

Policy Paper

EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICIES FOR GENDER EQUALITY IN THE ARAB MEDITERRANEAN REGION

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Abstract

This paper examines the European Union's actions to promote gender equality in Arab Mediterranean countries, focusing on five policy documents produced within the context of the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the southern and south-eastern Mediterranean. The first part of the paper discusses Arab youth awareness of issues related to gender equality (generally high) and of the EU and public interventions in favour of gender equality in the countries considered (generally low). This discussion is based on findings from the SAHWA Youth Survey and ethnographic fieldwork. The second part of the paper analyses EU policy documents that provide guidelines to partner institutions regarding assessments, benchmarks, and suggestions for policy reform promoting gender equality in the region. More specifically, the way in which gender equality is mainstreamed will be analysed, along with policy targets. This second part of the paper examines the nature, goals and characteristics of EU policy guidelines on gender equality in the region. Finally, empirically based policy recommendations will be offered.

1. Introduction¹

This paper examines the European Union's actions to promote gender equality in Arab Mediterranean countries, mainly through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Considering the relevance given to the topic of gender equality by EU policymakers and the EU's privileged position as a source of funding for a number of non-state actors as well as governmental agencies in the region, the paper aims to discuss possible mismatches between young people's needs (as expressed in the survey and fieldwork carried out as part of SAHWA Project) and EU policy priorities and actions. Furthermore, considering the increasingly intra-policy sectors approach of EU policies (O'Connell, 2016), it seems appropriate to focus on the EU's promotion of gender equality as a lens through which to view youth-related policies as well.

More specifically, the paper is divided into two parts. First, it will examine the scenario that EU policies and policy documents intersect with. Quantitative and qualitative data will be provided on gender relations and the position of women in the Arab Mediterranean countries. In addition to depicting the scenario the EU policies aim to target, building on SAHWA findings (youth survey and ethnographic fieldworks), this first part of the paper will also examine youth awareness of issues related to gender equality (generally high) and of the EU and public interventions in favour of gender equality in the countries considered (generally low).

The second part of the paper revolves around the analysis of EU policy documents relevant to the issue of gender equality. In particular, the selected documents provide guidelines to partner institutions regarding assessments, benchmarks, and suggestions for policy reform. In addition, they offer material for the examination of the main objectives, policy sectors, targets and actors involved in policy implementation. Special attention will be given to the analysis of the paradigms at work when it comes to the way in which gender equality is mainstreamed (gender democracy, gender as a factor for neoliberal economic development) and to the identification and categorisation of the policy targets (e.g. women as vulnerable subjects, as agents of economic and social development). This second part of the paper will then consider all these points as an axis of analysis, depicting the nature, goals and characteristics of EU policy guidelines on gender equality in the region.

The overarching goal of the paper is to offer a critical examination of the EU's role in engendering public policy for gender equality. To this end, policy recommendations are elaborated in the concluding remarks.

2. Young people and gender equality in the Arab Mediterranean region

Gender relations are undergoing important changes in the Arab Mediterranean region. This section of the paper examines these changes in relation to the heterogeneous youth population of the five countries under study.

International statistics reveal that women in the Arab Mediterranean region suffer from conditions of disadvantage in the labour market, education, in the political and legal spheres and in the family. Many Arab Mediterranean countries have in place family laws that confer upon women the status of dependent subjects when it comes to marriage customs, divorce legislation, inheritance law and child custody. Moreover, women are associated primarily with their domestic role as caretakers. The cumulative effect is gender-based discrimination and second-class citizenship for women, albeit in varying degrees across the different countries, socioeconomic statuses and generations (Cherubini, Leccardi & Rivetti, 2015).

In this setting, nevertheless, relevant transformations have been taking place. A number of countries have undertaken reforms of the personal code and political initiatives in favour of the advancement of women's rights and gender equality have been promoted in recent years (Bouraoui, 2015). Women and young women have improved access to education, the labour market and political offices. Family formation and marriage are also undergoing significant changes as new patterns of biographical transition take root in the region (Cherubini, Leccardi & Rivetti, 2015). Moreover, many women and women's organisations engage in debates about women's position in society and about gender inequality. Women and young women experienced important transformations with regard to their political participation during and after the 2011 uprisings (Cherubini, Leccardi & Rivetti 2015; Laine et al., 2015). The structure of gender relations and sociocultural values describing gendered roles for men and women are undergoing important transformations and are fields of conflictual social visions (Cherubini, Leccardi, Rivetti, 2016).

The empirical data collected through the SAHWA Youth Survey and the multi-local ethnographic fieldwork illuminates these processes and shows how they are changing the living conditions, opportunities and aspirations of young women and young men in the

region. The research shows how innovation and continuity in gender relations and norms and demands for change and resistance to change coexist and open up new opportunities as well as new tensions and contradictions for different sectors of the youth population.

First of all, there are interesting results in the field of education. Young people involved in the research belong to the generations who are for the first time living through important transformations related to new opportunities for women in terms of education. The results of qualitative and quantitative inquiry show high levels of agreement with the idea of gender equality in training and education. A great portion of the surveyed young people reject the idea that “Education is more important for boys than for girls” (Table 1), while agreeing on the fact that “The same upbringing should be given to both boys and girls” (Table 2).² For instance, a percentage between 47% and 87% of the young respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the first statement,³ while the agreement with the latter is even stronger, at between 74% and 97%, depending on the country.⁴ This is also the field in which the attitudes of young men and women are most similar, although differences still exist. In line with these views, the importance of policies promoting equal opportunities in education seems to be widely acknowledged by young people. Most of the young people participating in the survey think that “Government should promote equality between men and women in education” (Table 9): 93% of young people in Tunisia, 91% in Lebanon, 88.7% in Morocco, 86.5% in Algeria and 82% in Egypt.⁵ A second key result concerns the relevance of education to young people’s social inclusion. The latter seems to be more dependent on education for young women than for men, although both report it as a relevant factor. Qualitative fieldwork, in particular, is rich in insights on this matter. It shows that young women’s positive performance in the education systems often results from their ability to oppose the gender discrimination they face within their family and the education system, rather than from the absence of gender discrimination. It follows that indicators on women’s improved performance in education should be taken as an indicator of the women’s agency and the cultural transformations that are currently underway and that need to be supported by specific policies rather than as a consolidated outcome.

Young people’s attitudes and views on the issue of gender relations and gender equality in the labour market and in institutional politics are less cohesive and more fragmented. While most of the young respondents agree on the fact that “A married woman should have the possibility to work outside the house if she wants to” (Table 3) and that “Women should

have the possibility of going into politics” (Table 4), the idea of full equality between men and women still meets resistance. Most of the males and a smaller yet significant percentage of female respondents think that “When there is not a lot of work, men should have more right to employment than women” (Table 5). The percentage of respondents who “agree strongly” or “agree” with this idea are, respectively: 56.2% and 30.3% in Tunisia, 40.4% and 41.8% in Egypt, 42.4% and 36% in Algeria, 25.1% and 45.1% in Morocco, 23.3% and 55.5% in Lebanon. Young women also show high levels of agreement with this cultural norm, although young men tend to agree more, in all the countries (except for Morocco, where the male and female levels of agreement/disagreement are quite similar): in Tunisia 90.9% of young men agree or strongly agree with this idea versus 79.2% of young women, and the same is true for 85% of male and 70% of female respondents in Algeria, 87.5% of young men and 77% of young women in Egypt, and 87.1% of young men and 70.4% of young women in Lebanon. This means women’s participation in the labour market is often seen in competitive terms and subordinated to the male role of the breadwinner. Women’s political participation meets similar, yet more restrained, resistance: it is seen as quite desirable, mostly among female respondents.

The survey shows acknowledgement of the importance of gender equality policies in these two fields (economy/labour market and politics) for young men and women. Female respondents tend to express a stronger acceptance than male (more young women “absolutely” think that governments should promote equal opportunities, in all the surveyed countries) (Tables 10 & 11).

The issue of gender roles and relations within the family is the one causing the most evident gender-based division among the respondents, although other social cleavages such as social class, educational level, rural or urban origin matter too. Although the sociocultural relevance of social statuses such as having a family, being married or parenting are not questioned by young people (as reflected in National Case Studies: AUC, 2016; CAWTAR, 2016; CREAD, 2016; HEM, 2016; LAU, 2016), the tensions and the respondents’ diversity of answers deserve further attention.

Qualitative and quantitative data point to the wide acceptance of the men’s role as economic providers for their family, among both male and female respondents. Qualitative data suggests that the widespread adherence to this norm of masculinity poses specific challenges to young men, as they often find it difficult to fulfil this requirement because of the high

level of youth unemployment and feel anxious about their ability to do it in their future. This seems to amplify the sense of uncertainty perceived by both young men and women in relation to their future (LAU, 2016; p. 23).

The survey also explored young people's attitudes in relation to women's rights and legal equality in the family. In particular, the right to inheritance for women and equality of rights in the decision to divorce are the two items that gather consensus among young people (Tables 6 & 7).⁶ Although – here again – young women are more supportive of these two principles than young men.⁷ However, when it comes to the portion of inheritance to be allocated to men and women, the principle of equal treatment meets little sympathy among young people (Table 8). In some countries, it seems to divide women and men's views. More in detail, two countries (Lebanon and Morocco) show medium levels of agreement and important differences between men's and women's views, while the other countries show low levels of agreement and similar positions in the male and female youth population.⁸

It is not surprising, therefore, that support for political intervention fostering gender equality in the family code is more limited than in the domains already explored (namely, education, the labour market and politics) (Table 12). What matters more – equality within the family – is the field in which the position of young women and men diverges the most, becoming in some cases even opposite and specular.

Moreover, the research outcomes indicate that young people's awareness of issues related to gender equality is generally high, although internally diversified, in contrast with the generally low awareness of EU interventions in favour of gender equality in the region. More in detail, the survey data shows that the knowledge of EU cooperation schemes and policies addressing young people in the Arab Mediterranean region is scarce, and that EU interventions in the fields of gender equality and against gender-based violence are the most obscure to them. There is indeed a gap between the demands for specific policies addressing these issues and the awareness of the existing ones (whether or not they are perceived as appropriate and effective).

3. Policy analysis

This section proposes an analysis of relevant EU policy documents dealing with gender issues and the promotion of gender equality in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) addressed specifically to the Arab Mediterranean region, and

the five SAHWA countries in particular. The ENP is the EU's broader policy instrument to engage neighbouring countries. It targets policy sectors ranging from trade to sociocultural cooperation (Bicchi & Lavenex, 2015). The promotion of women's emancipation is regarded by EU policymakers as a crucial area in which the EU can exert its normative power and as an identity issue that describes the EU's action and values transfer (Pace, 2009). Although women's rights have therefore been at the core of EU-Mediterranean relations, the underpinnings of EU policy actions have changed over time, at least at a discursive level, shifting from the focus on women's emancipation to gender equality. The documents examined are:

1. *Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women through EU External Relations 2016-2020 - the EU Gender Action Plan (GAP) for 2016-2020*, High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security, Brussels, 2015.
2. *Women's Rights during Democratic Transition. ENHANCING EU ACTION TO SUPPORT UNIVERSAL STANDARDS FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS DURING DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS. The case of democratic transition in the MENA region*, Directorate-General for External Policies, Policy Department, 2012.
3. *Council Conclusions on the Millennium Development Goals for the United Nations High-Level Plenary meeting in New York and beyond - Supporting the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015*, Council of the European Union, Brussels, 2010.
4. *Council conclusions on gender equality*, The Council of the European Union, Brussels, 12/6/2016.

These documents have been selected as they constitute the policy-direction backbone of the EU's gender equality promotion-related actions. They have been produced by EU institutions and cover a span of time (2010-2016) during which the EU policy discourse around gender equality has changed, thus reflecting this transformation. The ENP has significant impact on the policymaking of the targeted countries. In fact, the EU documents provide guidelines to partner institutions regarding assessments, benchmarks, and suggestions for policy reform.

The analysis proposed here looks at two aspects of the mentioned policies. More specifically, it analyses:

- The paradigms through which gender equality is mainstreamed;
- Policy targets and policy sectors; categorisation of policy targets (e.g. women as vulnerable subjects, or as agents of economic and social development).

The paradigms

The comparison between EU policy documents is very instructive on a number of issues, as it highlights not only the paradigms to which the EU has been making reference in order to mainstream gender equality, but also its shifts and development. In fact, as also noted by O'Connor (2016), the document *Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women through EU External Relations 2016-2020* (2015) enshrines a change in the understanding of gender relations, which are now seen as resulting from the situated working of several layers of other inequalities, such as those based on disability, age, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation.

However, the three prevailing paradigms through which gender equality is understood have remained the same. They are gender equality as: i) a human rights issue; ii) the basis of democracy and good governance; and, iii) the engine of economic development. Women's rights are also explicitly linked to "peace, reconstruction and state building processes", and to a "development that is socially, economically and ecologically sustainable" (p. 4).

The idea of gender-engendered economic development is also referred to in the *Council Conclusions on the Millennium Development Goals* (2010). On page 5, it states that "Gender equality, women's political and economic empowerment and women's enjoyment of human rights are essential for poverty reduction and sustainable development, for women as economic actors and for addressing the main health challenges, with particular links to nutrition, water and sanitation, and maternal mortality". The Council, six years later, reiterates in its *Conclusion* (2016) that "Gender equality is also a prerequisite for economic growth, prosperity and competitiveness and thus for the sustainability and well-being of our societies". It is worth pointing out the neoliberal underpinnings of the idea of development promoted here.

The idea that gender equality promotes good governance and democratic accountability (which is usually referred to as "gender democracy") is present in a number of documents that highlight the need for mainstreaming gender equality or women's rights in all policy sectors the ENP deals with. For instance in the document *Transforming the Lives of Girls*

and Women through EU External Relations 2016-2020 (2015), it is stated that “Gender equality is a matter of human rights. It is the foundation of democratic societies and good governance, and the cornerstone of inclusive sustainable development” (p. 1). This statement is placed at the very opening of the document. Likewise, the *Council Conclusions on the Millennium Development Goals* (2010) says that “The EU reiterates its strong commitment to gender equality as a human right, a question of social justice and a core value of the EU development policy” (p. 5).

Policy targets and policy sectors

In *Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women* (2015), one of the key actions to be undertaken is the removal of “norms and value-sets that limit girls and boys, women and men, from fulfilling their potential” (p. 4). The transformation of those “challenge deeply rooted structural inequalities to benefit society as a whole” (ibid.). Following on from such premises, the document indicates four priority actions: ensuring girls’ and women’s physical and psychological integrity; promoting the economic and social rights/empowerment of girls and women; strengthening girls’ and women’s voice and participation; shifting the Commission services and the EEAS’ institutional culture to more effectively deliver on EU commitments. The targeted policy sectors range from education to the health system, including policy measures in favour of the employability of women, and suggest a compelling policy approach in line with the multi-layered understanding of gender relations described earlier in this text. However, despite the document seeming to suggest a holistic approach, there is no mention in the description of the four pivotal actions listed above that young men should also be targets of the policy actions suggested.

Likewise, the white book of the European Human Rights Network does not include men and boys in their suggested policy action to strengthen EU policy actions to achieve a rights-based ENP and bilateral relations. This is in contrast with recent developments in EU policies for achieving gender equality in Europe, where the need of involving boys and men is acknowledged (EIGE, 2012).

The 2016 *Council conclusion on gender equality* contains some references to men as subjects of EU policies aimed at achieving and promoting gender equality. For instance, point 22 reads that “[...] all help to support the multiple roles of women and men [...] are critical to their well-being and that of their families. The societal significance of the role of

parents in the upbringing of children and caring for other dependants should also be acknowledged. Efforts to enhance work-life balance should therefore be stepped up with a view to supporting both women and men throughout their life course, bearing in mind that the availability of quality care services is key to the achievement of gender equality”. More explicitly, point 24 reads that “[the Council] calls on the European commission and the member states, in accordance with their respective competences, to increase efforts and funding, where necessary, to support existing and/or new measures and strategies to combat all forms of violence against women and girls by applying a comprehensive policy that includes measures for prevention, protection and punishment, and also tackles emerging forms of violence; and to involve men and boys in the prevention of and fight against violence against women and girls”.

Women and young women (in the documents, female young people are referred to as “girls”) are therefore the target of EU policies. The age cleavage, however, does not constitute a specific criteria around which distinct policies are elaborated, “women and girls” are usually taken together as a single policy target.

While men are generally excluded, women are the principal, if not unique, target of the policy actions suggested by the EU. How are women represented? Mostly, women are characterised as vulnerable subjects or as victims of male violence, while structural violence coming from structural inequalities such as poor working conditions caused by neoliberal privatisation, class or race-based violence is scarcely considered.

In *Transforming the Lives of Girls and Women* (2015), women are mostly represented as subjects to be empowered, to be “saved” from a position of powerlessness through policy actions that support “girls’ and women’s active participation, and [challenge] social norms, increasing girls’ and women’s status within society [which] often comes with enhancing women’s agency in other areas such as property ownership and financial resources. For example, property ownership and control over financial resources can enhance women’s agency by amplifying their voice and increasing their bargaining power within the household” (p.10).

4. Policy recommendations and conclusions

The analysis of empirical data collected by SAHWA’s transnational and multi-local team has shown that the support for women’s rights and the idea of gender equality are important

elements of youth cultures and values in the Arab Mediterranean region, although differences can be observed between young women and men depending on the social environment they are merged in and on the policy domain under examination (e.g. education, economy, politics, family relations). As a general trend, young women attach more value to equality and women's access to rights than men.

In line with the social attitudes so far described, the relevance young people attach to gender equality policies is generally high, although it varies according to the domains. We find the highest support and converging positions between young men and women in relation to gender equality intervention in the field of education, and the weakest support and most conflicting views (between and within the two sexes) when it comes to the transformation of the family code. In relation to gender equality policies in education, the data describes a favourable scenario characterised by wide support among the youth population. At the same time, there is high demand and still great need for these policies because positive developments must be supported and enhanced, and the risks of rolling back should be prevented.

Our findings suggest that the change in cultural values governing gender relations has different paces and directions along lines of gender, age, class, education and the urban/rural environment. Many young people (especially women) are pushing for changes. Others (especially, but not exclusively, young men) are more cautious, while a small yet significant minority is openly opposing all changes. National and international policies in the field of gender equality, including EU policies, have to take this scenario and its temporal and geographical variations into account.

SAHWA data has also shown a gap between the demands for specific policies addressing gender equality and the awareness of existing policies, especially EU policies. Possible recommendations addressing this problem point to the importance of informing young people – including the less reachable and most vulnerable sectors – about the resources they can access in order to improve their situation. This would require additional efforts in developing targeted and context-sensitive communication, as well as better relations with national and local actors responsible for policy implementation.

The analysis of EU policy documents has shown that, despite being theoretically celebrated as the most successful of approaches, a holistic and truly intersectional policy approach is still to come. In fact, gender equality is often considered a “women's issue”, with

educational and policy actions addressed at women exclusively. Also, despite the expression “gender equality” being adopted and utilised throughout the documents, the main policy focus seems to remain women’s rights and women’s emancipation (often conflated in a neoliberal model of emancipation centred around private property and participation in formal institutions), thus erasing violence and discrimination directed against subjects that do not comply with a binary gender structure. Moreover, the focus on formal politics and institutions causes a vision of Arab Mediterranean women as victims, as subjects to be “saved” from the violence that their sociocultural environments enable. There is no mention of economic structural violence, and the gender-based violence that results from the intersection of several layers of discrimination such as, for instance, class, religion, ethnicity and other hierarchies.

Considering the findings discussed in this paper, the following policy recommendations are proposed:

1. Tailor the policies of gender equality promotion along the lines of social and economic cleavages (class, geographical variation, ethnicity, sexual orientation, non-binary gender identity, etc.). This means, for instance, that gay, poor women from disadvantaged ethnic backgrounds cannot be treated the same as straight upper class women from mainly Arab backgrounds, just because they are both women. In fact, they may have different needs and they may understand “gender equality” in different ways. It follows that tailored policies need to be put in place in order to: i) reach out to diverse social constituencies; ii) acquire a situated understanding of “gender equality”; and, iii) address their actual needs through effective policies. Such policies might be best put in place by local civil society actors, who have deep knowledge of local contexts.
2. Involve men and young men too. Gender equality is not only a women’s issue. Gender is a social construction that defines masculinity as well as femininity. Like women, men are expected to behave in certain ways because of their gender. It follows that in order to achieve gender equality, it is important to address men and young men as targets of gender-related policies as well. Training and educational seminars may be of great benefit to men and young men, who can find an appropriate environment to reflect upon gender roles. Such policies might be best put in place by

local civil society actors, who are in contact with social organisations such as sport clubs and men-only recreational spaces.

3. Address the young population as key targets in gender equality policies. Gender awareness and sensitivity needs to be developed from puberty in order to raise self-aware individuals who are able to address structural gender violence. Therefore, it is important to involve the youth (both young men and women) as policy targets. This can be done by involving civil society actors, who are in contact with youth sports clubs, schools, and pre- and post-school recreational activities.
4. Strengthen the holistic approach when it comes to the policy sectors targeted. For instance, to decrease the rate of women's death at child birth, it is necessary to promote affordable health care, guarantee access to clean and hot water and energy supply as well as to enhance women's access to education. This needs a complex cross-sector approach, and therefore needs to involve institutional actors at ministerial level as well as policy implementers at civil society level.

5. Endnotes

1. The present paper is the result of the authors' shared analyses and work. Daniela Cherubini is the author of paragraphs 2 and 4; Paola Rivetti is the author of paragraphs 1 and 3. Carmen Leccardi is the scientific coordinator of the research unit. She supervised the data analysis, content and structure of this text.

2. Data from the SAHWA Youth Survey.

3. More in detail, the level of disagreement is high or medium-high in Lebanon (86.9%), Tunisia (73.3%), Egypt (66.9%) and Algeria (61.8%), while in Morocco it is 47.1%.

4. The level of agreement is 74.4% in Morocco, 85.6% in Algeria, 92.2% in Lebanon, 95% in Tunisia, and 97% in Egypt.

5. Levels of strong agreement – young people who answered “Yes, absolutely” – are especially high in Tunisia (67%), Algeria (58.5%) and Lebanon (54.2%).

6. In Morocco, 84.4% of respondents agree or strongly agree that women and men should be equally free in the decision to divorce. The figure is 80.1% in Lebanon, 77.3% in Tunisia, 65.8% in Egypt, and 55.4% in Algeria. Agreement with the idea that women should have the right to receive inheritance is 97.4% in Tunisia, 90.7% in Algeria, 93.7% in Egypt, 77.6% in Lebanon, and 76% in Morocco.

7. This is especially evident in some countries. For instance, in Morocco, 75.3% of young women as against 58.1% of young men agree or strongly agree with the principle of equality of rights in the decision to divorce. The same statement meets the agreement or strong agreement of 69% of young women and 43.3% of young men in Algeria, 72.1% of young women and 59.5% of young men in Egypt, and 88.3% of young women and 72% of young men in Lebanon.

8. In Morocco, 50% of respondents (59% among females, 44% among males) agree or strongly agree on the idea that women should receive the same inheritance as men, while strong disagreement is expressed by 17.7% of respondents. In Lebanon, 69.5% (79.2% female, 59.9% male) agree or strongly agree with the same statement. In Tunisia, 28.9% agree or strongly agree with this idea, while 41% of respondents strongly disagree. In Algeria, 22% agree or strongly agree, and 42.5% strongly disagree. In Egypt, only 16% of respondents agree or strongly agree, and the strong disagreement reaches 62.6%.

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7. Annex

Table 1. Level of agreement with statement: “Education is more important for boys than for girls”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	18.0%	13.3%	15.8%
	Agree	27.9%	16.2%	22.4%
	Disagree	37.3%	33.1%	35.3%
	Disagree strongly	16.9%	37.5%	26.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	19.7%	15.4%	17.6%
	Agree	17.0%	14.1%	15.5%
	Disagree	35.6%	33.4%	34.5%
	Disagree strongly	27.7%	37.0%	32.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	3.2%	1.7%	2.5%
	Agree	12.7%	8.6%	10.7%
	Disagree	50.0%	43.1%	46.6%
	Disagree strongly	34.0%	46.5%	40.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	22.6%	25.7%	23.7%
	Agree	32.0%	24.0%	29.2%
	Disagree	33.1%	34.9%	33.7%
	Disagree strongly	12.3%	15.5%	13.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	14.9%	9.4%	12.2%
	Agree	18.8%	10.4%	14.6%
	Disagree	35.3%	35.7%	35.5%
	Disagree strongly	30.9%	44.6%	37.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 2. Level of agreement with statement: “The same upbringing should be given to both boys and girls”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	32.8%	53.2%	42.3%
	Agree	49.4%	36.3%	43.3%
	Disagree	14.6%	8.1%	11.6%
	Disagree strongly	3.2%	2.4%	2.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	61.5%	60.4%	61.0%
	Agree	35.5%	36.5%	36.0%
	Disagree	2.5%	2.3%	2.4%
	Disagree strongly	0.4%	0.8%	0.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	36.2%	51.3%	43.7%
	Agree	54.2%	42.5%	48.4%
	Disagree	8.1%	5.3%	6.7%
	Disagree strongly	1.5%	0.9%	1.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	27.8%	33.7%	29.8%
	Agree	46.6%	40.6%	44.6%
	Disagree	21.8%	19.6%	21.0%
	Disagree strongly	3.8%	6.0%	4.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	51.1%	58.6%	54.9%
	Agree	42.8%	37.4%	40.1%
	Disagree	4.4%	2.3%	3.4%
	Disagree strongly	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3. Level of agreement with statement: “A married woman should have the possibility to work outside the house if she wants to”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	14.1%	38.4%	25.4%
	Agree	41.9%	45.6%	43.6%
	Disagree	30.5%	10.6%	21.2%
	Disagree strongly	13.5%	5.4%	9.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	14.6%	26.1%	20.4%
	Agree	49.2%	54.0%	51.7%
	Disagree	25.8%	14.9%	20.3%
	Disagree strongly	10.3%	5.0%	7.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	16.7%	28.7%	22.7%
	Agree	71.7%	64.4%	68.1%
	Disagree	9.8%	6.2%	8.0%
	Disagree strongly	1.8%	0.6%	1.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	22.5%	29.1%	24.8%
	Agree	47.5%	45.0%	46.6%
	Disagree	24.3%	18.9%	22.4%
	Disagree strongly	5.7%	7.1%	6.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	32.9%	54.6%	43.8%
	Agree	53.7%	41.8%	47.7%
	Disagree	9.1%	2.3%	5.7%
	Disagree strongly	4.3%	1.3%	2.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4. Level of agreement with statement: “Women should have the possibility of going into politics”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	7.4%	19.4%	13.0%
	Agree	23.5%	37.2%	29.9%
	Disagree	44.1%	27.9%	36.5%
	Disagree strongly	25.0%	15.6%	20.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	12.3%	20.4%	16.4%
	Agree	42.5%	48.6%	45.6%
	Disagree	33.7%	26.7%	30.1%
	Disagree strongly	11.5%	4.4%	7.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	8.9%	18.8%	13.8%
	Agree	59.4%	61.8%	60.6%
	Disagree	23.9%	15.7%	19.8%
	Disagree strongly	7.9%	3.7%	5.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	20.3%	24.4%	21.7%
	Agree	47.1%	47.6%	47.3%
	Disagree	23.9%	18.7%	22.1%
	Disagree strongly	8.7%	9.3%	8.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	27.2%	38.4%	32.8%
	Agree	48.5%	49.3%	48.9%
	Disagree	15.3%	9.8%	12.6%
	Disagree strongly	8.9%	2.6%	5.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5. Level of agreement with statement: “When there is not a lot of work, men should have more right to employment than women”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	49.3%	34.6%	42.4%
	Agree	36.0%	36.0%	36.0%
	Disagree	8.8%	21.6%	14.8%
	Disagree strongly	5.9%	7.8%	6.8%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	48.9%	32.1%	40.4%
	Agree	38.5%	45.0%	41.8%
	Disagree	8.6%	17.4%	13.1%
	Disagree strongly	4.0%	5.5%	4.7%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	28.6%	18.0%	23.3%
	Agree	58.5%	52.4%	55.5%
	Disagree	11.9%	26.1%	19.0%
	Disagree strongly	1.0%	3.5%	2.3%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	25.2%	25.0%	25.1%
	Agree	44.2%	46.7%	45.1%
	Disagree	23.1%	20.9%	22.3%
	Disagree strongly	7.5%	7.4%	7.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	63.4%	49.0%	56.2%
	Agree	27.5%	33.2%	30.3%
	Disagree	6.2%	12.6%	9.4%
	Disagree strongly	2.9%	5.3%	4.1%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6. Level of agreement with statement: “Women and men should be equally free in the decision to divorce”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	10.2%	26.4%	17.8%
	Agree	33.1%	42.6%	37.6%
	Disagree	34.4%	18.5%	27.0%
	Disagree strongly	22.2%	12.4%	17.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	15.0%	25.0%	20.0%
	Agree	44.5%	47.1%	45.8%
	Disagree	21.8%	16.3%	19.0%
	Disagree strongly	18.8%	11.6%	15.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	9.8%	24.2%	17.0%
	Agree	62.2%	64.1%	63.1%
	Disagree	19.3%	8.7%	14.1%
	Disagree strongly	8.8%	2.9%	5.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	17.9%	25.2%	20.4%
	Agree	40.8%	50.1%	44.0%
	Disagree	28.2%	15.5%	23.7%
	Disagree strongly	13.2%	9.3%	11.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	29.3%	38.3%	33.8%
	Agree	41.4%	45.6%	43.5%
	Disagree	14.9%	7.8%	11.4%
	Disagree strongly	14.4%	8.4%	11.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7. Level of agreement with statement: “Women should have the right to receive inheritance”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	43.6%	55.7%	49.3%
	Agree	44.8%	37.5%	41.4%
	Disagree	7.6%	3.7%	5.8%
	Disagree strongly	4.0%	3.2%	3.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	47.8%	49.3%	48.5%
	Agree	47.1%	43.3%	45.2%
	Disagree	3.2%	4.8%	4.0%
	Disagree strongly	1.9%	2.7%	2.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	20.0%	35.0%	27.5%
	Agree	76.5%	63.6%	70.1%
	Disagree	3.1%	1.2%	2.2%
	Disagree strongly	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	22.9%	28.6%	24.9%
	Agree	52.9%	47.9%	51.1%
	Disagree	18.4%	15.8%	17.5%
	Disagree strongly	5.8%	7.7%	6.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	53.1%	61.8%	57.5%
	Agree	43.2%	36.6%	39.9%
	Disagree	1.5%	1.0%	1.3%
	Disagree strongly	2.2%	0.6%	1.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8. Level of agreement with statement: “Women should receive the same inheritance as men”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	5.7%	11.6%	8.4%
	Agree	11.5%	16.0%	13.6%
	Disagree	36.8%	33.9%	35.5%
	Disagree strongly	45.9%	38.5%	42.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	4.9%	7.2%	6.0%
	Agree	9.5%	10.5%	10.0%
	Disagree	20.5%	22.1%	21.3%
	Disagree strongly	65.1%	60.2%	62.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	11.4%	26.3%	18.9%
	Agree	48.5%	52.9%	50.6%
	Disagree	30.3%	16.9%	23.7%
	Disagree strongly	9.8%	3.9%	6.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	13.8%	22.9%	17.0%
	Agree	31.4%	36.0%	33.0%
	Disagree	34.9%	27.4%	32.3%
	Disagree strongly	19.9%	13.8%	17.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Agree strongly	11.7%	14.9%	13.3%
	Agree	12.3%	18.9%	15.6%
	Disagree	31.0%	29.0%	30.0%
	Disagree strongly	45.0%	37.3%	41.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9. Level of agreement with statement: “Government should promote equality between men and women in education”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	54.9%	62.7%	58.5%
	Yes, to some extent	34.5%	28.6%	31.8%
	No, not at all	10.3%	8.0%	9.2%
	No answer	0.3%	0.6%	0.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	72.9%	71.7%	72.3%
	Yes, to some extent	23.9%	24.7%	24.3%
	No, not at all	3.2%	3.6%	3.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	74.9%	86.1%	80.5%
	Yes, to some extent	22.4%	12.4%	17.4%
	No, not at all	2.7%	1.5%	2.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	32.5%	34.3%	33.1%
	Yes, to some extent	51.6%	48.8%	50.6%
	No, not at all	15.9%	16.8%	16.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	61.2%	72.7%	67.0%
	Yes, to some extent	29.8%	22.3%	26.1%
	No, not at all	9.0%	5.0%	7.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 10. Level of agreement with statement: “Government should promote equality between men and women in the labour market”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	24.7%	49.3%	36.1%
	Yes, to some extent	43.5%	36.8%	40.4%
	No, not at all	31.7%	13.4%	23.1%
	No answer	0.2%	0.5%	0.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	50.9%	58.1%	54.5%
	Yes, to some extent	38.5%	34.7%	36.6%
	No, not at all	10.7%	7.2%	8.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	66.9%	81.3%	74.1%
	Yes, to some extent	26.9%	14.4%	20.7%
	No, not at all	6.3%	4.3%	5.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	28.7%	29.8%	29.1%
	Yes, to some extent	51.4%	48.8%	50.5%
	No, not at all	20.0%	21.3%	20.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	44.5%	64.4%	54.5%
	Yes, to some extent	41.1%	26.0%	33.6%
	No, not at all	14.3%	9.6%	12.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 11. Level of agreement with statement: “Government should promote equality between men and women in politics”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	14.9%	27.8%	20.9%
	Yes, to some extent	38.6%	42.8%	40.6%
	No, not at all	46.2%	28.6%	38.0%
		0.3%	0.7%	0.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	42.0%	38.7%	40.3%
	Yes, to some extent	42.2%	42.6%	42.4%
	No, not at all	15.8%	18.7%	17.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	46.3%	62.2%	54.2%
	Yes, to some extent	42.9%	30.8%	36.9%
	No, not at all	10.8%	7.0%	9.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	28.4%	28.3%	28.4%
	Yes, to some extent	48.1%	44.8%	47.0%
	No, not at all	23.4%	26.9%	24.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	43.3%	58.8%	51.1%
	Yes, to some extent	42.1%	31.8%	37.0%
	No, not at all	14.5%	9.4%	12.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 12. Level of agreement with statement: “Government should promote equality between men and women in the family code”

ALGERIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	22.9%	40.3%	31.0%
	Yes, to some extent	33.4%	37.4%	35.3%
	No, not at all	43.4%	21.7%	33.3%
		0.3%	0.6%	0.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
EGYPT		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	43.1%	45.2%	44.2%
	Yes, to some extent	40.8%	39.2%	40.0%
	No, not at all	16.1%	15.6%	15.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LEBANON		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	45.5%	64.9%	55.2%
	Yes, to some extent	41.1%	23.3%	32.3%
	No, not at all	13.4%	11.8%	12.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MOROCCO		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	28.8%	32.6%	30.2%
	Yes, to some extent	50.4%	47.6%	49.4%
	No, not at all	20.8%	19.8%	20.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
TUNISIA		Male	Female	Total
	Yes, absolutely	39.8%	56.3%	48.1%
	Yes, to some extent	40.0%	33.6%	36.8%
	No, not at all	20.1%	10.1%	15.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%



Researching
Arab Mediterranean Youth:
Towards a New Social Contract



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