where IMAGES has been carried out, the biggest gap between men's reports of perpetration and women's reports of experience is seen in the case of sexual violence. Almost one in four women reported having been forced to have sex with her husband, while only one in twenty men reported having committed such an act.

24. These findings are in line with the results of the 2009 national survey on violence against women which reported comparable 12-month rates of various forms of spousal violence experienced by women (HCP, *Enquête Nationale sur la Prévalence de la Violence à l'Égard des Femmes au Maroc* [National Survey on the Prevalence of Violence against Women in Morocco], 2009). It is important to note, however, that IMAGES MENA Morocco differs from the national survey in its sample size, geographic scope, age range, as well as differences in the items included in the definition of spousal violence.

> "What really kills is verbal violence. I would prefer that he hit me rather than insult me. If he beats me, the pain will pass, but words rest in the heart. No matter what happens, those words will never leave."
>
> **Woman, 20 years old, student, Khémisset**

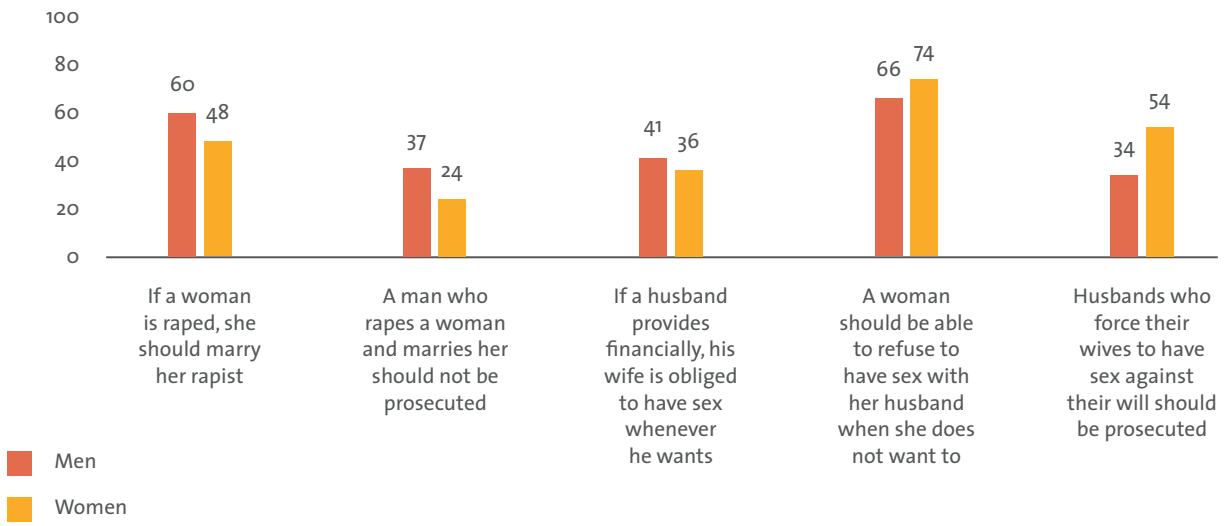
According to some interpretations of Islam, a wife is obliged to submit to her husband's sexual demands in exchange for his financial maintenance.[25] In the Moroccan penal code, marital rape is not classified as an offense. When reflecting on their personal lives, a majority of married men said that they expect their wives to have sex on demand (see Section 4.4.3). However, almost two-thirds of the men surveyed also believed that a woman should have the right to refuse to have sex with her husband (Figure 4.4.6a); by the same token, around 40 per cent of men believed that a man has the right to have sex with his wife if he pays the bills. Only a third of men believed that a man who rapes his wife should be prosecuted, a lower percentage than support the criminalization of marital rape (Figure 4.2.4a).

Such discrepancies may reflect the difference in the ways that laws in the abstract are seen, versus practices and penalties worded in concrete and personally identifiable terms. Women were significantly less inclined to uphold male privilege or subscribe to the notion that women are obliged to accede to their husbands' sexual demands. Therefore, men's underreporting of marital rape may reflect a state of denial, and women's accounts their lived reality.

FIGURE 4.4.6a

Attitudes toward Forced Sex

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexual violence, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



25. Welchman, Lynn. (2016). "*Qiwamah* and *Wilayah* as Legal Postulates in Muslim Family Laws." *Men in Charge? Rethinking Authority in Muslim Legal Tradition*, edited by Mir-Hosseini, Ziba, et al., Oneworld Publications, pp.132-162.

Which men were more likely to have used violence against their wives? As seen in other IMAGES studies, men who, as children, experienced violence at home were significantly more likely to perpetrate physical, emotional, or economic violence against their wives; in addition, men who witnessed violence against their mothers in childhood were more likely to use sexual violence against their wives. Less-educated men were more likely to have perpetrated emotional or physical violence against their wives. Conversely, men with more equitable views (as measured by the GEM Scale, see Section 4.2.1) were less inclined to have used physical violence against their spouses.

In qualitative research, men and women alike spoke of widespread experiences of both domestic violence – husbands and wives, parents and children – and of general street violence (see Section 4.4.1). One human rights activist linked these private and public faces of violence to the broader social hierarchy, in which power is exercised from one rank to another: by the boss who takes it out on his workers, who are in turn abusive to their wives, who, in turn, physically discipline their children.

While violence is seen as a general fact of life, participants in the qualitative research nonetheless noted that spousal abuse appears to be less common and less acceptable than in generations past, and that the violence itself appears to be shifting from physical toward psychological abuse.

> "Before, when a man came home, the first thing he would do is lay into this wife, sometimes without reason. Now, this is no longer the case; men still hit their wives, but not like before. He just leaves you to the chores, but he doesn't hit you, or he withholds money for household expenses to punish you."
>
> **Woman, 45 years old, community worker, Douar Ait Kaddour**

Some women described men as being "more understanding" than before, noting further that women have more options – especially if they are employed and know their rights – to leave an abusive relationship and to return to their parents than in generations past. Others pointed out that men have less scope to flex their muscles in a relationship if they are not the sole breadwinners – a fact which male participants acknowledged and, for the most part, lamented. Nonetheless, income and education were not seen as offering inviolable protection against spousal violence; some female participants observed that even with such opportunities, women could face strife over the household budget and potential violence from their stay-at-home husbands.

Some older female participants described spousal violence as the flipside of conjugal concern: while men in ages past may have beaten their wives, they were also described as taking better care of them, and today's perceived lower rates of abuse were seen as representing a decline in interest in wives' welfare, in general. For their part, many male participants, particularly those in rural areas, saw this change as a further example of the erosion of traditional male authority, in which men no longer hold the household reins, and the law is ready to punish any man who tries to exert his power through spousal violence (see Section 4.2.1 and 4.2.4).

"It's acceptable that a woman is beaten by her husband, no problem. The man remains a man."

"If a man finds a calf butting its mother, he will insult his wife, hit her because she didn't look after the cattle. She didn't do her work as she should."

"Before, a man could beat his wife [almost] to death, [still] her parents would not welcome her home, they would oblige her to stay with him. [Now] that's over, especially with all these new tricks [laws], a man dare not touch his wife. You want him to end his days in prison?"

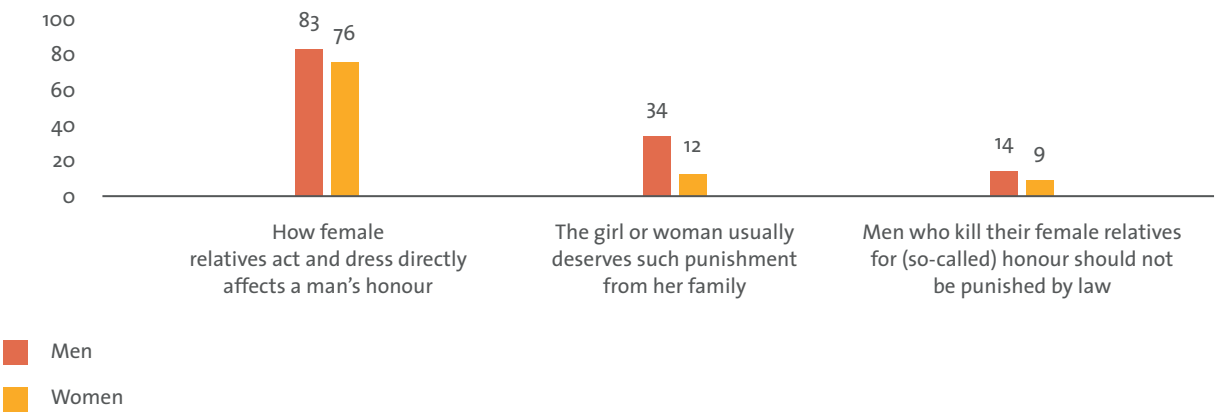
Conversation among men, 30 to 60 years old, farmers, Douar Ait Kaddour

The majority of Moroccan men consider it their duty to protect the honour of women and girls in their family, and nearly a third support honour killing in some circumstances. More than 80 per cent of men saw male honour as directly contingent on their female relatives' dress and behaviour (Figure 4.4.6b).

FIGURE 4.4.6b

Attitudes toward Honour Killing

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about honour killing, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



So-called "honour" killing – murder of relatives (usually female) thought to have impugned the family honour through perceived transgressions, generally of a sexual nature – is a nebulous subject in Morocco. More than 10 per cent of male and fewer than 5 per cent of female respondents recalled hearing of an honour killing in their local communities in the previous year, but such reports are by their very nature imprecise. A third of men believed

that the victim usually deserves such punishment; women, while recognizing the connection between female conduct and male honour, are nonetheless highly dismissive of the notion that such punishment is warranted. Moroccan law does not recognize honour killings as a special category, and this hard line is reflected in attitudes, with more than 80 per cent of men and women alike in favour of legal sanction for those who commit such acts.

"One of my friends in school, she was married off by her father at 12 or 13 years old .... On her wedding night, she didn't bleed. It was a scandal, her father wanted to kill her, her husband, as well. I asked my father to intervene to save her, because he was open-minded. He explained to her father that there are girls who don't have this 'virginity' [breakable hymens] and that they had to go and see a doctor, because he could tell them what was going on. We brought her to our place, to save her, until things calmed down. These events made me understand that there is widespread injustice and violence against women."

Woman, 50 years old, teacher, Rabat

Traditionally, in Morocco, rape is considered an attack not only on an individual woman, but also against the men charged with her protection. The legal loophole that allowed assailants to escape punishment by marrying their underage victims was closed in 2014. Nonetheless, around 60 per cent of men and almost half of women continued to support the idea that a woman who is raped should marry her attacker (Figure 4.4.6a). At the same time, only a third of men and a quarter of women considered that such marriages should offer exemption from prosecution.

"The honour of a woman lies in her virginity, and by that, I mean the [intact] hymen. For the man, he considers that his honour is the honour of his wife. The relationship between a man and woman is built around this fact, that, for him, a virgin bride is [a priori] a virtuous woman."

Woman, 31 years old, community worker, Rabat

"The hymen and all this nonsense. Above all, a woman is a human being with her faculties and her capacities, not just a hymen. It is the product of a distorted society. We are still living with old-fashioned and useless traditions that we pass from generation to generation."

Man, 34 years old, human rights activist, Rabat

Street sexual harassment is a common practice among men in Morocco, most frequently against women and girls in urban settings. Sexual harassment of women and girls, as well as of men and boys who transgress gender norms, is the subject of increasing debate in Morocco, with recent, high-profile episodes sending Moroccans onto the streets and social media platforms to protest against such violence. More than 60 per cent of female respondents had ever experienced sexual harassment, mainly in the form of ogling, sexual comments, and stalking – a third in the previous three months alone (Table 4.4.6b).[26] Men's reports of perpetration were generally fewer than women's reports of experience: more than half of men admitted to ever having sexually harassed a woman or girl (a third in the preceding three months), although more men admitted having raped than women reported having been raped.

TABLE 4.4.6b

Street-Based Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of men who have committed selected acts of sexual harassment/assault against women, and women who have experienced such acts in public spaces, lifetime and 3-month rates, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016

	MEN (PERPETRATED)		WOMEN (EXPERIENCED)	
	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)
Type of sexual harassment/assault				
Ogling	49.2	31.4	56.5	37.4
Catcalls or sexual comments	31.8	16.6	44.9	28.9
Stalking or following	29.5	17.0	53.3	32.7
Obscene phone calls or text messages	7.7	5.6	13.0	7.9
Online harassment	9.2	6.1	11.3	7.3
Exposed private parts	3.7	1.9	4.1	1.3
Touched intimate parts without consent	4.0	1.9	12.7	6.3
Forcing a woman or girl to have sex	2.0	0.7	0.6	0.1
Any of the above acts of sexual harassment/assault	**53.1**	**34.8**	**63.3**	**44.9**

26. Such results are consistent with the 2009 national survey on violence against women which found that a fifth of women had experienced forms of non-contact sexual harassment in the preceding year, and less than 10 per cent were touched without their consent (HCP, *Enquête Nationale sur la Prévalence de la Violence à l'Égard des Femmes au Maroc* [National Survey on the Prevalence of Violence against Women in Morocco], 2009). It is important to note, however, that IMAGES MENA Morocco differs from the national survey in its sample size, geographic scope, age range, as well as differences in the items included in the definition of sexual harassment.

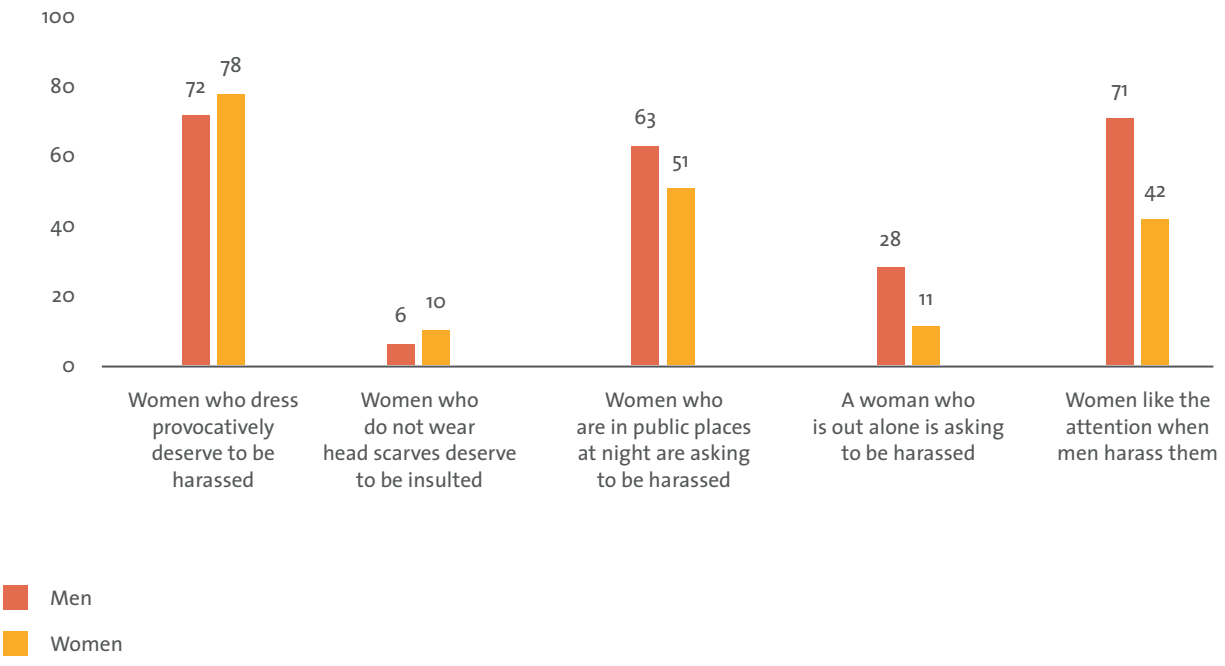
Why do men commit such acts? Almost 60 per cent of those who had ever sexually harassed a woman or girl said they did it for fun or excitement; around a fifth cited a desire to show off to their peers. Nearly three-quarters of male respondents maintained that a woman's "provocative" dress, and for some, her presence in public places at night, are legitimate reasons for harassment (Figure 4.4.6c). Women held views that were as conservative, and in some cases, even more so, than those of their male counterparts, pinning the responsibility for harassment on women for essentially tempting men into such acts. At the same time, fewer than half of women said that women enjoy such attentions, compared with more than 70 per cent of men.

Which men and women were most likely to have perpetrated/experienced sexual harassment? Younger, more educated men were more likely to have committed an act of sexual harassment than their older, less-educated peers; similarly, younger, more educated, urban women were more likely to have experienced harassment. Men who, as children, witnessed their mothers being beaten, or who had themselves experienced violence at home, were more likely to harass women than were those without such exposure.

FIGURE 4.4.6c

Attitudes toward Sexual Harassment/Assault

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexual harassment/assault against women, IMAGES MENA Morocco 2016



"For the law on [gender-based] violence to have force, there would have to be a cultural revolution."

Man, 60 years old, human rights activist, Rabat

4.5 Conclusions

"I have come to understand that 'masculinity' is deadly, not just for women. Of course, they remain more put upon than men. Nonetheless, men are also victims of this masculinity and the patriarchal mindset. It affects men, as well, because the norms or the roles assigned to each sex, at the heart of society, are disadvantageous."

Man, 37 years old, student, Rabat

IMAGES MENA Morocco reveals a changing world of gender relations in and around the capital, Rabat, and points to a wide array of attitudes and behaviour throughout the country. The patriarchy is clearly under pressure – with unpredictable results. On the one hand, while rates of domestic violence – husband-wife or parent-child – remain high, education is helping to reduce men's use of such measures, and men and women alike speak of physical spousal violence as a declining phenomenon. While men still do little in the way of housekeeping, and claim a dominant role in household decision-making, the more educated among them are ready to share the load.

Such attitudes make a difference, not only for the respondents themselves, but for their children. The findings of IMAGES MENA Morocco show that men are profoundly shaped by their personal history, generally following the models set by their fathers when it comes to housework, and tending to perpetuate any cycle of domestic violence that they themselves may have experienced or witnessed as children.

One of the most striking findings of IMAGES MENA Morocco is the vast gap between public and private perspectives, starting with the study itself. The survey shows men, and even more

so, women, to be in favour of shifts in laws toward gender equality, women's greater economic empowerment, and leadership in public life. Yet in the intimacy of qualitative discussions, men and women reveal far more ambivalence. Men regret their lost economic superiority and, by extension, their domestic authority. They see women's employment – aided and abetted by legislative reforms – as the root of their decline and fall, though, paradoxically, the percentage of Moroccan women in the workplace shrank over the decade prior to 2015. Men are conflicted, on the one hand clearly feeling the economic pressure, but also reluctant to share, say, the costs of marriage, and doubtful about their wives' work outside the home. For their part, women celebrate their greater opportunities, yet they are also slightly nostalgic for a past in which men took responsibility for women who, while they may have lacked the benefits of a working wage, were also free of its attendant problems.

Far from providing definitive answers, this study reveals some of the fundamental questions surrounding masculinities and gender roles and rights in this corner of the country. What makes a man, some participants asked, if the authority, strength of character, and responsibility normally associated with manhood are now considered to be feminine features as well? The men and women of IMAGES MENA Morocco are clearly on shifting ground, caught between a past that no longer fits their present and an uncertain future.

NGO SPOTLIGHT
World of Difference

"There are a lot of things that a man would like to do but cannot, because the very fact of being a man means that society will not allow him," says Rachid, a young man living in Rabat. "For example, he can't cry, he can't dance, this would be ridiculous. There are rules to follow – how he sits, how he should speak with others. Society might see him as superior, as the one who holds the power, but in reality, he is suffering in himself."

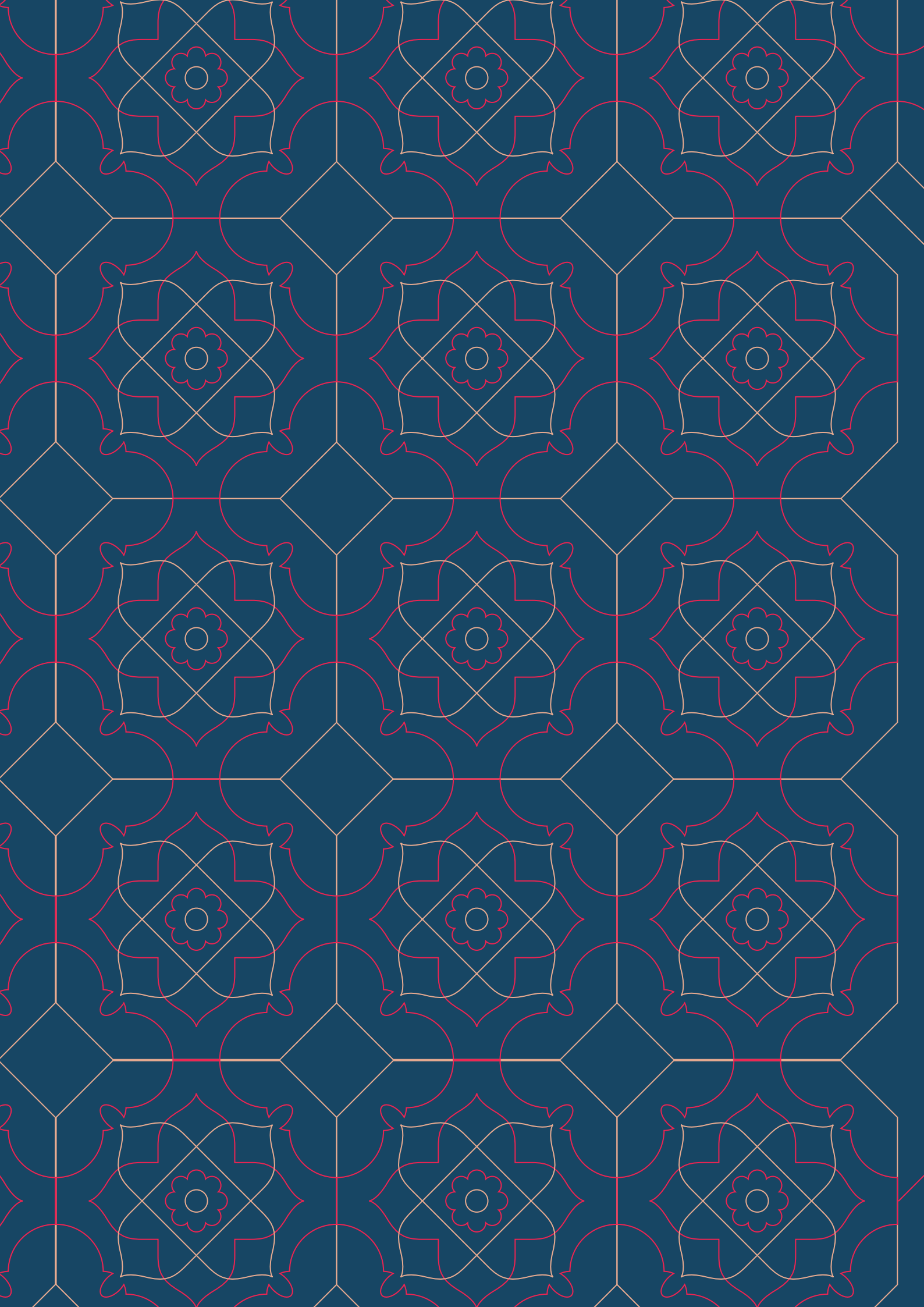
The catalyst for such male candour is Quartiers du Monde (Neighbourhoods of the World), a French NGO. Since its foundation in 2003, the group has worked on civil society development and women's empowerment across France, West and North Africa, and Latin America, with an emphasis on south-south collaboration. Its early initiatives in Morocco included a project on women's economic development spearheaded by the FLDF (Fédération de la Ligue des Droits des Femmes), a national women's rights organization in Ouarzazate, a southern city in which female participants encouraged QdM to also work with the men of their families, whom they saw as brakes on their progress. Participants in another project, on youth development in the lower-income areas of Salé, a neighbouring town to Rabat, also suggested that QdM focus on the problems confronting men and boys in their community.

Since 2015, QdM has developed these local recommendations into a new strand of work, to better understand and address challenges facing men in Morocco today. A research documentary,* filmed by and with young men from its project in Salé, fleshes out some of the key issues in their community – the power and the constraints of being a young man in Morocco, faced with the pressure to provide for families in a time of high youth unemployment – and explores how conventional notions of manhood are created, and the possibilities for their transformation.

From these snapshots, QdM has offered training workshops for young men and women in Salé, to help them think through the gender stereotypes and power dynamics in their own lives, including the ways in which inequalities between rich and poor intersect with those between the sexes. Under the aegis of UN Women, QdM is further partnering with ABAAD, a Lebanese NGO (see NGO Spotlight: Masculinities Work in Action in Lebanon) to train more than a dozen Moroccan civil society groups already working on gender equality to bring men and boys into the picture. In addition, QdM has plans to work with other local NGOs on a participatory theatre project that will provide men and women from the community with an opportunity to share their stories of fatherhood – a readily identifiable and socially acceptable context in which to widen the public debate around the many challenges facing Moroccan men today.

To learn more, visit: www.quartiersdumonde.org

* "Vidéo-recherche sur les Masculinités" [Video-research on Masculinities] *Quartiers du Monde - Histoires Urbaines* [Urban Stories]. Available at: http://www.quartiersdumonde.org/jeunes/pagina?id=26



Chapter 5

Lebanon

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Key Findings

- **Lebanon faces numerous challenges to the achievement of gender equality, including the broad effects of recent regional conflicts and the presence of nearly 2 million refugees in the country.** The strains from the Syrian refugee crisis reverberate directly in household relations, in men's sense of economic stress, and, for some men, in a sense of emasculation.
- **Relatively large percentages of Lebanese men and women support gender equality, even as many men continue to hold inequitable views.** Syrian refugees in Lebanon hold slightly more inequitable views. Younger respondents, those with more education, those with greater wealth, those whose mothers had higher levels of education, and those whose fathers participated in traditionally feminine domestic work in their childhood homes hold more equitable views. Men hold somewhat more rigid ideas about sexual roles and rights than do women, especially regarding men's sexual lives.
- **Many respondents experienced various forms of violence during childhood; these experiences are linked with other forms of violence, including men's use of street-based sexual harassment.** Fifty-eight per cent of men and 37 per cent of women reported having experienced one or more forms of neglect, emotional abuse, or physical abuse in their homes as children. Boys may have been particularly vulnerable to violence and corporal punishment: half of men surveyed reported having been slapped or spanked in their homes as children.
- **Women reported washing clothes, cleaning the kitchen or sitting rooms, and cleaning the bathroom or toilet almost unanimously, while only 26 per cent of ever-married men reported ever carrying out these tasks.** Qualitative findings show that shifts in livelihoods, a working wife, migration, and other factors can prompt some men to take on more domestic work, but the overall trend speaks to widespread inequality in sharing household duties.
- **Although fathers carry out a limited amount of daily caregiving, there are exceptions, and these point to possible pathways toward equality.** As with domestic work, women reported far greater involvement in routine caregiving than men. In qualitative interviews, however, men and women affirmed examples of men doing this work, mostly in times of conflict or war when men are unable to play the role of provider, or when women are less able to undertake this work because of pregnancy, illness, or injury.
- **Nearly 60 per cent of women reported having ever experienced some form of sexual harassment in the street; one-third of men reported having ever carried out this harassment.** Men with inequitable gender attitudes and men who experienced violence in their childhood home are significantly more likely to report having perpetrated sexual harassment.
- **Depressive symptoms are common for men (28 per cent) and women (40 per cent), with Syrian men showing higher rates of depression than Lebanese men.** The effects of the conflict were frequently cited as a reason for depressive symptoms. Syrian women and men alike reported that men felt they had lost identity due to the conflict. Some 37 per cent of Syrian men said that they had given up looking for work. High rates of work stress and depressive symptoms were reported among the Lebanese population, as well.
- **Many respondents share fears for their physical and economic well-being.** Some 96 per cent of men and 97 per cent of women, Syrian and Lebanese respondents combined, reported that they "worry about their family's safety". Alongside high levels of reported fears for safety in the completed sample, many potential respondents declined to participate in the survey, due to safety or other unknown considerations. Additionally, the proportion of respondents who had ever been married was somewhat lower than expected in the original sample. To address this challenge, researchers carried out a linked study, sampling only ever-married men and women and focusing on couple relations and intimate partner violence.

Who Was Surveyed?*

- 1,050 men and 1,136 women, aged 18 to 59, representing both the Lebanese and Syrian populations living in Lebanon, completed interviews in the main IMAGES study. Of this sample, 407 individuals were Syrian (slightly under 20 per cent of the sample, which is roughly proportionate to their representation in the current Lebanese population).
- The study was conducted nationwide, with 92 randomly selected clusters from the administrative geographical divisions in Lebanon.
- The sample may be slightly more educated than the national population, with 49 per cent of men and 56 per cent of women across the sample reporting some educational attainment above Class XII.
- Eighty per cent of men in the sample are currently employed, compared with only 40 per cent of women.
- The sample reflects the religious diversity of Lebanon, with proportionate representation from the Sunni and Shia Muslim communities, as well as the Maronite, Catholic, Orthodox Christian, and other religious communities. Two per cent of male respondents and 5 per cent of female respondents come from the Druze community.
- The Palestinian refugee population was not included in the quantitative sample; access could not be secured to the largest Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon, making it impossible to gather a representative sample of this segment of the population. Accordingly, the Palestinian refugee population in Lebanon was included in a separate in-depth qualitative study, which will be published in 2017 as a complement to this report. Qualitative data collection with Palestinian refugees was still underway as of the publication of this report.
- Fewer than half of the sample have ever been married: 41 per cent of Lebanese men and women are currently married, while 34 per cent of Syrian men and 47 per cent of Syrian women are currently married.
- To enable the study to test associations with family wealth, respondents were classified into three "wealth index" groups of equal size (combining both women's and men's samples), based on many reported factors of their household wealth. Men's reports of their household wealth were slightly higher than women's reports of their household wealth.
- In addition to the IMAGES quantitative sample, a total of 278 participants took part in a qualitative study conducted by ABAAD and cited throughout this chapter. Qualitative research included 20 focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted with Syrian refugees (five FGDs with men and four with women) and Lebanese residents (seven FGDs with men and four with women) in four governorates (North, South, Beirut, and Bekaa). Participants in the FGDs were recruited to represent a diversity of religious identities, nationalities, geographic locations, and genders.

* The characteristics of respondents in the IMAGES MENA Lebanon study underscore the difficulties of conducting survey sample research in a setting in which there is no available census information and that is facing a massive refugee influx as well as economic and political uncertainties. Despite thorough training of fieldworkers and accurate application of a randomized cluster sampling approach, due to a variety of factors, the survey sample appears to be slightly *younger, better educated, and less likely to be married* than the overall national population (based on existing, albeit limited, national household data in Lebanon). The supplemental survey that focused on intimate partner violence was carried out both to provide another comparison point for the refusal rates and to focus specific attention on this important topic with a smaller group of specially trained interviewers. This "nested" study was also motivated, in part, by low prevalence rates for this violence uncovered in the original IMAGES sample.

TABLE 5.1a
Quantitative sample characteristics, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN		WOMEN	
	N	%	N	%
Age group				
18-24	339	32.3	378	33.3
25-34	334	31.8	327	28.8
35-49	273	26.0	308	27.1
50-59	104	9.9	123	10.8
Nationality				
Lebanese	814	77.5	857	75.3
Syrian	233	22.2	262	23.2
Other	3	0.3	17	1.5
Level of education				
No formal schooling	20	1.9	41	3.6
Up to primary class V	57	5.4	41	3.6
Class VI to class XII	463	44.1	415	36.5
Beyond class XII	510	48.6	639	56.3
Employment status				
Employed	844	80.3	457	40.1
Unemployed (worked before)	40	3.7	117	10.2
Unemployed (never worked)	104	9.8	114	9.9
Unemployed	62	5.9	448	39.3
Employment situation is mostly stable (agree or strongly agree)	763	82.3	497	65.0

TABLE 5.1a CONTINUED

	MEN		WOMEN	
	N	%	N	%
Marital status				
Single	613	58.3	598	52.6
Married	413	39.3	477	42.0
Divorced or Separated	22	2.1	59	5.2
Widowed	2	0.2	2	0.2
Age at first marriage (mean, standard deviation)	**27.4 (4.0)**		**22.1 (3.8)**	
Religion				
Shiite	244	23.2	280	24.6
Sunni	435	41.4	398	35.0
Maronite	176	16.8	167	14.8
Catholic	61	5.8	85	7.5
Orthodox	67	6.4	91	8.0
Other	67	6.4	115	10.1
Total (N)	**1,050**		**1,136**	

5.1 Introduction

Lebanon is a rich and diverse society that is undergoing multiple social transformations at once. The country faces numerous hurdles to the achievement of gender equality, including the broad effects of recent regional conflicts and the presence of nearly 2 million refugees in the country. Even as Lebanon is not itself in active conflict, the region's conflicts affect it directly; Lebanon has the most refugees, per capita, of any country in the world. There are currently an estimated 1 million Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR[1] in the country, with various sources reporting another estimated 500,000 unregistered Syrian refugees. An additional 450,000 Palestinian refugees also call Lebanon home.[2] This large refugee population, particularly the influx from Syria, puts a significant strain on the infrastructure of a country with a total estimated population, in 2016, of 6 million. These stresses include increases in rental prices and in the cost of living in general, and challenges to the provision of services such as health and education. On top of these dynamics, Lebanon's own history of sectarian engagement and the negotiations that ended the last civil war in the 1990s have led, at the national level, to a sometimes-fragile power-sharing system.

These realities have a direct effect on definitions of manhood and masculinity in Lebanon, on gender relations in the country, and on the ability to conduct research on these topics. First, the rapid influx of refugees and infrequent government-led data collection mean that basic census information – to say nothing of reliable data on men's and women's gender-related attitudes and behaviours – is comparatively scarce in Lebanon. In spite of these challenges, formidable academic research and civil society engagement efforts – much of them driven by pioneering women's rights organizations

1. "Syria Regional Refugee Response." *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees* (UNHCR). Accessed 6, Apr. 2017.

2. "Where We Work." *United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East* (UNRWA). Accessed, 26, Apr. 2017.

– have made great strides toward documenting gender injustices and advancing women's rights and empowerment. However, while initiatives to comprehensively understand and address men's practices and perspectives on these issues have more recently begun, they are few.

Lebanon's national indicators on health, education, and income confirm that it is a middle-income country that has achieved near-parity in terms of education for women and men, even as women's labour force participation remains about a third of men's.[3] While progress is undeniable, certain historical, political, cultural, social, and legal particularities of the country continue to hinder the achievement of true gender equality. Traditional social practices, diverse religious beliefs, as well as a sectarian personal status legal system all contribute in some part to the persistence of unfair practices against women.

The varied experiences of the Syrian refugee population are a central social issue for any current research in Lebanon. The Syrian population in Lebanon is diverse, representing different stages of arrivals. In addition to a significant Syrian migrant population who arrived prior to the present Syrian conflict, there are different subgroups of refugees: some who were able to leave earlier in the conflict (often those with relatives in Lebanon and/or with greater wealth), and others who arrived later, in more precarious circumstances. As mentioned above, as many as a third of Syrian refugees are neither registered nor counted by UNHCR, and with such rapidly changing dynamics, it is impossible to obtain truly accurate and up-to-date data on this population. Nonetheless, existing data affirm that Syrian refugees face greater challenges in terms of livelihood and violence than does the Lebanese population as a whole. According to UNHCR, 70 per cent of Syrian households in Lebanon live below the poverty line, and 52 per cent live in extreme poverty.[4] In addition, Syrian refugees often live in precarious housing; 45 per cent of refugees who rent apartments share small lodgings with other families in overcrowded conditions, for financial reasons. Moreover, 39 per cent of Syrian refugees live in insecure accommodations, such as tents in informal settlements, garages, work-site sheds, and unfinished buildings.[5] These conditions affect children's education: 74 per cent of Syrian child refugees in Lebanon remain out of school.[6] In such precarious situations, it would be not be unexpected to see not only household economic stress, but also a particular crisis of identity among men who were raised with the expectation that they be protectors and financial providers for their families. Little research exists to support these assumptions, however.

This is not to say that the Syrian refugee population is the only group facing any form of hardship in Lebanon. While the situation of Syrian refugees presents particular and compelling dynamics, IMAGES results in Lebanon point to significant challenges across divides of nationality, religion, and gender. A great many Lebanese respondents report economic vulnerabilities and the stresses and fears that go along with them, and this report will explore the gender-related elements of these experiences, for women and men alike, in great detail.

3. "Labor force participation rate, male (% of male population ages 15+) (modeled ILO estimate)." *The World Bank*. Accessed 25, Apr. 2017.

4. Interagency Information Management Unit at UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). (2016). *Increasing Vulnerability Among Syrian Refugees*. Lebanon.

5. Yassin, et al. (2015). *No Place to Stay? Reflections on the Syrian Refugee Shelter Policy in Lebanon*. Beirut: The Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs (IFI) at The American University of Beirut (AUB) and The United Nations Human Settlements Programme, UN-Habitat.

6. El- Ghali, et al. (2016). *Responding to Crisis: Syrian Refugee Education in Lebanon*. Beirut: Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, American University of Beirut.

The IMAGES study in Lebanon, and the accompanying qualitative study with Syrian refugees, has sought to fill some of the aforementioned evidence gaps, as well as pointing to the need for increased investment in the kinds of gender-related policies and programmes that will help the diverse members of Lebanese society to thrive. Compared with most IMAGES country studies, Lebanon posed particular political, demographic, and methodological challenges. First, the large refugee population, for whom data are limited and some of whom are extremely mobile, complicates household sampling. Second, security issues made it impossible to reach certain areas. Given the social transformations and dynamics described above, many potential interviewees reported feeling worried for their physical and economic well-being and, whether for these or other reasons, declined to participate in the survey. For these reasons, the sample may not have fully captured Lebanon's diverse and rapidly changing society. At the same time, the study and sample make a meaningful contribution to the body of knowledge on gender dynamics and masculinities in Lebanon.

A NOTE ON THE PRESENTATION OF THE LEBANESE DATA:

Unless otherwise noted, all of the data presented in tables and figures include the full study sample, combining Lebanese and Syrian respondents together. On many occasions, when appropriate and useful, and when the data show significant differences between them, the chapter makes comparisons between Lebanese and Syrian respondents. Such instances are noted clearly.

5.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life

5.2.1 – GEM SCALE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER NORMS

Relatively large percentages of Lebanese men and women have begun to embrace gender equality, even as many men continue to hold inequitable views. As Table 5.2.1a demonstrates, fewer than half of survey respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with a number of statements related to gender roles and violence, presenting a comparatively equitable picture of gender-based attitudes in Lebanon. With regard to the statement, "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten", only 21 per cent of men and 5 per cent of women agreed or strongly agreed. For the statement, "A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together", 26 per cent of men and 15 per cent of women expressed support. For both of the above, respondents of Syrian descent were significantly *more likely* to agree, that is, to tolerate violence, than were respondents of Lebanese descent. All the same, by comparison with other IMAGES settings, these are remarkably low levels of tolerance for violence against women.

Approximately one-third of men and women alike agreed that, "To be a man, you need to be tough", demonstrating a rigid notion of masculinity among this proportion of the population. The following quotes highlight some of the ways in which manhood is defined:

"From when I was young, I was taught that a man is the one who is able to preserve his home, his wife, his children. This was his priority, and nothing else mattered."

Syrian man, Jounieh

"Having a man by your side is like having safety, protection, and stability."

Lebanese woman, Bekaa (Ein Kfar Zabad)

TABLE 5.2.1a

Attitudes toward Gender Equality: GEM Scale Questions

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about gender roles and decision-making, violence, masculinity and femininity, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Attitudes toward violence		
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	21	5
A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together	26	14
If another man in my community insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	68	*
Perceptions of masculinity and femininity		
To be a man, you need to be tough	35	32
I think it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work	19	12
A husband should not have friends of the opposite sex	18	37
A wife should not have friends of the opposite sex	26	34
It is a man's duty to exercise guardianship over his female relatives	35	45
Boys are responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters	37	20
A man who can't father children isn't a real man	19	10
Unmarried women should have the same right to live on their own as unmarried men	59	81
Women should have the same freedom to access sites on the Internet as men	53	85

* This statement was not asked in the women's questionnaire

Taken as a whole, using the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale, women in Lebanon tend to hold more equitable attitudes than their male counterparts; younger, more educated respondents and those with greater wealth tend to have more equitable attitudes. On a scale of 0 to 3, where 0 reflects the most gender-inequitable response to all of the attitude statements and 3 reflects the most gender-equitable attitudes, women held more equitable views than men did. The average GEM Scale score for men in the Lebanon country sample was 1.69, while the women's average score was 1.92. Syrian respondents' GEM scale scores were slightly lower than Lebanese respondents' scores, for both men and women.

As Table 5.2.1b demonstrates, among both men and women, those with higher educational attainment and those with greater wealth had more equitable attitudes. There is less variation in gender attitudes by marital and employment status among men than among women. Younger men held more equitable views than older men at a statistically significant level, though the variation in these attitudes across age groups is relatively moderate, and men's views were less equitable than women's at all age levels. Women in the youngest two age groups held the most equitable attitudes. According to additional analyses not included in this table, respondents whose mothers had achieved higher levels of education showed more equitable attitudes, at a statistically significant level, as did respondents whose fathers had participated in traditionally feminine domestic work in their childhood homes.

TABLE 5.2.1b

GEM Scale

GEM Scale scores for men and women by selected background characteristics, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016*

		MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Overall average score		1.69	1.92
Wealth index	Rich	1.84	2.02
	Middle	1.66	1.94
	Poor	1.56	1.80
Education	Higher	1.82	2.07
	Preparatory/Secondary	1.60	1.77
	Primary	1.42	1.57
	No education	1.30	1.45
Marital status	Not currently married	1.67	2.02
	Currently married	1.73	1.78
Employment status	Not currently employed	1.77	1.82
	Currently employed	1.67	2.06
Age	50-59	1.60	1.73
	35-49	1.66	1.89
	25-34	1.70	1.98
	18-24	1.74	1.96

* GEM Scale scores range from 0 to 3.0, with 0 being most inequitable and 3.0 most equitable

5.2.2 – ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

When opportunities are scarce – and they are in Lebanon – men see their employment as more important than women's. As Figure 5.2.2a shows, some 57 per cent of men believe that "when work opportunities are scarce, men should have access to jobs before women", while only 31 per cent of women feel this way. Likewise, men are nearly three times as likely as women to agree that "if resources are scarce, it is more important to educate sons than daughters". These sentiments are reflected in the low rate of female labour-force participation in Lebanon (70 per cent of adult men are in the labour force, compared with just 23 per cent of women, according to the most recent UN figures).[7] For the Syrian refugee population, the disparity is nearly as stark: available data indicate that 47 per cent of working-age Syrian refugee men are economically active, while only 6 per cent of Syrian refugee women above the age of 15 are currently working in Lebanon.[8]

In a more encouraging sign, upwards of three-quarters of all respondents agreed that "a married woman should have the same right to work outside the home as her husband".

"The man has to be able to provide for his family, and it is better if the wife doesn't work so that she can take care of the children. [...] The strong man doesn't require his wife to work."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh)

"The man has a role in taking care of the income and the expenses of the family, and taking care of them financially. His role is outside the house, and her role is inside the house."

Lebanese woman, Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh)

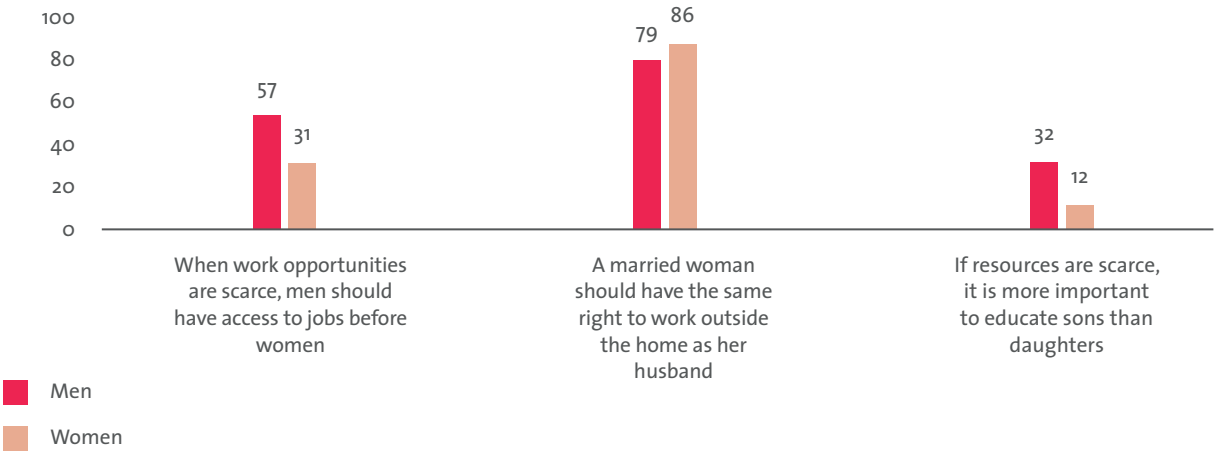
7. "Country Profile: Lebanon." *UNData*.

8. Masri, et al. (2013). *Assessment of the Impact of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon and their Employment Profile*. Beirut: International Labor Organization Regional Office for the Arab States (ILO/ROAS).

FIGURE 5.2.2a

Female Education and Employment

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about education and employment, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



In the qualitative interviews, many participants said that the role of a man as provider becomes even more important in times of war, as work opportunities become fewer:

> "Financial constraint becomes much greater in times of conflict. This is more so if a person is married. If the children are young, he has to make sure he is able to provide for them."
>
> **Lebanese man, 62 years old, Mount Lebanon (Ghazir)**

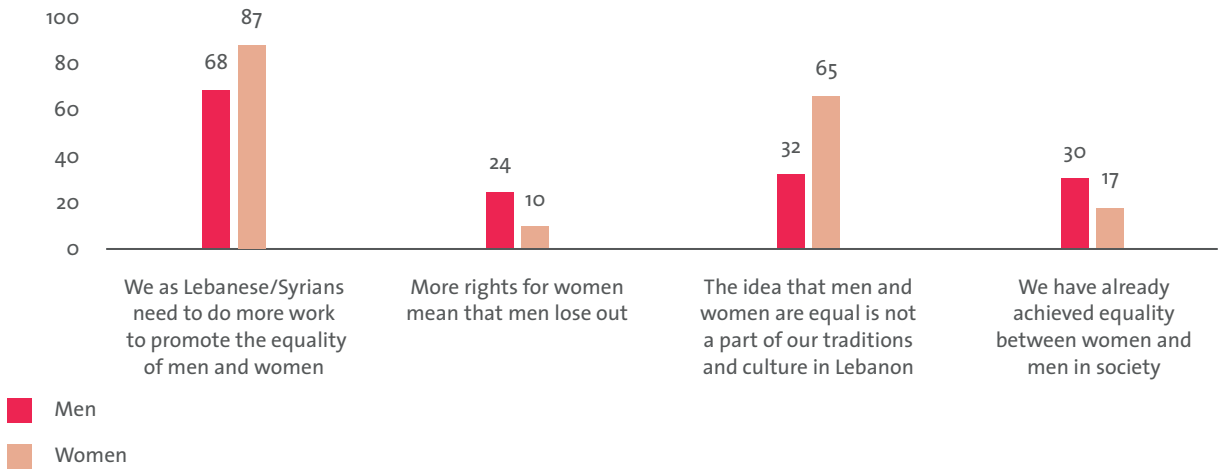
5.2.3 – ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER-EQUALITY PROGRESS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Is Lebanon becoming more gender-equal? Men and women are divided and unsure. As demonstrated in Figure 5.2.3a, men and women see the state of gender equality in Lebanon differently. Men's responses to all four of these items diverged from women's. Women nearly universally believed that more work needs to be done to promote gender equality, with 87 per cent agreement to the first item in the figure. The third item is particularly telling as well, where women were twice as likely as men to say that gender equality is *not* a part of Lebanese or Syrian culture.

FIGURE 5.2.3a

Attitudes toward Gender Equality

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about gender equality, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



Insights from Qualitative Research: Men's Family Roles in Times of Peace and Conflict

In times of peace, a man's psychological well-being seems to be directly related to his ability to provide. When a man is able to fulfil his perceived duties, mostly providing for his family, he feels relaxed and his self-esteem increases:

"When men fulfil their roles and duties, they feel like they own the universe, they are in control of everything, and this brings them joy and inner peace."

Syrian man, Beirut (Borj Al Barajneh)

However, when men are not able to fulfil their perceived duties, they worry, and their self-esteem diminishes:

"He will feel like he failed in his life. This will affect him psychologically and will affect his family, as well. This affects him psychologically very negatively, because he feels unable to carry out his responsibilities. The society will look at him negatively. He will feel weak in society. With the family, it also affects it negatively."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Hamra)

"He becomes like a tissue, very easily breakable. In normal times, he is like steel, but when he cannot fulfil his duties, he becomes very fragile."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Hay el Sellom)

For one group of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, displacement has caused a dramatic gender role reversal in which men do not feel safe without women, because men often do not have proper papers, and because they are less likely to be stopped by army personnel when they are with women. This role reversal seems to have contributed to men feeling emasculated:

"Sometimes, they cannot even move without women. They resort to having a woman with them for safety. This is causing a lot of pressure on men."

Participant, FGD with Syrian women, Beirut (Borj Al Barajneh)

"Men feel that women have become stronger than they are. He's the weaker link."

Participant, FGD with Syrian women, Beirut (Borj Al Barajneh)

5.2.4 – ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LEADERSHIP

Men in Lebanon are more likely than women to resist the notion of women taking on public leadership roles. Previous studies conducted in other MENA countries have revealed widespread opposition to women taking on public leadership positions. Evidence shows the many complications and challenges women face when taking on additional leadership roles at work, in politics, or in other predominantly masculine social spaces. For instance, women in public office are far more likely to face criticism related to their perceived neglect of home and family duties than are men in these spaces.

A similar trend is apparent in the IMAGES MENA Lebanon data, which show men having more negative attitudes toward women's involvement in public leadership positions than women do. Nevertheless, men and women share a general tendency to accept women being involved in public life.

Table 5.2.4a shows the significant differences in opinion between men and women in Lebanon on the subject of women's leadership. Though on the whole the opinions show openness to women's increased representation in such roles, for all five statements, men were much more likely to express resistance to women in public leadership than women were. When asked about their support for women in various public positions, men were *least likely* to express support for women as religious leaders, heads of political parties, heads of state, and military officers. They were *most likely* to express support for women as heads of NGOs.

Men and women were also asked about their feelings related to having female colleagues or bosses, as well as their opinions on quota policies to designate a certain proportion of government, educational, and business leadership positions for women. While all participants seemed broadly comfortable working with women at the same or lower levels, men were less likely to express comfort with having a female boss. Fully 92 per cent of women reported comfort with having a female boss, compared with 74 per cent of men. This is still a great majority of men, however.

TABLE 5.2.4a

Attitudes toward Women in Leadership

Percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's participation in politics and leadership positions, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
There should be more women in positions of political authority	75	88
Women are too emotional to be leaders	45	23
Women who participate in politics or leadership positions cannot also be good wives or mothers	41	22
Women should leave politics to men	31	16
A woman with the same qualifications can do as good a job as a man	77	92

Across the board, respondents were in favour of quota systems to ensure a fixed proportion of women in parliament, in universities, and in executive positions – though at the moment, in Lebanon, such an arrangement is merely hypothetical. Men were least likely to express support for a quota guaranteeing women places in parliament, with 81 per cent of men expressing this support. By comparison, 91 per cent of female respondents expressed support for all three kinds of hypothetical quotas.

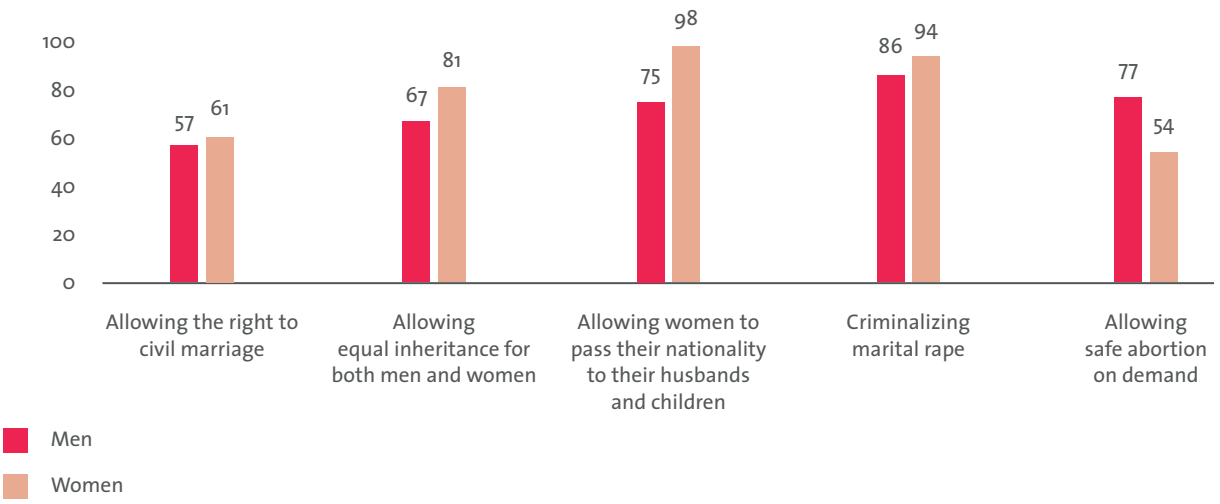
5.2.5 – KNOWLEDGE AND PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER EQUALITY LAWS

How much should gender equality be legislated? Men and women disagree. The IMAGES survey proposes multiple hypothetical pieces of legislation to respondents, asking whether they think such laws should be put in place. Men's and women's responses aligned closely on only one item – 57 per cent of men and 61 per cent of women felt that there should be a law allowing the right to civil marriage – but otherwise demonstrated a certain amount of disagreement. Women were more likely than men to support three kinds of laws: (1) allowing equal inheritance for both men and women; (2) allowing women to pass their nationality to their husbands or children; and (3) criminalizing marital rape. In all three cases, the majority of men were in favour of these kinds of laws, but at much lower levels than women were. Interestingly, this trend was reversed where abortion was concerned: only 54 per cent of women expressed support for a law allowing safe abortion on demand, compared with 77 per cent of men who supported legal abortions, as seen in Figure 5.2.5a.

FIGURE 5.2.5a

Legal Changes

Percentage of men and women who think that there should be a law on selected aspects of gender equality, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



Do divorce laws favour men or women? Men and women agree on existing discrepancies in these laws. Figures 5.2.5b and 5.2.5c show that men and women alike felt that certain aspects of divorce laws favour one sex over the other. It is noteworthy that the patterns of response for men and women about these laws tend to match.

FIGURE 5.2.5b

Laws Related to Divorce: Men

Percentage of male respondents according to their views relating to laws on divorce, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

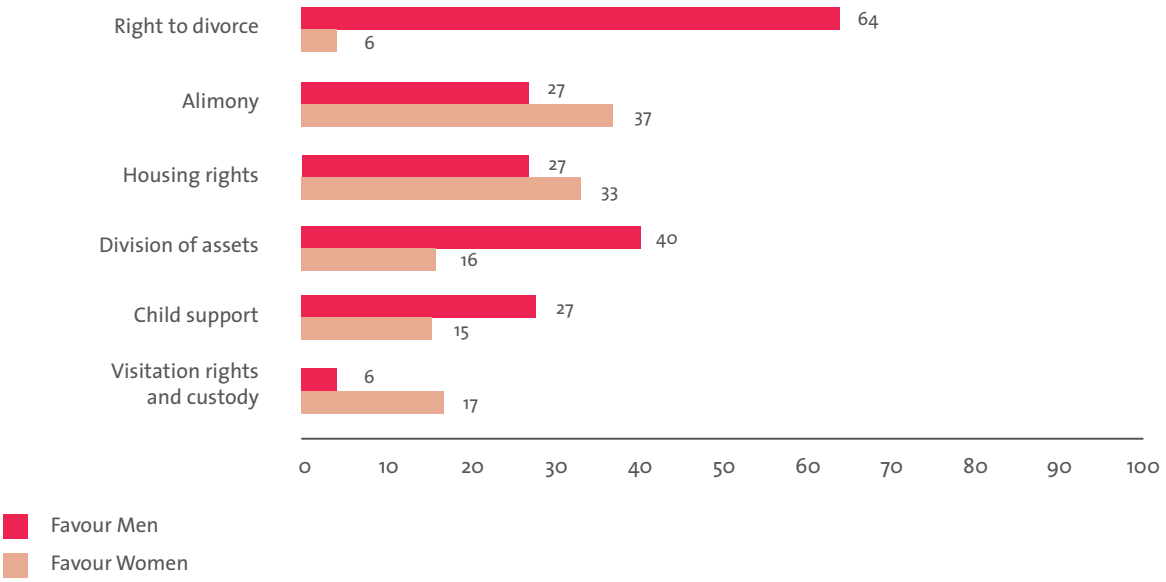
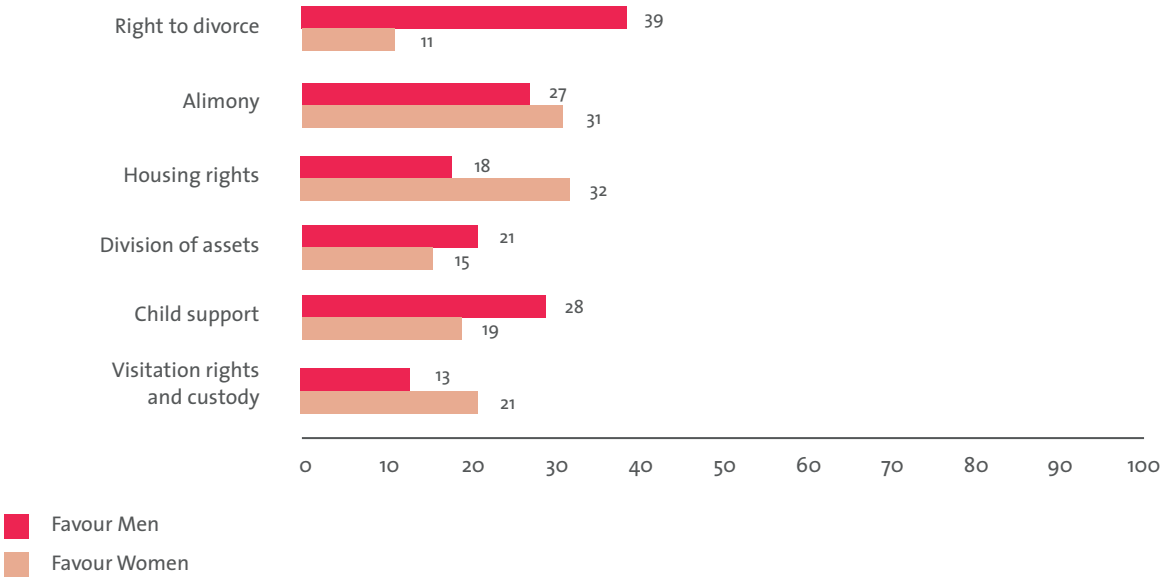


FIGURE 5.2.5c

Laws Related to Divorce: Women

Percentage of female respondents according to their views relating to laws on divorce, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



Among participants who were aware of gender laws in Lebanon, only 40 per cent of men and 35 per cent of women said that they think that such gender equality laws are actually effective. The most commonly cited reason for the ineffectiveness of these laws was "the state not enforcing the laws".

5.3 Childhood and Adolescence

5.3.1 – MEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DOMESTIC WORK AND CHILDCARE IN RESPONDENTS' CHILDHOOD HOMES

Respondents' childhood homes mostly followed a traditionally gendered script of household roles. As Figure 5.3.1a shows, nearly half (48 per cent) of men but only a third (33 per cent) of women recalled their father or another man ever participating in any "traditionally feminine" household work, including preparing food, cleaning the house, washing clothes, or cleaning the toilet.

FIGURE 5.3.1a

Fathers' Household Chores in Childhood

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting that their father or any other man (excluding male domestic workers) ever performed selected domestic tasks, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

Instead, the most common tasks carried out by their father or another male in the household were taking care of the children, shopping for household items, and helping the children with their homework. Younger respondents, respondents with greater educational attainment, and respondents from higher wealth categories were all more likely to report men being involved in traditionally feminine household work in their childhood homes.

5.3.2 – DECISION-MAKING DYNAMICS IN RESPONDENTS' CHILDHOOD HOMES

While some respondents' childhood homes included equitable decision-making dynamics, respondents' fathers still tended to be household decision-makers. IMAGES MENA Lebanon data show, for instance, that women were more likely than men to recall equitable decision making in their childhood homes around children's schooling options; men were much more likely to recall their fathers as the primary decision-makers in this domain. Only 26 per cent of male respondents and 16 per cent of female respondents reported that *they themselves* had final decision-making authority about their own marriage and/or the marriages of their siblings of the same sex. This is a low level of reported agency over such a fundamental life decision.

With regard to large household investments, respondents overwhelmingly recalled their fathers being the primary decision-makers. Both women and men respondents remembered their fathers as more likely to take these decisions independently than to share them equally with their mothers. Only 5 per cent of respondents of either sex recalled their mothers being the primary decision-makers for large investments in the home.

5.3.3 – RESPONDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN DOMESTIC WORK AND CHILDCARE AS ADOLESCENTS

IMAGES MENA Lebanon data show stark discrepancies in participation in domestic work during adolescence: nearly all women are raised to do domestic work in Lebanon, while most men are not. When respondents were asked about their own participation in domestic work as adolescents, responses demonstrated traditional gender divisions, as shown in Figure 5.3.3a. Some 70 per cent of women reported participating in all seven domestic tasks when they were between the ages of 13 and 18. Men, on the other hand, were far less likely to report participating in any of the tasks, with the exception of the less traditionally gendered task of shopping for household items. Men's rates of participation in the traditionally feminine household tasks as adolescents (including preparing food, cleaning the house, washing clothes, and cleaning the bathroom or toilet) were by far the lowest.

FIGURE 5.3.3a

Respondents' Household Chores in Adolescence

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting participation in selected domestic tasks when they were 13 to 18 years old, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

5.3.4 – RESPONDENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER RELATIONS DURING CHILDHOOD

Girls face more restrictions on their mobility during childhood than boys do. Both men and women agreed that boys had more freedom to leave the home than girls. Some 64 per cent of male respondents agreed with the statement, "It was easier for my brothers and me to go outside the home", and 55 per cent of female respondents agreed that "my sisters and I had less freedom to go outside the home when I was growing up". Notably, Syrian women reported more stringent restrictions on their freedoms during childhood than did Lebanese women. As one Syrian interviewee shared:

> "My upbringing was and should be different from my sister's. There are things that are taught to the boy that cannot be taught to the girl. If a boy goes out and is a bit late, that is ok, but it is not ok for a girl. As a girl, she had a different set of rights from the boys."
>
> **Syrian man, Mount Lebanon (Harissa)**

5.3.5 – ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

Respondents – particularly men – report a wide range of violent experiences in childhood. As Table 5.3.5a shows, some 58 per cent of men and 37 per cent of women reported having experienced one or more forms of neglect, emotional abuse, or physical abuse in their homes as children. Boys were particularly vulnerable: more than half of men surveyed reported being slapped or spanked in their homes.

Results also point to violence at school and in communities; 29 per cent of men and 14 per cent of women reported having been beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher.

TABLE 5.3.5a

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who experienced selected adverse events at home and at school before the age of 18, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
At home	**58**	**37**
There were times when I did not have enough to eat	12	11
I saw or heard my mother being beaten by my father or another male relative	14	16
I was insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people	22	19
I was spanked or slapped by my parents in the home	52	30
I was beaten at home with a belt, stick, whip or other hard object	45	29
I was beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise	26	16
At school	**29**	**14**
I was beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher	29	14

5.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life

5.4.1 – ATTITUDES TOWARD MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Less conventional marital partners are more acceptable to men than to women (referring to heterosexual couples). The majority of men (from 52 to 64 per cent, depending on the item) reported that they would have no problem marrying a previously divorced woman, no problem marrying an older woman, and no problem marrying a woman of a different religion. By contrast, only 31 to 41 per cent of women shared the same openness to these scenarios. A majority of respondents – 77 per cent of men, 94 per cent of women – agreed that "ultimately it should be the couple's decision, not the family's decision, to get married". This result contrasts with the aforementioned finding that few respondents felt that they themselves had the final word in decisions related to their own marriage, with parents – in particular, fathers – usually holding this ultimate decision-making power.

Both men and women report somewhat progressive views about certain marital dynamics. As seen in Table 5.4.1a, men and women alike supported more flexible, equitable arrangements. Very few respondents agreed with statements such as "If a man does not marry, he is not a man", for instance, or "A man should not marry a woman who is more educated than he". Men surveyed were far more open to informal marriages than women were, however.

Attitudes about divorce reflected this divergence between men and women as well. As seen in Figure 5.4.1a, 94 per cent of women believed they should have the right to divorce. In contrast, only 63 per cent of men felt that women should have this right. Both men and women felt that joint custody of children is the best arrangement in the event of a divorce, with upwards of 87 per cent agreement on this item. Respondents were mixed in their views about whether men should be penalized for failing to pay maintenance in the event of a divorce; the majority agreed that this penalty would be justified. The majority of men agreed with the statement "Divorce will lead to the breakdown of society", with similar rates of agreement among women. At the same time, the majority of respondents said that divorced men and women are worthy of respect.

TABLE 5.4.1a

Attitudes toward Marriage

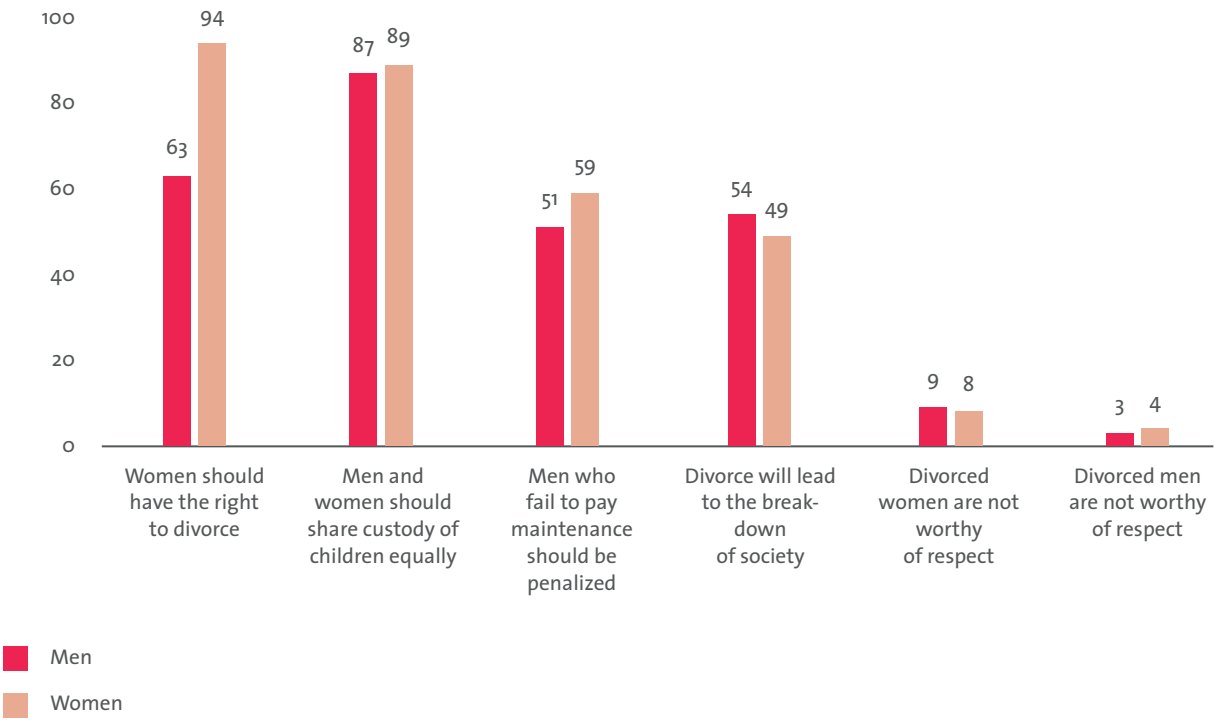
Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about marriage, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
If a wife works, she should contribute to household expenses	88	93
A man should not marry a woman who has been previously engaged	27	12
If a man does not marry, he is not a man	21	8
It is more important for a woman to marry than for her to have a career	30	23
Informal marriages (*'urfi, misyar, mut'a*) are a solution to the high cost of official marriage	39	10
A man should not marry a woman who is more educated than he is	20	17
Ultimately it should be the couple's decision, not the family's decision, to get married	77	94

FIGURE 5.4.1a

Attitude toward Divorce

Percentage of men and women who agreed with selected statements about divorce, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



5.4.2 – DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD ROLES

Men largely continue to control the money and women to clean up the mess. Ever-married men and ever-married women alike acknowledged a rigid gender-based division of household roles (Table 5.4.2a). Women reported washing clothes, cleaning the kitchen or sitting rooms, and cleaning the bathroom or toilet almost unanimously, while only 26 per cent of ever-married men reported having recently carried out these tasks. Men, on the other hand, reported high levels of involvement in repairing the house, controlling the weekly budget, and paying bills. Syrian men were more often involved in the traditionally feminine tasks of cleaning the kitchen or cleaning the bathroom than were Lebanese men, which may have to do with changes in household dynamics brought about by displacement and migration and the higher rate of unemployment among Syrian men.

TABLE 5.4.2a

Division of Household Labour

Percentage of ever-married respondents according to participation in housework in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Housework		
Washing clothes	26	95
Repairing the house	88	67
Buying food	82	96
Preparing food	64	97
Cleaning the kitchen or sitting rooms	21	95
Cleaning the bathroom or toilet	12	93
Controlling the weekly budget	96	89
Paying bills	97	79
Percentage participation in traditionally female domestic tasks*	**68**	**98**
Total number of ever-married respondents	**437**	**538**

* "Traditionally female domestic tasks" include washing clothes, preparing food, cleaning the kitchen or sitting rooms, cleaning the bathroom or toilet

If a man's spouse is working full time, he is somewhat more likely to report ever participating in traditionally feminine domestic work – approximately 85 per cent of men in this smaller sub-sample reported such participation. Women working full time get no relief from these duties, however; 100 per cent of these women reported doing this domestic work in addition to their paid jobs. Still, as was shown in the qualitative research, a minority of men do see the importance of an equal division of domestic work.

"I believe that household chores and child upbringing should be done by both the man and the woman. As I mentioned earlier, I iron at home, I wash my own dishes, I put away my clothes, I tidy up after myself when I wake up, put away the mattress and cover; this should be normal."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh)

"The concept of a man is like the concept of a woman, there is no difference between them, these days. They both need to help the family be a successful family, make sure that the children are being brought up the best way possible."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh)

For the most part, men's and women's definitions of "equal" division of unpaid care work diverged widely. As seen in Table 5.4.2b, 92 per cent of ever-married women respondents felt that they do the majority of the household work themselves, while only 5 per cent reported that this work is shared equally. More than half of ever-married men, on the other hand, say that they share household work equally with their spouses.

TABLE 5.4.2b

Who Does the Majority of Household Work?

Percentage of ever-married respondents by person who does most household work, and respondent's and spouse's satisfaction with division of household labour, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016*

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Most household work		
Respondent	10	92
Spouse	37	2
Respondent and spouse equally	53	5
Respondent's satisfaction with division of household labour		
Very satisfied	72	53
Satisfied	26	43
Unsatisfied	3	4
Spouse's perceived satisfaction with division of household work**		
Very satisfied	77	78
Satisfied	19	21
Unsatisfied	4	1
Total number of ever-married respondents	**437**	**538**

* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

** The respondent was asked: "In your opinion, how satisfied is your spouse with this division of household work?"

"A woman is everything in the house. The man goes to work, and she has to take care of the house, the children, the studies. Sometimes, a man barely comes home; she should be able to take care of things while he is gone."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Hay el Sellom)

"It is better if the wife doesn't work so that she can take care of the children. If both work, then the children grow up uneducated. The strong man doesn't require his wife to work, so that she can do her job at raising and educating the children. A woman should stay at home. Why would she have to go work for 300,000 (Lebanese pounds) to leave her children at home? It is unacceptable."

Lebanese man, Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh)

"Since women are always outside the house and men are staying at home doing nothing, they would cook, wash dishes, organize, and arrange, but they usually do not clean; they wait for their wives to come back home to clean."

Syrian man, Beirut (Borj el Barajneh)

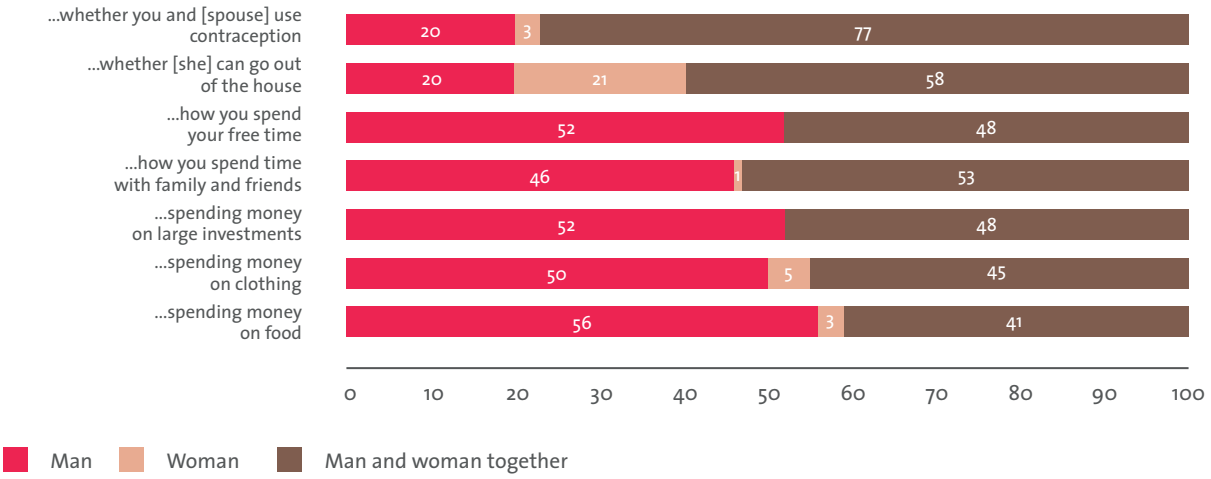
5.4.3 – HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING AND SPOUSAL CONTROL

Even as many men and women report equal sharing of important decisions in the home, women's agency over their own movements is highly restricted. Figures 5.4.3a and 5.4.3b show ever-married men's and ever-married women's responses as to who has the final say about various important decisions in the home. Men were much more likely to name themselves as primary decision-makers in various domains than women were, with more men claiming to have the final say on decisions about food, clothing, and large investments than reporting more equal sharing of these decisions. Some 20 per cent of men claimed sole decision-making authority as to whether their wives can leave the house, and 17 per cent of women reported that their husbands had the final say on whether they could spend time with their family or friends. Even more striking, only 9 per cent of women reported that they would themselves have "final say" as to whether they took a job outside the home.

FIGURE 5.4.3a

Men's Responses: Who has the final say on...*

Percentage of male respondents by whom they report has the final word on selected household decisions and spousal behaviours, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

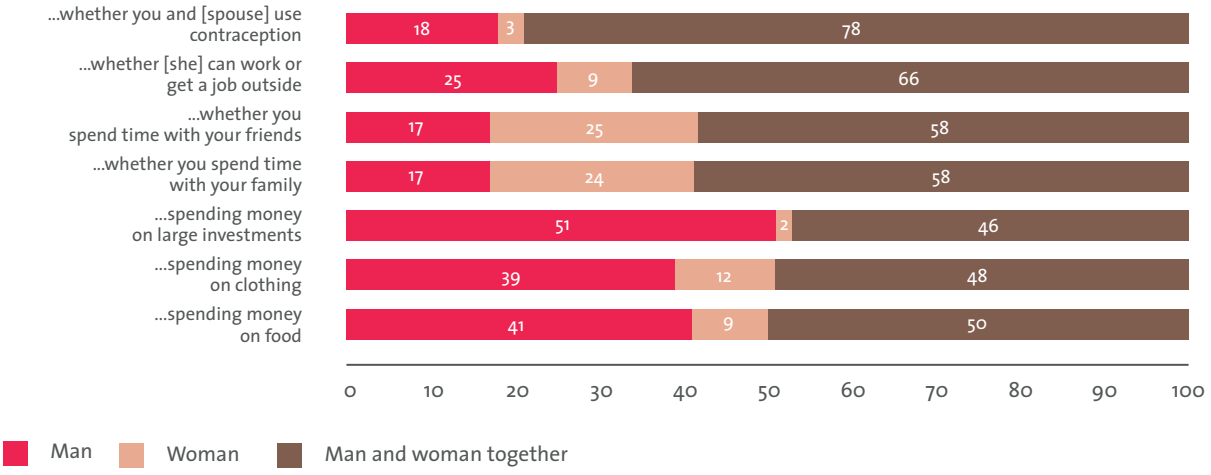


* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

FIGURE 5.4.3b

Women's Responses: Who has the final say on...*

Percentage of female respondents by whom they report has the final word on selected household decisions and spousal behaviours, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

> "The woman should have her looks for her house. I think she should look good for her husband alone. Some might accept that their wives wear short clothes; I do not accept that. I do not force her not to, but I let her know that I do not like that, and it is up to her to either please me or cause us problems."
>
> **Lebanese man, Beirut (Haret Hreik)**

Migration, Displacement, and their Effects on Household Dynamics

Some 13 per cent of IMAGES respondents of Lebanese origin had travelled outside their home country to work, study, or live, for more than six consecutive months at some point in their lives. Among Syrian respondents, this number was upwards of 55 per cent. Among families of Lebanese descent, the most frequently cited reasons for migrating were "education is better elsewhere" and "incomes are higher elsewhere". For respondents of Syrian descent, the most commonly cited reasons for migrating were "political and security situation at home" and "poor living conditions at home".

The IMAGES survey also sought to understand how migration affects family relationships and decision-making patterns. Among Lebanese men and women, the majority – at least 53 per cent across categories – stated that men's relationships with their parents, wives, and children "stayed the same" during or after their migration. Among Syrian men and women, the majority – at least 52 per cent across respondents and categories – reported that these relationships "got worse" during their ongoing migration.

IMAGES findings also underscore the changes in household decision-making that can accompany an experience of extended migration. Some 25 per cent of male respondents reported that their spouses had somewhat more say in household decision-making after his migration for work; 23 per cent of women reported the same dynamic, that they had taken on greater decision-making authority after the family's experience of a man migrating for work. These patterns were similar among Syrian and Lebanese respondents.

For Syrian refugees, migration was frequently a traumatic event, bringing loss of employment, loss of social networks, fear, and grief over family members left behind or killed in the conflict. Once settled in Lebanon, there was appreciation for help received but such assistance was also perceived to have an emasculating effect. Several Syrian refugees reported in interviews that the humanitarian assistance they received was a further complicating factor in household dynamics and the question of who is the provider in the home. Many Syrian refugees rely on relief aid for food, shelter, and clothing, particularly as registered refugees are not allowed to be officially employed. Women are often the beneficiaries of this aid, because of their real vulnerabilities but also because many men think that, as men, it would be shameful for them to ask for assistance:

"If we hear that aid is being distributed, then we leave everything to go get aid. You leave your house, everything. Women are doing everything. We wait and search for organizations. Men are ashamed to go wait and get aid."

Participant, FGD with Syrian women, South Lebanon (El-Buss refugee camp)

5.4.4 – FATHERHOOD

Many fathers provide meaningful accompaniment and support to their wives during pregnancy, suggesting one pathway to increased father involvement. Table 5.4.4a shows that 88 per cent of men reported accompanying their wife to antenatal healthcare visits. Some 39 per cent of men reported being present in the room for the birth of their youngest child. Another 50 per cent of men reported being in the same building where the birth took place, however. Women's responses mirrored these reports closely.

Men and women support parental leave for fathers, even if such leave is not yet an option for most. A large majority of men (83 per cent) and women (84 per cent) would like to have paid time off for fathers, with many respondents desiring upwards of one to six weeks of paid time off.

Men Desire an Identity Beyond that of the Family Provider, Particularly During War

Some 77 per cent of mothers in the IMAGES sample agreed that "my husband's role in caring for the children at home is mostly as their financial provider". This suggests a high level of conformity with this traditional gender-based role in the family. However, fathers in the sample replied differently to the same item, with only 49 per cent agreeing that their role in caring for their children is mostly as financial provider. These results suggest that men are far less likely to think of themselves solely as breadwinners and that they desire to break out of that role when it comes to their relationships with their children. In qualitative interviews, men and women alike said that men, as much as women, consider a close-knit relationship with their families essential to their well-being. In times of peace, they said, it is expected of men to be close to their children. In times of war, respondents said, this relationship becomes closer as the father tries to protect his children from the effects of conflict.

TABLE 5.4.4a

Antenatal Care

Percentage of respondents who reported men's attendance at antenatal visits during the last pregnancy, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Husband accompanied wife to antenatal healthcare visit		
No/Never	12	18
Yes	84	78
She did not receive antenatal care	4	5
Frequency of husband's attendance		
Every visit	25	33
Some visits	70	63
One visit	5	4
Where was the husband during the visit?		
Dropped wife off at the entrance or waited outside	24	23
In waiting room	23	33
Joined her for some or all of visit with the healthcare provider	56	44
Total number of respondents with one or more biological children	**291**	**432**

Fathers in Lebanon are playing a role in childcare, but mothers still do the majority of the daily childcare work. As seen in Figure 5.4.4a, women were more likely to report doing all of the childcare tasks included in the questionnaire. Certain of these trends may, on a family-

by-family basis, be linked with the particular economic stress or migration experiences that the family is facing. But for the sample as a whole, reviewing the survey results, it becomes clear that the tasks break into three groups based on the relative equity of care distribution:

- **Those where women's involvement is much greater than men's:** daily routine care of children, staying at home with a sick child, changing diapers, and bathing children;
- **Those with moderately unequal involvement:** talking with the child about personal matters, helping with homework; and
- **Those where men's involvement approaches women's:** dropping the child off at school, helping with homework, and scolding the child.

Although fathers carry out a limited proportion of the daily caregiving, there are exceptions, and these exceptions point to possible pathways toward equality. In the qualitative interviews, male and female respondents affirmed that it is possible for men to play a greater role in the house and with domestic chores. When men do, they said, it is mostly in times of conflict or war when men are unable to play the role of provider, or when women are unable to undertake domestic chores because of pregnancy, illness, or injury. Also, many participants alluded to the fact that when men do perform domestic chores in the house, it is not in a proportion equal to the work that women do in the house:

> "Some men help their wives around the house, since it's better than doing nothing. Men don't like to feel useless."
>
> **Participant, FGD with Syrian men, North Lebanon (Tripoli)**

Some participants stated that men who do "help" with domestic chores around the house are often subject to ridicule from those in their social circles:

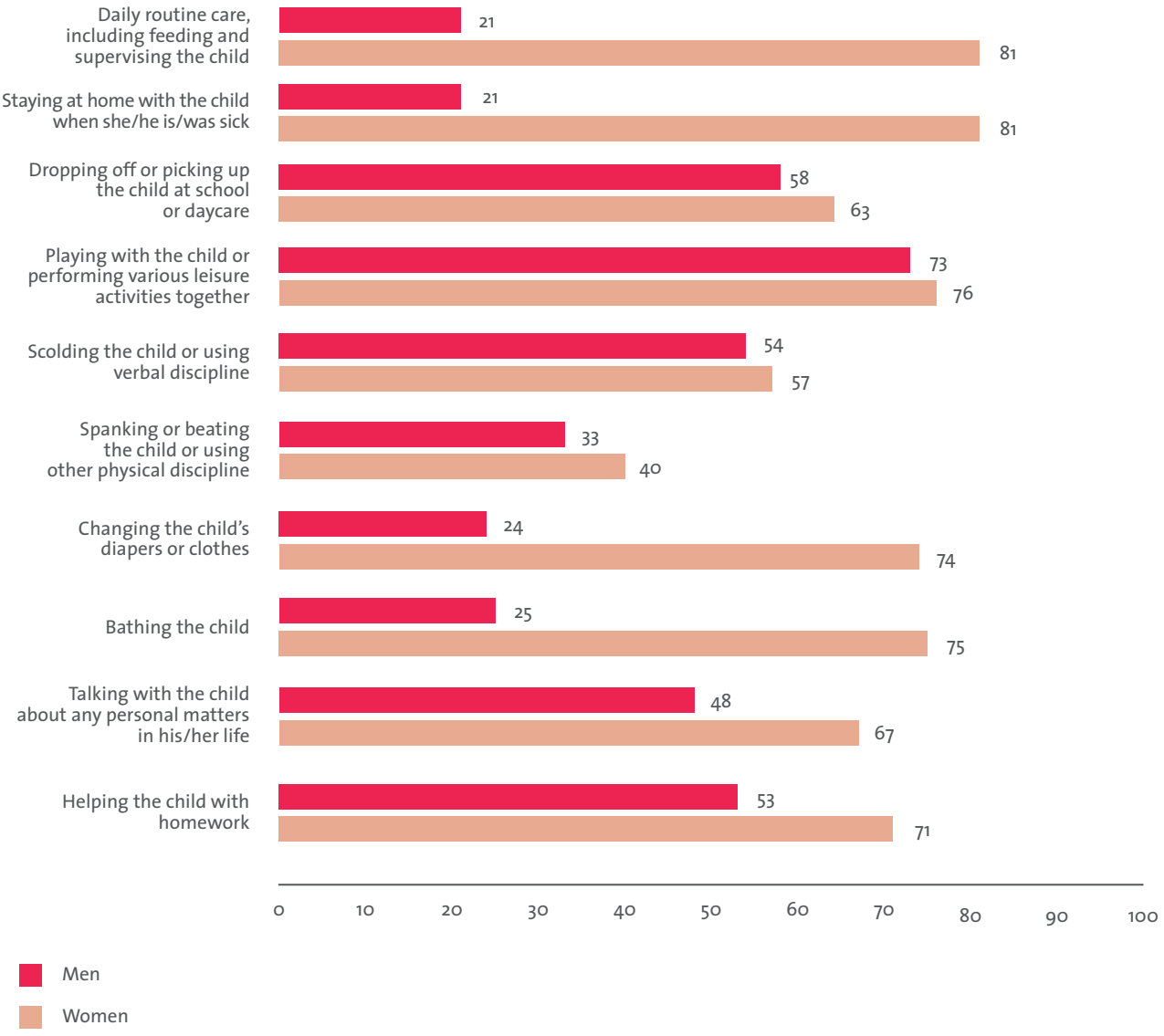
> "My husband had to quit his job in Jabal Mohsen, so he started helping me with the housework. Our neighbours made fun of him and started asking us, 'Who's the man in the relationship?'"
>
> **Participant, FGD with Lebanese women, North Lebanon (Tripoli)**

These examples suggest that change in the dynamics of the gendered division of care work is possible, albeit with limitations.

FIGURE 5.4.4a

Fathers and Childcare

Percentage of respondents who performed childcare tasks related to their youngest child (under age 18) while that child was living at home, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



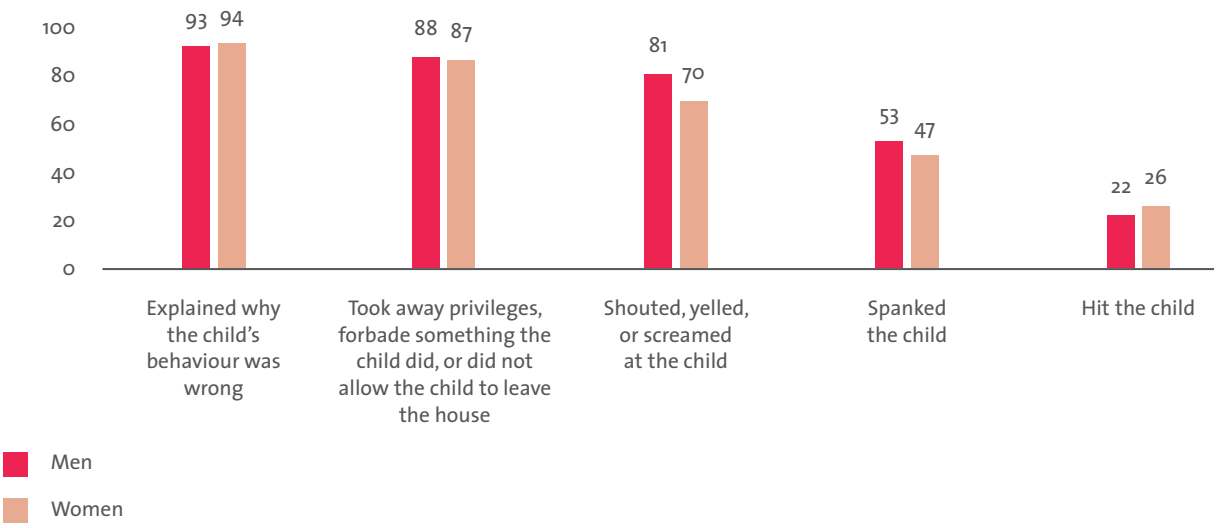
Physical discipline of children is common. As seen in Figure 5.4.4b, among respondents with children between the ages of 3 and 14, the vast majority of men and women had used non-violent disciplinary techniques with their children within the previous month. But around half reported that they had recently spanked or slapped their children as a disciplinary measure, and roughly a quarter reported sometimes striking their children with belts, sticks, or other hard objects.

Fathers in Lebanon were significantly more likely to apply physical discipline against sons than against daughters, while mothers' responses did not show any gender-based difference. Older parents, parents with lower educational attainment, and parents of a lower economic status were all significantly more likely to use violent forms of discipline against their children.

FIGURE 5.4.4b

Child Discipline

Percentage of respondents by exercise of child disciplinary methods in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



5.4.5 – SEXUALITY, SEXUAL IDENTITY, AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH ISSUES

Sexuality is a somewhat less sensitive subject in Lebanon than in certain other areas of the MENA region, which allowed IMAGES MENA to pose questions on sexual and reproductive attitudes and practices here that were not possible in many of the countries studied.

Men hold somewhat more rigid ideas about sexual roles and rights than women do, especially regarding men's sexual lives. As Figure 5.4.5a shows, men and women alike were more likely to insist upon women's virginity prior to marriage than to insist on this standard for men. But at the same time, it was men who were significantly more likely than women to agree that men themselves should be virgins prior to marriage.

Men were also more likely to support notions related to men's virility than women were. Nearly half – 48 per cent – of men subscribed to the idea that "men need sex more than women do", while only one-third of women did. Men were also more likely than women to agree that a man should be embarrassed if he cannot perform sexually.

Sex in Times of War

In qualitative interviews, many participants agreed that frequency of sex between partners often decreases during war. In some cases, this is due to a lack of privacy:

"Even sexual life became poor [during war]. Most of the refugees live in a house where many families live together, so it makes it harder for the couple to have privacy."

Participant, FGD with Syrian men, South Lebanon (El-Buss refugee camp)

In other cases, it may be a byproduct of general worries and stresses resulting from war:

"There is a lot of stress, intimacy doesn't exist anymore, so sexual relationships changed a lot; the frequency decreased a lot."

Participant, FGD with Syrian men, Beirut (Borj Al Barajneh)

However, some participants said that sex between a couple increases in times of war. Specifically, some said that sex, and in particular procreation, became an act of resistance during war:

"It's not only that. I think that our society believes in procreation as a way to resist. Like, go ahead and kill our men, we can bring more."

Participant, FGD with Lebanese women, Bekaa (Ein Kfar Zabad)

For a few others, sex during war increased as an outlet for stress:

"There are always exceptions. Sex might become a way to let off some steam. It is a good place to let go of emotions, of everything he is seeing outside."

Participant, FGD with Lebanese men, Beirut (Hay el Sellom)

Regardless of the reason for changes in sex lives during war, most women who stated that sex increased during war complained that it lacked intimacy:

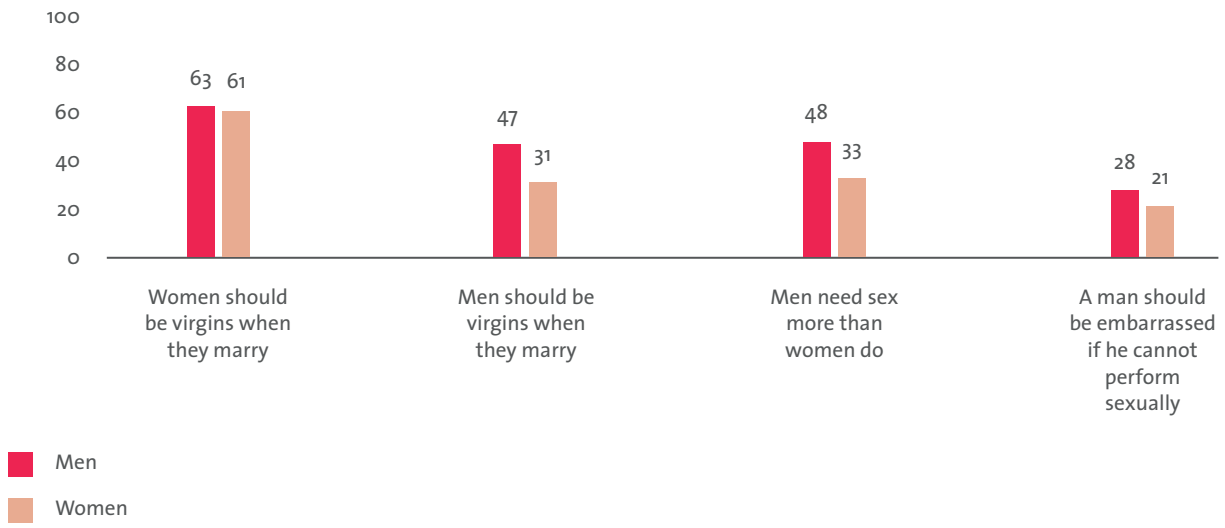
"It's drier and less emotional. No more affection. Very robotic. It's like he wants it only for his release and pleasure. He doesn't care about my pleasure anymore."

Participant, FGD with Syrian women, Bekaa (Bar Elias)

FIGURE 5.4.5a

Attitudes toward Sex

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexuality, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



Respondents in Lebanon show low rates of contraceptive use, though they agree that decisions about contraception are shared equally between partners. Some 42 per cent of sexually active men reported ever having used condoms. Women were less likely to report condom use, with only 20 per cent of sexually active respondents indicating this. Reports of lifetime condom use are much higher among ever-married respondents than non-married respondents (excluding respondents who have never had sexual relations). Table 5.4.5a presents findings related to contraceptive use in current relationships. Reported contraceptive use among ever-married couples is low in the IMAGES sample, much lower than existing national studies indicate. It is unclear why this would be the case. The reasons most cited for non-use of contraceptives were: planning for another child, religious beliefs, unspecified objections by the respondent, and menopause. Some 77 per cent of ever-married men and 78 per cent of ever-married women said that decisions about whether to use contraception is/was shared equally between both spouses.

Among the small proportion of respondents who reported terminating a pregnancy, almost none report that the woman had complete agency in making this decision. Approximately 7 per cent of women and 9 per cent of men who answered this question reported having ever had sexual relations with a partner where a pregnancy ended in induced termination, though it is noteworthy that many respondents skipped this question. Among this limited sample, reporting of men's and women's involvement in decision-making regarding abortion was inconsistent between the two sexes. Men were far more likely to say that the decision was taken jointly than women were. The one fact that all respondents agreed upon, however, was that women were never the main or sole decision-makers when it came to induced termination of a pregnancy. This finding points to an extreme patriarchal restriction of women's reproductive agency in Lebanon, at least with regard to abortion.

TABLE 5.4.5a

Reproductive Health Behaviours

Percentage of currently married respondents or their spouses who are currently using any birth control, according to the type of contraceptive method, and reasons for non-use, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
The respondent or (his/her) spouse currently use any contraceptive method	23	18
Method used		
Pill	40	33
IUD	3	15
Injectable	0	3
Condom	83	44
Diaphragm	3	0
Foam/Jelly/Cream	0	3
Rhythm method	0	0
Withdrawal	7	6
Female sterilization	0	0
Male sterilization	0	0
Reasons for non-use		
Trying to have another child	60	41
Concerns about medical side effects	0	5
Health problems	1	5
Costs too much	0	1
Difficult to access	0	0
Religious belief	4	10
Infertility	0	1
Respondent objects	19	9
Spouse objects	3	11
Parents/parents-in-law object	0	0
Lack of knowledge	0	2
Inconvenient to use	0	8
Menopause	2	11
Other	4	3
Total number of currently married respondents	**413**	**477**

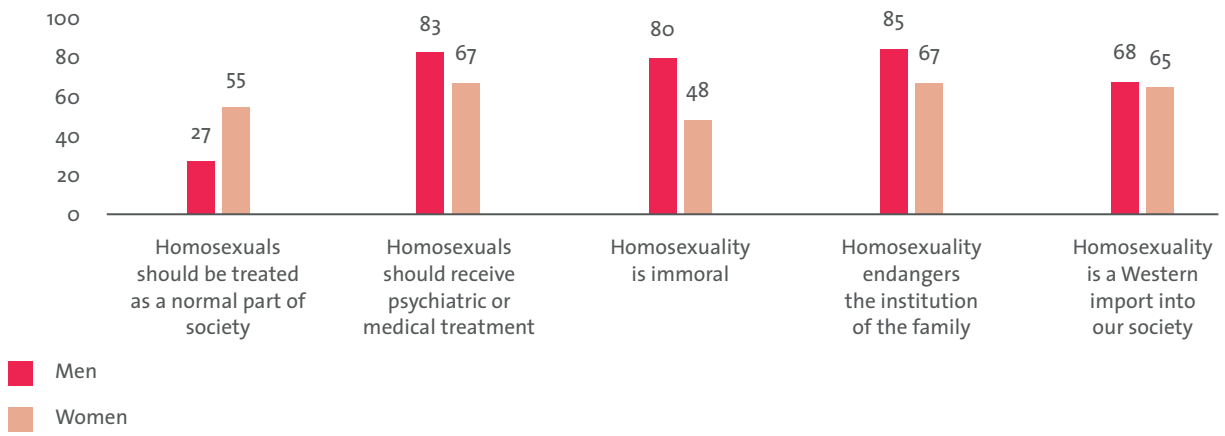
Most respondents hold attitudes that are not accepting of homosexuality. Men and women participants were asked about their opinions on homosexuality, referring to both gay men and lesbians, with the results of five attitude items presented in Figure 5.4.5b.

Upwards of 65 per cent of respondents, men and women, agreed that "homosexuality is a Western import into our society". For the remaining items, however, it is clear that women hold more accepting attitudes toward homosexuality than do men. Where only 27 per cent of male respondents felt that "homosexuals should be treated as a normal part of society", for instance, twice as many women – 55 per cent – felt this way. Similar trends are seen in the three other attitude statements shown. However, some 68 per cent of men and 37 per cent of women also said that they would support laws to arrest and imprison people who engage in homosexual acts.

FIGURE 5.4.5b

Attitudes toward Homosexuality

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about homosexuality, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



5.4.6 – MENTAL HEALTH

A substantial proportion of men and women surveyed report depressive symptoms, particularly women and Syrian men. Some 28 per cent of male respondents and 40 per cent of female respondents reported feeling depressed within the previous week. Using a standardized, globally recognized depression scale score, results show that women were more likely to show depressive symptoms than were men. However, less wealthy male and female respondents and those with only primary education showed higher rates of depressive symptoms, as well. There was no significant difference between Lebanese and Syrian women with regard to depression, but Syrian men were more likely to show recent depressive symptoms than were Lebanese men, at a statistically significant level. Forty-two per cent of Syrian men met the screening standard for depressive symptoms, compared with 23 per cent of Lebanese men.

In cases of stress, depression, anxiety, suicidal thoughts, or substance abuse, both men and women (39 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively) reported seeking help from people *other* than health professionals for mental illness; only 3 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively,

sought professional treatment. Women were perhaps more forthcoming about men's depression and its sources than men themselves were:

"Regarding fear: as a man, he cannot show it, because they will say he is a coward, that he is not a man, that he is someone who gets scared. They will talk about him. We all get scared. There is not one person without fear. As for sadness, if a man is sad, they say that he is not able to support himself, that he is not a man. A man can be sad when he is on his own, not when he is around other people."

Lebanese woman, Beirut (Hamra)

War and displacement are among the key reasons cited for depression. In qualitative interviews, participants discussed how low their morale had dropped during the war, and how depressed they became because of it:

"My husband's morale became very low during the war. Suddenly, [the men] started worrying about going to work because of checkpoints, harassment, people demeaning them. So they preferred staying at home and not going to work and being humiliated. He isolated himself from the world, he did not want to go anywhere."

Syrian woman, 46 years old, Mount Lebanon (Jbeil)

This seemed to translate into low self-esteem for the men who lived through the war:

"Men would feel weak, incapable, and useless, which leads to depression and violence."

Participant, FGD with Syrian men, South Lebanon (El-Buss refugee camp)

A few participants expressed that they had become "numb" as a result of the war, whether they had engaged in war as combatants or not:

"You feel like you have become emotionally numb. Without feelings. You cannot even sleep."

Participant, FGD with Syrian women, Beirut (Borj Al Barajneh)

On the other hand, some interviewees said that they had benefited psychologically from *not* engaging in war (that is, they had escaped from it, or managed to avoid being inducted as soldiers or combatants), and that, in some cases, this had helped drive them to achieve in other aspects of their lives:

> "I feel it was good for me not to engage in war. I was able to succeed at work. I made a goal in my life that I have to succeed in having good morals. I felt like I had to work harder to provide for myself and my family."
>
> **Lebanese man, 62 years old, Mount Lebanon (Ghazir)**

Consistent with their higher reported rates of depression, Syrian men, in particular, experience various forms of stress as a result of their unstable work or income. Some 43 per cent of all men surveyed in Lebanon (Lebanese nationals and those of Syrian origin) reported feeling "frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work or income", and 39 per cent of men reported that they "sometimes feel ashamed to face their family because of not having enough work or income". However, Syrian men were statistically significantly more likely to report these forms of work stress, and fully 37 per cent of Syrian men said they had given up looking for work.

For many respondents in the qualitative interviews, men were no longer able to provide (whether partially or fully) during the war, and women had to take on the role of provider. This role reversal was much more common among the Syrian refugee participants:

> "My role changed a lot from that of an ordinary woman after the war. In Syria, everything to buy for the house was my husband's responsibility. Now it is mine."
>
> **Syrian woman, 28 years old, North Lebanon (Tripoli)**

In some instances, this role reversal appears to have altered social meanings of manhood:

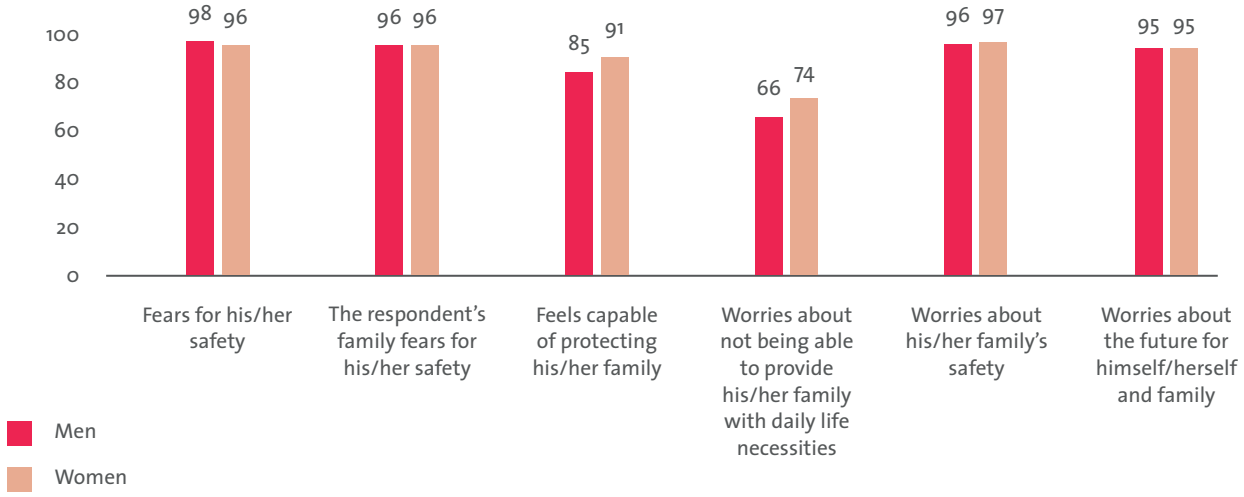
> "I don't believe that there's a definition to what a man is anymore. I mean, I would understand that back in Syria, but now things have changed, and women work now and they take responsibility."
>
> **Participant, FGD with Syrian women, North Lebanon (Tripoli)**

Men and women report high levels of fear for their own and their family members' safety. Nearly all men and women expressed high rates of such fears. Some 96 per cent of men and 97 per cent of women, for instance, reported that they "worry about their family's safety", as seen in Figure 5.4.6a.

FIGURE 5.4.6a

Individual and Family Security

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about personal and family security, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



Most participants spoke of the fear and anxiety with which they live during times of war, and how fear is constantly present in their daily activities:

> "In times of war, when I was in Syria, I could not do any of the things that I do now. I couldn't even cook or clean. Sometimes, we needed to stop cooking and run. If I needed to shower, I would shower in two minutes. I would be very afraid to die naked. There is nothing that can describe how we were feeling during the war."
>
> **Syrian woman, 25 years old, Mount Lebanon (Jbeil)**

The insecure circumstances of those who were displaced during the war seemed to add to the fear:

> "We feel fear, especially in this country, because we don't know what might happen to us at any moment. We are not living in our country. We have already fled the war. But we fear that if something happens in Lebanon, we would have nowhere else to flee to."
>
> **Participant, FGD with Syrian men, Beirut (Ras el Nabeh)**

5.4.7 – OTHER HEALTH ISSUES

When asked about their personal health, the majority of men reported having "very good" or "good" health. Significantly more Lebanese than Syrians rated their health very good. In comparison, only 17 per cent of women reported having "very good" and 63 per cent reported having "good" health. Nearly half of men thought that they smoke too much and 10 per cent of men and 14 per cent of women reported having had a health problem related to smoking (see Table 5.4.7a). Results also find extremely little health-seeking behaviour among men: 59 per cent of men in Lebanon had *never* sought health care services, as opposed to 13 per cent of women. Syrian men had the least reported use of health services, either recently or over their lifetimes.

TABLE 5.4.7a

Perceptions of Personal Health

Percentage distribution of respondents, according to self-declared health status, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
In comparison to peers, respondent's health is		
Very good	47	17
Good	43	63
Moderate	9	16
Bad	1	2
Very bad	0	0
Don't know	0	1
The respondent is happy with (his/her) body	**83**	**70**
The respondent would like to lose weight	**52**	**48**
The respondent would like to have a more muscular body	**50**	*
Smoking		
Respondent feels that (he/she) smokes too much	46	46
Respondent has ever had a health problem related to smoking	10	14
Total number of respondents who smoke	444	313

* Not asked in the women's questionnaire

5.4.8 – EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE

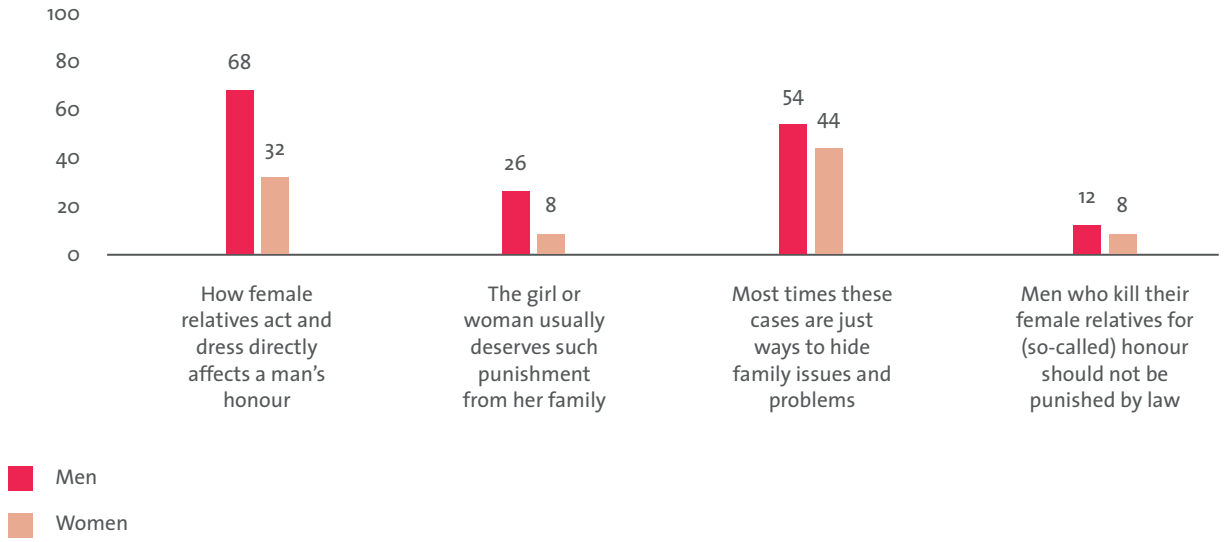
Some men hold harmful attitudes related to sex and sexual violence, while women are more likely to reject these. Nearly a quarter of men (24 per cent) agreed that "if the husband provides financially, his wife is obliged to have sex whenever he wants". Over a quarter of men (27 per cent) felt that "a man who rapes a woman and marries her should not be prosecuted". Even more – 36 per cent – felt that "if a woman is raped, she should marry the rapist". Women respondents were dramatically less likely to share any of these three opinions. Fully 87 per cent of women felt that "a woman should be able to refuse sex with her husband if she doesn't want to have sex", while only 70 per cent of men agreed with this statement.

One-quarter of men and one-third of women said they had heard of an honour killing in their community within the last year. Existing research shows that femicide is relatively rare in Lebanon, but gender-motivated killings are nonetheless an underreported phenomenon there.[9] It was only in 2011 that Lebanon's parliament annulled Article 562 of the criminal code, which softened sentences for murder defendants who claimed "protection of family honour" as a defence.[10] As with the opinions about sexual violence presented above, men surveyed held much more restrictive attitudes about "family honour" and honour killing than did women (see Figure 5.4.8a).

FIGURE 5.4.8a

Attitudes toward Honour Killing

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about honour killing, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016



9. Baydoun, Azza C. (2011). ""Killing Women in the Name of Honor": An Evolving Phenomenon in Lebanon." *Al-Raida Journal* [Online], 2011-12. pp. 70-77.

10. "Lebanon: Law Reform Targets 'Honor' Crimes- Lebanese Laws Need Further Overhaul to Curb Gender-Based Violence." *Human Rights Watch*, Aug. 2011.

TABLE 5.4.8a

Street-Based Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of men who have committed specific acts of sexual harassment/assault against women, and women who have experienced such acts in public spaces, lifetime and 3-month rates, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN (PERPETRATED)		WOMEN (EXPERIENCED)	
	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)
Type of Sexual Harassment/Assault				
Ogling*,**	26	20	46	39
Catcalls or sexual comments**	15	11	51	43
Stalking or following	5	3	26	18
Obscene phone calls or text messages**	3	1	14	7
Online harassment**	3	1	21	12
Touching a woman on intimate parts of her body when she did not want you to	1	0	2	0
Exposing private parts	1	0	6	2
Forcing a woman or girl to have sex	2	1	3	0
Any of the above acts of sexual harassment/assault	**31**	**24**	**57**	**50**

* Statistically, Syrian men were more likely than Lebanese to perpetrate this form of sexual harassment

** Statistically, Syrian women were less likely than Lebanese to experience this form of sexual harassment

Experiences of violence in public spaces and detention by police are fairly common, particularly for Syrian men. Some 11 per cent of men and 6 per cent of women were ever involved in a fight with a knife, gun, or other weapon (outside military service), with 28 per cent of men and 2 per cent of women owning a gun. In the previous 12 months, 13 per cent of men and 3 per cent of women reported having been punched or hit in a fight. Upwards of 10 per cent of men had been imprisoned or arrested, compared with fewer than 1 per cent of women. Five per cent of men and 2 per cent of women were ever arrested by police or army forces for protests or political activity. Twelve per cent of men and 3 per cent of women had experienced harassment by police or other security force. Syrian men were between two and three times more likely than Lebanese men to have been arrested, imprisoned, or detained by police, or to have experienced some form of physical violence in public spaces.

The majority of women report experiencing sexual harassment in public spaces at some point in their lives, half of them within the previous three months. Rates of this form of violence – women's experiences and men's reported perpetration – are presented in Tables 5.4.8a. and 5.4.8b. Men who held inequitable gender attitudes (and particularly, attitudes supportive of sexual harassment), and those who had had childhood experiences of violence, are significantly more likely to have perpetrated sexual harassment.

Notable proportions of IMAGES MENA Lebanon respondents reported perpetrating and experiencing various forms of intimate partner violence. IMAGES MENA Lebanon asked all ever-married men whether they had ever perpetrated specific violent acts against an intimate partner, as well as whether these acts had happened within the previous year. Ever-married women, in turn, were asked about their experiences of violence at the hands of an intimate partner, both in their lifetime and in the previous year. As the box "Intimate Partner Violence in Lebanon" describes, research on intimate partner violence, particularly amid the current influx of refugees in Lebanon, poses specific logistical and ethical risks, which the research team used various means to minimize.

Among ever-married respondents in IMAGES MENA Lebanon, some 23 per cent of men reported ever perpetrating one or more forms of emotional intimate partner violence, while 27 per cent of women reported experiencing this violence. Approximately 8 per cent of men reported ever perpetrating one or more forms of physical intimate partner violence, while 10 per cent of women reported experiencing this violence. Some 16 per cent of women reported experiencing sexual intimate partner violence in their lifetimes (see Table 5.4.8b).

Intimate Partner Violence in Lebanon

Randomized, nationally representative household survey research on intimate partner violence is unprecedented in Lebanon. As such, it remains difficult to ascertain a rigorous estimate of the prevalence of this violence in the country. Civil society organizations working to support survivors of this violence in Lebanon suggest that rates of such violence are high,[11] and existing research also supports this claim. For instance, a 2007 study using a cross-sectional survey of all women presenting to four primary health care centres in different geographic areas of Lebanon found that 35 per cent of participants reported experiencing one or more forms of domestic violence.[12] A more recent study among married women presenting for gynaecological care in Beirut found that 41 per cent reported experiences of physical intimate partner violence and 65 per cent reported experiences of verbal intimate partner violence.[13]

As the first truly randomized, nationwide household survey investigating intimate partner violence in the country, IMAGES MENA Lebanon sought to adhere to the highest standards of research rigor and ethics. Thus, in accordance with World Health Organization ethical and safety recommendations for research on intimate partner violence, the research team took specific steps after finding that respondents' reported rates of violence were lower than the aforementioned evidence and expert observation suggested should be the case.[14] Following the completion of the survey, research teams conducted a series of eight focus group discussions around the country (which included 25 Lebanese men, 12 Syrian men, 37 Lebanese women, and 20 Syrian women), finding widespread agreement that it would be very difficult for women to disclose their experiences of violence or for men to admit to perpetrating this violence in a household survey. In contrast to data collection at health care centres, as in the aforementioned studies, household survey research involves a data collector who is unknown to participants and who initially arrives at participants' homes unexpectedly, with potential implications for participants' sense of safety and trust.

As an additional effort to better understand patterns of intimate partner violence in the country, IMAGES MENA Lebanon research teams fielded a second, wholly new nationwide study, which more squarely focused on intimate partner violence and married life. Where the initial IMAGES sample produced somewhat fewer ever-married participants than expected (thus limiting the number who could speak to experiences of intimate partner violence), the second study sampled only ever-married men and women. The length of the questionnaire was significantly reduced to avoid causing fatigue among respondents; a team of experienced data collectors was given extra training on the nature and dynamics of intimate partner violence, as well as best practices for ensuring comfortable, ethical, and accurate data collection (as were all IMAGES data collectors). Initial data from this second sample show much higher rates of women's reported experiences of intimate partner violence, and slightly higher rates of men's reported perpetration. This finding suggests that the additional steps taken in the second study may have reduced some women's reluctance to disclose violence.

These experiences speak to the difficulty of household survey research on sensitive topics, particularly in societies where respondents express such pervasive fears for their own and their families' safety, and where so many other social transformations are taking place. They also underscore the need for ongoing research, not only on rates of intimate partner violence, but also on the most suitable methodological approaches for ascertaining such information in particularly challenging research settings.

11. Banyan Global, the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), and the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR). (2016). *Countering Gender-based Violence Initiative - MENA Context Analysis*. Washington, D.C.: United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

12. Usta, et al. (2007). "Domestic Violence: The Lebanese Experience." *Public Health*, vol. 121, no. 3, pp. 208-19, doi:10.1016/j.puhe.2006.09.014.

13. Awwad, et al. (2014). "Intimate Partner Violence in a Lebanese Population Attending Gynecologic Care: A Cultural Perspective." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 29, no. 14, pp. 2592-2609, doi:10.1177/0886260513520507.

14. World Health Organization (WHO). (2003). *Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic Violence Against Women*.

TABLE 5.4.8b

Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of ever-married respondents by acts of violence perpetrated by men and experienced by women, lifetime and 12-month prevalence, IMAGES MENA Lebanon 2016

	MEN		WOMEN	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Violent acts				
Emotional violence	**23.2**	**13.2**	**27.2**	**15.0**
Insulted (his wife/her) or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	19.9	10.4	24.3	12.9
Belittled or humiliated (his wife/her) in front of other people	12.8	6.4	15.1	5.2
Scared or intimidated (his wife/her) on purpose for example by the way he looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	9.9	5.0	13.9	5.2
Threatened to hurt (his wife/her)	10.2	4.7	5.2	2.1
Hurt people (his wife/she) cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	0.5	0.0	2.9	0.8
Economic violence	**9.9**	**5.0**	**10.8**	**3.7**
Prevented (his wife/her) from working for wages or profit	6.1	2.1	8.1	2.5
Took (his wife's/her) earnings against her will	1.9	0.5	2.1	0.6
Kept money from earnings for personal use when the respondent knew (his wife/she) was finding it hard to pay for her personal expenses or household needs	3.3	0.9	1.9	1.2
Threw (his wife/her) out of the house	5.2	2.8	4.6	1.3
Physical violence	**7.8**	**3.3**	**10.4**	**3.7**
Slapped (his wife/her) or threw something at her that could hurt her	6.9	2.4	8.5	3.1
Pushed or shoved (his wife/her)	2.8	0.9	5.8	2.5
Hit (his wife/her) with his fist or with something else that could hurt her	4.0	0.9	5.8	2.5
Kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned (his wife/her)	0.5	0.0	2.1	0.8
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against (his wife/her)	1.9	0.5	1.0	0.0
Sexual violence	**8.8**	**4.7**	**16.1**	**8.1**
Forced (his wife/her) to have sex with him when she did not want to	8.8	4.7	16.1	8.1
Total number of ever-married respondents	**437**		**538**	

Does Conflict Increase Gender-Based Violence?

In qualitative interviews, most participants believed that gender-based violence increases during times of war. According to most participants, this trend is even more common in cases where the man actively participates in the conflict as a combatant or soldier. In these cases, they said, violence that a man experiences outside the home translates into violence toward his wife. One respondent shared:

"People who engage in war no longer need peace, they do not have interest in peace, they gain more from war, from controlling everything, from controlling his house, his wife. I think many of the fighters are now like this."

Syrian man, 55 years old, Beirut (Ras El Nabeh)

At the epicenter of the war, and possibly due to the absence of accountability, gender-based violence can be taken to the extreme; there have been instances of men killing the women in their families after participating in combat:

"I know someone who killed his sister and mother after coming back from war."

Syrian man, 18 years old, Mount Lebanon (Daraoun)

Other responses emphasized that it is not only active conflict that produces these links. Respondents identified broader militarization in society, as well as financial hardships that increase in times of war, as contributing factors. One respondent said:

"I think it has more to do with the stress that a man lives through because of the socioeconomic difficulties. When he gets stressed that he cannot provide, you see more violence towards the children and wife. He vents this way. It has a much bigger impact than if a person engages in combat."

Lebanese man, 26 years old, Beirut (Ein el Remmeneh)

This can be exacerbated in the few instances in which the woman takes over the man's role as provider. Participants said that the role reversal seems to intensify stress for the man, who may then become aggressive toward his wife:

"When roles changed, women would go to work and men stay home. Men felt helpless. No ego, no dignity. So they became verbally and physically violent with their wives, they would shout for no reason."

Participant, FGD with Syrian man, South Lebanon (El-Buss refugee camp)

This dynamic may underlie gender-based violence that is perpetrated in times of peace. According to the participants of this study, gender-based violence in peacetime tends to occur mostly in times of financial hardship, when the man feels that he is not fulfilling his role:

"They would engage in any conflict with anyone just to let their anger out, and because they would feel weak, they wanted to prove the opposite. It can go from shouting all the time at their wives or children, or even hitting their children for no reason, and once they engage in a fight with their wives, they might hit them."

Participant, FGD with Lebanese men, Beirut (Hay el Sellom)

These responses help contextualize the IMAGES quantitative data, and provide more nuanced glimpses of interlinked forms of violence and other hardships in society.

5.5 Conclusions

The findings of IMAGES MENA Lebanon suggest that on the one hand, men are broadly supportive of some forms of gender equality. Those with higher education, those who had educated mothers, and/or those whose fathers were involved in commonly feminine household tasks display higher levels of agreement with gender-equitable attitudes, at a statistically significant level. Younger men display somewhat more equitable views than older men, even as women of all ages display more equitable attitudes than men. In addition, many male respondents report putting more equitable ideas into practice, participating in routine domestic work and childcare. It is worth noting, however, that in the Syrian refugee population, attitudes are slightly more conservative and inequitable, by many measures of gender-related attitudes and behaviour.

In spite of some advances, men seem to resist women's empowerment and equal participation in many spheres of life. Even with many men holding increasingly equitable views, and even as Lebanese women's education rates nearly equal men's, the study still points to severe control of women's movements, over their decision-making related to marriage, and over the most intimate spheres of their lives, including termination of a pregnancy.

Gender dynamics in the household in Lebanon are strongly based on gender-inequitable divisions between men and women. This was affirmed by both the respondents' memories of their fathers' involvement in housework and the ever-married respondents' reports of their own participation in domestic tasks. Discrepancies between men's and women's household influence show that joint decision-making has yet to become the norm in Lebanon. But some changes are underway, driven by a sizeable minority of men who are contributing to domestic work and childcare in new ways, as well as by migration and displacement dynamics. For some families, displacement (in the case of Syrian refugee families), men's loss of employment and migration for work, and women's employment, have nudged some men to take on non-traditional roles.

Violence was prevalent in many respondents' childhoods, whether as a component of discipline or in other more overt forms, and often followed gendered patterns. Many men and women experienced physical violence at home or at school during their childhoods. Many, too, witnessed physical violence against their mother in the home. Later in life, this violence seems to repeat itself, with many respondents reporting the use of physical discipline toward their own children.

Violence experienced during childhood is often associated with adult forms of violence, including street-based sexual harassment and intimate partner violence. Nearly 60 per cent of women reported ever having experienced some form of sexual harassment in the streets, while only a third of men reported having carried out this harassment. Men with inequitable gender attitudes and childhood experiences of violence were significantly more likely to have perpetrated sexual harassment. With regard to intimate partner violence, many qualitative research participants said that conflict, displacement, militarization, and war had increased the frequency of intimate partner violence in their homes.

The distinct life conditions and gender dynamics of Syrians in Lebanon are apparent in their more inequitable views, and in their particular vulnerabilities. Syrians were more likely to show symptoms of depression and high stress, including work-related stress. Syrian men were least likely to have accessed health or mental health services, even as they showed some of the highest rates of stress and depression. Syrian men were two to three times more likely than Lebanese men to have experienced violence in public spaces, and nearly a third had been imprisoned or arrested.

The findings of the IMAGES MENA Lebanon study provide valuable insights, showing where gender equality has been achieved and where shortcomings still need to be addressed among the Lebanese and Syrians residing in Lebanese communities.

NGO SPOTLIGHT

Masculinities Work in Action in Lebanon

ABAAD is a Lebanese NGO whose core mission is providing safe spaces and shelter for women and girls who are at risk of gender-based violence or who have experienced it. However, from the very beginning, in 2011, they knew those services would not counter the underlying norms and attitudes that perpetuate this violence. They had to work with men and boys, too.

ABAAD got to work, reaching out to men and women alike, in civil society organizations and in the general population, to increase awareness of the ways in which men are raised to think about manhood, and the impacts these conceptions can have on women, society, and on men themselves. Under their Masculinities Programme – one of ABAAD's first initiatives, and a pioneering initiative in Lebanon and the MENA region – ABAAD began tackling larger issues. They started exploring ways in which they could work with men, as partners with women, to complement their women's empowerment work, decrease gender-based discrimination and violence, and create a culture of partnership, empathy, and equality in Lebanon.

For ABAAD, this work would only be effective if it was cross-cutting and holistic: working with and engaging men, and women, as well, around the topic of masculinities; utilising individual and group psychotherapy; raising awareness, developing resources, and building capacity with individuals, civil society organizations, and the general society; and through public speaking and advocacy.

Their work with young men centres on their Programme Ra – taken from "rajol", the Arabic word for man – which encourages critical reflection about rigid norms related to manhood. Taking into account Lebanon's refugee crisis, Programme Ra was adapted from Program H (which was developed by Promundo and has been used in more than 22 countries). It was designed to target young men between the ages of 14 and 24, from refugee and marginalized host communities, and from both urban and rural areas. As a capacity-building training curriculum for young men, Programme Ra focuses on issues such as non-violence, sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), substance abuse, and gender equality.

As part of the initiative to engage men – not only through preventative measures, but also working with those who had perpetrated violence – ABAAD opened a psychological counselling centre, the Men Center (MC). Here, men residing in Lebanon (both local and refugee populations) can receive services such as support groups, discussion groups, and individual psychological counselling to aid in their rehabilitation. During sessions, the men not only reflect on gender roles, and the role of stress in their lives, they also learn about communication strategies to mitigate violence, and about understanding and taking responsibility for their own behaviours. ABAAD supported these efforts through a nationwide campaign, "Mest'edeen Nesma' Haki" (which reads: "we are willing – and here – to listen"), to encourage more men to seek help.

ABAAD has tapped into the potential of religious leaders to play key roles in the prevention of violence against women. Particularly in traditional communities, they are often more influential than local governments or secular community leaders, and can directly and indirectly affect laws, policies, and social norms in their communities. Through a first-of-its-kind consultative roundtable gathering, ABAAD led the creation of a common platform where religious leaders committed to taking positive stands, acting as advocates for promoting gender equality, and ending gender-based violence.

ABAAD has amplified all of this work through media campaigns and film. In partnership with Heartland Alliance for Human Needs and Human Rights and the Lebanese Ministry of Social Affairs, and in collaboration with the Forum for Development Culture & Dialogue, ABAAD launched a nationwide media campaign entitled "Be a Man. Real Men Take a Stand Against Violence". This media campaign took a revolutionary approach: rather than blame the perpetrators, it highlighted those men who refuse to remain silent about gender inequality and violence against women. In 2011, with WonderBox Productions, ABAAD also sponsored 16 young men from Iraq and Lebanon to create TV spots, each sending the message that everyone has a role to play in ending violence against women.

ABAAD takes this work forward at the global level through local and regional capacity building, trainings, and as the MENA focal point for the MenEngage Alliance – a network of over 600 non-governmental organizations and UN partners working to engage men and boys in gender equality. Their MenEngage role marked the establishment and operation of the first network dedicated to work on masculinities in the Middle East, and will serve as a model upon which future country networks in the MENA region can be structured.

To learn more, visit: www.abaadmena.org

Chapter 6

Palestine

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Key Findings

- **The reality of Palestinian lives – including gender relations and gender dynamics – has been carved by the prolonged Israeli occupation.** The occupation has become the central structural framework of analysis for all elements of political, economic, and social life in Palestine. IMAGES findings in Palestine must be understood within this contextual framework.
- **Inequitable gender attitudes remain common in Palestine, although women hold more equitable views than men do.** For example, around 80 per cent of men and 60 per cent of women agree that a woman's most important role is to take care of the home. Men with greater wealth, with more education, and whose fathers participated in commonly feminine household work hold more equitable attitudes, however. Notably, there is no difference in gender-related attitudes between younger and older men.
- **At the same time, there are many signs of more equitable views.** For instance, some three-quarters of women and half of men agree that a married woman should have the same right as her husband to work outside the home. Most respondents of all genders reject the idea that it is more important to educate boys than girls when resources are scarce, as one among other signs of equitable views in Palestine. In practice, there are also many men contributing in commonly feminine household work, as well as sharing decision-making authority with women. Fewer than 20 per cent of men and women think that it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work.
- **Several men (interviewed for the qualitative portion of the study) who had been imprisoned by the Israeli security forces for political reasons pointed to the extraordinary ability of women to carry a double or triple burden at home during the men's imprisonment.** The ability of women to simultaneously manage the household, care for children, and earn an income gave these men greater respect and appreciation for women. This newfound respect contributed to some men carrying out commonly female household tasks, such as feeding, bathing or changing babies' diapers. In the cases of these political prisoners' families, the change in women's roles during the husband's absence was met with more appreciation and a reconsideration of women's abilities to perform different roles. At the same time, this led to a revaluation of men's domestic work, reflected in the willingness of many ex-prisoners to share household work with women.
- **There is strong agreement among men and women that gender equality has not been achieved in Palestine.** Three-quarters of men and nearly 87 per cent of women agree with the statement, "We as Palestinians need to do more work to promote the equality of women and men".
- **Fifty-nine per cent of women and 42 per cent of men believe that women should have greater representation in political authority.** By contrast, however, a majority of both men and women agree that "women are too emotional to be leaders".
- **Twenty-five per cent of male respondents and 22 per cent of female respondents reported witnessing their mother being beaten by their father or a male relative during their childhood.** More men than women had experienced physical violence from someone in the household during their childhood. Men faced more bullying and other forms of violence in school than did women, with 57 per cent of men saying they were physically punished by a teacher (compared with 30 per cent of women), and 24 per cent of men saying they were bullied at school (compared with 14 per cent of women).

- **Nearly all respondents hold fears related to personal or family safety.** Furthermore, some 70 per cent of women and 78 per cent of men worry about not being able to provide their families with the necessities of daily life. These fears and worries are experienced alongside the constant threat imposed by the occupation on many aspects of Palestinian life.
- **There are significant differences between men's and women's agency and autonomy with regard to arranging and planning a marriage.** Forty-four per cent of men said that they had the greatest say about their own marriage arrangements, compared with only 5 per cent of women. About 25 per cent of men and 39 per cent of women said that their marriage decision was shared between the husband and wife. Furthermore, the majority of men (88 per cent) and women (82 per cent) think that marriage should be ultimately the couple's decision, not the family's decision.
- **Women's participation in higher education has been increasing in Palestine, as has women's participation in the paid labour market, compared with previous decades. Still, the division of work within the household falls sharply along gendered lines.** This can be linked to the worsening political and economic situation under Israeli occupation. Women reported high levels of involvement in nearly all types of domestic work, but men mostly concentrated on activities outside the home. Men whose fathers participated in commonly feminine household work, as well as men who were taught to do this work as children, are far more likely to contribute to the household work within their own marriages.
- **While women carry out the majority of daily caregiving of children, men express a desire to be more involved.** One encouraging finding is that more than 60 per cent of fathers in the sample reported talking with their child about important personal matters in their lives; this points to an emotional intimacy not always associated with masculine behaviour.
- **Most respondents – 65 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women – reported having experienced one or more specific forms of occupation-related violence and adversity within the past five years.** Men were more likely than women to report having lost land; having been harassed by soldiers or settlers, detained, or injured; having had difficulty accessing health services; and having lost work or educational opportunities due to the occupation, but occupation-related violence and difficulties are very common among all respondents.
- **Nearly one in five men (17 per cent) said they had ever perpetrated an act of physical violence against a female partner.** Twenty-one per cent of women reported ever having experienced such violence. Men who witnessed violence against their mother as children and men who experienced physical violence in their childhood homes are statistically significantly more likely to report perpetrating intimate partner violence in their adult relationships.

Who Was Surveyed?*

- 1,200 men and 1,199 women, aged 18 to 59, representing Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, were surveyed.
- The age distribution reflects the young population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; 32 per cent of men and 31 per cent of women in the survey were aged 18 to 25.
- 68 per cent of the sample draws from urban settings, 19 per cent from rural settings, and 13 per cent from refugee camps.
- 60 per cent of men and 70 per cent of women have ever been married; the mean age of marriage in the sample is 25 for men and 20 for women.
- 35 per cent of men and 36 per cent of women have received some higher education.
- 69 per cent of men in the sample are currently employed, compared with only 11 per cent of women.
- 54 per cent of men and 30 per cent of women spend most of their time out of work, or looking for work; 28 per cent of men and 14 per cent of women have given up on looking for work.
- Average household monthly income in the sample was approximately US $710 (reported by men) and US $730 (reported by women), which approaches the poverty line of about US $620. Around half of the respondents qualify as poor according to the national statistics and standards. To enable the study to test associations with family wealth, respondents were classified into three "wealth index" groups of equal size, based on many reported factors of their household wealth.

TABLE 6.1a

Quantitative sample characteristics, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN		WOMEN	
	N	%	N	%
Type of settlement				
Urban	820	68.3	819	68.3
Rural	230	19.2	230	19.2
Camp	150	12.5	150	12.5
Age group				
18-24	385	32.0	374	31.2
25-34	381	31.8	380	31.7
35-49	297	24.8	341	28.4
50-59	137	11.4	104	8.7
Level of education				
No schooling	40	3.3	28	2.3
Primary school	84	7.0	79	6.6
Secondary school	668	55.7	663	55.3
Higher	408	34.5	429	35.8
Employment status				
Employed	827	69.0	131	11.0
Unemployed	373	31.0	1,068	89.0
Employment situation is mostly stable (agree or strongly agree)	**536**	**59.9**	**120**	**70.6**
Marital status				
Single	475	39.6	369	30.7
Married	717	59.8	767	64.0
Divorced, separated, or widowed	8	0.6	63	5.3
Age at first marriage (mean, standard deviation)	**25 (4.3)**		**20 (4.0)**	
TOTAL (N)	**1,200**		**1,199**	

6.1 Introduction

Any analysis of gender justice and masculinity in Palestine must be framed within the central dynamics that shape Palestinian life under Israeli occupation: displacement, dispossession, economic deprivation, and militarism. In Palestine, as in other countries where a sovereign state does not exist or is too weak, other communal structures often become the main sources of social, political, and economic stability and support. And no source of support is as central to Palestinian life as the family. Therefore, as a foundation for the data presented in this chapter, it is essential to understand Palestinian family life and gender relations under Israeli occupation.

First and foremost, as prior studies have shown, Palestinian women's resistance to the many effects of the occupation, and their ability to cope with continuous crises, have been strategies to preserve the coherence and harmony of Palestinian families. The strength of the family – this ongoing sense of coherence and harmony – is closely tied to the ability of Palestinians to preserve the solidarity needed to endure discriminatory occupation measures, including those that cause and compound economic hardship. This family steadfastness has been particularly essential, for instance, when occupation measures have sought to minimize or diminish Palestinians' presence on their lands through "forcible transfer". Such measures make all aspects of everyday life extremely difficult. In the face of these and other more direct and violent policies, the presence of strong communal and familial relations is essential for solidarity and resistance.

But the family, even as a source of social coherence and solidarity, also presents paradoxical relations – a combination of conflicting and cooperating elements, or "cooperative conflict" – which underlie inequitable gender attitudes, roles, and perceptions.[1] The cooperation and solidarity of the family represent necessary tools for survival amidst the ongoing political

1. Sen, Amartya. (1990). "Gender and Cooperative Conflicts." *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, edited by Tinker, Irene. New York: Oxford University Press, pp.123-149.

crisis. But conflict and inequality can exist alongside solidarity and cooperation, even within the same family. The scope and nature of any such conflict within the family is also linked to other factors, including the family's economic situation, level of education, and general openness to more equitable relations. As a result of these paradoxical and overlapping dynamics, it is clear that family solidarity for survival does not necessarily coincide with more equitable gender relations; instead, inequitable gender relations may persist within the same family that is also a vital source of coherence and support.[2]

Within such a paradoxical situation, while many elements of patriarchy persist, certain gender stereotypes and roles are being transformed along with aspects of Palestinian society.[3] Still, even as Palestinian families show an ability to transform and adapt, more radical transformation toward equality is not yet possible. This is due, in part, to the continuous occupation policies, which make all elements of family life very difficult. In this context, maintaining communal institutions such as the family – even with its "cooperative conflict" and gendered, unequal roles for men and women – becomes a vital survival strategy and means of resistance.

Acts of resistance, by their very nature, demand social transformation, however. Acts in the pursuit of freedom and justice demand that men and women question all forms of social, economic, and political discrimination and oppression, including those related to gender. This means that the success and depth of any social transformations, including those related to gender roles and relations, are part and parcel with the collective resistance movement in Palestine. It is only in cases of outright defeat, in which people are utterly unable to act or resist, that all social and cultural transformations cease. This is not yet the case in Palestine, where personal and social transformations are occurring alongside acts of resistance, at many levels.

One such arena of personal and social transformation in Palestine is women's growing political and economic empowerment. This empowerment has occurred within the family – often emerging from the strategies of steadfastness and resistance described above – as well as in various social and political spheres. Palestinian women have undeniably stepped into unprecedented roles within Palestinian families in recent years. For instance, when restrictions on mobility, house demolitions, violence, and arrests affect male family members disproportionately and curtail their ability to protect and provide for their families, many Palestinian women find themselves thrust into new family roles, alongside the struggle for liberation. Outside of individual families, this trend has also given birth to a grassroots movement of women's groups and organizations seeking at once to liberate their society, to increase women's abilities to safeguard their families' economic and physical well-being, and to move the society toward true gender justice. All of these new roles, as this chapter explains, are contributing to women's gradual political and economic empowerment in Palestine.

In the time since the Oslo Accords of 1993, the economic situation across Palestine has continued to deteriorate. The Israeli occupation has intensified its land confiscation, illegal settlement building, and restrictions on mobility. Simultaneously, the adoption of neoliberal

2. Kuttab, Eilleen. (2010). "Coping with Conflict: Palestinian Families and Households, Against All Odds in Feminisms, democratization, and radical democracy." *Case Studies in South and Central America, the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by Di Marco, Graciela and Constanza Tabbush: Universidad Nacional de San Martin.

3. Kuttab, Eileen, *Coping with Conflict,* 2010.

policies by the Palestinian Authority (PA) has created a new reality in which unemployment, poverty, and wide class stratification and polarization have become features of Palestinian society, as well. Under these circumstances, Palestinian women have found themselves confronting additional challenges, having to compensate for the absence of social services not provided by the PA, and make up for their husbands' job loss. When their husbands only earn irregular or low incomes (in an ever-more-globalized economy in which temporary or informal work is becoming the norm), many women find it necessary to supplement the family income. This has left a significant proportion of Palestinian women engaging in various kinds of informal work. However, because these activities are seen as secondary and temporary for women, they are as invisible as women's disproportionate domestic work, and at the same time bear new forms of exploitation. As this chapter will show, these shifts in women's political and economic roles have not yet effected permanent change in the division of labour within the Palestinian family, nor have they completely transformed social attitudes around gender and gender relations in Palestine.

This leaves the pursuit of gender justice objectives in Palestine in a unique place: by many indicators, quality of life seems to be deteriorating for the majority of Palestinians, patriarchal structures and gendered expectations persist, and the occupation goes on seemingly indefinitely. At the same time, partly in spite of and partly because of these factors, many Palestinian women and men find themselves in truly transformed gendered spaces. This study has sought to better document these overlapping dynamics and this moment in the rich story of gender in Palestinian life.

The data certainly show some positive changes in gender relations and gender attitudes in Palestine. Many men in the study report that they want to be more involved in caregiving for their children, that they'd like to see more women in positions of public leadership, and that they think Palestinians ought to do more work to achieve gender equality. Qualitative interviews with men and women conducted for this study also show new and shifting ideas related to women's employment, education, domestic work, and parenthood in Palestine.

In sum, even as IMAGES MENA Palestine demonstrates that patriarchy is still present and dominant in Palestinian society, it also supports the conclusion that patriarchal structures are changing along with Palestinian society. Such changes are more visible in the details of everyday life than in general or normative statements about certain gender attitudes or relations. These insights are further enriched by the paradoxes that appear between the quantitative and qualitative findings, in which theoretically patriarchal stances are sometimes contradicted by more gender equitable practices – or vice versa, where reported practices do not match up with equitable attitudes.

6.2 Attitudes toward Gender Equality in Public and Private Life

6.2.1 – MEN AND WOMEN, ROLES AND RIGHTS

Inequitable gender attitudes remain common in Palestine. Around 80 per cent of men and 60 per cent of women agreed that a woman's most important role is to take care of the home (Table 6.2.1a). Similarly, 77 per cent of men and 68 per cent of women agreed that "changing diapers, giving baths to children, and feeding children should all be the mother's responsibility". Meanwhile, a very low percentage of men (19 per cent) and women (14 per cent) agreed with the statement, "I think it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work".

Findings also indicate a widespread assumption that "men need sex more than women do", with 59 per cent of men and 71 per cent of women agreeing with this statement. Yet, the qualitative research shows more nuanced and diverse attitudes and perceptions of masculinity and femininity.

"There is no such thing as 'man' or 'woman', there is a human being. There are no qualities limited to men and qualities limited to women. Masculinity and femininity are bodily qualities that should not be reflected in roles and behaviours."

Man, 23 years old, student, Nablus

TABLE 6.2.1a

Attitudes toward Gender Equality: GEM Scale Questions

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about gender roles and decision-making, violence, and perceptions of masculinity and femininity, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Attitudes toward gender roles and decision-making		
A woman's most important role is to take care of the home and cook for the family	80	59
A man should have the final word about decisions in the home	80	48
Changing diapers, giving baths to children, and feeding children should all be a mother's responsibility	77	68
Attitudes toward violence		
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	34	26
A woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together	63	50
If another man in my community insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	89	*
Perceptions of masculinity and femininity		
To be a man, you need to be tough	40	20
I think it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work	19	14
It is a man's duty to exercise guardianship over his female relatives	82	64
Boys are responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters	76	26
Unmarried women should have the same right to live on their own as unmarried men	29	39
Women should have the same freedom to access sites on the Internet as men	54	71
Attitudes toward relationships, sexuality, and reproduction		
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	25	31
Men need sex more than women do	59	71
A husband should not have friends of the opposite sex	67	62
A wife should not have friends of the opposite sex	81	67

* This statement was not included in the women's questionnaire

Fewer than half of women felt that a man should have the final word about decisions in his home, compared with 80 per cent of men who claimed this prerogative. Respondents showed even starker divergence on the statement, "Boys are responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if they are younger than their sisters", where men were nearly three times as likely as women to agree.

When taken as a whole using the GEM Scale, Palestinian women tend to hold more equitable attitudes than men do. IMAGES MENA Palestine has selected 10 of the attitude statements that appear in Table 6.2.1a to be included in a regionally adapted GEM Scale, which presents scores on a scale from 0 to 3 (where 0 reflects the most *gender-inequitable* response to all of the attitude statements and 3 reflects the most *gender-equitable* attitudes). As Table 6.2.1b shows, the average GEM Scale score for men in the Palestine country sample was 1.17, while women's average score was 1.52.

TABLE 6.2.1b

GEM Scale

GEM Scale scores for men and women by selected background characteristics, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016*

		MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Overall average score		1.17	1.52
Wealth index	Rich	1.35	1.67
	Middle	1.24	1.48
	Poor	0.93	1.40
Education	Higher	1.30	1.65
	Preparatory/Secondary	1.13	1.46
	Primary	1.04	1.38
	No education	0.84	1.21
Locality type	Rural	1.21	1.58
	Urban	1.17	1.49
	Camps	1.10	1.56
Age	50-59	1.18	1.36
	35-49	1.19	1.46
	25-34	1.15	1.53
	18-24	1.18	1.61
Father's participation in housework	Did not participate	1.11	1.49
	Participated	1.24	1.55

* GEM Scale scores range from 0 to 3.0, with 0 being most inequitable and 3.0 most equitable

Among men, those with higher wealth and greater educational attainment, as well as those whose fathers participated in commonly feminine household work, show higher GEM Scale scores, at a statistically significant level.

Notably, there is no statistically significant difference among age groups, suggesting that changes in men's opinions about gender relations are not undergoing generational changes. Attitudes among the younger generation of men may be affected by the high rates of unemployment these men face, and their lesser likelihood – compared with older generations – of pursuing higher education, among other factors. However, among the women respondents, this generational change is taking place, in which younger respondents hold significantly more equitable GEM Scale scores than do older respondents. Women with greater wealth and education also hold more equitable attitudes. And by comparison with respondents from rural and camp settings, women in urban settings hold slightly less equitable attitudes.

> "Society views the man as tough, whose main role is as provider. Yet from my point of view, men's qualities are loyalty, honesty, and respectfulness. These ethical qualities can also characterize women."
>
> **Woman, 20 years old, student, Jerusalem**

Respondents' household wealth is modest, which plays a role in hindering the process of social transformation and promoting gender-equitable attitudes. The survey data showed low income levels among respondents' households, with household income averages ranging between US $700-730 for a family of five people, approaching the poverty line of about US $620. Around half of the respondents qualify as poor, according to the national statistics and standards, which can link with their conservative attitude to gender, as insecurity of life conditions can bring a more conservative attitude toward different social issues.

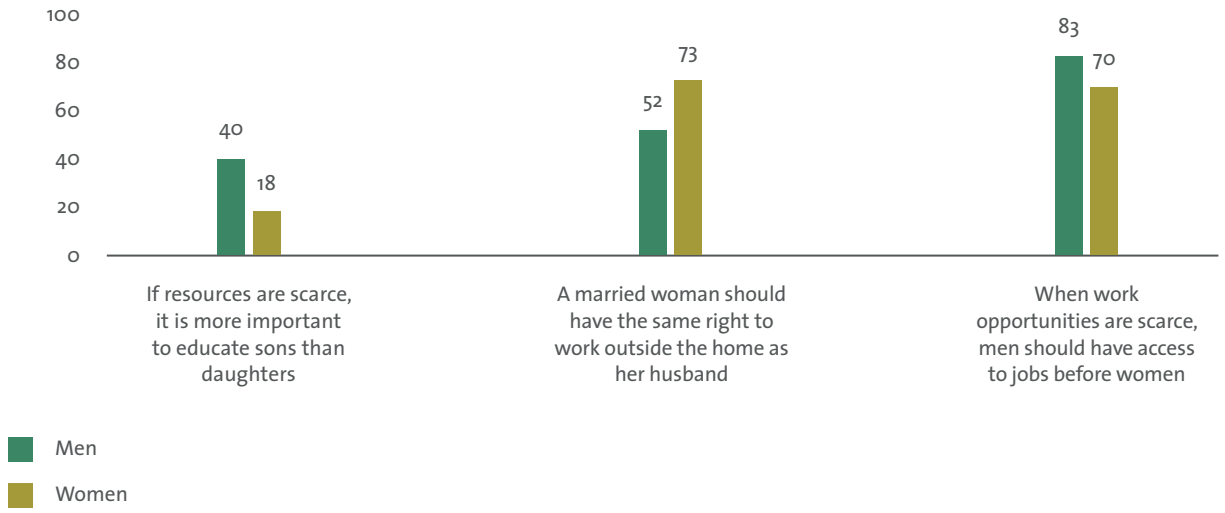
6.2.2 – MEN, WOMEN, AND WORK

Men expect preferential access to educational and economic opportunities in times of scarcity, and many women agree. Around 83 per cent of men and 70 per cent of women agreed that men's access to work should take priority over women's when such opportunities are scarce (Figure 6.2.2a), which is the case in Palestine.

FIGURE 6.2.2a

Attitudes toward Women's Empowerment

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's education and employment, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



Since the statements in Figure 6.2.2a pertain to conditions of scarcity, it is important to understand this finding in its proper context, acknowledging the implications of material factors in shaping gender attitudes. As a result of the prolonged occupation practices, including confiscation of land and restrictions on Palestinians' movement, among many others, income-earning opportunities for Palestinians are severely restricted. When this distorted political economy meets the inequitable view that a man should provide financially for his family, attitudes like those in Figure 6.2.2a are likely to emerge. Such attitudes, however, co-exist with the finding that around three-quarters of female and half of male respondents agreed that a married woman should have the same right to work outside the home as her husband, and men's generally equitable views regarding women's education.

> "There are more positive views towards women's participation in the labour market. This, however, does not necessarily reflect a transformation in the view towards women and in recognising her rights. Rather it reflects transformations in the nature of life and the hard economic conditions which oblige the society to agree to women's work outside the home."
>
> **Man, 45 years old, contractor, Ramallah**

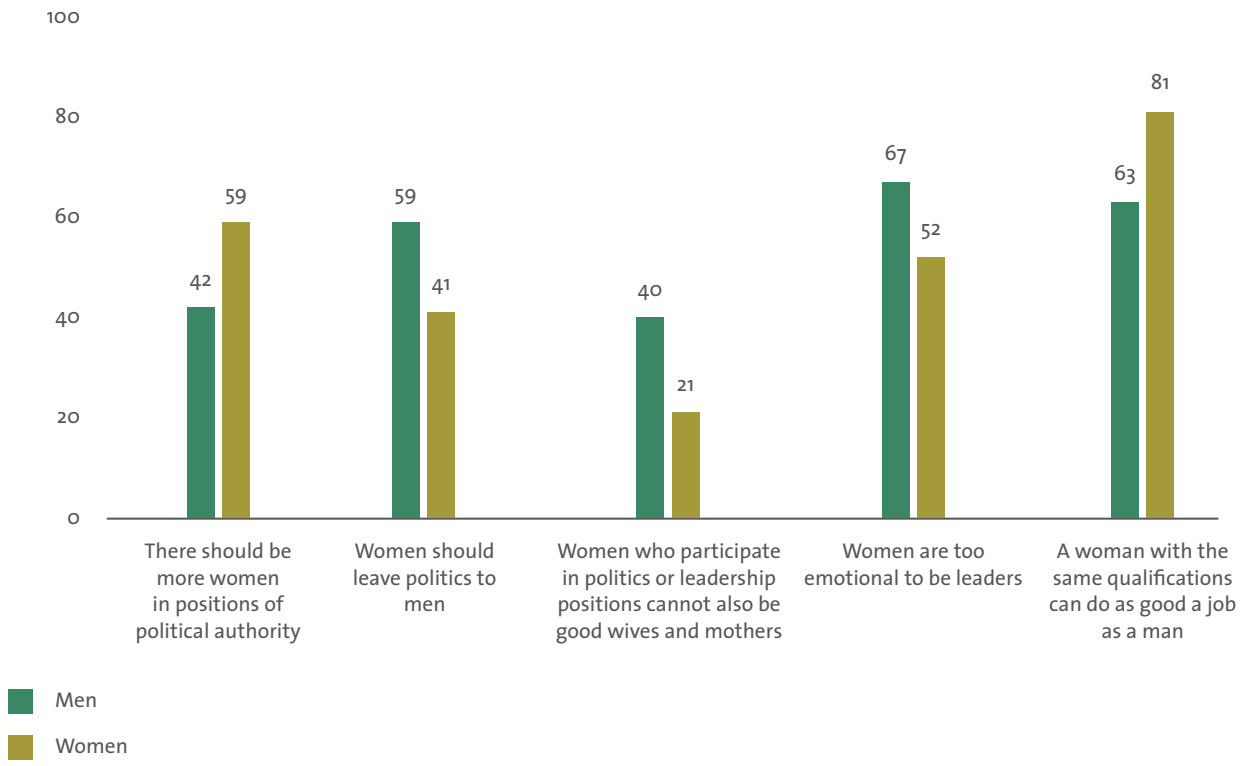
6.2.3 – WOMEN IN PUBLIC LIFE

Men and women in Palestine disagree as to whether women should occupy more public roles. IMAGES MENA Palestine found that more women (59 per cent of the sample) than men (42 per cent) believed that women should have greater representation in political leadership (Figure 6.2.3a). However, more than half of women and two-thirds of men agreed that "women are too emotional to be leaders", suggesting mixed views on women's accession to public power.

FIGURE 6.2.3a

Attitudes toward Women in Leadership

Percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about women's participation in politics and leadership positions, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



Similarly, women were more likely than men to approve of women in specific leadership positions (Table 6.2.3a). Men, and to a greater extent, women were particularly likely to support women as voters, leaders of NGOs, heads of professional syndicates, and members of parliament. The participation of women in the Palestinian liberation struggle has effected many changes in the attitudes (and practices) with regard to women's political participation, especially among men in the national movement.

Women were also much more likely than men to endorse female quotas (Table 6.2.3b). The last two parliamentary and local elections held in Palestine adopted quota systems for women candidates (with 20 per cent of seats reserved for women). While almost 60 per cent of men supported such quotas, nearly 80 per cent of women were in favour.

TABLE 6.2.3a

Women and Public Leadership

Percentage of men and women who approved of women's participation in particular public positions, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Women as heads of political parties	46	59
Women as members of parliaments/assemblies	66	78
Women as government ministers	59	69
Women as heads of state	36	47
Women as voters	79	87
Women as demonstrators in political protests	53	70
Women as police officers	58	69
Women as leaders of NGOs	73	90
Women as leaders of professional syndicates	66	85
Women as leaders of trade unions	57	76
Women as judges	52	66
Women as soldiers or combatants in the military or armed forces	40	54
Women as religious leaders*	57	71

* Not imams or priests

TABLE 6.2.3b

Attitudes toward Quotas and Colleagues

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about quota policies and women at work, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Respondents who support...		
A fixed proportion of places or quotas for women in parliament or cabinet	57	79
A fixed proportion of places or quotas for women to study in universities	70	89
A fixed proportion of places or quotas for women in executive positions	52	76
Equal salaries for men and women in the same position	75	90
Respondents who accept...		
Working with women as lower-level colleagues	77	90
Working with women as colleagues at the same level	79	94
Having a female boss	63	83

Where the wider world of work is concerned, women's support for gender-affirmative policies ranges from a low of 76 per cent, for quotas for women in executive positions, to a high of 90 per cent, for equal pay for equal work. Men's support varies from a low of 52 per cent, for women quotas in executive positions, to a high of 75 per cent supporting equal pay for equal work. This weaker endorsement of quotas for women in executive positions most likely stems from the perception of the private sector as a male preserve.

Men and women alike are largely comfortable interacting with women in the workplace; more than three-quarters of men and four-fifths of women reported they would accept working with women at a lower or comparable job level. At just over 60 per cent, fewer men than women were prepared to work with a female boss.

Qualitative research affirms that men and women appear to hold more positive views of women's rights and equal roles in the public sphere than in private life (see Section 6.4). This raises the question of how women can achieve equality in the public sphere if there is not greater equality in terms of unpaid care work.

"I worked for two years and the work contributed to developing my personality. However, I decided to quit my job in the interest of my two daughters. I realized then that working for long hours with a modest material return had affected my relationship with my little daughters. Moreover, I became unsatisfied with the type of education my daughters are receiving from my mother and mother-in-law."

Woman, 28 years old, unemployed, Ramallah

6.2.4 – GENDER EQUALITY AND THE LAW

Three areas of gendered law represent highly emotive issues in the Palestinian context: divorce, inheritance, and "honour-killing". Divorce, inheritance, and "honour-killing" are clear reflections of masculine power and control over women, and are the subject of numerous attempts by the Palestinian women's movement and human rights groups to change existing legislation.[4] IMAGES MENA Palestine found that men are less likely to support equal inheritance rights (37 per cent of men), compared with 55 per cent of women (see Table 6.2.4a). Qualitative findings suggest that while religion is often used to defend the practice of inequitable inheritance laws, economic interests are often at the core.

4. Family law matters for Muslim residents of the West Bank and Gaza are governed by the Jordanian Law of Personal Status (1976) and the Egyptian Law of Family Rights (1954), and Israeli law.

> "Inheritance is a right that the Islamic religion had guaranteed to women, and women should be encouraged to receive their inheritance. Yet the male family members discourage women from receiving their inheritance out of their material interests."
>
> **Man, 50 years old, shopkeeper, Nablus**

TABLE 6.2.4a

Legal Changes

Percentage of respondents who think that there should be a law on selected aspects of gender equality, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Respondents who agreed that there should be a law...		
Criminalizing domestic violence, including marital rape	64	81
Allowing fathers to write a will that gives equal inheritance to sons and daughters	37	55
Treating honour killings like any other murders	62	76
Allowing women and men the same right to initiate divorce	50	81

Findings show that a majority of Palestinian men and women support making marital rape a crime. Palestine's first national coalition to eliminate violence against women was established in 2003, and since then has mobilized major public awareness campaigns around the issue in Palestinian communities. The fruit of this and comparable efforts is the fact that 64 per cent of men in the survey supported a law to criminalize domestic abuse, including marital rape. Interestingly, although 81 per cent of women supported such a law, the fact that nearly one in five women rejected such legislation suggests that there are women who prefer that such private matters be kept out of the public domain.

Men and women tended to agree that current divorce laws favour women in various ways, with the exception of the right to initiate divorce, which is seen by men and women alike as favouring men. In terms of alimony (which in Islamic law is limited to monthly 'maintenance payments', rather than a share of household assets, or of wealth accrued over the course of the marriage), almost 80 per cent of men and 69 per cent of women stated that the current laws favour women over men. This assumption may be due to the fact that only women have legal rights to receive maintenance on the dissolution of marriage.

Along the same lines, both men and women claimed that visitation and custody rights either favour women (at 41 per cent for both male and female respondents) or equally favour both women and men (at 48 per cent for both male and female respondents). A possible explanation for these findings is a low level of knowledge about family laws

among respondents, or alternately that respondents felt unable to criticize the law. Survey data reveal that a relatively small percentage of men (25.5 per cent) and women (34.2 per cent) reported knowledge of at least one law that protects women and promotes their rights.

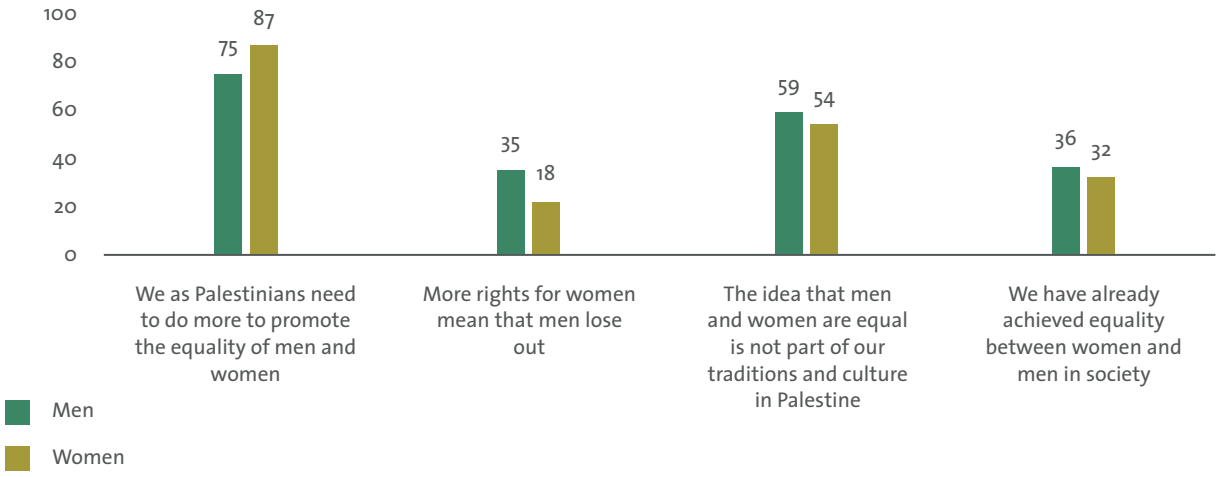
Qualitative research confirmed these findings. Many male and female interviewees pointed to the fact that they do not know much about the current laws. Interviewees who are more knowledgeable about family laws pointed to the practical limitations of more equitable legislation. A male interviewee explained that "women's resort to the courts requires time, effort, and cost, which obliges many poor women to give up". Other interviewees questioned the ability of the law to solve issues related to social and domestic matters.

There is strong agreement among men and women that gender equality has yet to be achieved in Palestine. Three-quarters of men and nearly 87 per cent of women acknowledged that, "We as Palestinians need to do more work to promote the equality of women and men". Men are fearful of gender equality; they are twice as likely as women to agree that "more rights for women mean that men lose out".

FIGURE 6.2.4a

Attitudes toward Gender Equality

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about gender equality, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



Palestinian men and women alike tended to respond more positively toward gender equality in the abstract, but were more conservative when asked about the details. Furthermore, the qualitative findings affirm that women's direct participation in the resistance has positively changed attitudes and practices with regard to women's rights, suggesting links between political activism and practice, and transformations in social value systems and social attitudes. As one woman shared:

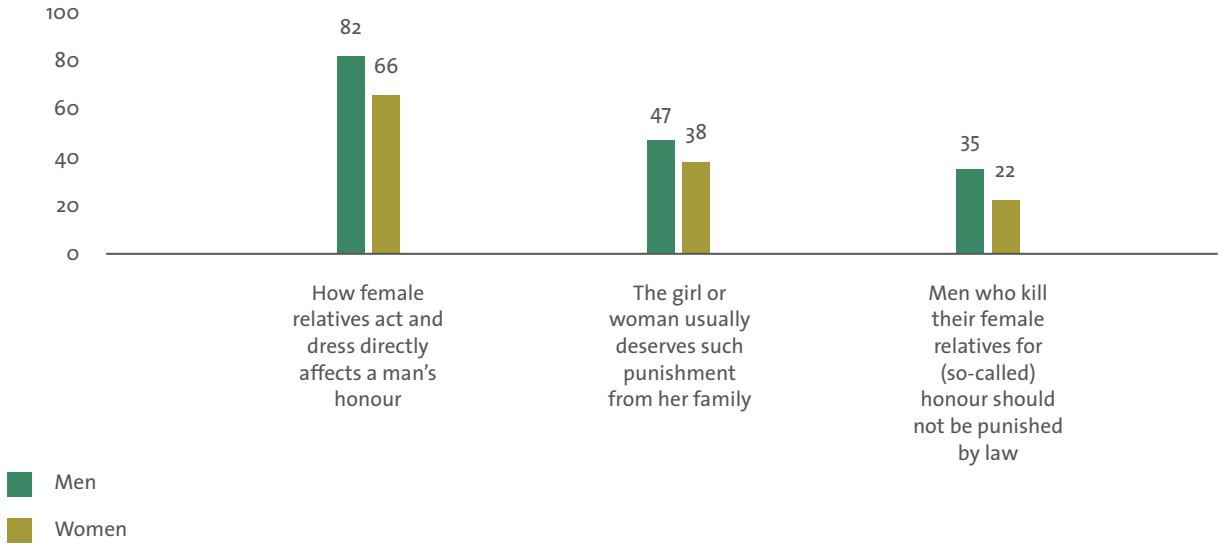
> "Historically, the struggle of Palestinian women has been linked to the Palestinian struggle for liberation, and the participation of women in all forms of struggle endowed them with more opportunities. This participation has empowered Palestinian women and legitimized their demands for social and gender equality."
>
> **Woman, 47 years old, Ministry of Health employee, Ramallah**

Family honour is tied to women's identities in the Palestinian context, although most respondents reject honour killing. Approximately half (53 per cent of men and 54 per cent of women) had heard of an "honour killing" in their community over the previous year. Such high numbers may suggest that respondents were recalling media reports. A majority of both men and women support the general principle that the ways in which women dress and behave directly affect a man's honour (Figure 6.4.6b). Support for the notion of women as bearers of male honour was much higher among men (at 82 per cent compared with 66 per cent of women). However, fewer men (46 per cent) and even fewer women (38 per cent) believed that "the girl or woman usually deserves such punishment (being killed) from her family". Even fewer men (35 per cent) and women (22 per cent) felt that honour killings should *not* be punished by law.

FIGURE 6.2.4b

Attitudes toward Honour Killings

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about honour killings, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



6.3 Childhood and Adolescence

6.3.1 – GENDER ROLES AND RIGHTS IN CHILDHOOD

Boys enjoy greater freedom of movement and more free time than do girls. In recalling their childhood, 92 per cent of the men in IMAGES MENA Palestine said that it was easier for them and their brothers (compared with their sisters or girls in the neighbourhood) to go outside the home when they were children, and 75 per cent said they had more free time than their sisters because they did not have to do household chores. In contrast, 63 per cent of women said they had less ability to go outside the home in childhood (than their brothers did), and only 43 per cent said they had less free time due to having to do chores. Notably, more than half of men respondents – 55 per cent – reported that they had less free time because they had to earn income as children. Approximately 39 per cent of women affirmed the same observation about their brothers. On the whole, men remembered having more privileges than their sisters, while women recalled enjoying more freedom than men acknowledge.

6.3.2 – HOUSEWORK AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING IN CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE

Most respondents' childhood homes exhibited inequitable, gendered divisions of labour and authority. For the vast majority of male and female respondents, their father was the most important male figure when they were growing up. This is a product of the transition to nuclear families in Palestine, which occurred in the 1970s and 1980s, reducing the central role previously played by other (usually older) male relatives. Just over 5 per cent of male respondents reported no significant male figure in their childhood, possibly the result of growing up in a female-headed household. Among women, brothers were mentioned in second place as the most important men of the house when they were growing up. In the kinship system of Palestinian society, brothers are considered to be critical sources of support to sisters throughout their lives; this is reflected in the fact that it was the norm until only recently for women to waive their inheritance rights in favour of their male siblings.

Most respondents reported that their fathers *never* prepared food, cleaned the house, washed clothes, or cleaned the bathroom/toilet (Figure 6.3.2a). Consistent with the findings of other studies in Palestine, the most common task fathers were reported to have undertaken was shopping for household items, followed by taking care of the respondent or her/his siblings.[5] In spite of this ongoing rigidity in household roles, qualitative interviews found exceptions, particularly among younger men in their own married lives (see Section 6.4.3).

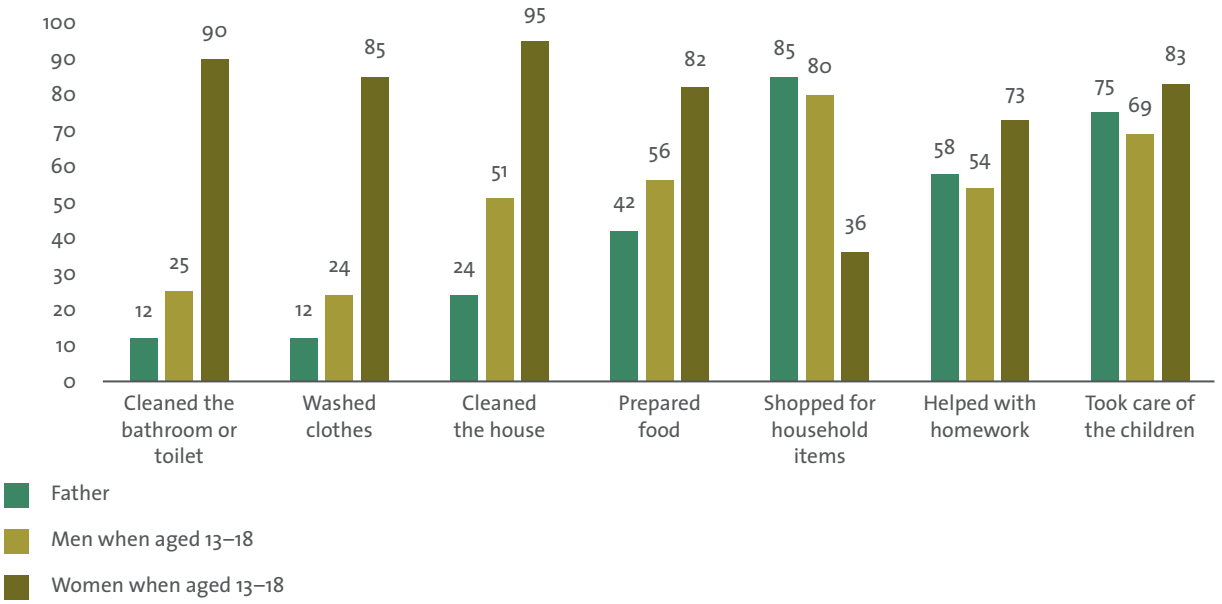
5. These percentages are consistent with findings from the *PCBS Time Use Survey 2012/2013*, which reported that around 90.8 per cent of females aged 10 years and above performed household chores (preparing and serving food, cleaning, vacuuming, shopping and home care for house purposes) compared to 44.6 per cent of males. See Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2014). *Main Findings of Time Use Survey, 2012/2013*. Ramallah: PCBS.

> "I was raised in a traditional rural household with a strict gendered division of labour. Gender equality was not part of my upbringing. Yet, this has been changed in my current family, as myself and my wife have agreed from the beginning to form a more just and equitable family."
>
> **Man, 30 years old, schoolteacher, Ramallah**

FIGURE 6.3.2a

Household Chores in Childhood and Adolescence

Percentage of male respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting that their father or any other man (excluding male domestic workers) ever performed selected domestic tasks, and percentage of male and female respondents aged 18 to 59 reporting participation in selected domestic tasks when they were 13 to 18 years old, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



In reflecting on their childhood homes, men tended to assume that their fathers had greater final say in decisions than women recall. Only in terms of the final say about daughter's marriages did male and female respondents agree that their fathers had the final decision, at 38 per cent for both men and women. For all other items, men tended to believe their fathers had more final say than women reported their fathers having. Recent surveys in Palestine show that, when it comes to the purchase of large household assets, husbands continue to have a much greater decision-making role than wives do in contemporary Palestinian society.[6] However, qualitative interviews suggested nuances in such decision-making, revealing, in practice, processes of negotiation, and a slightly greater balance of power among the men and women of the family.

6. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2012). *Violence Survey in the Palestinian Society, 2011: Main Findings*. Ramallah: PCBS; and Abu Awwad, Nida. (2012). *Informal Economy and Power Relationships Within a Settler Colonial Context: The case of the Palestinian West Bank following the second Intifada*. Dissertation, Exeter University.

"In my own household, as in most traditional households, the father had the final say in most family matters. Yet, my mother's influence on the decisions of my father was critical. I, as well as my other sisters, used to approach our mother with our issues so she would talk to our father and influence his decisions."

Woman, 25 years old, bank employee, Jerusalem

Nearly all women, and few men, report having had to do domestic chores when they were adolescents. With the exception of shopping for household items, women reported overwhelmingly higher levels of participation in various domestic tasks when they were adolescents than did men (Figure 6.3.2a). Men's rates of participation in conventionally feminine household tasks as adolescents (such as washing clothes and cleaning the bathroom or toilet) were far lower than women's.

In the qualitative research, some respondents said that mothers tend to assign girls more household tasks than they do boys, who are usually given more individually oriented jobs, such as making their own beds or washing only the dishes they themselves used. In cases where there were no daughters in the family, however, some interviewees suggested that boys were given tasks that may otherwise have been assigned to girls. On the other hand, the presence of a family member from an older generation – usually a grandmother or grandfather – appears linked to the continuation of a more gender-inequitable distribution of household work.

"In my family, we are seven, and my grandmother lives with us. My grandmother and mother do everything. Why? Because this is the way they are, because this is how they taught us – not that my brothers work in the house, too, they only tidy their rooms, but for the whole house, like washing the dishes, they do not do anything."

Woman, university student, Ramallah

6.3.3 – ADVERSE CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

Childhood violence is common in Palestine, especially for boys. A quarter of male respondents and 22 per cent of female respondents witnessed their mother being beaten by their father or a male relative during their childhood; other forms of violence against mothers were not assessed. More men than women had experienced physical violence themselves from someone in the household during their childhood (Table 6.3.3a). Furthermore, men experienced harsher forms, with 37 per cent beaten with a belt or a stick (compared with 19 per cent of women), and 18 per cent of men beaten so hard that it left a mark or a bruise (compared with 11 per cent of women).

Consistent with recent studies,[7] men reported facing more violence in school than women had, with 57 per cent of men saying they were physically punished by a teacher (compared with 30 per cent of women). Men also said they faced greater public humiliation as children, with 37 per cent reporting that they were insulted or humiliated by family members in front of others (compared with 25 per cent of women). Moreover, 24 per cent of female respondents and 28 per cent of male respondents claimed they experienced hunger in childhood.

> "During my adolescence, at the age of 14, I witnessed the violence of my father towards my mother. It was a stressful period and it affected my siblings and me. I felt fear and oppression mainly because I was helpless. I felt very weak and could not intervene. This experience affected me immensely and I still have flashbacks from that period. My view of my father has been negatively affected till now."
>
> **Woman, 28 years old, unemployed, Ramallah**

TABLE 6.3.3a

Adverse Childhood Experiences

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who experienced selected adverse events at home and at school before the age of 18, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
At home		
There were times when I did not have enough to eat	28	24
I saw or heard my mother being beaten by my father or another male relative	25	22
I was insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people	37	25
I was spanked or slapped by my parents in the home	60	45
I was beaten at home with a belt, stick, whip or other hard object	37	19
I was beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise	18	11
At school		
I was beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher	57	30

7. PCBS, *Violence Survey in the Palestinian Society, 2011*, 2012.

6.4 Gender and Relationship Dynamics in Adult Life

6.4.1 – HEALTH AND WEALTH

Many respondents are fearful, stressed, and show signs of depression. Nearly all Palestinian study participants reported fears related to their own and their families' safety (see Table 6.4.1a). Fully 70 per cent of women and 78 per cent of men also reported worry about not being able to provide their families with daily necessities.

TABLE 6.4.1a

Individual and Family Security

Percentage of respondents with selected concerns about personal and family security, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
I fear for my safety	94	95
My family fears for my safety	98	97
I feel capable of protecting my family	96	86
I worry about not being able to provide my family with daily life necessities	78	70
I worry about my family's safety	97	98
I worry about my future and my family's future	96	96

On a related note, when asked about various other life stresses and feelings of depression, Palestinian respondents continued to share a difficult picture. Evoking the inequitable expectation that men be financial breadwinners, the study found that more than half of Palestinian men – 54 per cent – agreed or strongly agreed that "I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work or income".

In qualitative interviews, working women talked about their double burden of professional and domestic responsibilities and their feelings of guilt at not being able to perform well in their main, socially-prioritized role as mothers. Similarly, the higher rate of reported depressive symptoms among unemployed men is linked with their inability to realize their socially assigned role as providers and breadwinners, in a context characterized by continuing high rates of unemployment, low income, and economic deprivation. These realities are a result of the prolonged occupation's structural domination of Palestinian lives and the Palestinian economy, as well as the Palestinian Authority's neo-liberal policies that impoverish the majority of Palestinians. The depressive symptoms, in this case, can be understood as an expression of the failure of society to provide the conditions under which men can fulfil their socially-assigned role as breadwinners.

> "The social responsibility to provide for the family is a source of pressure and affects the masculine image of a man."
>
> **Man, 22 years old, engineering student, Nablus**

Respondents are generally satisfied with their health, but many respondents share wishes for changes to their bodies. A vast majority of respondents rated the state of their own health highly, as compared with that of their peers (Table 6.4.1b).

TABLE 6.4.1b

Perceptions of Personal Health

Percentage distribution of respondents, according to self-declared health status, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
In comparison to peers, respondent's health is...		
Good or very good	89	85
Moderate	7	10
Bad or very bad	4	5
The respondent is happy with (his/her) body	85	75
The respondent would like to lose weight	32	52
The respondent would like to have a more muscular body	56	*

* Not asked in the women's questionnaire

Most respondents said that they are happy with their bodies, though more than half of women – 52 per cent – said that they would like to lose weight, while a similar proportion of men – 56 per cent – said that they would like to have a more muscular body. Men's desire for muscle bulk and women's desire for a thinner figure reflect stereotypical notions of idealized male and female physiques, as well as the penetration of a capitalist consumerist value system that attempts to redirect and reformulate people's desires and needs in the same stereotypical direction.

More than half of men in the sample – 55 per cent – reported that they are smokers, compared with fewer than 8 per cent of women. Of male smokers only, 64 per cent felt they smoke too much, and 22 per cent reported having ever had a health problem related to their smoking.

6.4.2 – MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Palestine has high overall marriage rates, even as the average age of marriage is increasing. According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), the marriage rate in Palestine is among the highest in the Arab states. Some 70 per cent of women and 60 per cent of men in the IMAGES MENA Palestine sample have ever been married. The median age at first marriage of men and women in Palestinian society is increasing; it reached around 25 years old for men and 20 for women in 2015, a two-year rise over the previous two decades. Early marriage (first marriage before age 15) among women aged 15 to 49 is relatively high, at 1.8 per cent in the West Bank and 2.6 per cent in the Gaza Strip; early marriage rates are higher in lower- income areas of Palestine.[8] Reducing the rates of early marriage necessitates addressing issues of poverty, not only concentrating on changing attitudes.

> "The main obstacle I faced in my life was my early marriage at the age of 14. I was raised in a family with lots of girls and our economic situation was very bad. Moreover, my mother's disease, God have mercy on her and forgive her, worsened the situation. When she knew she was sick, she started to marry us, one after the other, so no one tyrannizes us after her death."
>
> **Woman, 43 years old, official at Ministry of Social Affairs, Nablus**

Women tended to hold more flexible views on various marriage-related issues. More than half of respondents, men and women, agreed that "it is more important for a woman to marry than for her to have a career", with men far more likely to agree with this statement than women were (Table 6.4.2a). Few respondents were in favour of informal marriages, and respondents generally disagreed with restrictive statements such as "a man should not marry a woman who has been previously engaged", and "a man should not marry a woman who is more educated than he is".

8. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2015). *Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey, 2014*. Ramallah: PCBS, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and Palestinian National Authority (PNA).

TABLE 6.4.2a

Attitudes toward Marriage

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about marriage, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
If a wife works, she should contribute to household expenses	81	92
A man should not marry a woman who has been previously engaged	28	17
If a man does not marry, he is not a man	17	11
It is more important for a woman to marry than for her to have a career	75	51
Informal marriages (*'urfi, misyar, mut'a*) are a solution to the high cost of official marriage	7	4
A man should not marry a woman who is more educated than he is	23	19
Ultimately it should be the couple's decision, not the family's decision, to marry each other	88	82

Qualitative research affirmed respondents' relatively flexible views of marriage-related issues, particularly the readiness of men to marry women who are more educated than they are.

"I finished high school but was not able to continue higher education as a result of the economic situation. I still feel regret for that. My wife, though, has attained higher education and fulfilled my dream. When we got married she had her bachelor's degree, and a year and half later she was employed as a teacher. My wife enjoys studying and I was so glad when she stated her intention to get a master's degree. I supported her, as I respect her achievements. I hope she continues for a PhD degree."

Man, 42 years old, shop employee, Nablus

There were significant differences between men and women with regard to who makes decisions around the arranging and planning of their own marriages. Some 44 per cent of men said that they had the most say when it came to their own marriage arrangements, compared with only 5 per cent of women (Table 6.4.2b). These and other results show how much greater is the agency held by men (and men's families) in making marriage arrangements compared with that of women (and women's families).

TABLE 6.4.2b

Male and Female Decision-Making around Arranging and Planning a Marriage

Percentage of respondents reporting selected answers to the question "Who had the greatest say with regard to arranging and planning your most recent marriage?", IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Mostly the husband	44	5
Mostly the wife	1	16
Husband and wife together	25	39
One or more people in wife's family	1	21
One or more people in husband's family	28	19
Someone else	1	1
Total number of ever-married respondents	**725**	**830**

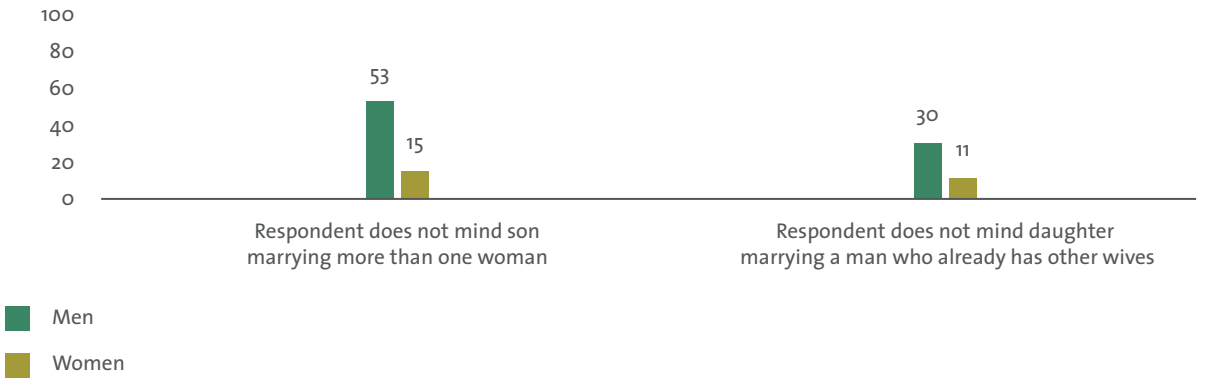
Three-fifths of ever-married men reported that the cost of their own marriage was a burden on their families. At the same time, fewer than a quarter of these men would have liked to see those costs shared with the bride's family.

Approximately 1 per cent of men and women reported currently being in polygamous unions, consistent with national surveys. According to PCBS, polygamy used to be more common in Palestine, but is declining.[9] In the IMAGES MENA Palestine sample, 1 per cent of men said they have more than one wife, while fewer than 1 per cent of women said that their husbands have more than one wife. Among survey respondents, men were far more open to polygamous practices than women were, even as the practice is declining (Figure 6.4.2a).

FIGURE 6.4.2a

Attitudes toward Polygamy

Percentage of Muslim respondents who agreed with selected statements about polygamous unions for their son or daughter, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



9. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2003). *Marriage and Divorce in the Palestinian Territory (1996-2001), Comparative Study*. Ramallah: PCBS.

Men and women widely agree on questions related to divorce – except when it comes to the basic right to initiate proceedings. In Palestinian society, divorce is not common. According to 2013 research by PCBS, only 0.3 per cent of men and 1.6 per cent of women had ever been divorced.[10] In the IMAGES MENA Palestine sample, 3 per cent of men and 1 per cent of women reported ever having divorced. Low rates of divorce in Palestinian society may be linked to the nature of the struggle for survival experienced by Palestinians in the context of occupation. Facing these immense structural forces, family solidarity becomes especially important. The high cost of marriage arrangements may also be a deterrent.

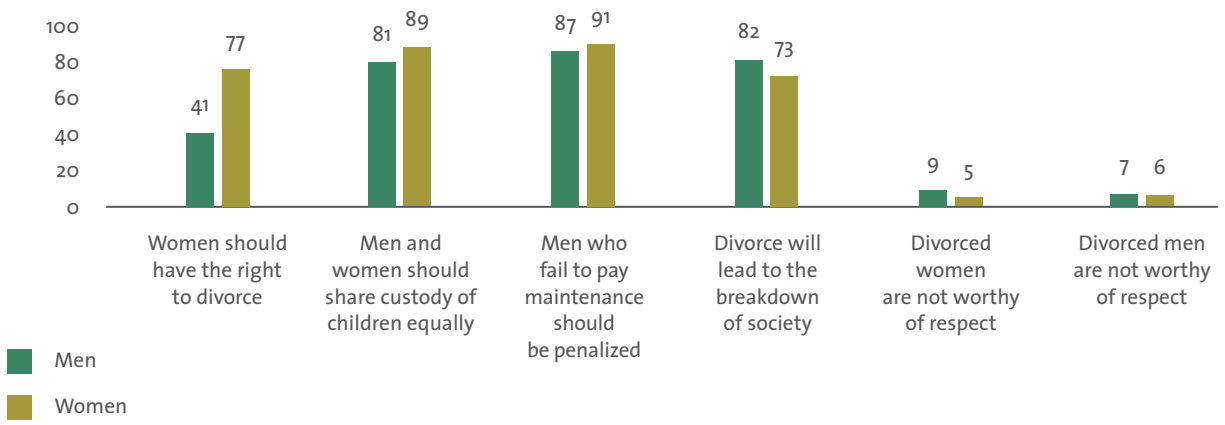
Women considering divorce must weigh not only economic security considerations but also stigma and the loss of status they might experience. Indeed, the majority of Palestinian men did not agree that a woman should have the right to divorce, as shown in Figure 6.4.2b. By contrast, 77 per cent of women in the survey agreed that women should have the right to divorce. Notably, a large majority of both men and women agreed that "divorce will lead to the breakdown of society". At the same time, respondents overwhelmingly said that divorced women or men should be treated with respect.

> "We now have the law of *khul'*. I am very happy that we have such a law because when a woman wants to be divorced from her husband, now she can divorce him even if she has to give up her dowry, because she does not want to live with him, she is not comfortable with the man she is living with. That the woman can divorce her husband... at least I have a say that I do not want this person."
>
> **Woman, 28 years old, unemployed, Ramallah**

FIGURE 6.4.2b

Attitudes toward Divorce

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about divorce, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



10. Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS). (2014). *Women and Men in Palestine. Issues and Statistics*. Ramallah: PCBS.

Women's Position in Marriage and Divorce: An Illustrative Story

Qualitative research found that among older generations, there are still women who had been married off by their families, and who accepted this because they wanted to please their parents, mainly their fathers. In one such case, a woman (who is now divorced with three daughters) said that since she and her ex-husband (picked by her father) wanted different things – he wanted to live abroad while she wanted to live in the West Bank – she took the decision to leave the relationship. However, the price of her autonomy was an informal separation. What is interesting here, as in many other cases of separation, is that the woman preferred not to tell anyone about it, including her own family, especially her father. Her main fear was that she would be obliged to live in her parents' or brother's house and lose the independence she had acquired after separating from her husband. This decision, however, meant that she had to manage financially on her own, and with a lower living standard than what she had been used to. She opted for the latter because she did not wish to lose her own and her daughters' freedom.

In a focus group discussion, university students described the economic pressures that men, in particular, experience related to marriage. As one young man, perhaps facing these pressures himself, said:

> "The man has to bring a house and a dowry and a car, and has to have a job, he needs to have established himself to be able to marry. This would mean he would be 70 when he has achieved all this. How do you, as a woman's father, expect a young man, who has just graduated, to be established at this stage? How do you expect that he could provide all this, unless someone helps him, that his father has money, or that he had already worked, or he studied something that allows him a job with a good salary, or he stole. Maybe there are other ways, but how do you expect a man to do all this at a certain age ... this is the pressure on the man."
>
> **Man, 20 years old, university student, Ramallah**

6.4.3 – HOUSEWORK AND HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING

In recent years, women's participation in higher education has been increasing in Palestine, as has women's participation in the paid labour market. However, this transformation has not been accompanied by fundamental changes in household dynamics and the division of domestic and care work. As IMAGES MENA Palestine data in this and later sections will show, the division of labour within today's Palestinian household still falls sharply along gendered lines: men make the money, and women clean up the mess. Women reported high levels of involvement in nearly all types of domestic work, particularly those related to

cleaning the clothes/home and preparing food (Table 6.4.3a). By contrast, more than half the men reported having carried out only four elements of household work in the preceding month: repairing the house, buying food, controlling the weekly budget, and paying bills.

Among the small number of men (approximately 6 per cent of ever-married men) whose spouses are employed full time, a greater proportion (58 per cent) reported participation in domestic work. At the same time, however, 100 per cent of Palestinian women who work full time reported undertaking domestic work, as well.

TABLE 6.4.3a

Division of Household Labour

Percentage of ever-married respondents according to participation in household labour in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Household labour		
Washing clothes	17	96
Repairing the house	70	57
Buying food	82	67
Preparing food	27	96
Cleaning the kitchen or sitting rooms	17	95
Cleaning the bathroom or toilet	39	96
Controlling the weekly budget	89	78
Paying bills	89	36
Per cent participation in commonly female domestic tasks*	47	97
Total number ever-married respondents	**725**	**830**

* "Commonly female domestic tasks" include washing clothes, preparing food, cleaning the kitchen or sitting rooms, and cleaning the bathroom or toilet

These findings are consistent with prior research in Palestine, and reflect the particular economic realities in this setting. However, IMAGES MENA Palestine data reveal a positive trend in the Palestinian context; in particular, couples reported relatively high rates of sharing some household tasks, compared with the results of a survey conducted by the Institute of Women's Studies at Birzeit University in 2009, which showed much lower rates of shared household work.[11] IMAGES MENA Palestine data may indicate that some changes are happening: 47 per cent of men reported carrying out commonly female domestic work in the previous month. Still, low rates of women's participation in the labour market and a high fertility rate in Palestine suggest that these advances have been slow in coming.

11. Hammami, Rema. (2002). "Division of Labor Inside the Household." *Inside Palestinian Households: Initial Analysis of a Community-based Household Survey*, edited by Giacaman, Rita, and Penny Johnson, Birzeit: Birzeit University, vol. 1.

Across the board, men with higher education levels were more likely to report recent involvement in conventionally female domestic tasks, which implies a link between men's educational achievement and more equitable practices at home. Men in the oldest age category were least likely to report participation in this domestic work, which similarly suggests that generational changes may be underway.

Men's Political Imprisonment Driving More Gender-Equitable Caregiving

Several former political prisoners (who had been imprisoned by occupation forces) pointed to the extraordinary ability of women to carry a double or triple responsibility when they and other men were imprisoned. Imprisonment, according to one political prisoner, threw the entire burden of household life, including income generation, onto his wife. The husband in this case may have come to reject the inequitable division of household labour and to believe in cooperation. Some former political prisoners were less worried or had less to say about who carried out which tasks, and were more concerned that all of the work had fallen to their wives while they were in prison. The ability of women to carry this larger burden gave many men greater respect and appreciation for women, and may have been the driver for some men to begin undertaking conventionally female household tasks after they were released, such as feeding and bathing children and changing diapers.

"Each time, I could see that the woman is a cornerstone in your life as a Palestinian, she maintains your presence by maintaining your identity, your secrets, your self, also maintaining your family tradition .... Her role was more important than that of the father, the mother. ... She achieved much more than I expected and more than is usually expected from the man, I am talking physiologically during pregnancy, and morally during labour, I also talk about other responsibilities that have to do with managing the house, working and taking care of the imprisoned husband. The woman is an embodiment of an enormous power to achieve all these tasks that fell on her shoulders."

Man, former prisoner, village near Ramallah

One woman whose husband had been a political prisoner, and who is also a working mother and an activist, affirmed that bearing the extra burden when her husband was in prison served to affirm her own strength. She said she was in no way calling for women to carry the full burden of a family, but that she found positive affirmation of her own abilities in this experience. Nevertheless, this positive example does not negate the multitude of challenges that the wives of imprisoned men face, particularly from their own and their husbands' families, who usually want to take responsibility for the prisoners' wives and children.

And what happens when a former political prisoner returns home? Some women said that men are quite appreciative of their wives when they return from imprisonment. Others reported tensions when the men want to "assume control" again, and the resistance on the part of the woman against giving up certain responsibilities she had assumed during his absence. One interviewee said that such tensions could be resolved by men showing greater appreciation for their wives' ability to take on such responsibility and validating the confidence their wives have acquired, and stressed the necessity of sharing tasks.

Men and women agree that women do the majority of household work. Nearly 89 per cent of ever-married men and 96 per cent of ever-married women said that, within their homes, the wife does most of the household work. Not surprisingly, men are much more likely to be "very satisfied" with this arrangement than are women. Some 81 per cent of ever-married men shared this response, compared with only 64 per cent of ever-married women.

The qualitative research begs to differ, however; here it emerged that young men and women – mainly young women – were not satisfied with the household division of labour. Despite this dissatisfaction, young women often said they continue to abide by the current division of labour because of pressure from their mothers and grandparents; still, they said that they aspire to a more equal division of labour in their relationships. Male and female university students stressed that cooperation and mutual help are necessary in performing household tasks. Male and female students alike seemed to agree that mothers are to blame for the existing division of labour, not only because they usually give household tasks to daughters and not to sons, but also because they are sometimes willing to perform all household tasks without distributing responsibilities to either sons or daughters.

> "Why? Because my grandmother and mother would not be convinced, I cannot change the way they think, 'no, let him wash the dishes', because they are used to this, I should wash the dishes but [men] should not .... But me, in my house, when I get married, it would be good to get my husband used to the fact that there is not a division of labour between us, with me working in the house and he outside – I will be working, of course, there will not be a division between us, we will cooperate – but in my family house I cannot do this."
>
> **Woman, university student, Ramallah**

Even when women participate in wage labour, and even when they are allowed to have a car and leave the house, this does not necessarily reflect a change in attitudes toward women. Some interviewees said that such outliers had more to do with circumstances – with economic need – than with equality. One woman said that she did not want to work outside the home because she wanted full control over how her daughters were raised. Moreover, while the percentage of working women in Palestine has grown, there seems to be a social conviction that their main role is as mothers, and that motherhood, as their responsibility, should not be sacrificed or compromised for paid work. By the same token, many men still saw the financial support of the family as their main responsibility, even if their wives work for income.

What is changing, though, is that men may *help* with certain tasks in the household, mainly with the education of their children or with cooking, or allow their wives to work if they want to, or not interfere in how their wives run the household, which women who want independence in their households saw as positive.

Moreover, the findings of IMAGES MENA Palestine confirm, "like father, like son": Men whose fathers participated in commonly feminine household work, as well as men who were taught to do this work as children, are far more likely to contribute in these ways within their own marriages.

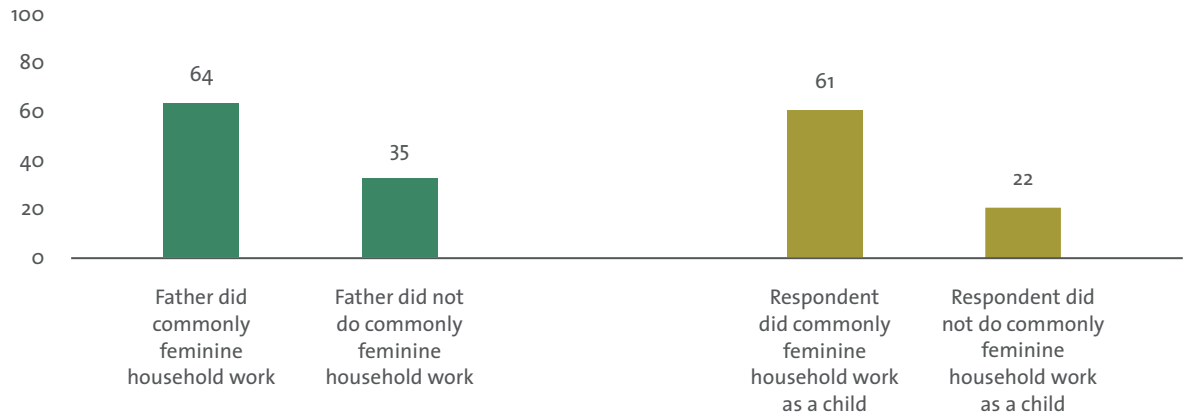
Figure 6.4.3a demonstrates the power of these precedents; the data for each are statistically significant. Upwards of three-fifths of men who either saw their father participate in this work or were taught to do this work as children reported doing this work in their adult households.

Men and women hold different views about decision-making power within their households, though both point to major restrictions on women's agency and mobility. These findings, presented in Figures 6.4.3b and 6.4.3c, suggest that household decision-making power remains contested among Palestinian couples, even with significant evidence of patriarchal power structures in place. On every decision, apart from contraception, the majority of men felt that they themselves hold sole decision-making power. Hardly any men reported that their wives have sole decision-making power over anything included in the survey, with only 3 per cent of men reporting that their wives have independent decision-making power over whether she can leave the house.

Figure 6.4.3a

Domestic Work across Generations

Percentage of ever-married male respondents who reported participating in commonly feminine household work in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



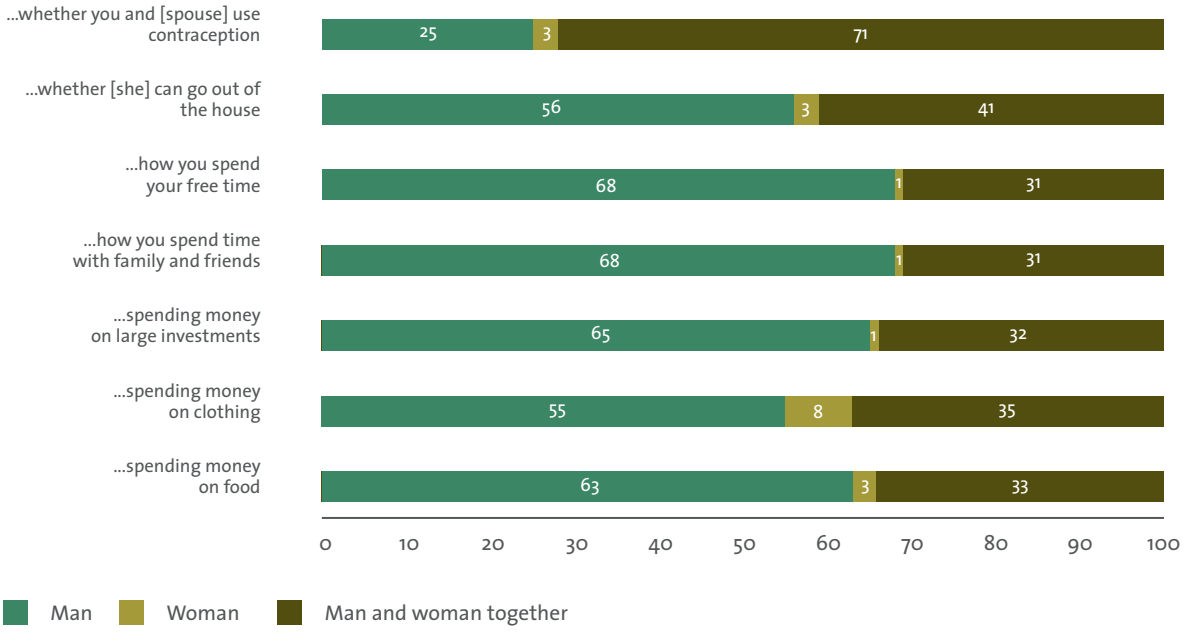
At the same time, women were more likely to report that they share final decision-making authority with their husbands. Still, it is nevertheless a small proportion of women – 29 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively – who felt that they have sole decision-making authority over such basic issues as their mobility and whether they can spend time with friends or family. These restrictions on women's agency, particularly with regard to their mobility, reflect a fundamental power imbalance in the home. Furthermore, 1 in 10 women reported that she has sole decision-making authority over whether she can work or get a job outside the home.

Men said that many decisions are solely theirs, and that women's role in decision making is almost nonexistent, even as women gave a seemingly opposite picture, reporting that they have more of a role in making shared decisions. The apparent contradiction may be explained by the difference between the real process of making a decision, which usually entails some form of negotiation, and notions of a sole figure of authority.

FIGURE 6.4.3b

Men's Responses: Who has the final say on...*

Percentage of male respondents by whom they report has the final word on selected household decisions and spousal behaviours, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

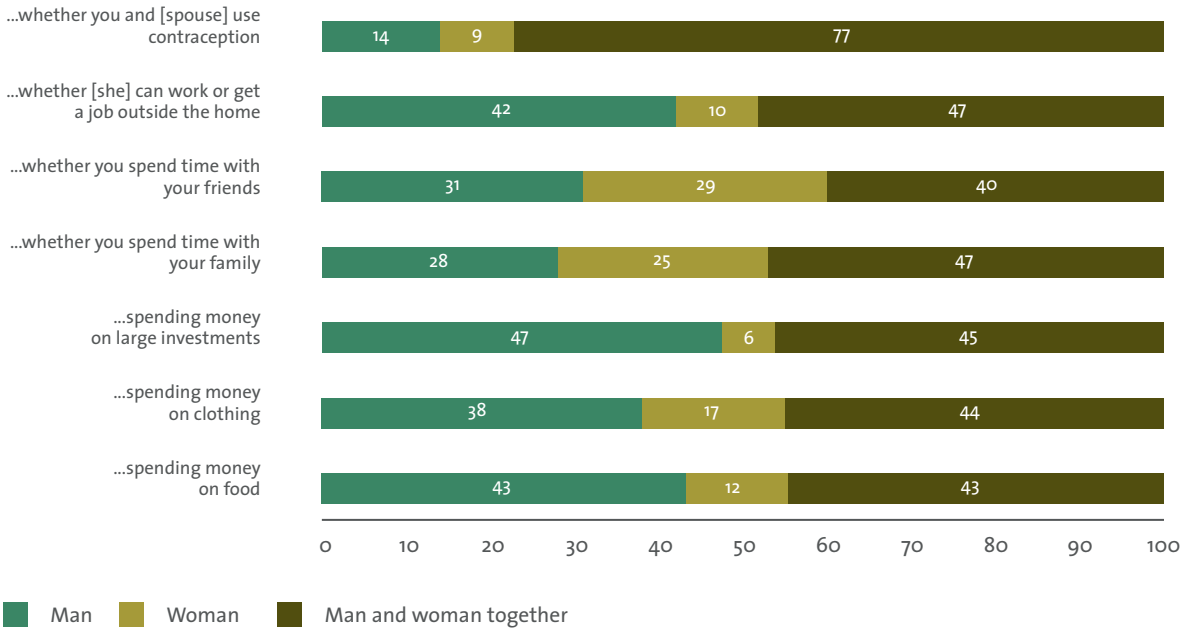


* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

FIGURE 6.4.3c

Women's Responses: Who has the final say on...*

Percentage of female respondents by whom they report has the final word on selected household decisions and spousal behaviours, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



* Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding

Some data in Figures 6.4.3b and 6.4.3c indicate a positive change toward more shared decision-making between men and women. Some 30 to 40 per cent of men said that husband and wife together have the final say in family decisions. For the question of contraception, the percentage becomes 70 per cent. From the women's perspective, 40 to 47 per cent said that decisions were shared, and 77 per cent said that the decision about contraception was shared.

Focus on Household Decision-Making

Household decision-making continues to be one of the most challenging aspects of men's control and power over women and girls in Palestine, and was cited as the source of considerable couple conflict. Women's lives are severely constrained, including the decision as to whom they marry – something that women said their fathers mostly controlled, with input from mothers. Women perceived themselves as mostly having decision-making authority when it came to running the household. Women's emphasis on their autonomy around housework can be understood as their way of re-appropriating housework as their work, rather than work they perform as unpaid employees in their households or families. In general, when it comes to decision-making, women said they had a role through dialogue and negotiation with their husbands, discussing their different views. However, the women said that even this depends on the degree of "understanding" on the part of the husband.

The perception of women as partners in decision-making, one interviewee said, represents a real change in gender relations and attitudes toward women. When women are seen as partners in making important decisions related to the family, then they are not seen as mere obedient wives who are there to fulfil men's desires.

For women from younger generations, decisions related to how they raise their children are an area of frequent conflict with husbands. Other decisions women cited as sources of conflict between the spouses include those that relate to household work and those that relate to their own personal dress. Women's work and education were not mentioned as areas of conflict.

Marriage of offspring seemed to remain (as mentioned above) something that is decided by fathers, with varying degrees of influence – both direct and indirect – by the mothers. In fact, one way in which manhood was defined was by connecting it to the power of decision-making; one female interviewee referred to this paternal role as "the monarch who should know and control all". Whatever role mothers have in decision-making, according to interviewees, remains marginal and informal compared with that of fathers.

Among the younger generations, and in relation to their husbands, women said that they have important roles in decision-making, referring mainly to decisions having to do with the household. As noted earlier, the one time when women were seen as having greater decision-making power beyond the household is when a husband is imprisoned. In many of these cases, women proved that they could make all of the necessary decisions concerning the family, and came to be seen as more reliable in making these decisions than other partners. In these cases, it was changes in material situations and practices – like those experienced by prisoners' families – that allowed for changes in the position of women in household decision-making.

"I feel equality in my family, and sometimes I feel I am more advantaged. I am the one who makes the decisions or influences the decisions in the household."

Woman, 25 years old, bank employee, Ramallah

In addition to restrictions on women's mobility, all respondents acknowledge an array of controlling behaviours by men over their wives. Almost 90 per cent of men and women agreed or strongly agreed, in reference to their own marriage, that the husband needs to know where his wife is at all times (Table 6.4.3b). Beyond this indicator of controlling behaviour, men and women show much less symmetry in attitudes, suggesting that, while men may want to know where their wives are all the time, that does not necessarily mean that they do know, or that their wives always tell them.

With the exception of the emotionally controlling item, "husband lets his wife know that she is not the only partner he could have", ever-married men were unabashed in reporting their controlling behaviours, with at least 85 per cent of men agreeing with all remaining statements. Women's reports of experiencing these controlling practices were somewhat lower, which may indicate a gap between some respondents' expressed attitudes and their real life practices.

Despite these trends and discrepancies, a vast majority of ever-married respondents reported satisfaction with their marriage. Over 90 per cent of both men and women characterized their relationship with their spouses as "good" or "very good", and nearly three-quarters also reported talking to their spouses about personal problems within the preceding week.

TABLE 6.4.3b

Spousal Control

Percentage of ever-married respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about the relationship with his/her spouse, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Husband wants to know where his wife is at all times	88	85
Husband does not allow his wife to wear certain clothes	91	77
Husband controls when his wife can leave the house	85	63
Husband lets his wife know that she is not the only partner he could have	45	29
Husband expects his wife to agree to have sex when he wants to	87	80
Total number of ever-married respondents	**725**	**830**

6.4.4 – FATHERHOOD

Men participate to a certain extent in childcare, and would like to do more. Rapid social, political, and economic changes in Palestine have exerted tremendous pressures on the family that may weaken the fathers' and other family members' abilities to care for their children. Occupation places further pressure on fathers; they may be imprisoned or worried about their inability to provide for and protect their children. Palestinian women's growing

participation in the paid labour market has not yet been accompanied by changes in gendered notions of men as co-caregivers. Among younger parents, however, research suggests that more fathers embrace the idea of active parenting and are willing to engage in the care of their children.[12] In spite of these changes, there has been almost no discussion among policymakers about the need to support men's equitable caregiving in Palestine.

Fatherly behaviour starts early in Palestine; three-quarters of men who have a biological child reported that they accompanied their wives to antenatal health care visits (Table 6.4.4a). However, only about 30 per cent of the fathers reported accompanying their wives to each such visit. When fathers did attend antenatal care visits, most were significantly involved. Slightly more than half of men and women reported that the husband (father) joined his wife for the actual visit with the healthcare provider, while smaller proportions of fathers (according to men's and women's reports) only dropped off the wife or sat in the waiting room. Several factors influenced husband involvement in antenatal visits, including men's and women's socio-demographic background. Survey data confirm that age, education, wealth, and employment status affect whether the husband accompanied his wife to an antenatal care visit. Younger men, those with more education, those with greater wealth, and those who were employed were more likely to have accompanied their wives to an antenatal visit.

TABLE 6.4.4a

Antenatal Care and Childbirth

Percentage of respondents who reported men's attendance at antenatal visits and childbirth during the last pregnancy, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Frequency of husband's attendance at antenatal healthcare visit		
Every visit	30	29
Some visits	66	67
One visit	5	4
Where was the husband during the visit?		
Dropped wife off at entrance or waited outside	11	8
In waiting room	33	35
Joined her for some or all of visit with the healthcare provider	56	58
Where was the husband for the birth of the most recent child?		
In room of birth	4	6
Same building but different room	77	77
Not at building/place where birth took place	16	15
Total number of respondents with one or more biological children	**644**	**724**

12. Abu Awwad, Nida, *Informal Economy and Power Relationships Within a Settler Colonial Context*, 2012.

As Table 6.4.4a shows, around three-quarters of husbands were present for the birth of their most recent or youngest child – at the hospital, but only rarely in the delivery room. Palestinian delivery rooms are usually occupied by more than one woman, and as such it is not culturally acceptable – nor, often, is it possible in terms of physical space – for men to be present during childbirth. In qualitative interviews, however, both men and women emphasized the importance of men's presence in the delivery room, which gives them a glimpse of the pain and hard work that women go through when giving birth, and promotes a greater spirit of solidarity and sharing between spouses.

A substantial proportion of working fathers, according to both women's and men's reports, took leave within the first six months after the birth of their youngest or most recent child. Some 52 per cent of fathers and 38 per cent of mothers reported that the father took some amount of time off work to help care for the new child. These men reported taking an average of five days off. More than 60 per cent of all fathers and mothers said that they would like to have the option of paid time off for new fathers. Only 14 per cent of both mothers and fathers stated that they would prefer a fathers' leave to be greater than two weeks, however. The vast majority of respondents said that they'd like a paternity leave option of up to one week, or one to two weeks.

Respondents are trying to balance the pressures of being breadwinners and caregivers. Over three-fifths of respondents felt that the father's role in childcare is primarily as a "helper" rather than as a primary co-caregiver, women less so than men. However, half of men reported that they wish they could spend more time with their children but they are overburdened with other work (Table 6.4.4b).

TABLE 6.4.4b

Perceptions of Fatherhood

Percentage of respondents who agreed with selected statements about work and childcare, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
[Father] spends too little time with the children on account of his job or the time [father] spends looking for work	69	68
[Father's] role in caring for the children in home is mostly as their financial provider	77	65
[Mother] wishes to spend more time with children but is overburdened with other work	*	51
Total number of respondents with one or more biological children	**644**	**724**

* Not asked in men's survey

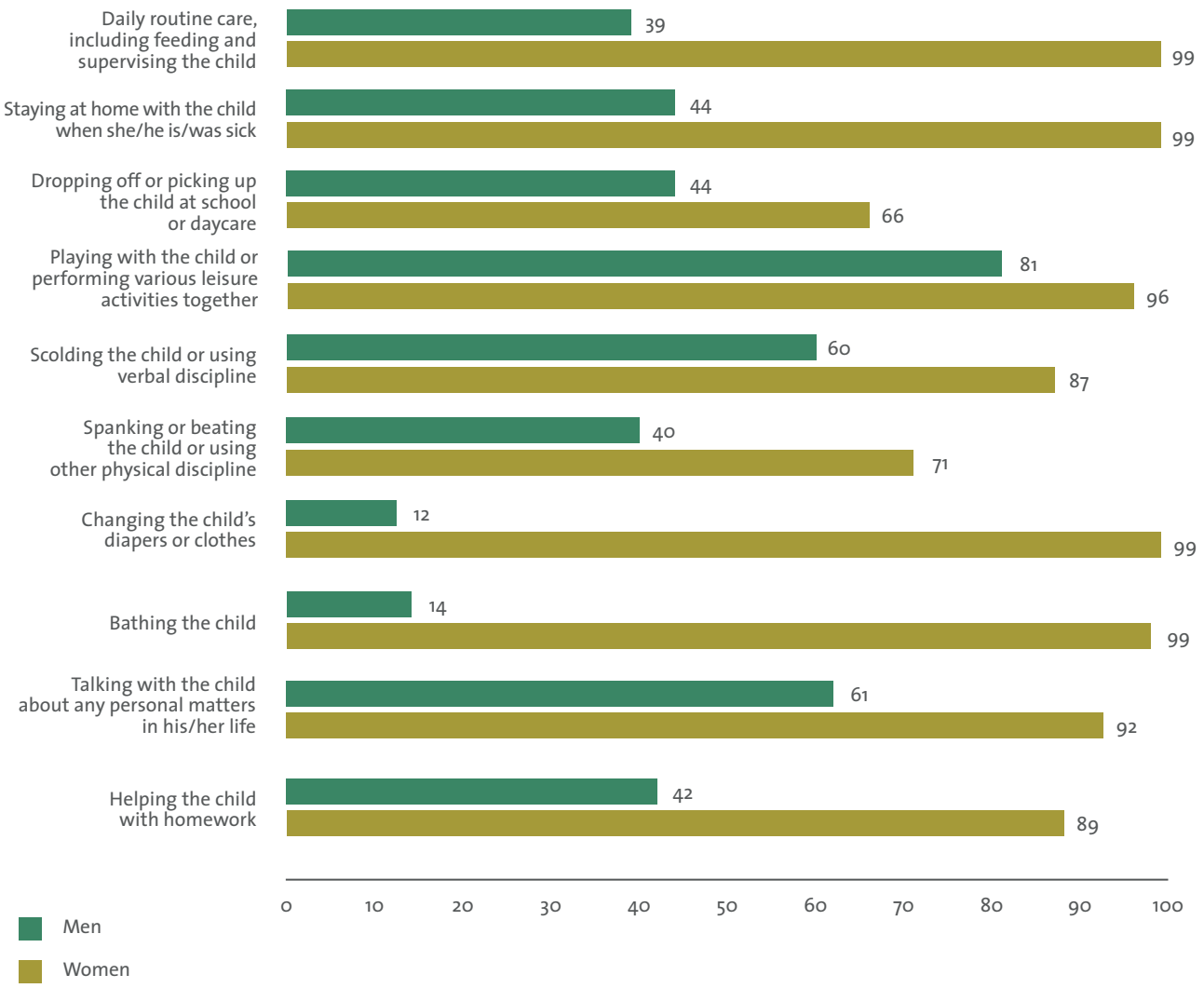
Task-by-task responses show that mothers are doing the heavy lifting on care work. In the Palestinian cultural setting, fathers are expected to be an important resource for children, for both financial and emotional needs. Their involvement in the day-to-day elements of childcare work is not well understood in the research literature, however. As shown in Figure 6.4.4a, mothers outpace fathers in all childcare tasks, sometimes by vast margins.

Mothers' involvement in all elements of childcare is deep, perhaps as expected. In fathers' reports of ever participating in various tasks, certain trends emerged. Fathers were least likely to report giving the child a bath, and changing the child's diapers or clothes, with only 14 per cent and 12 per cent of fathers reporting carrying out these tasks, respectively. For five additional elements of childcare, approximately 39 to 44 per cent of fathers reported some level of involvement: helping the child with homework, spanking or beating the child, dropping off or picking up the child at school, staying at home with the child when the child was sick, and daily routine care of the child.

FIGURE 6.4.4a

Fathers and Childcare

Percentage of respondents who performed childcare tasks related to their youngest child (under age 18) while that child was living at home, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



One encouraging finding is that over 60 per cent of men reported talking with the child about important personal matters in their lives, pointing to an emotional intimacy not always associated with masculine expectations. Otherwise, it is only in the area of scolding or verbally disciplining the child that fathers rise to a level above mere "helper" with regard to caring for their own children.

Mothers and fathers report using high levels of physical discipline with their children
Around half of men and 70 per cent of women reported using some form of physical discipline with their children (Table 6.4.4c). Women's greater use of physical discipline is a function of the share of time they spend on childcare compared with men. In both men's and women's data sets, parents with lower wealth status were significantly more likely to report using physical discipline than other parents.

TABLE 6.4.4c
Child Discipline

Percentage of respondents with children aged 3 to 14 who used selected child disciplinary methods in the previous month, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Explained why the child's behaviour was wrong	89	97
Took away privileges or forbade something the child did, or did not allow the child to leave the house	61	75
Shouted, yelled, or screamed at the child	80	91
Spanked or slapped the child on any part of her/his body	47	70
Hit the child on the body with something like a belt, stick, or other hard object	25	37
Used any physical discipline (spanked or hit child)	**49**	**72**

Qualitative research found that, from the perspective of sons and daughters, fathers remain authority figures, but not necessarily always coercive ones. Many respondents also pointed out the constraints placed on men's ability to be involved as caregivers, by having to work long hours away from home, by social rules and norms, or by political imprisonment. Some women described their fathers as dominating their mothers and said they did not want to repeat this relationship dynamic in their own marriages. In these cases, the father figure was a model of how things should not be. The following interviewee, however, had a gender-equitable father:

"My father had the biggest influence on my life. He put my foot on the road. If it weren't for him, I would not have finished my studies or be where I am now. He pushed me to study although he never finished his education, but he had a great mentality, he respected reading and culture and women. This had an important role in shaping my personality."

Woman, 58 years old, university professor, village near Ramallah

Qualitative interviews also showed that fatherhood, or becoming a father, had changed some men's attitudes toward household roles in two ways: first, they felt they needed to be more involved or present in their children's lives in a way that would compete with that of their mother. Second, fathers with daughters started to assess their relationship with their wives in light of what they wanted their daughters to achieve or be in the future; these fathers realized that if they wanted their daughters to achieve all they could, they themselves had to change in terms of household roles.

"When I was first married, and even after we had our second daughter, I never lifted my plate from the table. My wife never complained, or made me feel that she needed help. But honestly, when I see my girls growing, my love and fear for them grows, and I start to think that they will marry and their destiny will be to serve others; this will be a normal thing for them if they grow up seeing that all their mother does is clean and cook...

I started to think how I should care more and teach them that their role in life is much more than this, but it is not about words, they should see how the man should respect his wife in practice by helping her. I started to realize how much I was unfair to my wife, I started to realize the huge load of work she does. I was shocked; a woman is great, never complaining. I, on the other hand, complain of one extra hour of work. I even started to think of my mother who had to manage alone with five children."

Man, 34 years old, bank employee, Ramallah

As noted earlier, because it renders them unable to be physically present to make household decisions, political imprisonment of fathers becomes another form of separation between fathers and their children. Mothers in these cases play an important role in maintaining the presence of the father in the family even when he is physically absent because of imprisonment. They usually do this by stressing to the children the father's role in making decisions concerning important changes or events in the lives of their children. It is precisely around this issue of fatherhood that IMAGES MENA Palestine finds a promising path for men toward embracing gender equality in their everyday lives.

> "I prayed that she give birth when I am out of prison, and thank God my wish was realized, and I was released four days before she gave birth. A woman in this circumstance [giving birth] is weak … she is going into a new phase of which she does not know enough, pregnancy and labour involve changes for which she needs support, especially from the husband. If he is not there for his wife in this phase, she may feel more vulnerable, but thank God, we were able to communicate during this period."
>
> **Man, 41 years old, bakery employee, village near Ramallah**

6.4.5 – POLITICAL VIOLENCE, GENDER ATTITUDES AND HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS

Experiences of occupation-related violence and other extreme hardships are very common. According to PCBS, more than 750,000 Palestinians (including 10,000 women) have been arrested by Israeli occupation forces since 1967.[13] According to the same study, about half of Palestinian households had been exposed to some form of violence directly by occupation forces or by settlers[14] prior to July 2010, with slightly higher exposure in the Gaza Strip. The past few years have seen an escalation of occupation-related violence against Palestinians, in particular during the 2012 and 2014 Israeli wars against the Gaza Strip – resulting in the loss of thousands of lives, tens of thousands of injuries, and billions of dollars in total damage and losses – and more recently in the West Bank, where hundreds of people have been killed.[15]

13. PCBS, *Violence Survey in the Palestinian Society, 2011*, 2012.

14. "Settlers" is a term used to refer to Israelis living in settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory. Settlements are illegal under international law as they violate Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the transfer of the occupying power's civilian population into occupied territory. This has been confirmed by the International Court of Justice, the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention, and the United Nations Security Council. Seizure of land for settlement building and future expansion has resulted in the shrinking of space available for Palestinians to develop adequate housing, basic infrastructure and services and to sustain their livelihoods. These and related measures have contributed to the forced displacement of families and communities. Israeli civil law is de facto applied to all settlers and settlements across the occupied West Bank, while Israeli military law is applied to Palestinians, except in East Jerusalem, which was illegally annexed to Israel. As a result, two separate legal systems and sets of rights are applied by the same authority in the same area, depending on the national origin of the persons, thereby discriminating against Palestinians. For more information, see: https://www.ochaopt.org/theme/humanitarian-impact-of-settlements

15. World Bank. (2015). *Economic Monitoring Report to the ad hoc Liaison Committee*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group; and PCBS, *Violence Survey in the Palestinian Society, 2011*, 2012.

IMAGES MENA Palestine included various questions on occupation-related violence, influenced by the aforementioned PCBS survey. Among respondents, 65 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women reported experiencing one or more of twelve forms of occupation-related violence within the previous five years, all of which are presented in Table 6.4.5a. Men were more likely than women to report having lost land; having been harassed by soldiers or settlers, detained, or injured; having had difficulty accessing health services; and having lost opportunities due to the occupation. These findings underscore the widespread effects of ongoing Israeli occupation on Palestinian families, and also show that the occupation imposes greater limitations on Palestinian men than women.

TABLE 6.4.5a

Occupation-Related Violence and Experiences

Percentage of men and women respondents reporting various occupation-related violence and experiences within the previous five years, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
I have been harassed by Israeli security forces including settlers	36	19
Our family is vulnerable to violence from Israeli settlers	24	18
Our house has been demolished because we were denied a building permit by Israeli security forces	8	9
We have been forced to leave our home temporarily by Israeli security forces	22	22
We lost access to all or some of our land (due to confiscation/ fear of violence/ buffer zone) due to Israeli practices	25	14
Someone in my household has been detained for at least one day by Israeli security forces	33	23
Someone in my household was injured due to violence by Israeli security forces or settlers	29	21
I was injured due to violence from Israeli security forces or settlers	20	7
Someone in my household was killed due to violence from Israeli security forces (soldiers and settlers; in Gaza due to war)	15	11
Because of the occupation we have had difficulty accessing health services	28	16
We visit our family and friends less than we want to due to the occupation restrictions including the wall and checkpoints	27	20
We lost the right to choose a suitable educational institution due to occupation restrictions	20	9
Experienced one or more of the above	**65**	**55**

Restrictions on mobility – in the form of sieges, checkpoints, the separation wall, and closures – affect all dimensions of life in Palestine. They hinder access to health services, educational institutions, and workplaces. They also restrict family visitations, participation in weddings, and burials. All such activities are subject to cancelation, postponement, or delay based on unpredictable mobility restrictions. Nearly a third of men and a fifth of women reported that they had difficulty accessing health services due to the occupation. Similar percentages of men and women said that occupation forces had limited their ability to visit friends and family, leading to social isolation, especially for women.

Detention of men and women, especially young men, is often used to suppress and discourage the younger generations from resisting. Of survey respondents, 33 per cent of men and 23 per cent of women had been detained for at least one day by Israeli security forces. The most extreme effect of the occupation is death, which not only results in the permanent loss of a family member, but changes family gender dynamics. If the person killed is the breadwinner, as is often the case, families face particular economic hardship. IMAGES MENA Palestine shows that this occurs to no small number of households: 15 per cent of men and 11 per cent of women said that someone in their household was killed due to violence from Israeli security forces and settlers.

These multiple forms of violence, coercion, and intimidation by the Israeli occupation affect daily life for Palestinians in multiple and gender-related ways. Both women and men said they feel threatened and live in a heightened state of fear. When expelled from their homes, they are made to leave their known social environment and search for alternative schooling and work. Children are uprooted to a new environment, and families suffer economically when they are compelled to spend additional money to dwell in less than adequate housing. Men, in particular, are subjected to daily checks and harassment from Israeli security forces and settlers because they have greater mobility and are presumed to be part of the armed resistance. Qualitative research shows that these practices generate resilience and resistance in Palestinians, as well.

The Gendered Effects of Political Detention Under Occupation

As part of the IMAGES MENA Palestine research, Birzeit University researchers conducted qualitative research into Palestinian families' experiences with political imprisonment. Findings show that the struggles of men within prison walls were mirrored on the outside by women's struggles to bear the burden of household responsibilities without a male partner.

As discussed earlier, these interviews testify to the perseverance of women, and show a strong appreciation for their sacrifice on the part of their previously imprisoned husbands. The former prisoners who were interviewed remarked on their wives' impressive steadfastness, patience, and resilience. Most formerly imprisoned men said they knew they could trust their wives' ability to manage the household without them.

This is not the case with all prisoners' wives. Some women may become more vulnerable with the imprisonment of their husbands. They may be seen as weak, and they may not be able to be relied upon to take care of themselves or their children; this leaves them vulnerable to the control of their families or their husbands' families, or threatened with abuse and exploitation by various other parties.

The study also included a focus group with university students. While some of these said that women prisoners might be more vulnerable than men – due to being physically weaker and vulnerable to sexual violence – others said these threats are no different from the threats of torture that men faced. In some cases, the students affirmed what was found in previous studies, that coming through the prison experience made the women prisoners stronger and more confident and, in effect, liberated their bodies from being sites of weakness and control.[16]

"[Women whose husbands are imprisoned are subject] to blackmail, weakness, and social, economic, and emotional needs that should be filled by the life partner, the husband. ... One should invest in a relationship based on trust. When there is trust, I was able to feel all the huge responsibilities that fall on the woman's shoulders, instead of fearing for her or confining her. ... Our reality has shown that the women are able to play an enormous role on the level of the household and family, socially and economically. One would ask, if it were the man who stayed with the family and the woman [were] the one imprisoned, in certain cases you would have more challenges, and the man may have been helpless in relation to balancing responsibilities inside and outside the house."

Man, 40 years old, ex-prisoner, village near Ramallah

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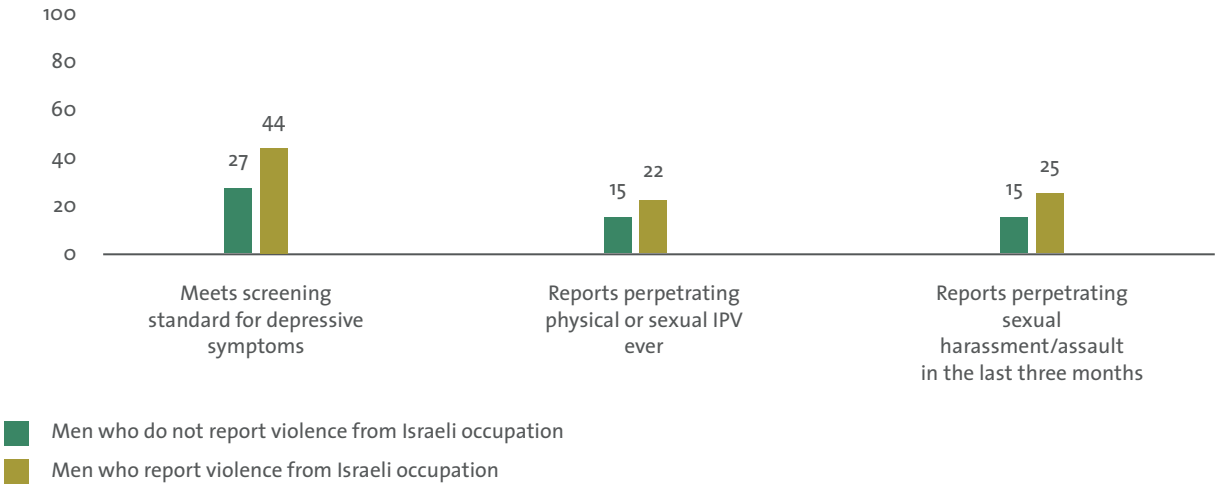
16. On the steadfastness of Palestinian women political prisoners and the consequent transformations on gender attitudes and perceptions of the body, see Meari, Lena. (2015). "Re-signifying "Sexual" Colonial Power Techniques: The Experiences of Palestinian Women Political Prisoners." *Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance: Lessons from the Arab World*, edited by El-Said, Maha, et al, Zed Books.

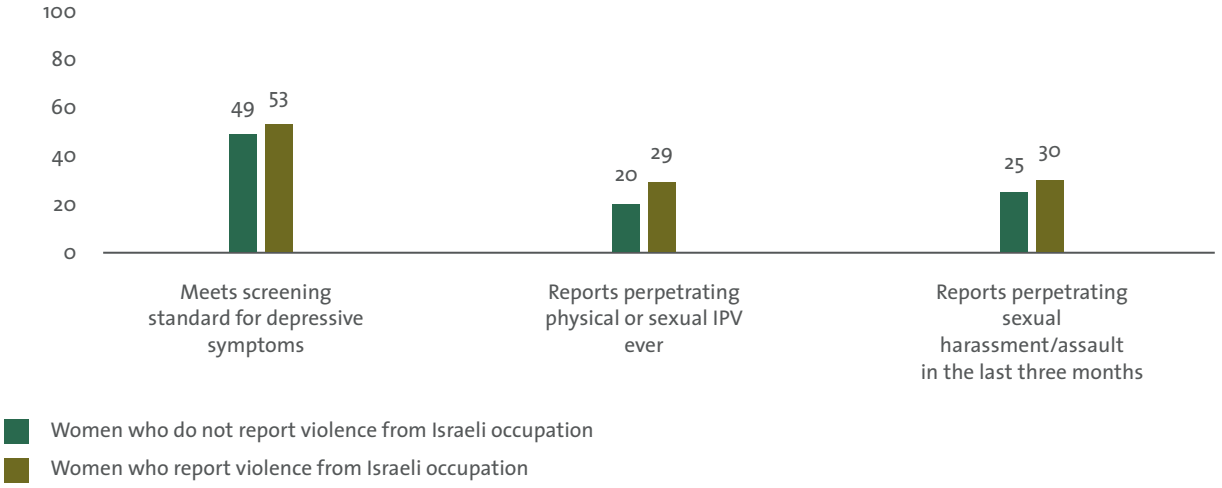
Study findings show important links between occupation-related experiences and other harmful experiences and behaviours. How, specifically, do these multiple forms of occupation-related violence affect men, women, and gender relations? Analysis shows that being exposed to occupation-related violence and adversity is tied to increased depressive symptoms, experiences or perpetration of intimate partner violence, and experience or perpetration of sexual harassment, among other possible connections (see Figure 6.4.5a).

FIGURE 6.4.5a

Links in the Chain

Percentage of respondents who reported depressive symptoms, intimate partner violence, and sexual harassment/assault, according to those who have experienced occupation-related violence and those who have not, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016





Men who reported having experienced occupation-related violence were more likely – at a statistically significant level – to also report depressive symptoms, perpetration of physical or sexual intimate partner violence (ever), and perpetration of sexual harassment (in the previous three months). Women showed these same statistically significant links with IPV and sexual harassment experiences. Of course, the links between various forms of violent experiences are much more complex than these figures represent; it is impossible to confirm a causal relationship in either direction.

The effects of violence on people depend on the situation in which the violence takes place, as well as the role of each party in the violence. Israeli occupation violence, when experienced collectively and resisted, can, in fact, become a source of empowerment, and can foster a sense of liberation. This perspective complicates any link between men experiencing violence by the Israeli occupation and perpetrating intimate partner violence.

Many Palestinian study participants report harmful encounters with Palestinian security forces. As Table 6.4.5b shows, one-fifth of men and 6 per cent of women reported having been harassed or threatened by Palestinian security forces within the preceding five years. Across the board, men were more likely to report any such experiences than were women. Some 8 per cent of men and 6 per cent of women reported that someone in their household had been injured as a result of violence committed by Palestinian security forces within the preceding five years. The violence perpetrated by Palestinian security forces should be contextualized within the Oslo agreements that call for close coordination between Palestinian security forces and Israeli security forces, leading to mistrust by Palestinians of their own state security structures.

TABLE 6.4.5b

Interaction with Palestinian Forces

Percentage of respondents who reported experiences of violence by Palestinian security forces within the previous five years, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
I have been harassed or threatened by members of the Palestinian security forces	20	6
I have been detained for at least one day by Palestinian security members	15	1
I was injured due to violence practiced by Palestinian security members	7	1
Someone in my household was injured due to violence practiced by Palestinian security members	8	6

6.4.6 – GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Men's use of violence against women is widespread, though more widely reported by women than by men. Interviewing men about their perpetration of spousal or intimate partner violence is unprecedented in Palestine; PCBS's two previous national surveys on the subject assessed women's attitudes and experiences. Almost 40 per cent of men said they had ever committed an act of emotional violence against their wives, while 46 per cent of women said they had experienced the same. Some 26 per cent of men and 33 per cent of women reported this form of violence occurring within the previous year. Nearly one in five men (17 per cent) said they had ever perpetrated any act of physical intimate partner violence against a female partner. Similar rates – 21 per cent – of women report ever having experienced such violence. With regard to economic violence, 12 per cent of men said they had ever perpetrated any such act, while nearly 18 per cent of women reported experiencing such abuse. Prohibiting one's spouse from working and throwing one's spouse out of the house were the two most commonly cited forms of economic violence. And while only 4 per cent of men said they had ever perpetrated sexual violence against their spouse, 11 per cent of women said they had experienced this form of violence in their lifetime (see Table 6.4.6a).[17]

TABLE 6.4.6a

Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

Percentage of ever-married respondents by acts of violence perpetrated by men and experienced by women, lifetime and 12-month prevalence, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN		WOMEN	
(see Tables 3.4.6a and 4.4.6a): Emotional violence	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Emotional violence	**39.8**	**25.8**	**45.9**	**32.9**
Insulted (his wife/her) or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	31.5	19.7	40.0	25.8
Belittled or humiliated (his wife/her) in front of other people	9.4	5.4	19.8	12.4
Scared or intimidated (his wife/her) on purpose for example by the way he looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	15.4	10.8	24.0	15.8
Threatened to hurt (his wife/her)	7.3	4.2	14.1	8.3
Hurt people (his wife/she) cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	3.0	2.1	11.0	7.2

17. IMAGES findings on experiences of violence are broadly consistent with the 2011 national survey assessing women's experiences of violence. It is important to note, however, that IMAGES MENA Palestine differs from the national survey in its sample size, geographic scope, age range, as well as differences in the items included in the definition of spousal violence. IMAGES MENA also asked women if they had ever used three forms of violence against their husbands. Eight per cent of women reported ever slapping their spouses or throwing something at them, 2 per cent of women reported ever pushing or shoving their spouses, and 2 per cent of women reported ever hitting their spouse with a fist or something else that could hurt them. See PCBS, *Violence Survey in the Palestinian Society, 2011*, 2012.

TABLE 6.4.6a CONTINUED

	MEN		WOMEN	
	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)	Lifetime (%)	12-months (%)
Economic violence	**12.3**	**5.4**	**18.2**	**9.6**
Prevented (his wife/her) from working for wages or profit	5.7	2.1	8.1	4.5
Took (his wife's/her) earnings against her will	1.0	0.6	5.9	3.1
Threw (his wife/her) out of the house	5.1	1.7	11.9	5.7
Kept money from earnings for personal use when the respondent knew (his wife/she) was finding it hard to pay for her personal expenses or household needs	2.6	1.5	5.1	2.5
Physical violence	**16.8**	**8.2**	**21.2**	**12.8**
Slapped (his wife/her) or threw something at her that could hurt her	12.7	5.0	14.9	9.4
Pushed or shoved (his wife/her)	7.2	4.2	14.0	8.1
Hit (his wife/her) with his fist or with something else that could hurt her	5.8	2.9	12.7	7.3
Kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned (his wife/her)	1.4	0.7	8.4	4.9
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against (his wife/her)	0.3	0.1	2.7	1.1
Sexual violence	**4.3**	**2.6**	**11.3**	**7.0**
Forced (his wife/her) to have sex with him when she did not want to	4.3	2.6	11.3	7.0
Total number of ever-married respondents	**725**		**830**	

As data earlier in the chapter show, many respondents felt that these forms of violence were normal or justified. One-third of men and one-quarter of women in IMAGES MENA Palestine agreed that "there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten" and more than half of men and women alike agreed that "a woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together" (see Table 6.2.1a). As discussed in the introduction to the chapter, this urge to "keep the family together", according to some research, rises to the level of a survival strategy in the Palestinian context.[18] When women tolerate violence, according to this research, they understand it to be a result of the restriction of men's opportunities and identities by the long-reaching effects of the occupation. In addition, as argued in the introduction, conflict within the household does not rule out cooperation but actually co-exists with it, and women see, in the family, a realization of certain interests, even as certain others are threatened.

18. Kuttab, Eileen, *Coping with Conflict*, 2010.

IMAGES MENA Palestine data demonstrate intergenerational links between acts and experiences of violence, consistent with much of the literature on intimate partner violence. Men who witnessed violence against their mothers as children and men who experienced some form of physical violence as children were statistically significantly more likely to report perpetrating emotional, economic, and physical forms of intimate partner violence in their adult relationships. Men with less wealth were significantly more likely to report perpetrating emotional and physical forms of intimate partner violence.

The qualitative research shows negative attitudes toward violence among both male and female participants. According to some interviewees, the use of violence against women is a symptom of weakness. From their perspective, violence against women is not an indication of a man's power but of his loss of control.

"It is unacceptable to resort to violence for solving problems. Violence is a sign of weakness, not strength. Controlling a woman's life, regardless of the relationship with her, is inadmissible and constitutes injustice .... I do not talk about beating only, but also insult, not only physical violence .... He would be very weak if he lays a hand on her or insults her, for it means that he cannot reach her, he cannot communicate..."

Man, 45 years old, engineer, Ramallah

Some respondents whose mothers experienced violence from their fathers did not see their mothers as passive victims. Some said that their mothers even justified their fathers' use of violence against her as a way to preserve the integrity of the family. Some respondents also saw the ways in which their mothers reacted to this violence as a way to protect them when they were children. Some respondents who had witnessed such violence said it left them with a feeling of resentment toward their mother's helplessness as well as toward the father whose actions showed them, as children, their own helplessness. A few women who experienced intimate partner violence described standing up to a violent husband, even as they most often stayed with him:

"My husband was used to me, that I would cry a little [after he used violence against me], lock myself in my room, and then calm down, and go back to performing my household duties. But when there was an instance of violence in a phase where I was really strong, I made things spiral to reach divorce. Even my husband was shocked by my position. He said, 'You became strong, and now you want

to be strong over me'. Men do not like it when women are stronger than they are ... now it [violence] has vanished, because in that episode of violence I stood up and spoke and had a position. I was able to say, 'No, this is a red line, and should never happen; because [violence] happened, many things are broken between us'."

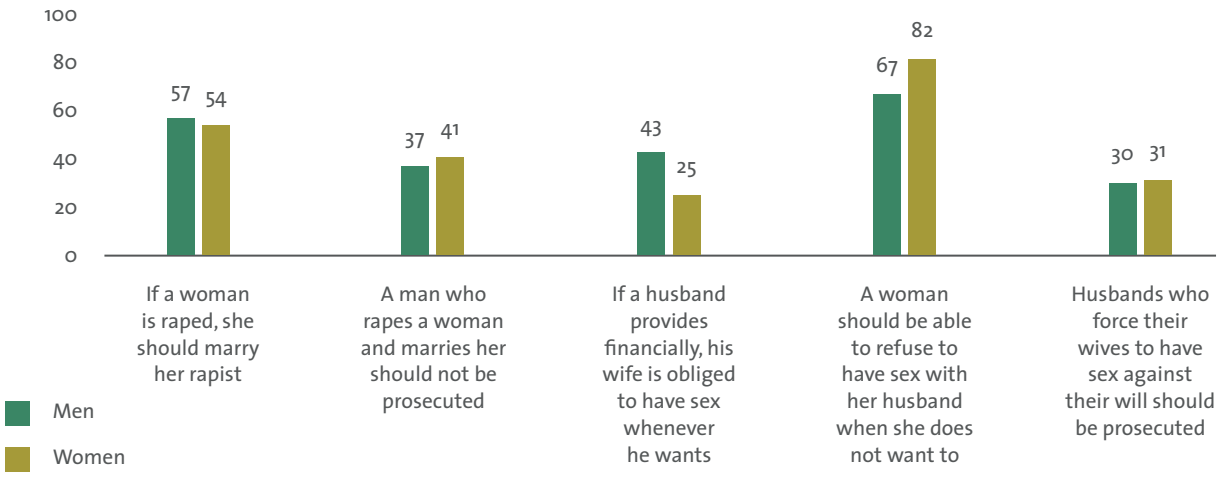
Woman, 28 years old, unemployed, Ramallah

Many men and some women fail to condemn rape. The majority of men and women agreed that "if a woman is raped, she should marry her rapist" (Figure 6.4.6a). Men were more likely to normalize and justify rape, including marital rape, in all cases. The greatest differences between men and women emerged with regard to the assertion that "if a husband provides financially, his wife is obliged to have sex whenever he wants", with which 43 per cent of men but only 25 per cent of women agreed.[19] Although the majority of male and female respondents considered marriage to the rapist to be the solution for victims of rape, this contrasted with the majority position among both genders that rapists should be prosecuted.

FIGURE 6.4.6a

Attitudes toward Forced Sex

Percentage of respondents aged 18 to 59 who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexual violence, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



19. Sexual violence has a complex legal context in Palestine. So-called "rape marriage laws" continue to exist in the penal code in Gaza (based on the previous Egyptian penal code) and in the West Bank (based on the continuing Jordanian penal code) in which a rapist can be exempted from punishment if he marries his victim. Rarely invoked or implemented in Palestine, these laws represent long-held beliefs about the nature of rape.

Street-based sexual harassment is common, and many respondents hold victim-blaming opinions about why such harassment occurs. Some two-fifths of women in Palestine reported ever experiencing one or more forms of street-based sexual harassment, and a similar proportion of men reported perpetrating this harassment (see Table 6.4.6b). Ogling is by far the most common such harassing behaviour, but one-fifth of women also reported ever having received catcalls/sexual comments and/or being stalked or followed in a public place.

Younger men were more likely to report perpetrating sexual harassment. Data also show links between sexual harassment perpetration and perpetration of other forms of violence: men who reported any of the four aforementioned forms of intimate partner violence were more likely to report perpetrating sexual harassment, at a statistically significant level. In addition, men who experienced physical violence as children were significantly more likely to report perpetrating sexual harassment.

TABLE 6.4.6b

Street-Based Violence against Women: Male and Female Respondents

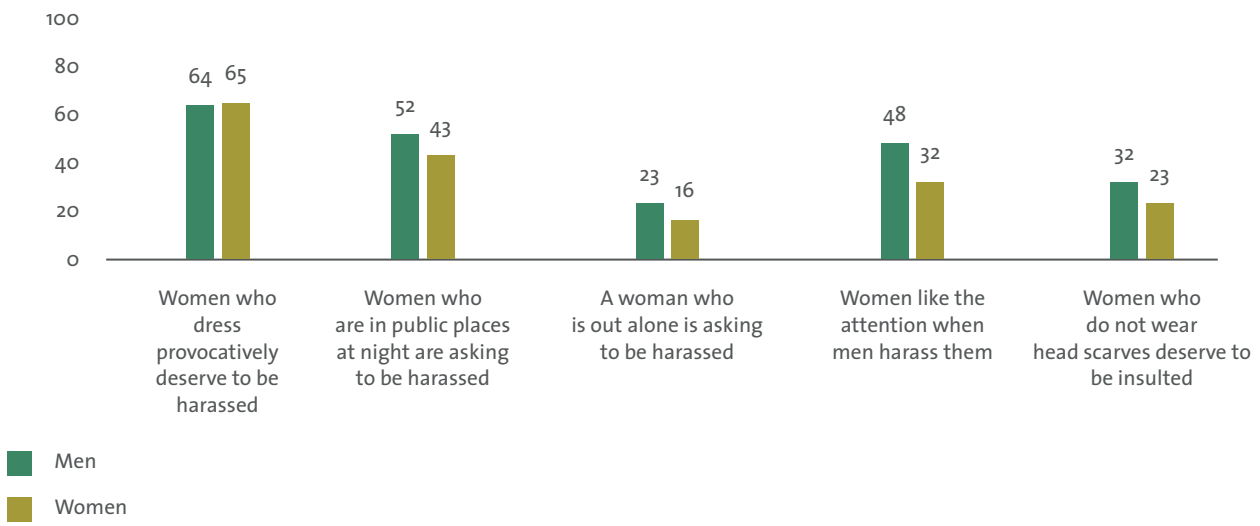
Percentage of men who have committed specific acts of sexual harassment/assault against women, and women who have experienced such acts in public spaces, lifetime and 3-month rates, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016

	MEN (PERPETRATED)		WOMEN (EXPERIENCED)	
	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)	Lifetime (%)	Previous 3 months (%)
Type of sexual harassment/assault				
Ogling	34	20	31	20
Catcalls or sexual comments	10	4	19	13
Stalking or following	10	5	19	12
Obscene phone calls or text messages	4	2	9	6
Online harassment	5	3	8	6
Any of the above acts of sexual harassment/assault	**37**	**22**	**40**	**28**

FIGURE 6.4.6b

Attitudes toward Sexual Harassment/Assault

Percentage of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with selected statements about sexual harassment/assault against women, IMAGES MENA Palestine 2016



As Figure 6.4.6b shows, victim-blaming in relation to sexual harassment is common, though men are more likely than women to lay the blame for sexual harassment on women. Almost two-thirds of both men and women agree that "women who dress provocatively deserve to be harassed", for instance, and rates of agreement with other similar items are also very high. For the remaining four harmful attitudes in Figure 6.4.6b, however, women's rates of agreement are much lower than men's.

6.5 Conclusions

Inequitable gender attitudes remain common across Palestine. As the report demonstrates, however, certain transformations in gender relations and attitudes – some prompted by structural forces themselves, some emerging from individual and collective resistance to occupation, and others hard won by local women's rights movements – are taking place. For deep, radical, positive change to happen, structural changes at the political, economic, and social levels are necessary. Such changes can only happen if Palestine is independent from occupation. The occupation remains a source and a justification for maintaining and empowering patriarchy as an institution of control. The occupation allows certain voices in Palestinian society to justify patriarchal social structures as means of protecting and defending women and the family. At the same time, structural violence initiated and perpetuated by militarism enhances violence in all its images and forms.

IMAGES MENA Palestine findings indicate that the division of labour in the household still reflects inequitable, gendered power relationships. This inequitable division of housework puts a greater burden on women, hindering their involvement in societal or political issues and maintaining their marginal position within the family and society. Therefore, change in household gender roles can be a starting point toward expanding women's opportunities to access work, education, and resources. Such a change will require shifts in the labour market as well, to accommodate and allow for a re-ordering of the division of household labour. Although many women have internalized the expectation that they engage primarily in housework, there seems to be an increase in women's and men's awareness that the existing division of labour is not only unfair, but a barrier to women's social, political, and economic advancement.

Many Palestinian women activists have gained a true sense of agency by shaping social transformations related to gender issues. But it is time for progressive Palestinian men, who hold positive gender attitudes, to join the struggle for true gender justice in Palestine. Results show that it is not enough for Palestinian men to hold positive attitudes, they must also translate them into practice, in both public and private spaces, and in so doing set an example for future generations.

At the same time, findings show that most Palestinian men do not support laws that could help realize gender justice in Palestine, including a law that would equalize inheritance rights. Meanwhile, it is also clear that true gender equality cannot happen through new legislation alone. As findings demonstrate, the Palestinian legal and judicial system is patriarchal, and hence manipulative with regard to the implementation of the shari'a laws that give women rights in marriage, divorce, or inheritance. In other cases existing gender-equal laws may simply not be enforced. Women's low legal literacy, poverty, and few material resources also limit access to, as well as the effectiveness of, this avenue.

Nevertheless, data show real changes in gender-related attitudes and practices among certain men who have come to appreciate women's abilities and equal status. Men, including men who have experienced political incarceration, reported recognising women's ability to manage all of the responsibilities – including economic responsibilities – of the household. Men in the qualitative study were very willing to acknowledge that they had previously held biases against women. These insights emphasize that change comes in the day-to-day struggles and experiences of regular people, and not only from top-down interventions in the form of law or state policies (which in Palestine are ambiguous and lacking in legitimacy, as it is).

It is clear that any real change in the legal framework must be accompanied by structural changes at the social, political, and economic levels to enforce laws, expand legal literacy, and boost confidence in the legal system. Education is one of these key structural changes. The study shows that men with higher education levels were more likely to report having recently carried out conventionally female domestic tasks. Qualitative data also show that younger couples with higher levels of education may be able to become catalysts for changes in the attitudes and perceptions of future generations.

IMAGES MENA Palestine data show that change begets more change, and it needs to start at home. Men whose fathers participated in conventionally feminine household work, as well as men who were taught to do this work as children, were far more likely to contribute in these ways within their own marriages. Parents would do well to realize these insights and make the relevant adjustments in their attitudes toward division of labour, decision-making, freedom of expression, and equal treatment of genders in the home. This can become a starting point for meaningful progress toward more equitable gender relations. When positive, equitable attitudes and behaviours are practiced within the household, change can become a reality.

NGO SPOTLIGHT
Together for Change

In a small office in Ramallah, the lines are ringing non-stop. Seven days a week, 1.5 million calls a year, a team of Palestinian men and women is at the ready to answer queries from across Gaza and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. "Every two minutes, if the line is silent, we check to see if there is a technical problem," they joke. But their work is no laughing matter, for this call centre belongs to Sawa, one of Palestine's leading NGOs tackling gender-based violence.

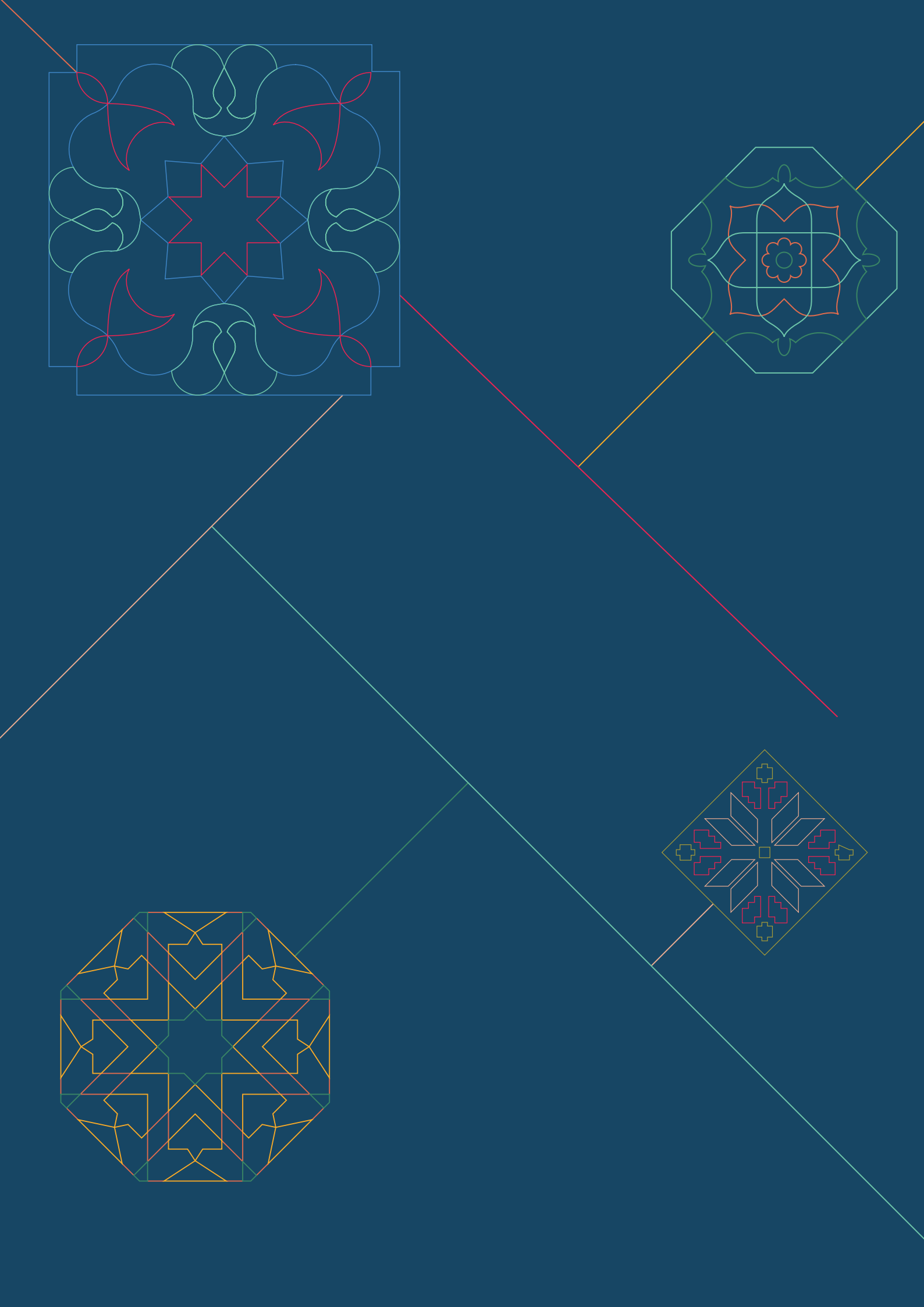
Sawa means "together" and, true to its name, the organization is one of a handful of groups in the MENA region that directly engage with men and boys on women's rights. Case-in-point is its crisis helpline, whose phone, email, and Facebook platforms handle more than 2,000 cases a month, almost 40 per cent of which involve men and boys. The vast majority of the male callers are under 21 and victims of domestic violence (including sexual abuse within the family) or bullying at school and in the community. Many of them, though, are calling for some basic facts of life; in the absence of formal sexuality education in Palestinian schools, many callers are at a loss to understand their own personal development. Sawa's team of counsellors are specially trained to handle the needs of both male and female callers, and in the case of violence, to refer beneficiaries to a network of more than 500 medical, legal, and psycho-social support providers.

From the helpline and the insight it has provided into issues facing their communities, Sawa has developed a range of other programmes. For example, its "family health" classes are extracurricular sessions conducted in a dozen or so schools in East Jerusalem and Ramallah, to give students a chance to understand their changing bodies and emotions. Mobile clinics, in underserved regions, offer physical check-ups and sexual and reproductive health services to men, and take advantage of the opportunity to talk with beneficiaries about violence and gender issues.

Working with men is often a challenge, according to Sawa, especially engaging with youth who have grown up in the shadow of religious fundamentalism and who tend to take a more conservative approach to gender roles and rights. To shift their views, Sawa has been training community leaders – elected officials, religious figures, judges, police officers, and lawyers – who work along the fault lines of gender issues, to help them grasp the urgency of tackling violence against women and better support those on the receiving end of abuse. These influential figures then spread the word to their communities – like the Governor of Hebron, who has spoken publicly against violence toward women, or the religious leaders who are preaching sermons on the subject. At first, many men – and women, too – are resistant, claiming that such messages of empowerment are "Western" and a danger to the family. But with time, and training, attitudes slowly shift – though there is a long and winding road ahead for Sawa, and the communities it serves, before men and women are together in embracing equal rights for all.

To learn more, visit: www.sawa.ps

This NGO spotlight was prepared by the multi-county report's editors.



Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Conclusions

Men are the pillars of patriarchies across the MENA region, yet, in a time of shifting gender relations, there is relatively little research on how they see women or their own manhood. IMAGES MENA is the first study of its kind in the MENA region to turn a wide-angle, comparative lens on the lives of men – as sons and husbands and fathers, at home and at work, in public and private life – to better understand how they see their positions as men, as well as their attitudes and actions with regard to gender equality. Equally important, IMAGES provides women's perspectives on these same issues. Its wealth of quantitative and qualitative findings (a portion of which are included in this report, and are also presented in greater detail in separately published country reports) complement a growing body of research on men and masculinities in the MENA region.

The results of IMAGES MENA cut through the stereotypes and prejudices that too often obscure the complexity of dynamic gender identities and relations in the region. The four countries included in this first phase of IMAGES MENA – Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine – are diverse, their rich variety reflected in the views and experiences of men and women who shared their perspectives on how gender roles and women's rights are changing in their own lives and in the wider world around them.

A majority of men surveyed in the four countries support a wide array of inequitable, traditional attitudes. But a sizeable minority – a quarter or more of men in every country – show support for at least some dimensions of women's equality and empowerment. These men question violence against women, agree with certain laws that safeguard women's rights, support women in leadership positions, and often want to spend more time caring for their children. Many men interviewed, and many women as well, show a mixture of equitable and inequitable attitudes and practices. However, too many men in the region continue to uphold norms that perpetuate violence against women or confine women to conventional roles, and they act on these attitudes in ways that cause harm to women, children, and themselves. There is a long and winding road that must be travelled before most men – and many women, too – reach full acceptance of gender equality in all domains.

With all the challenges, though, the pathways to progress are increasingly clear. Along with household surveys with nearly 10,000 women and men in the four countries, IMAGES MENA's qualitative research showcases men and women who break the mould. While men's inequitable attitudes and practices prevail across the four countries, it is evident from this research that there are also individual men and women – from the elite to the most marginalized – whose life experiences show that gender equality is possible. Indeed, their voices affirm that gender equality is not a "foreign import", but rather can emerge from the societies themselves, given the right circumstances.

The following are key findings of the study, listed by major theme:

CRACKS IN THE ARMOUR: GENDER NORMS AND WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

A majority of men interviewed in the four countries support mostly inequitable views when it comes to women's roles. For example, two-thirds to more than three-quarters of men support the notion that a woman's most important role is to care for the household. Women often internalize these same inequitable views: about half of women across the four countries support the same idea. In addition, strong majorities of men believe it is their role to monitor and control the movements of women and girls in their households, a practice most men recalled starting in childhood. In some countries, majorities of women not only affirm but also appear to accept male guardianship; in others, they challenge the idea, in theory if not in practice.

The MENA region has some of the lowest rates of women's economic participation in the world. Given economic instability in the region in recent years and high unemployment rates among youth (those aged 15 to 25), it is not surprising that three-quarters or more of men in the four countries, and women at nearly the same rates, support the priority of men's access to jobs over women's. Women are still widely defined – by men and women alike – as wives and mothers first, rather than by professional or workplace achievements.

Yet, there are cracks in the armour. Across the survey countries, about half of men – or fewer – believe a married woman should have the same right to work as a man. At the same time, a majority of men in all four countries would accept a woman as a boss and were willing to work in gender-integrated workplaces. Much of this acceptance is theoretical, however; what emerges is that many men in the region support women working outside the home – as long, it seems, as he is still the main breadwinner and she is still the main caregiver and organizer of domestic life.

Which men were more likely to support gender equality? Generally, men from wealthier households, with higher education, whose mothers had more education, and whose fathers carried out traditionally feminine household tasks are more likely to hold gender-equitable attitudes. In Egypt and Morocco, men from urban areas had slightly more equitable attitudes. In Palestine, Egypt, and Morocco, there was little difference between younger and older men on gender attitudes, although in Lebanon younger men had slightly more equitable views.

In nearly every other country where IMAGES has been carried out (in other regions of the world), younger men have consistently shown more equitable attitudes and practices than their older counterparts; in three of the four countries included in IMAGES MENA, this was not the case. In other words, in Morocco, Palestine, and Egypt, younger men's views on gender equality do not differ substantially from those of older men. Why are younger men in the IMAGES MENA countries not showing the same movement toward supporting women's equality as younger men in many other parts of the world? The reasons are multiple and dependent on specific country context. It may be that the challenging economic circumstances in which younger men find themselves – making it difficult to find a job and therefore to achieve a socially recognized sense of manhood – are producing a backlash against gender equality. It may also be a result of a general climate of religious conservatism under which a younger generation has come of age. While other research in the region has noted similar trends and posited similar drivers, further studies are necessary to explore this phenomenon.

If young men's views are *not* leading the way to gender-equitable views in the majority of the countries studied, what factors are? Education emerges as key for both men and women. As with men, women with more education, with more educated mothers, and whose fathers carried out more traditionally feminine tasks in their childhood homes were consistently more likely to have equitable views. Unlike men, however, younger women in every country held more equitable views than their older counterparts. The conclusion that emerges is that younger women in the region are yearning for more equality, but their male peers fail to share or support such aspirations, a tension between the sexes that plays out in public and private spaces across the countries of study, with important country-by-country variations.

CYCLES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

As other studies have shown, experiences of gender-based violence, particularly intimate partner violence and sexual harassment in the streets, are common for women across the region. All told, across the four countries, around 10 per cent to 45 per cent of ever-married men reported ever having used physical violence against a female partner, with roughly equal numbers of women affirming they had experienced this violence. Equally harmful to women's lives are high rates of emotional violence: between 20 per cent and 80 per cent of men reported ever having perpetrated some form of emotional violence against their wives. In all four countries, as seen in other parts of the world,[1] men who witnessed their fathers using violence against their mothers, and men who experienced some form of physical violence at home as children, were significantly more likely to report perpetrating intimate partner violence in their adult relationships.

As in other parts of the world, the roots of gender-based violence are found in women's limited power, in violence-supportive attitudes (among men and women), and in highly violent childhoods. In all four countries, half to three-quarters of men reported having experienced physical violence in their homes growing up, and two-thirds or more reported having experienced physical violence by teachers or peers in school. In all four countries, women had experienced these forms of violence, too, but at lower rates than men had.

1. Fleming, et al. (2013). "Engaging men and boys in advancing women's agency: Where we stand and new directions." *Women's Voice, Agency, & Participation Research Series*, no. 1.

The violence men and women experienced as children turns into violence against their own children. Across all four countries, 29 per cent to 50 per cent of men and 40 per cent to 80 per cent of women reported using some form of physical punishment or other violence against their own children. Women's higher rates of physical punishment against children are clearly a function of the fact that women carry out the majority of the caregiving. Physical violence against children is also gendered: in most countries, fathers tend to use more physical violence against sons.

The other most prevalent form of gender-based violence in the region is street-based sexual harassment, mainly sexual comments, stalking/following, or staring/ogling. Between 31 per cent and 64 per cent of men said they had ever carried out such acts, while 40 per cent to 63 per cent of women said they had ever experienced it. When asked why they carried out such violence, the vast majority of men – up to 90 per cent in some countries – said they did it for fun, with two-thirds to three-quarters blaming women for dressing "provocatively". Younger men, men with more education, and men who experienced violence as children were more likely to engage in street-based sexual harassment. More educated women and those in urban areas were more likely to report that they had experienced such violence. This finding, that more educated men are more likely to have sexually harassed (with the highest rate among men with secondary education, in three of the four countries) – and that more educated women are more likely to have experienced sexual harassment – is one that deserves more research.

WHO IS IN CONTROL? HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING

Consistently, women and men in all four countries reported that men make most of the major household decisions, although, on the whole, men reported greater say in such matters than women acknowledged. Compared with men, women consistently reported less control over their decision to marry the person they wanted, when they wanted, with fathers having the final say in most cases. While men may have more autonomy when it comes to choosing a mate, they also feel considerable pressure to cover the escalating costs of marriage and to provide for their families, in an era of rising unemployment.

Men expect to control their wives' personal freedoms, from what they wear and where they go to when the couple has sex. Two-thirds to 90 per cent of men reported exercising these various forms of control, with women affirming that their husbands sought to control them in these ways.

FATHERHOOD, DOMESTIC CHORES, AND CAREGIVING

When it comes to housework and childcare, attitudes translate into action – or the lack of it. In all four countries, the vast majority of the daily care of children, and other household tasks, is carried out by women. Just one-tenth to one-third of men reported having recently carried out a more conventionally female task in their home, such as preparing food, cleaning, or bathing children. In all four countries, men whose fathers participated in traditionally feminine household work, as well as men who were taught to do this work as children, were far more likely to contribute in this way within their own marriages.

In two countries – Egypt and Lebanon – women working outside the home may be a driver of men's greater participation in daily chores and caregiving. Among the small percentage of men in Egypt (10 per cent) whose spouses are working full time, 45 per cent reported participating in domestic work, far higher than men whose wives do not work. Similarly, in Lebanon, men with wives working full time reported doing more of the housework. It may be that men whose wives work were already more predisposed to equitable views (by agreeing to their spouses working), or it may be that women working outside the home pushes men to take on more domestic chores and caregiving. Whatever the case, even when men who are married to women who work outside the home do more of the housework, working women continue to shoulder a double burden.

Still, there are encouraging trends when it comes to fatherhood. More than 70 per cent of men in all the countries reported going for at least some antenatal appointments with a pregnant wife (although that male participation may reflect a degree of male control and male guardianship, as well as concern and caregiving). In all of the countries surveyed, half or more of men said that their work takes time away from being with their children. In addition, around two-fifths or more of men in all four countries reported talking with their children about important personal matters in their lives; this points to an emotional intimacy not always associated with masculine behaviour. This suggests that fatherhood may offer a pathway for engaging men in the region in more positive, equitable, and non-violent ways in their children's lives, and, ultimately, in gender equality.

GENDERED HEALTH VULNERABILITIES AND WELL-BEING

In addition to gender relations, family dynamics, and gender-based violence, IMAGES includes questions on specific health issues, and compares men's and women's different health vulnerabilities. Across all four countries, the majority of men (two-thirds to three-quarters) reported that their health is better than that of other men their own age; for women this was between one-half and two-thirds. In all four countries, upwards of one-quarter of men smoke, making it one of the leading contributors to the burden of disease in the region, with implications for men themselves and for women who care for them. Up to two-thirds of men who smoke think they smoke too much, and up to one-half of those who smoke said they have ever had a smoking-related health problem.

Men and women were both likely to show signs of depression. From 35 per cent to 52 per cent of women met a screening standard for depressive symptoms, as well as 26 per cent to 38 per cent of men.[2] The effects of conflict and unemployment were frequently cited as reasons for, or aggravating factors in, depressive symptoms among men. Syrian refugee women and men in Lebanon alike reported that men, in particular, felt a sense of lost masculine identity as a result of the conflict and displacement. At least part of this mental stress was a result of men not being able to fulfil their socially prescribed role as financial provider. For example, the majority of men in Palestine reported being frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work or income. In Lebanon, some 37 per cent of Syrian refugee men said they had given up looking for work, alongside high rates of

2. While the male respondents in IMAGES MENA scored lower than their female counterparts in terms of depressive symptoms, they also reported high rates of fear, stress and worry. It is possible that the methodology used to assess and score depressive symptoms in this survey (see Chapter 2 for details) may have failed to fully capture the ways in which some men manifest their etiology.

depressive symptoms among the Lebanese population as well. All told, one-fifth to one-half of men in the four sites reported being ashamed to face their families because of lack of work or income.

In sum, the results point to high levels of stress and prevalent mental health concerns among men and women, with specific gendered patterns. In most of the countries, the results show that a significant proportion of men are under enormous pressure (mostly economic), with little recourse to formal healthcare, including mental health services, particularly for smoking and substance use.

PUBLIC (IN)SECURITY AND ITS EFFECTS ON GENDER RELATIONS

Reflecting the realities in the region, particularly in the countries affected by conflict and displacement, IMAGES MENA includes questions on public security and the effects of conflict, examining the specific ways in which these affect women, men, and gender relations.

In all four countries, roughly equal numbers of men and women show high levels of fear for their family's well-being and safety, and for their own. At least half of both men and women respondents reported such fears.

In Palestine, 65 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women reported one or more of 12 forms of occupation-related violence and other experiences within the past five years. The past few years have seen an escalation of occupation-related violence against Palestinians, in particular during the 2012 and 2014 Israeli wars against the Gaza Strip – resulting in the loss of thousands of lives, tens of thousands of injuries, and billions of dollars in total damage and losses.[3] When asked about their own occupation-related violence and experiences, respondents shared many direct ways in which the occupation had affected their lives. Men were more likely than women to report having lost land; having been harassed, detained, or injured by soldiers or settlers; having difficulty accessing health services; and having lost work or educational opportunities due to the occupation.

In Lebanon, Syrian refugee men were between two and three times more likely than Lebanese men to report that they had ever been arrested, imprisoned, or detained by police, or to have experienced some form of physical violence in public spaces (either in their home country or elsewhere). Qualitative research findings with both Syrian refugees and Lebanese-born men suggest that financial hardship, conflict-related displacement, and unemployment play a role in men's use of violence against their wives and children.

Men in the four countries are often on the move, within or outside their own country, by choice or compelled by difficult life circumstances. In total, between 7 and 26 per cent of men in all four countries reported ever having migrated, either in their own country or abroad, to work, study, or live for at least six months. While the stress and adversity of conflict-related displacement are different from choosing to migrate for work or study, men's mobility has substantial effects on household relations regardless of the reason for it.

3. World Bank. (2015). *Economic Monitoring Report to the ad hoc Liaison Committee*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.

One effect of migration for work, conflict-related displacement, or imprisonment – albeit in different ways – is that women in these circumstances, while their husbands are away, often take on new roles outside the home, and in the home a greater role in household decision-making. In the qualitative interviews, among conflict-affected respondents, it emerged that men were no longer able to provide financially (whether partially or fully) during the conflict or conflict-related displacement, and that women had had to take on the role of provider. In some cases, this is because women, being less likely to be arrested or harassed by security forces, had greater freedom of movement, and men had become dependent on them as a consequence.

PATHWAYS TO GENDER EQUALITY: WHAT LEADS SOME MEN TO BE MORE EQUITABLE?

Across the countries, around half of the men, and a somewhat similar proportion of the women agreed that gender equality is not "part of our traditions or culture".[4] At the same time, men, and particularly women, hold many gender-equitable positions and are supportive of having certain policies and laws enshrining equality for women in their countries.

What may drive gender equality ahead in the region? As part of the study, the research teams carried out qualitative interviews with "more empowered" women and "more equitable" men (identified via contacts from the community and from nongovernmental organizations, and defined as men who displayed more equitable views and practices than did most men in their social context, and women who were in leadership positions or professions that were traditionally male). The results of these interviews suggest the importance of life histories and family influence, as well as circumstance: some men had had to take on more caregiving because they had lost work due to displacement, conflict, or the job market. Other men had come to see their wives as strong and capable after they (the men) had spent time away from home, either migrating for work or, in the case of Palestine, as political prisoners.

Family role models matter: having fathers who encouraged daughters to take on non-traditional professions or to work outside the home, or who allowed daughters to choose their husbands, seems to contribute to the emergence of "more empowered" women. In some countries, among men, having more equitable and involved fathers or life circumstances that forced men to take on new household roles were the drivers of more equitable attitudes and practices. It is with these men "bucking the trend", with the sizeable minority of men who already believe in equality, and with young women's yearning for an equal playing field that movement toward greater gender equality may take hold and gradually ripple through ever-wider circles of society. Other men talked about how they came to understand the problem of gender injustice from their work, or from messages they had seen in the media.

4. The exact question asked in all four countries was: "The idea that men and women are equal is not part of our traditions and culture in [Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine]."

The qualitative interviews yielded stories of tenderness, of deep caring and caregiving by men, and of men who supported daughters to make their own decisions about marriage. They included the stories of men in Palestine who had been imprisoned by Israeli security forces and who came to see the ability of their wives to manage the household and work while they were away, or who anguished over being able to leave prison in time to be with their wife when their child was born. There were interviews with Syrian refugee men who struggled with their loss of status from no longer being providers and who felt emasculated at having to depend both on humanitarian aid and on their wives – some of these men came to accept this new gender order; with men in Egypt, who supported their wives' education and work; and with men in Morocco, who argued passionately for a level playing field between the sexes as a reflection of a just society. They are not the majority of men, to be sure, but they are key to a better future for women and men alike.

THE BIG PICTURE

The men and women of IMAGES MENA acknowledge that manhood today is not what it used to be. Many men lament what they see as the decline and fall of their domestic authority and their weakened status as financial providers, while some women question whether gender-equitable laws and policies can really make a difference in their daily lives, and if so, whether that difference is necessarily for the better.

While it is fashionable to talk about a "crisis of masculinity", in reality, men and women are at a crossroads as they try to find their way in a shifting world. For much of the population in the region, gender relations, like life in general, are under strain. Extended family arrangements continue to give way to nuclear family structures. Conflict, displacement, high youth unemployment, political uncertainty, and instability all filter into household relations and into men's identities, attitudes, and practices. Men, in particular, are highly conflicted, holding to a past that no longer fits the present, and frequently uncertain about or unwilling to accept change that might ease their heavy burden of societally imposed patriarchal duty.

Public, structural changes in many of the IMAGES MENA countries – some of them quite dramatic – are throwing the gender order into question. However, these changes have not, for the most part, permeated the private, domestic domain or transformed respondents' attitudes as much as might be expected. Some of these countries have seen dramatic popular upheavals and movements, employment crises, wars, or ongoing occupation – these, among other structural factors, have had undeniable effects on the gender order, particularly on men's ability to realize their traditionally assumed responsibility to provide for the family's physical safety and financial security. For women, these dynamics and upheavals have occasionally opened new social spaces and opportunities, both economic and otherwise, but often at a cost to them and to their male counterparts.

Patterns of thought and behaviour are often passed from one generation to the next, to positive and negative effect. All IMAGES studies have found that violence creates violence and care creates care, and the MENA study is no different. In each of the four study countries, a high proportion of respondents reported various experiences of violence in their childhood. Many respondents reported witnessing violence against their mothers, suffering physical discipline or outright violence at home, experiencing bullying or physical punishment at school, and violence in their childhood communities. Childhood seems to have been a particularly violent time for men in the study – leaving aside the enormous toll taken by occupation-related violence reported in the Palestinian study, or by the conflict experienced by Syrian refugees. As prior IMAGES research has found, the intergenerational consequences of this violence are clear: men who witness and experience violence as children are significantly more likely to use violence in their adult relationships.

At the same time, the more encouraging corollary to this finding also holds true in MENA study countries: men who witnessed their fathers engaging in childcare and other household work, as well as men who were taught as children to engage in these tasks, are more likely to undertake this work as husbands and fathers. In short, care work – and the shattering of out-dated gender roles that occurs when men embrace this work – passes from a father to his children. Mothers and women make a difference pushing men toward gender equality, as well: men with more educated mothers tended to have more equitable practices and attitudes, and in two countries, women's work outside the home seemed to nudge men toward doing more of the housework.

Finally, it is important to note that men's attitudes and actions can change for the better. Although the majority of men who were interviewed in the four countries cling to traditional gendered attitudes and roles, on any given issue, one-quarter or more hold more open, more equitable views. The actions of those men who are more progressive in their practices – of those, for example, who are involved in daily childcare – are, more often than not, pragmatic choices based on circumstance rather than the product of an ideological stand on gender equality. The challenge ahead lies in identifying and supporting these daily demonstrations of equality and the men behind them, for their own sake, as well as for that of future generations who should follow their lead.

7.2 Recommendations

Effecting change in social norms, in individual attitudes, in power dynamics in households, and in men's daily practices and behaviour with regard to their relationships with women, and at the structural level, requires an integrated, multi-sectorial approach. The IMAGES MENA results point to nine interconnected recommendations for action that take into account an ecological model of change and a life-cycle approach. These recommendations are for governments, UN agencies, researchers, and civil society:

1. ENGAGE KEY SOURCES OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE TO CHANGE SOCIAL NORMS THAT UPHOLD INEQUITABLE MASCULINITIES

As noted throughout the report, a majority of men, and around half of women (or more), support the historical gender division of men as providers and women as caregivers. Many men and women in the four countries are anxious or uneasy about changes to this gendered order. Changing these attitudes requires more than focusing on individuals. It requires engagement with religious, political, and community leaders; producers of new and traditional media; and the private sector. It also means working with women as well as men; in their roles as caregivers and mothers, women exert tremendous influence in perpetuating social norms. Specific recommendations include:

- Use new and traditional media to question stereotypes and men's conventional roles, building on existing, positive trends toward change, like those identified in the qualitative research.
- Engage with progressive religious discourses and religious figures to challenge gender stereotypes and promote equitable versions of manhood.
- Introduce discussions about more equitable masculinity into religious training curricula, as well as into progressive religious media and other avenues of religious education, to help men and women better understand the possibilities for gender equality that are inherent in their faith.

- Build on existing literature, art, and cultural expressions that already include messages of positive masculinities, and partner with mass media, social media, children and youth media producers, and other artistic producers, to include messages about changing norms related to masculinity.

2. ENGAGE MEN IN SUPPORTING A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY AGENDA FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Many men in the four countries support, at least in theory, certain laws and policies that would promote full equality for women. This finding affirms the strategic importance of engaging men as allies in supporting the full policy agenda for women's rights. Specific recommendations for this engagement include:

- Complement legislative reforms on women's rights – particularly those related to gender-based violence – with public discussions and awareness campaigns to help men understand why such change is necessary and to see the benefits to themselves of such changes.
- Identify and support key male political leaders, both in the public sector and in civil society, as visible allies in women's empowerment. This may include implementing and expanding campaigns inspired by UN Women's HeForShe campaign.
- Engage men in programmes and platforms that are informed and driven by the UN's Sustainable Development Goal 5, to "achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls". This includes working with men proactively, as well as holding them accountable for their roles in accomplishing this goal; in eliminating all forms of discrimination, violence, and harmful practices against all women and girls; and in supporting women's and girls' full social, economic, and political equality.
- Build alliances between the small number of local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) already working with men and boys and more established women's rights NGOs.
- Carry out gender-awareness training for (largely male) law enforcement personnel – police, lawyers, and judges, among them – to encourage their active implementation of these laws, and to encourage their support for bringing more women into these traditionally male professions.

3. CHANGE THE WAY BOYS AND GIRLS ARE SOCIALISED, FROM THE HOME TO THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

IMAGES results confirm, across all four countries, that patterns in childhood, from witnessing violence to witnessing men's domination of household decision-making, repeat themselves in adulthood. Men who witnessed or experienced violence as children are more likely to repeat this violence as adults, an association that holds true both for men who use violence against female partners and for men who perpetrate sexual harassment in the street. Conversely, men who, as children, saw their fathers more involved in the home are more likely to repeat these behaviours as adults. Given the high rates of violence witnessed and experienced, in the home and at school, by boys and girls, the challenges are great. To change these often violent and inequitable childhoods, the following actions are needed:

- Challenge and eliminate gender stereotypes about the social, political, and economic roles of men and women in school texts and curricula, and implement school-based gender-transformative education for boys and girls.
- Expand teacher training to include non-violent child discipline, and introduce policies that hold teachers accountable when they use violence against children.
- Train teachers and other school staff to recognize and respond to child abuse.
- Implement campaigns and school-based efforts to reach boys and girls at younger ages about sharing care and domestic work.
- Build on existing, evidence-based parent-training programmes, in the region and globally, to encourage and support parents – both mothers and fathers – to raise sons and daughters equally, to practice non-violent childrearing, and to advocate for legislation that bans all forms of violence against children.

4. EMPOWER YOUTH AS AGENTS OF CHANGE FOR GENDER EQUALITY

The finding that young men in three study countries hold attitudes that are as inequitable as (and sometimes more inequitable than) those of older men, affirms the challenge to engaging young men as allies in achieving equality for women. Younger women, on the other hand, tend to hold significantly more equitable gender attitudes than older women do, suggesting their eagerness to be part of social change. To engage young people as agents of change for gender equality, the following actions are needed:

- Mainstream courses in secondary schools and universities that focus on students' abilities to think critically about transforming inequitable gender norms and practices.
- Support the creation of youth-led campaigns and activism to promote gender equality in the region.
- Support youth leadership training for young men and young women through university coursework in gender studies, and in gender-transformative programming and opportunities for internships and mentoring for youth leaders. The small number of gender studies courses offered at universities across the IMAGES MENA countries would benefit from expanding their scope to include the study of men and masculinities in their programmes, and from partnering with academic institutions – particularly those in the Global South – with longstanding experience in these fields.
- Use sports-based programmes and existing youth development sectors to promote gender equality and include gender-sensitivity training in their activities.

5. BREAK CYCLES OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE BY IMPLEMENTING AND SCALING UP EVIDENCE-BASED PREVENTION

IMAGES MENA affirms high rates of violence by men against women in their homes, and by men against women in the streets. There is a growing evidence base of effective programmes in the primary prevention of gender-based violence that should be adapted,

tested, implemented, and taken to scale in the MENA region, in addition to response programmes.[5] These include, but are not limited to, programmes that:

- Scale up community-based interventions that change violence-supportive norms, and engage community leaders in both preventing gender-based violence and holding men who use gender-based violence accountable.
- Provide psycho-social – and other forms of – support for children and youth who witness violence in their homes.
- Expand and implement community-mapping and bystander intervention programmes in which men become part of speaking out against street sexual harassment, and expand programming around safer cities for women and girls.
- Implement and scale up gender-based violence prevention curricula for young men and young women, employers, and teachers in schools and workplaces.
- Test and evaluate integrated gender-based violence prevention efforts, such as those that promote women's rights, including women's economic empowerment, together with sensitization activities for their husbands and other male relatives.

6. PROMOTE MEN'S CAREGIVING AND WOMEN'S FULL INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORKPLACE

IMAGES MENA results confirm the highly inequitable burden of unpaid care work shouldered by women and the extremely limited participation of women in the formal labour market that characterize the region. At the same time, results affirm that many men appreciate and value their role as fathers and caregivers, and that involved caregiving by men could become the key driver of intergenerational change in gender relations in the region. In addition, in Egypt and Lebanon, many men whose wives work are slowly taking on more domestic activities. It is clear, therefore, that promoting equality in the region requires dual, concerted efforts to promote both women's participation in the workplace and men's participation in domestic chores and caregiving. For these efforts, it is necessary to:

- Create protocols and train health providers to engage men as fathers in the public health system, the workplace, and early childhood development programmes.
- Advocate for maternity and paternity leave, and family-friendly policies and support services for working parents, such as subsidized childcare.
- Scale up workplace preparation, income generation, and leadership training for women, in tandem with actions to sensitize men about supporting women and girls in the workplace and in leadership positions.
- Train male senior-level managers in the workplace, as well as policymakers, in ways to encourage women's leadership and create women-supportive workplaces.

5. United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). (2015). *A Framework to Underpin Action to Prevent Violence Against Women*. New York: UN Women; International Labour Organization (ILO); United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA); Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR); World Health Organization (WHO).

7. ENGAGE THE HEALTH SECTOR AS A POINT OF ENTRY FOR ENGAGING MEN AS ALLIES IN GENDER EQUALITY

IMAGES results affirm the numerous health vulnerabilities of women and men, as well as men's limited health-seeking behaviours. In addition, in qualitative interviews, men reported significant levels of stress and depressive symptoms stemming from their inability to fulfil the provider role. Women affirmed that men's stress was often taken out on them in the form of emotional and physical violence. Thus, efforts should be implemented to promote men's own health- and help-seeking behaviours, as well as to engage men as allies in women's and children's health. To these ends:

- Engage men as allies in women's reproductive health needs and men's own reproductive health needs.
- Develop training curricula and protocols for making health systems "friendly" to men, and train health professionals to be attuned to men's and women's mental health needs.
- Use men's high rate of participation in antenatal visits as a gateway for their participation in maternal and child health, and for men's own entrance into the health system.

8. INCREASE ATTENTION TO MEN AND WOMEN AFFECTED BY DISPLACEMENT AND CONFLICT AND THEIR GENDER- AND CONFLICT-SPECIFIC NEEDS

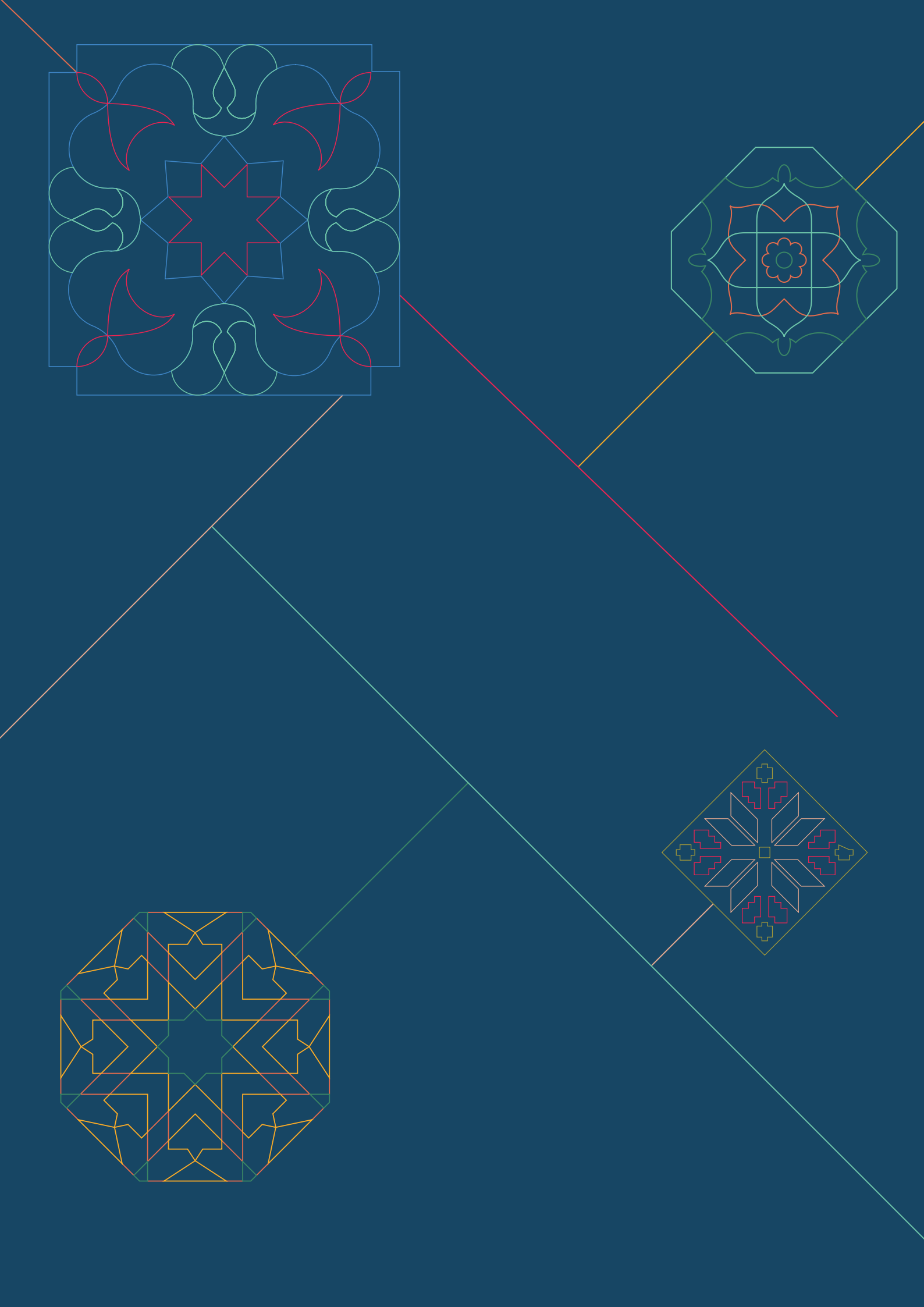
Research findings from conflict-affected communities and populations in Lebanon and Palestine affirm high rates of stress, trauma, violence, and unmet needs related to income, education, and health services. The findings also affirm the relative lack of attention to men's gender-specific realities in these settings. More responsive humanitarian action that includes an understanding of masculinities should:

- Train humanitarian sector workers in ways to engage men as allies for gender equality in post-conflict settings, and in how to understand the effects of displacement on men.
- Provide gender-specific psycho-social and trauma support for men and women, including group, individual, and community-based therapy.
- Engage those men who show positive coping skills and who are "voices of resistance" to conflict and violence, including gender-based violence, as mentors and peer promoters for other men and boys.
- Screen men and women for mental health concerns and exposure to violence and trauma.
- Build on the potential of men's connections to their children and involvement as fathers to mitigate the effects of displacement.

9. CARRY OUT ADDITIONAL APPLIED RESEARCH ON MEN AND MASCULINITIES

There has been relatively limited research, and very little carried out as part of national or ongoing surveys, on men and gender equality in the region. IMAGES MENA is not intended to be the last word on the topic, but should serve as an example of the kinds of questions that could be included in future data collection on gender, violence, health, and other topics. Specific suggestions for additional work include:

- Carry out research to analyse how men and boys are portrayed in media, as a complement to the extensive existing work on media representations of women, and use this information to engage with media content producers.
- Use the results of IMAGES and other research to build on the positive discourses around gender equality that already exist in the MENA region.
- Include questions about men's attitudes and practices related to gender equality in existing, nationally representative surveys, and use the resulting data to inform and support policy changes that promote full equality for women and girls.



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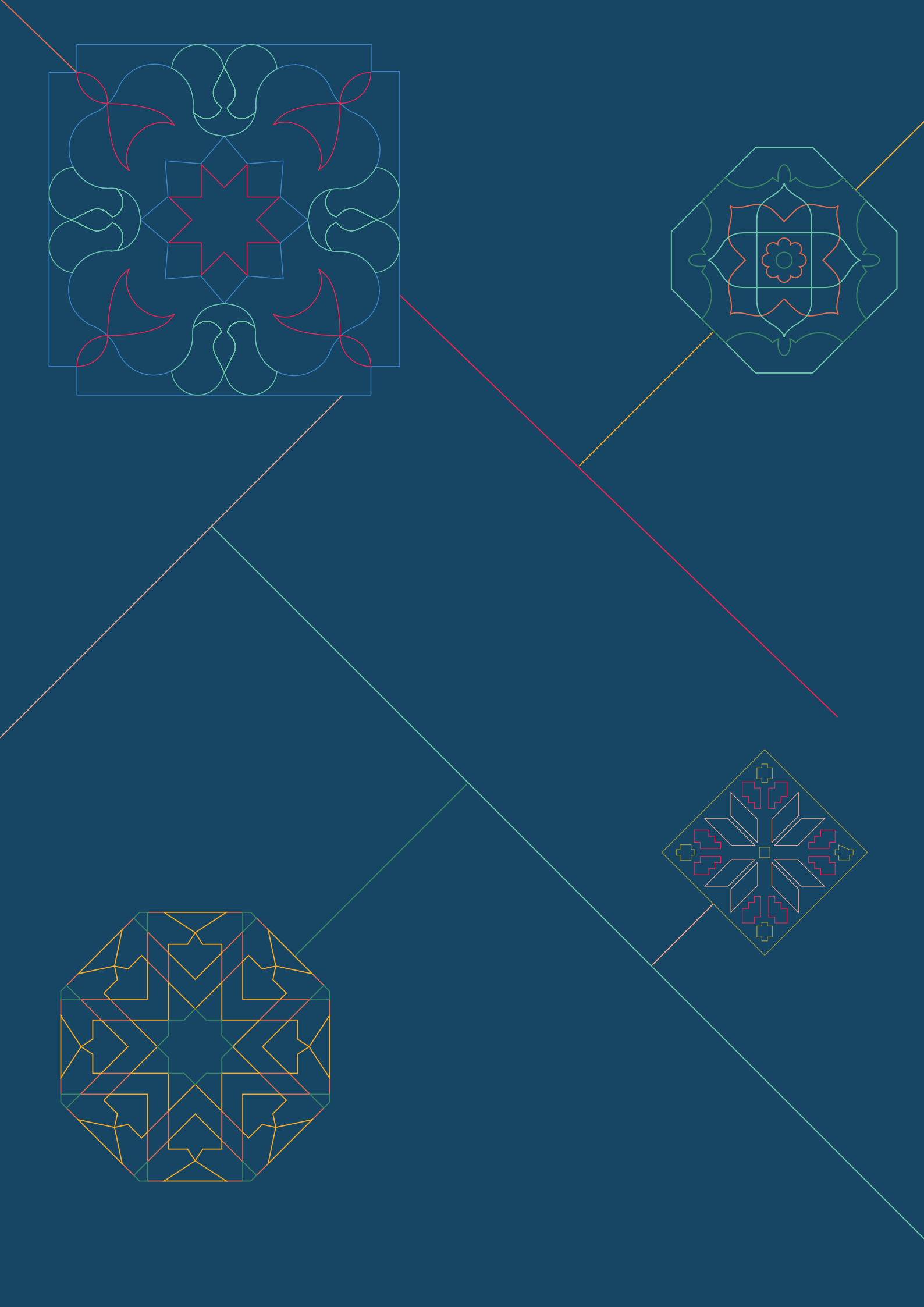

Appendix A

Research on Masculinities in IMAGES MENA Countries

There is a long and distinguished history of research and writing on the status of women in the Arab region. The study of men and masculinities, however, is a relatively new discipline, and is less developed in the Middle East and North Africa than in other parts of the Global South. While there is a rich vein of popular commentary in Arabic on the state of manhood today – in books, newspapers, magazines, TV, and social media – empirical research on masculinities is less common. The landscape of research literature on masculinities in Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, and Palestine is dotted with concentrations of studies on particular topics, like oases in the desert surrounded by vast tracts of unexplored terrain. While a full review of such research is beyond the scope of this report, the following are selected highlights from the field.[1]

There are a handful of studies which look at **masculinities in multiple dimensions.** The seminal publication, *Imagined Masculinities*, whose assorted essays cover a variety subjects – from circumcision to military service, from male fears to facial hair – has been complemented in recent years by studies based on extensive field research. Among the most comprehensive is *Live and Die Like a Man*, by Farha Ghannam, a multi-generational study of men in a lower-income area of Cairo, which follows the "trajectory of masculinity" through the lens of men's bodies and their experiences. *Egypt in the Future Tense*, by Samuli Schielke, looks at the lives of rural men against the backdrop of the rise and fall of the Arab Spring. In Morocco, *Vers une Nouvelle Masculinité au Maroc [Towards a New Masculinity in Morocco]*, by Abdessamad Dialmy, examines a cross-section of male civil servants and their attitudes toward changes in women's roles and rights, in public and private life.

Men and family life have been studied from a number of angles, among them young men's search for **love and marriage** in Egypt and the challenging economics of the "marriage market".[2] Men's desire for, and experiences of, **fatherhood**, have opened a rich vein of insight into men's lives. *The New Arab Man*, by Marcia Inhorn, builds on decades of field research on men's attitudes toward infertility and their engagement with assisted reproductive technologies in Egypt, Lebanon, and further afield in the Middle East and North Africa; additional studies on assisted reproduction in Lebanese and Palestinian communities extend this pioneering approach.[3] A related line of research on men and family life is developed in *Nurturing Masculinities*, a study by Nefissa Naguib on men's practices around food – shopping, cooking, feeding – across a wide social spectrum in Egypt. Further research on masculinities through this "caregiving" lens includes studies of fatherhood in Morocco and of food culture in Palestinian communities, among other subjects.[4]

A number of studies look at **masculinities as represented in art and culture**. Samira Aghacy's *Masculine Identity in the Fiction of the Arab East since 1967* challenges stereotypes of men and masculinities through analysis of almost two dozen contemporary novels. *Fathers and Sons in the Arab Middle East*, by Dalya Cohen-Mor, draws on fiction, memoirs, and poetry from

1. This overview focuses on research conducted since the beginning of this decade; it includes mainly academic studies published in English and French, since there are relatively few formal outlets for peer-reviewed research in Arabic. A full review of the published and grey research literature on men and masculinities across the MENA region is forthcoming. Where relevant, specific quantitative research on aspects of men's lives covered in the IMAGES MENA survey is cited in the individual country chapters of this report.

2. See Aymon Kreil, "Territories of Desire: A Geography of Competing Intimacies in Cairo" (2016); Maria Malmström, "Passion and Public Intimacy: Masculinities, Nationalism and Islam in Today's Egypt" (forthcoming); Mari Norbakk, "Love and responsibility: an ethnography of masculinities and marriage in urban Egypt" (2014); Senni Jyrkiäinen and Victoria Bisset, "Great Expectations, Uncertain Futures. Urban and Online Encounters with Youth, Love and Marriage in Egypt" (2016); Zeinab Khadr, "Marriage Market in Urban Settings in Egypt" (forthcoming).

3. See, for example, Daphne Birenbaum-Carmeli and Maria Inhorn, "Masculinity and Marginality: Palestinian Men's Struggles with Infertility in Israel and Lebanon" (2009).

4. See Liora Gvion, "Cooking, Food, and Masculinity: Palestinian Men in Israeli Society" (2011); Ravi Gokani, et al., "Occupying masculinities: fathering in the Palestinian territories" (2015); and the work of Abdessamad Dialmy on masculinities and fatherhood in Morocco (UNFPA, unpublished).

across the region to question traditional framings of paternal-filial relations. *Queer Maroc*, by Jean Zaganiaris, looks at sexual diversity as represented in Moroccan literature. Further studies have also looked at representations of masculinities in contemporary literature, media, music, cinema, and photography.[5] In a related vein, there are a number of recent studies on **historical masculinities**, among them *Working Out Egypt,* by Wilson Chacko Jacob, on the development of "effendi masculinity" in late 19th and early 20th century Egypt; *For Better, For Worse*, by Hanan Kholoussy, examining the "marriage crisis" facing men in early 20th century Egypt; and *Industrial Sexuality*, by Hanan Hammad, exploring the impact of interwar industrialization on gender roles and identities, again in Egypt.

There is a significant body of research on **masculinities and political violence** in IMAGES MENA countries.[6] The 2011 uprisings in Egypt and their attendant controversies with regard to women in public spaces, and the crackdown on non-conforming masculinities, have prompted a number of studies looking at the intersection of state power and male agency. Among them are *The Security Archipelago*, and related works by Paul Amar, as well as other research looking at masculinities and women's rights during the Arab Spring, and the rise of male protest movements, such as the football-affiliated Ultras.[7] Decades of occupation in Palestine have produced a substantial body of research looking at the impact of political repression on men's perceptions of country, community, family, and masculine identity.[8] Similarly, the intersection of conflict and masculinities in Lebanon has been extensively studied across two central axes: the impact of the Lebanese Civil War on masculinities and gender relations, and a more recent avenue of research exploring the effect of conflict and exile on male refugees, masculinities, and domestic relations.[9]

Intimately linked to research on political and public violence is the emerging body of work on **masculinities and gender-based violence (GBV)** in the four IMAGES MENA countries. While most such research focuses on women's attitudes and experiences, there is a small but growing collection of studies on men's attitudes and practices related to GBV. In Egypt, there are a number of groundbreaking studies on the role of men as both perpetrators and victims of sexual harassment, and as activists for its elimination, in the Arab Spring and its aftermath.[10] The intersection of masculinities and traditional harmful practices is also a

5. For masculinities and literary studies, see, for example, Alessandro Badin, "Between Men: Homosocial Desire and the Dynamics of Masculinity in the Novels of Rachid O. and Abdellah Taïa" (2016); Soumia Boutkhil, "In their front yard: deconstructing masculinities in Bahaa Trabelsi's novels" (2016). In the visual arts, see, for instance, Jimia Boutouba, "The Moudawana Syndrome: Gender Trouble in Contemporary Morocco" (2014); Valerie Anishchenkova, "Checkpoint Identities: The Battle of Masculinities" (2016); Nora Goerne, ""Picture an Arab Man" and "Mectoub": New Western Representations of Arab Masculinities" (2015). In music, David A. McDonald, "Geographies of the Body: Music, Violence and Manhood in Palestine" (2010).

6. Security-related research on extremist violence are a separate line of study and beyond the scope of this review.

7. See the work of Sherine Hafez, for example, "No Longer a Bargain: Women, Masculinity and the Egyptian Uprising" (2012). On the phenomenon of the Ultras, see Manal Hamzeh and Heather Sykes, "Egyptian Football Ultras and the January 25th Revolution: Anti-Corporatist, Anti-Military Martyrdom Masculinities" (2014); Carl Rommel, "Troublesome Thugs or Respectable Rebels? Class, Martyrdom and Cairo's Revolutionary Ultras" (2016). See also, Mustafa Abdalla, "Masculinity on Shifting Ground: Emasculation and the Rise of the Islamist Political Scene in Post-Mubarak Egypt" (2014).

8. See Warren Spielberg, et al., "No-man's-land: Hearing the voices of Palestinian young men residing in East Jerusalem" (2016); Ziad Yaish, " Negotiating authority and masculinity in households living in crisis situation: the case of Palestinian male breadwinners losing jobs" (2010); Roni Strier, "Unemployment and Fatherhood: Gender, Culture and National Context" (2014); Aitemad Muhanna, *Agency and Gender in Gaza: Masculinity, Femininity, and Family during the Second Intifada* (2013); Maria Malmström, "Making Uncertain Manhood: Masculinities, Embodiment and Agency among Male Hamas Youth" (2016); Gerd von der Lippe "Football, Masculinities and Health on the Gaza Strip" (2014); Tala Dayyat, ""Who Am I?": The Development of a Male Palestinian Political Identity" (2016); Amalia Sa'ar and Taghreed Yahia-Younis, "Masculinity in Crisis: The Case of Palestinians in Israel" (2010).

9. See Sune Haugbolle, "The (Little) Militia Man: Memory and Militarized Masculinity in Lebanon" (2012). See also IMC and Abaad, "Masculinity and Violence against Women among Lebanese and Iraqis in Lebanon" (2013); Kathleen Fincham, "Constructions, contradictions and reconfigurations of 'Manhood' among youth in Palestinian camps in Lebanon" (2014); Henri Myrtinnen, et al., "Re-thinking hegemonic masculinities in conflict-affected contexts" (2016); Marjolein Quist, "Traumatic Masculinities. The disconnect between the feminized policies and practices of humanitarian aid and the gendered reality of Syrian refugee life in settlements in Lebanon" (2016); IRC, "Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugee Men in Lebanon" (2015). On the subject of migration, there is a separate body of research on masculinities in the Arab diaspora in North America, Western Europe and Australia, which is beyond the scope of this overview. So too is the emerging body of literature on the intersection of migration and masculinities among non-Arab migrant workers in the Middle East and North Africa.

10. See the work of Mariz Tadros, for example, "Challenging Reified Masculinities: Men as Survivors of Politically-Motivated Sexual Harassment" (2016) and "Database of Collective Actors Involving Men Tackling Gender-Based Violence in Public Space in Post-Mubarak Egypt" (2013). See also Helen Rizzo, "The Role of Women's-Rights Organizations in Promoting Masculine Responsibility: the Anti-Sexual Harassment Campaign in Egypt (2014); Henry Hani, "Sexual Harassment in the Egyptian Streets: Feminist Theory Revisited" (2017); Sandra Fernandez, "Male Voices in a Cairo Social Movement" (2015).

nascent field of study, including work on female genital mutilation in Egypt[11] and so-called "honour" killing in Lebanese and in Palestinian communities.[12] Male perspectives on spousal violence have also been explored in Palestinian and Lebanese contexts.[13]

Men and sexualities is also a fertile field. There is a vast body of literature on gay, bisexual, and trans masculinities in IMAGES MENA countries, including such works as *Queer Beirut* by Sofian Merabet, and *Les masculinités au Maroc* [Masculinities in Morocco] by Gianfranco Rebucini, on same-sex relations in Marrakech. Additional studies include examinations of male homosexuality, transsexuality, and masculine identity in Arab history, social media, civil society movements, and other fields.[14] There is, in fact, much more research on men's alternative sexualities and gender identities in IMAGES MENA countries than there is on heterosexual men. It may seem paradoxical that identities and practices that are socially and legally proscribed would be better understood than the socially accepted norm, but this stems, in part, from an early interest in the region in HIV, which has provided a socially respectable cover of public health to address an otherwise taboo subject, and in part from a legacy of Western historical interest in the region and current global LGBT activism. Aside from clinical research on male sexual dysfunction, there is relatively little research on male heterosexuality beyond studies on men and pornography, on male sex work with female tourists in holiday resorts, and on young men's attitudes toward sex and family planning.[15]

These snapshots of research from the four countries point to an emerging interest, and expertise, in study of masculinities in the Arab region. IMAGES MENA builds on these foundations and opens new areas of enquiry, representing another step on the long road to understanding men and gender relations in the Middle East and North Africa.

11. See Amel Fahmy, et al., "Female genital mutilation/cutting and issues of sexuality in Egypt" (2010) and Amy Abdelshahid and Catherine Campbell, "Should I circumcise my daughter? Exploring diversity and ambivalence in Egyptian parents' social representations of female circumcision" (2015).

12. See May Abu Jaber, "Murder with Impunity: The Construction of Arab Masculinities and Honor Crimes" (2010); Azza Baydoun, "The Killing of Women in the Name of Honor" (2011); Mona Khoury-Kassabri, "Masculine and family honor and youth violence: The moderating role of ethnic-cultural affiliation" (2016).

13. On Lebanon, see Jinan Usta, et al., "Effects of Socialization on Gender Discrimination and Violence Against Women in Lebanon" (2016); Nadine Obeid, et al., "Beliefs About Wife Beating: An Exploratory Study With Lebanese Students" (2010); Anne-Marie Ghossain, "La construction identitaire de l'homme violent" ["Constructing the Identity of the Violent Man"] (2011). In Palestinian communities, see, for example, Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia, et al., "The Influence of Palestinian Physicians' Patriarchal Ideology and Exposure to Family Violence on Their Beliefs about Wife Beating" (2015).

14. See, for example, Rashid Al-Daif and Joachim Helfer, *"What Makes a Man? Sex Talk in Beirut and Berlin"* (2015); Ghassan Moussawi, "Not 'Straight' but Still a 'Man': Negotiating Non-Heterosexual Masculinities in Beirut" (2011); Grant Walsh-Haines, "The Egyptian Blogosphere: Policing Gender and Sexuality and the Consequences for Queer Emancipation" (2012); Matthew Gagné, "Nadir's Intimate Biography" (2016); M.S. Mohamed, "Sexuality, Development and Non-conforming Desire in the Arab World: The Case of Lebanon and Egypt" (2015); Anthony Rizk and Ghassan Makarem, ""Masculinity-under-threat": Sexual rights organizations and the masculinist state in Lebanon" (2015).

15. See Mustafa Abdalla, "Challenged Masculinities: Sexuality, 'Urfi' Marriage, and the State in Dahab, Egypt" (2015); Nadeem Karkabi, "Couples in the global margins: sexuality and marriage between Egyptian men and Western women in South Sinai" (2011). See also, B. Youssef Ramez, "A pill, a cup of tea, and a cigarette: male body in Egypt at the age of viagra" (2015); Daniel Guijarro, et al., "Men's Perceptions, Attitudes and Practices towards Reproductive Health and Sexuality in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, Lebanon and Jordan" (2015).

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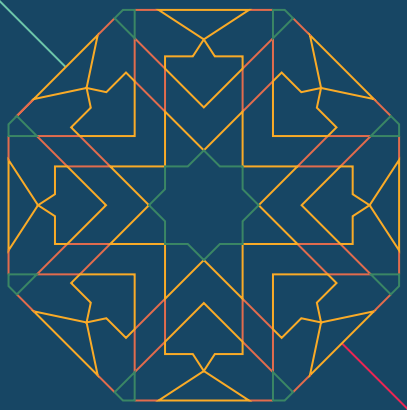

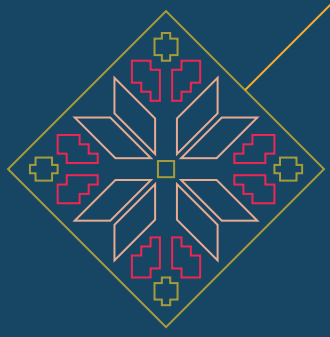

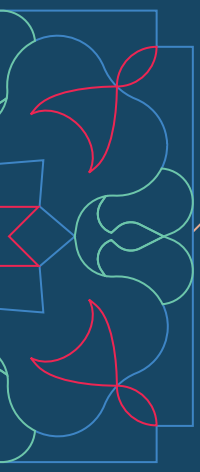

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