

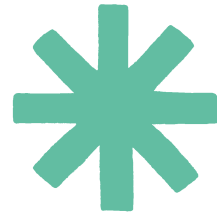
METOO IN CONTEXT: AGAINST SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN MOROCCO, TUNISIA, EGYPT AND JORDAN

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CONTENT

5	METOO IN CONTEXT:
5	INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE REPORT
7	DEFINING A SOCIAL MOVEMENT
7	METOO AS A GENDER NEUTRAL CONCEPT
8	METOO IN SWANA – WHAT AND WHY?
9	METOO: EURO/WESTERN CENTRIC OR A WAY OF EMPOWERMENT?
9	METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY
10	Limitations of the Study
11	MOROCCO
11	INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA
11	LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – PROGRESSIVE OR MERELY SYMBOLIC?
12	METOO IN MOROCCO
13	INCIDENTS
13	The Amina Filali Case
14	#Masaktach – She Will Not Be Silent
15	#TaAnaMeToo
16	#MeTooUniv
17	STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES
18	Backlashes – The Role of State Institutions and Gender Norms
19	CONCLUSION ON MOROCCO CASES
20	RECOMMENDATIONS
21	TUNISIA
21	INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA
21	LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – PROGRESSIVE LAWS ON GBV IN THE POST-REVOLUTION ERA
23	INCIDENTS
23	#Enazeda – Tunisia’s Metoo Movement
24	The Makhlouf Case
26	The Ens Case: University Teacher and Serial Rapist
27	The Kef Case
27	LGBTQ+ PERSONS, MEN, AND #ENAZEDA
28	STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES
29	Backlashes – Risks for Activists
31	CONCLUSION ON TUNISIA CASES
32	RECOMMENDATIONS
33	EGYPT
33	INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA



34	LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – FROM THE 2011 REVOLUTION TO #METOO
36	LGBTIQ+ and Women Violating ‘Public Morality’
36	INCIDENTS
37	The Rania Fahmy and Amal Fathy Cases
38	The ABZ Case
39	The Fairmont Case
41	The Farshout’s Girl Case
41	METOO AND MALE VICTIMS, SURVIVORS, AND SUPPORTERS
42	STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES
44	CONCLUSION ON EGYPT CASES
45	Drivers and Organisation
47	RECOMMENDATIONS
48	JORDAN
48	INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA
48	LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – A LACKING DEFINITION
50	METOO IN JORDAN
50	INCIDENTS
50	Social Media / Human Chain Event
51	Sexual Harassment at the University of Jordan
52	Campaign to the Abolishment of Article 308
52	Jordan Speaks Up
53	#TechnoHarasser
54	STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES
55	Backlashes – Underreporting and Gender Norms
56	RECOMMENDATIONS
57	GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS
57	THE ROLE OF MAINSTREAM AND SOCIAL MEDIA
57	METOO AS A SECOND WAVE OF THE ARAB SPRING UPRISINGS
58	AUTHORITIES TARGETING LGBTIQ+ PERSONS DIGITALLY
58	CATALYSTS, DRIVERS AND SUPPORTERS CAN BE UNPREDICTABLE AND SPONTANEOUS
58	THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH
59	STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES
61	RECOMMENDATIONS
62	REFERENCES
72	NOTES



METOO IN CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

KVINFO aims to review catalysts for national MeToo movements in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan. “MeToo” in this report refers to a digital and physical movement that has spread due to technology, and has both sparked local movements and been adopted by existing women’s rights organisations. The phrase can be traced back to the community organiser Tarana Burke who used the phrase to create a shared language between survivors of sexual violence in Alabama in 2007 (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:xi). The technology facilitated part consisting of expressions on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Tumblr started after the Twitter post by the American actress Alyssa Milano in October 2017:

“If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet”. (Ghadery, Farnush 2019: 4)

Based on our data, the movement encompass all kinds of incidents and resistance against sexual violence, which include abuse, harassment and assault, and is made of individuals and local movements in different national, linguistic and cultural contexts. Central to the MeToo movements considered in this report is the topic of eliminating the victim blaming and self-blaming in cases of sexual violence, including harassment, whether it is about harassment at the work place or rape in an intimate relationship. This report considers MeToo movements as an umbrella term that encompasses digitally driven resistance movements towards various forms of SGVB, rather than the narrower sense referring exclusively to sexual harassment, and we use #MeToo and MeToo interchangeably when referring to these movements to describe a phenomenon that sees the digital entangled with the physical, to galvanise a transnational resistance movement.

This review will consider how the “drivers” organise themselves and others. By drivers we refer to individuals, groups or established organisations who have sparked or sustained the movement, coming forward with their own stories or collecting, sharing and organising content and supporters of the movement. KVINFO aims to find ways in which to support and sustain these movements. To this end, this report also includes the notion that #MeToo is about ending a global culture of shame and victim blaming and highlighting the shared experience of violence that many women worldwide face.

The report is structured in country specific chapters and each chapter will:

- Dive into selected cases of MeToo considered significant by our data in order to give examples of how attention around sexual violence can start, and what role social and mainstream media plays
- Identify some of the important drivers in each countries and describe how they organise themselves
- Recommend how organisations can support the movements in each country

Based on insights from activists, journalists and academics, this report will provide both country specific and recommendations relevant for all four countries. The report also considers what challenges the movements face, including those imposed by state regimes through respective legislative frameworks, lack of budgeting and the role of traditional, cultural and religious gender norms which in some cases have severely harmed witnesses, survivors and activists. Gender Based Violence (GBV) refers to harmful acts directed at an individual or a group based on their gender. It is rooted in gender inequality, power abuse and harmful norms and affects women and girls disproportionately but men and boys can also be targeted. The term is also used to describe targeted violence against LGBTIQ+ populations. (UN Women 2023). GBV can be economic, psychological, digital and physical, and includes domestic violence, rape, stalking, sexual harassment, trafficking, honour crimes, harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), child marriages, and other forms of violence against women's bodies and minds (ibid; Zakarriya 2022). On a global level, UN Women estimates that over 60% of women who experience violence never report it, or ask for protection and support, because they fear stigma and reprisal. They fear that the police will not effectively protect them; that courts will not take timely or effective action against the perpetrator; and that their community will shun them for reporting the perpetrator to the authorities. In countries around the world it is documented that the fear is not unreasonable, and it will be clear from the following chapters that Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan are no exception. They belong to the region with the lowest ranking on the Global Gender Gap Index scoring minimally on indicators on health, education, economic, and political participation. Since 1 in 3 women in the region has experienced or risks experiencing physical or sexual abuse in their lifetime, GBV is the most common rights violation experienced by women and girls in the region (UN Women 2013). Regarding sexual harassment, Egypt ranks second worst in the world after Afghanistan. A study carried out by UN Women revealed that over 99.3% of Egyptian girls and women surveyed reported experiencing some form of sexual harassment in their lifetime. (ibid). In Jordan more than 3 out of 4 women have experienced one or more forms of sexual harassment (The World Bank 2020), and in Morocco, the Moroccan High Commission for Planning (HCP) launched a survey in 2011 revealing that 6 million out of the country's 9.5 million women between aged between 18 and 65 had experienced some form of violence (physical, psychological, sexual or economic) (2011). The second national survey suggested a little less; that 54.4% of women experienced at least one form of violence, but the small improvement can also be related to the fact that a broader age group was surveyed (15-75 years). One-third of those surveyed had experienced abuse in more than one category. (UN Women 2019)

That women lack faith in existing structures that should protect and support them from GBV is documented. Globally, less than 40% of the women who experience violence seek help of any sort. In the majority of countries with available data on this issue, among women who do seek help, most look to family and friends and very few look to formal institutions, such as police and health services. Less than 10% of those seeking help appealed to the police (UN Women). Especially in relation to sexual violence, fear of being shamed or blamed by the police and lack of trust in the justice system discourages most women from seeking help. For example in Morocco, a 2019 national survey

showed that only three out of 100 women survivors of sexual violence report incidents to the police. (UNSDG 2021). Knowing this, it becomes interesting to look towards those women who stand up against cultural and religious gender norms and state legislation to advocate for their rights. There could be many entrance points to investigating this, and this report has chosen “MeToo” movements. These MeToo movements have taken place both online and offline (Basch-Harod, 2019:306), with several social media campaigns having championed women’s rights in the SWANA¹ region – here even within countries where women have less access to the internet than men². Many states lack a comprehensive legal framework to protect and prevent individuals from Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) and live up to international Human Rights conventions. Neither Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt nor Jordan has ratified the Istanbul Convention, and Egypt and Jordan still have reservations towards CEDAW. The findings of this report are based on desk studies and interviews with scholars studying women’s rights movements in Arab states, and activists and journalists from the four countries. Based on the data collected, we dive into some cases considered significant in each country.

DEFINING A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

In this report a MeToo movement is defined as a social movement that is a: “loosely organised but sustained campaign in support of a social goal, typically either the implementation or the prevention of a change in society’s structure or values” (Britannica 2022). As will be visible in the country-specific analysis of the MeToo movements included, social movements can differ in regards to size and momentum generated. However, what will also become clear is that the movements come about as a result of the spontaneous coming together of people whose relationship is not predefined, but who share a common outlook on the society they live in (Britannica 2022). The movements classified as MeToo movements in this report will further include all forms of GBV, here including but not limited to sexual harassment, assault, violence, rape, and kidnapping.

METOO AS A GENDER NEUTRAL CONCEPT

This report mainly focuses on women, and often uses the categories “women” and “men”. According to KVINFO, gender is an interplay between the human body, socioeconomic structures and norms that partially consist of expectations and stereotypes associated with different gender identities. Thus, gender is not locked into a biologically determined binary system, but is a fluid concept and its significance is dependent on contextual factors as well as factors such as ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, socioeconomic background, functional ability and nationality. The focus on women is a consequence of the higher prevalence of SGBV against women and the fact that this report highly builds on KVINFO’s network of women’s rights organisations. Though the movements studied here are driven by women and have centred their work around women’s experiences, this should not disregard any experiences of violence by men, and the importance of involving men in combating GBV should not be underestimated, as UN Women and Equimondo found that the occurrence of violence in the region is shaped by discrimination against women and the persistence of attitudes that perpetuate negative gender stereotypes (UN Women Arab States 2023).³

Furthermore, MeToo also concerns LGBTIQ+ persons, but considering that the national legislation in many countries, including Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and Jordan, criminalises same-sex relations, coming forward with stories of sexual harassment, abuse or violence as a member of the LGBTIQ+ community often involves additional risks. As is the case for women challenging rigid gender norms online, governments and individuals use technological means to track and persecute LGBTIQ+ persons. In Tunisia, members of the LGBTIQ+ community have been active in the Tunisian MeToo, the EnaZeda movement, but have consequently experienced being targeted by the state through drone-surveillance and “outing”. In Morocco, a counter campaign of “outing” took place in April 2020, when people created fake accounts on dating applications and endangered users of these apps by sharing their private information (Euro Med Rights 2021).

METOO IN SWANA – WHAT AND WHY?

MeToo permitted primarily women but also LGBTIQ+ persons and some men to share their story of sexual violence or to express that they, too, have been subjected to forms of sexual abuse using the hashtag “#MeToo”. This hashtag spread to other parts of the world in various adaptations and languages. In the SWANA region, online campaigns championing women’s rights have been going on since 2011, highlighting how women continue to advocate for their rights both online and offline, despite the fact that they have less access to the internet than men (Basch-Harod, 2019:306). Unlike the American MeToo, sparked in Hollywood, and the Danish #MeToo that was ignited by a popular TV-celebrity in 2019, our data suggests that in the countries investigated, the movements were sparked by female university students and then supported and maintained by established CSOs already working against SGBV. Considering this, MeToo in SWANA has grown from the ground, as thousands of women’s stories came out using various hashtags, local as well as transnational. Due to social, educational, cultural and economic factors, it is overwhelmingly upper-middle class women who are driving and testifying the movement, though not reaching all social classes

“Arab #MeToo hashtags endorse resistance to oppression, and sexual and gender violence in the Arab world through solidarity, collective action, and steady change in gendered preconceptions.” (Zakariya 2022)

Various organisations not mentioned in this report contribute to preventing and protecting people from GBV, and all those who have come forward and expressed their support are in that sense drivers of MeToo, but when we refer to drivers, it is those who have sparked public attention, collected and published testimonies, or organised a coordinated effort, such as, but not limited to, Aswat Nissa and Falgatna in Tunisia, Outlaws in Morocco, @assaultpolice, @SpeakUp, @Superwomen, and Tadwein in Egypt.

Examples of the hashtags are #AnaKaman, #anaaydan (both meaning “me too” in Arabic, mainly used in Lebanon and Egypt), and #EnaZeda (“me too” in Tunisian Arabic), #Masaktech or #Masaktach meaning “She was not silent” in Moroccan Darija⁴ and #SpeakUp in Egypt. The hashtags used in the region mark a turning point in the advocacy, activism, and initiatives for gender justice and

freedom by balancing between local collective actions and hashtags, which can situate themselves in international conversations on gender and sexual violence (Zakariya 2022). Researchers and activists point to a public “awakening” and increased awareness of SGBV through MeToo. This is paradoxical when considering that civil society’s ability to operate freely has not improved; in Egypt and Tunisia it has even worsened. Despite this, Zakariya add that many speak more openly about sexual violence, though it may mainly be in certain urban environments.

METOO – EURO/WESTERN CENTRIC OR A WAY OF EMPOWERMENT?

An interesting aspect of the MeToo movements investigated is the perception of the international MeToo movement. For some of the activists mentioned in this report, it has been important to include a local word or phrase to show that the movement is driven for and by local means and does not necessarily represent the international MeToo movement. Examples can be drawn from Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt.

In Morocco, the Masaktach movement chose the Moroccan Darija to reinstate themselves as a movement that speaks for and with the Moroccan people primarily. According to Moroccan activist from the Masaktach campaign, Leila Slassi, feminism and international MeToo can sometimes be viewed as ideas that the “West” wants to impose, highlighting the need to distance the movement from such if wishing to generate public support and change (Leila Slassi cited in Eyala, 2020). In Tunisia, EnaZeda is Tunisian Darija. It appeared spontaneously, and the interviewees in Tunisia did not distance themselves from an international MeToo, as seen in the case of Masaktach. In a different example from Morocco, Moroccan Outlaws 490 intentionally used an English hashtag to relate it to the international MeToo movement, as they felt empowered and inspired by the international movement and its pursuit of gender justice. When asked whether Moroccans could relate to the international MeToo movement, Moroccan Outlaws 490 expressed no conflicts, but referred to the fact that gender based violence is universal in nature and can be dealt with as such. The Moroccan branch of JawJab reinstated themselves in the middle of the debate with the hashtag #TaAnaMeToo, illustrating the need to see MeToo in a Moroccan context albeit in the light of the international movement.

In Egypt, many of the drivers did not consciously decide to ascribe their testimonies to a global #MeToo, but at the same time they used #Me_too or variations of this in English along with #AnaKaman as well as hashtags addressing a specific incident via, for example, the name of a person or a place in Arabic or English.

Similar tendencies have been observed in Jordan, showing how English is also present in local MeToo movements along with local Arabic dialects. Some of the drivers have both an English and an Arabic name, but communicate exclusively in Arabic on their online pages, for example, in Egypt the initiative Super Women and the Feminist.movement.jo from Jordan.

METHODOLOGY AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The data consists of semi-structured interviews with activists, scholars, women’s rights organisations and reporting from media outlets. Many of those

interviewed have faced smear campaigns and online abuse in their home countries. For this reason, we refer to most without the use of any names. When we do refer to names of interviewees, it is mainly researchers or scholars. Some interviews were held on Zoom, others physically in Tunisia and Morocco, and one was a written correspondence on Instagram. Interviewees were selected from KVINFO's network, previous experience and knowledge, news articles, and reviews of academic literature on the MeToo movement in the four countries. Studying MeToo in national contexts means considering local translations of the English hashtag and related content. After getting information from some of the persons we have interviewed, we have searched on different social media platforms for Arabic tags and profiles in order to find possible translations of "MeToo" in Arabic. The authors of this study do not understand Tamazigh or other berber dialects, and none of the articles or interviewees mentioned any tags or organisations using other languages than Arabic, French, and English. While we presume that they exist, they are not included in this study. The MeToo movements analysed in this report have primarily made use of social media as a way of raising public awareness and mobilising support, making it important to grasp the online presence of the movements and the material shared on social media sites. While few researchers have written about the MeToo movements in the countries of Jordan and Morocco, more work has been done in Egypt and Tunisia.

The report seeks to answer the following overall research question:

How are MeToo movements organised, supported and sustained in Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan and Egypt?

To support the conclusion of the research question, we are guided by sub-questions related to identifying what cases and hashtags are considered significant by our data, as well as what the movements fight to achieve, what they have achieved, if anything, and what reactions and possible backlashes the MeToo movements received from the state and the general public. Recommendations will be provided for each country in its respective chapter, and in addition to these, recommendations relevant for all four countries are in the final chapter.

Limitations of the study

This study is not exhaustive, as we do not account for all cases, campaigns and hashtags that could be considered in relation to MeToo in the four countries. Activists and human rights defenders have campaigned against GBV and sexual abuse, harrasment and assault (both digitally and physically) for many years before MeToo, and the amount of campaigns, slogans and hashtags related to this is vast (Basch-Harod 2019:306). Though our impression is that MeToo is largely an urban phenomenon sparked by university students, it would be interesting to explore if there are drivers outside of the bigger cities, by consulting more activists and organisations in non-urban areas. This would require more resources as key staff in KVINFO's network are primarily based in urban areas. We have relied on people who have spoken English or for translators to be available. To grasp a full overview of the MeToo movements and their significance for the general public, interviews should also be carried out with individuals from economically deprived contexts and from those living within rural sites, which would require more time for translation.

MOROCCO

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA

MeToo movements in Morocco are characterised as fragmented and ephemeral, and we have not identified significant collective movements as in Tunisia and Egypt though there have been incidents reported in news media. In addition to these sources, KVINFO collected insights through three interviews in Rabat and Casablanca in November 2022. One was with two representatives from Moroccan Outlaws 490, one with a representative from JawJab, and one with a representative from ATEC. The organisations interviewed will be further elaborated on below, but first, this chapter provides some context, since MeToo in Morocco should be understood in the context of the legislative framework making up the rights of women and girls in the country as several laws (or the lack of implementation or application of laws) directly impacts the rights of women. The legislative framework plays a role in suppressing the voices of women. For this reason, women and girls are seeking justice outside the framework of law with different MeToo movements in Morocco.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – PROGRESSIVE OR MERELY SYMBOLIC?

Article 19 of Morocco's 2011 constitution states that men and women enjoy equal rights and freedoms of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental character (*Moroccan Constitution cited in UN Women 2021*). Despite this, the Moroccan Family and Penal Code has been contested for not fostering gender justice, but promoting inequality. Morocco's Personal Status Code that includes the so-called Family Code that governs marriage, divorce, inheritance, and child custody – was reformed in 2004 with the initiative of king Mohammed VI. This reform received great international attention for including progressive changes for women's rights. The reformed Family Code raised the legal age of marriage from 15 to 18 and provided women with the right to choose when to get married without the approval of a legal guardian (Article 25), as well as enhanced rights to seek divorce (Articles 115 and 120). Unfortunately, applying them in practice has been harder, since Moroccan society is deeply rooted in more conservative norms and customs, hindering the successful application of laws. Article 20 gave judges the right to accept underage marriages, providing a loophole in the legislation, which has led to an increasing rate of child marriages. Despite the legal age of marriage being 18, families will apply for dispensations, and in 80% of the cases, a judge will approve, meaning that girls as young as 14 marry (DAPP 2019).

The aim of the reformed Family Code was threefold and declared as the following in the Preamble: 'Doing justice to women, protecting children's rights, and preserving men's dignity' (Preamble of Moroccan Family Code cited in HREA 2004). In this sense, the reform may be read as something which sought to grant liberal rights to women, without losing support from those who may: '*perceive the enhancement of women's rights as a zero-sum game*' (Elliott 2014). The balance between being progressive on the outside and satisfying its conservative roots and norms on the inside, becomes clear when looking at the articles still reaffirming patriarchal relations. Article 194 obliges the husband

to financially provide for “his” family and Article 236 designates the father as the primary legal representative of his children, regardless of whether the parents undergo divorce. Both articles confirm a gendered inequality between Moroccan men and women, which reaffirms local traditions and norms within society, ultimately impacting women’s role and say within their own marriages (Elliott 2014). The analysis of MeToo movements in Morocco affirms that women and girls are often pressured by state institutions and their own families to stay in violent marriages, due to the financial role of the husband and the lack of legal rights given to the mother in case of divorce. The Moroccan Penal Code reinforces the silencing of women and girls, especially through Article 490, which states that all persons who engage in sexual relations prior to marriage face imprisonment. This article makes it difficult for women and girls to speak up about their experiences with violence and sexual harassment, due to the fear of being arrested and punished. Article 489 of the Penal Code further declares that any homosexual acts are a criminal offence and punishable with imprisonment and fines, highlighting the fear and secrecy that the LGBTIQ+ community live with.

In September 2018 a law (103.13) on combating violence against women came into force, criminalising certain forms of GBV and increasing the penalties for others, while defining violence against women as “any act based on gender discrimination that entails physical, psychological, sexual, or economic harm to a woman” (Human Rights Watch 2018). This law has come to play a large role in recent cases of sexual assault, since it includes these “new” crimes of sexual harassment in public spaces as well as cyber harassment. The law also obligates public authorities to carry out preventative measures, such as awareness programs on GBV. It also allows for protection orders that will make it illegal for an accused person to contact the victim. However, the law has received criticism for not going far enough and for failing to define domestic violence and set out concrete duties for police, prosecutors, and other judicial officials in cases of domestic violence and for not criminalising marital rape (Guardian, 2018). Moreover, to issue a protective order, the victim must report the incident and file a criminal case, something only few women are prepared to do, given the financial dependence mentioned above or pressure from family members. Emergency and longer-term protection is further limited in Morocco, with fewer than ten shelters nationwide, most of which are operated and funded by nongovernmental groups. The above, together with a lack of provisions for securing the financing of the reforms and assistance shelters, makes it hard to view the law as successful in protecting the rights of women and girls (Human Rights Watch 2018). At last, interviewees mentioned that many women and men in Morocco are unaware of this new law combating violence against women – hinting at the lack of integration of the law and the issue of not making women aware of their own rights and how to apply them.

With this legal framework in mind and the conditions that these impose on women and girls we will turn to examine the MeToo movements that have taken place in Morocco.

METOO IN MOROCCO

Interviewees in Morocco left KVINFO with the impression that past MeToo

movements have been quite fragmented, with no movement leaving a distinct impression nor involving large parts of the population. Most interviewees had heard of one or several hashtags, incidents and movements taking place, while no single movement stood out throughout. This illustrates the lack of a united front within Morocco, which is characterised by a diverse range of hashtags that have been utilised over the past years. The MeToo movements included in this report constitute the movements seen to create the biggest momentum and public debate within Morocco. This section will start with the case of Amina Filali, then turn to #Masaktack and #TaAnaMetoo and end with the most recent case of #metoouniv. Each section will be divided into 1. Incident, 2. Organisation and activism and 3. Aftermath and current activity. The sections to follow will then analyse the overall success of the movements in Morocco and the backlashes caused by state institutions and legislative frameworks as well as traditional gender norms.

INCIDENTS

The Amina Filali Case

In 2012, a 16-year-old girl named Amina Filali from Larache in Morocco was kidnapped and raped by a man almost ten years older. As Amina was found by the authorities, the kidnapper and rapist was arrested and held in custody. However, once in custody the prosecutor advised that the rapist marry Amina, invoking Article 475 of the Moroccan Penal Code. At the time, this article stated that a rapist could avoid punishment by marrying his victim. Following the advice of the prosecutor and the judge on the case, Amina married her rapist. Once married, Amina suffered from physical abuse from her now husband, and his family. As a direct consequence of her suffering, she later committed suicide. (Quassini 2019).

Organisation and Activism

The case of Amina Filali was mediatised, both nationally in Morocco and within international media. The hashtag #RIPAmina became popular alongside several Facebook pages dedicated to her case, including: “We are all Amina Filali,” and “#RIPAmina: No to Rape with the Complicity of the State” (Quassini 2019). The coverage of Amina’s story happened in several languages within Morocco, including Arabic, French and English and quickly moved into international media outlets, which exposed the controversiality of Article 475 and highly embarrassed the Moroccan government. Several media outlets, such as Aljazeera and the Moroccan feminist magazine, Qandisha, started producing content on the law itself and the punitive consequences that it has on the lives of victims of sexual assault. Women’s rights organisations also worked actively on the issue, while several organisations arranged protests throughout Morocco and carried signs with: “Rape me, marry me, We are all Amina and Clause 475 killed me.” (Quassini 2019). Activists and leaders from the women’s movements were invited to appear on national television, where they urged Moroccans to mobilise and pressure the Islamist party (PJD) to repeal the article. The online campaigns, protests and internal as well as external pressure increased further, when Bassima Hakkaoui, a PJD minister, announced that: “sometimes the marriage of the raped and her rapist does not harm her” (Bassima Hakkaoui, cited in Quassini 2019).

Aftermath and current Activity

Approximately two years after the death of Amina Filali, on 22 January 2014, the Moroccan parliament voted (unanimously) to repeal the part of Article 475 that allowed for rapists to avoid punishment if marrying their victim (Quassini 2019). This example demonstrates the power and importance of online campaigns and how they can mobilise and grow exponentially to reach across borders and into different sectors of society and consequently pressure a state to act.

#Masaktach – She Will Not Be Silent

The second MeToo movement in Morocco included here started in 2018 under the hashtag #Masaktach/Masektech which is a phrase in Darija, the common Arabic dialect in Morocco, that can be translated into English as “She will not be silent”.

This movement, composed of both a hashtag and campaign, came about as two specific legal cases of harassment received public attention in Morocco in 2018. The first case centred around Saad Lamjarred, the popular Moroccan singer-songwriter who released the song “Lm3allem”, which continues to be the most popular Arabic song on Youtube. From 2010 and until August 2018, several victims came forward and accused Lamjarred of sexual assault, including beatings and rape. Despite numerous trials and accusations, Lamjarred avoided any charges and remained popular amongst the public and was supported by the Moroccan King Mohammed VI who awarded him the highest national honor in 2015 and payed his legal fees and top lawyer in 2016. The women who have come forward and accused Lamjarred of sexual misconduct have, on the other hand, faced insults and death threats. This highlights the ways in which sexual harassment and violence against women is dealt with in Moroccan society and the room for public debate on the issue (Williams 2020).

Triggering the Masaktach campaign at last in 2018, was the case of 17-year-old Khadija who revealed her own story of being kidnapped, raped, and tortured for two months by twelve men from her village. The publication of her story largely shocked the Moroccan media, who at first showed sympathy. Shortly thereafter, however, they accused Khadija of lying, having a bad reputation, and. The media turned predominantly negative and on the side of the aggressors, leaving little space (and voice) to Khadija (Williams 2020). This essentially triggered the Masaktach movement, as co-founder Laila Slassi portrays; *“there’s a real taboo around rape. Whenever a woman dares to speak out, people will do anything to shame her into silence. The decision to start Masaktach was rooted in that realisation”* (Laila Slassi cited in Eyala, 2020).

In the aftermath of Khadija’s story, women and girls started using the hashtag #Masaktach as well as #JusticepourKhadija to break the silence of female victims of sexual violence and harassment and demand justice for Khadija (Williams 2020). Moreover, a petition was created on change.org to encourage civil society to voice their indignation and ensure that the prosecutors would be held responsible in court. As of January 2023, it has been signed by almost 136.000 people.

Organisation and Activism

The Masaktach campaign was initiated by four women: human rights lawyer Laila Slassi, freelance journalist Aida Alami and social activists Maria Karim and Zinev Belmkaddem. While the movement grew, it did not have a central leadership and numerous people became engaged for short periods of time or participated on an ad hoc basis. Co-founder Laila Slassi explains that the campaign used social media to raise awareness by agreeing on a specific topic and the change that the campaign wished to achieve (Eyala 2020). In the case of Saad Lamjered, the twelve people behind the campaign would tweet the same content at the same time, arguing for local radio stations to stop playing his music. This coordinated action caught the eyes of Moroccan journalists, activists, and citizens online, who would reshare the content, until it essentially led to several radio stations boycotting Lamjered's music. Another campaign carried out by Masaktach involved the handing out of whistles to women and girls on the street, alongside a leaflet explaining their legal rights – all to make women and girls aware of the laws in place to protect themselves and even provide the equipment to not stay silent. The Masaktach campaign urged ordinary citizens to act, as depicted by Slassi; *'if politicians don't care, too bad; we're taking the discussion to social media and we're talking directly with people'* (Laila Slassi cited in Eyala 2020). Formal Moroccan women's rights organisations like The Tahadi Association for Equality and Citizenship (Association Tahadi pour l'Egalité et la Citoyenneté, ATEC) became involved in the Masaktach campaign, both online and physically, which helped increase public knowledge of the campaign.

Aftermath and Current Activity

In September 2022, the fourteen sexual offenders, who were involved in the raping and kidnapping of Khadija were sentenced to a combined 226 years in prison, with eleven of the sexual offenders being sentenced to twenty years of imprisonment each (Morocco World News, 2018). This showcases the importance of campaigns like Masaktach, which has followed and documented Khadija's legal case through live tweets on social media.

The extent to which Masaktach is still active within Morocco is uncertain, however, it can be concluded that engagement on the official Masaktach social media sites have been limited within recent years. Their last post on Instagram was in September 2019 and their last public activity on Twitter was in September 2021. The hashtag #Masaktach has only been used six times on Twitter in 2022 and once on Instagram since 2018.

Regarding Lamjarred, he may not escape punishment outside of Morocco. In February 2023 he was taken to court in Paris and found guilty of assaulting and raping a young woman at a hotel in the city in 2016. Before the court verdict, Lamjarred was free to continue singing abroad and featured in songs by some of the biggest names in Arabic music (Washington Post 2023⁵). The case is ongoing.

#TaAnaMeToo

Marking Women's International Day on the 8th of March 2021, the media production company JAWJAB (based in Rabat) launched the webseries

#TaAnaMeToo. Director of JAWJAB and the webseries, Youssef Ziraoui, searched for testimonies and picked out four stories to share, all involving female victims of rape. He then collaborated with multiple artists to create the animations fitting the storyline. The hashtag and webseries were widely shared and reshared on social media, here predominantly in the months following the publication with the intention of educating and informing the public around the topic of sexual harassment in Morocco. When asked whether TaAnaMeToo created a movement, Ziraoui answered: “*We produce, if it creates a movement it’s great*”, illustrating that the first and foremost point of the webseries was to inform and educate and not necessarily create a MeToo movement. While the hashtag and webseries received attention, it did not galvanise a movement, however, it did contribute to a broader understanding of the overall context of sharing MeToo content in Morocco and the role played by media production companies, something which will be elaborated on later in the report.

#MeTooUniv

While #TaAnaMeToo did not create a MeToo movement per se, a new wave of MeToo did emerge by the end of 2021 and into the early months of 2022. This wave came with a focus on the education sector, here specifically at university, but also at middle and high school level. Testimonies of students who had been asked to perform sexual favours for teachers and professors in return for good grades or the passing of exams began to spread on social media using the hashtag #metoouniv created by the informal collective called Moroccan Outlaws 490.

Moroccan Outlaws 490⁶ based in Casablanca was founded in 2019 by Leila Slimani and Sonia Terrab. The main objective of the collective is to abolish article 490 of the Moroccan penal code mentioned above. The collective connects and advocates with the general public through their wide social media reach, especially on Instagram⁷ (58,000 followers), Twitter⁸ and TikTok⁹. The collective has managed to create an online feminist community through their social media platforms, where women and girls find the freedom and safety to be themselves and speak openly about their personal stories and feelings. By advocating for topics that are taboo within society, the collective has created a trusted platform for women and girls to break the silence often forced upon them. This was also the case in December 2021, when the collective received several testimonies through texts and screenshots from girls experiencing sexual harassment by the same professor from a specific Moroccan university. Realising that sexual harassment is likely to occur at other universities too, the collective decided to share the same texts and screenshots of messages on their platform under the hashtag #metoouniv and urge women and girls to come forward with their experiences. This led the collective to receive thousands of testimonies from women and girls who had been harassed across Morocco and even across the educational sector, here including middle and high school.

Organisation and Activism

The campaign and hashtag received more and more attention as the cycle of receiving and sharing testimonies continued and was picked up by the national and international press, other organisations, activists and the general public. According to the head of communication at Moroccan Outlaws 490, women

and girls were empowered to share their stories once they felt that the voices of other women and girls were being heard by the online community created by the collective. In addition, the collective also worked to get the message and hashtag out across Morocco and their own social network through a WhatsApp group with relevant organisations and individual human rights activists and defenders. Here the collective shared the hashtag as well as testimonials. These organisations and single activists would have their own network and wide social media reach, meaning that the hashtag of #metoouniv came to be appropriated by many different actors, including journalists, activists and other organisations or associations – both nationally and regionally. One such association was “7achak” (expression used locally to excuse oneself before approaching a taboo topic), which would use the hashtag to urge women and girls to break the silence through their separate platform on Instagram (60.000 followers).

Aftermath and Current Activity

Once appropriated by many different actors, #metoouniv no longer belonged to the single platform of Moroccan Outlaws 490, but to the activities of these actors. The movement of #metoouniv saw its momentum in the first part of 2022 and until June/July 2022 and is no longer receiving the same attention or shared by Moroccan Outlaws themselves. However, Moroccan Outlaws 490 continues to carry out campaigns, here especially with a focus on article 490 of the Moroccan Penal Code, which criminalises sexual intercourse prior to marriage – something which is detrimental to any analysis of MeToo in Morocco, since the article directly prevents women and girls from coming forward with stories of harassment, due the fear of imprisonment. This will be elaborated on in the below section.

STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES

The aftermath of the campaigns against Article 475, originally triggered by the case of Amina Filali, clearly illustrates the immense importance of mobilising and raising awareness on social issues, including the issue of gender based violence and harassment. Due to the work of activists and the social movement generated, the general public became aware of the unjust law and pressured the state to reform the article, something which was later accepted by lawmakers. In this sense, the movement can be seen as highly successful in not only promoting legislative change, but also in highlighting the immense role played by a sustained local and international mediated campaign, as prevalent in the case of the Masaktach movement. Continuous campaigning on social media alongside awareness raising in national and international media outlets as well as an online petition, pressured the Moroccan authorities to pursue and arrest Khadija’s prosecutors. The offenders were trialled under the new law on violence against women (103.113), further highlighting the success of the campaign in securing a prosecution under the relevant new legal framework. While #TaAnaMeToo did not receive the same media attention, neither nationally nor internationally, as the two movements mentioned above, it highlighted the role of media production companies in creating content to foster and sustain the MeToo movement.

Moroccan Outlaws did not expect the hashtag and the sharing and resharing of testimonies to create the noise and momentum that it did. The fact that

#metoouniv and the many testimonies of women and girls would flourish the internet and be shared by international and national press, played a huge role in the overall success of the campaign, according to president of Moroccan Outlaws 490, Narjis Benazzou. She compares the #metoouniv with past campaigns on similar topics, where school administrations would protect teachers and professors and silence the students in return. While the #metoouniv received public and even international attention, it pressured state and school authorities to investigate the matters. The Minister of Education sent a commission to Hassan I University in Settat, after it came under public scrutiny, and as a direct consequence hereof, a professor became the first ever to receive a verdict of imprisonment for sextortion in January 2022 (France24 2022), while several other professors received similar verdicts in March 2022 (The New Arab 2022).

Overall, Narjis noticed that some of the stigma surrounding victims disappeared and; *'we started stigmatising the harasser more often'*. Schools started putting commissions and hotlines in place that would investigate the accusations and give a voice to the women and girls, something that had rarely been seen as the outcome of similar campaigns.. However, Moroccan Outlaws 490 argue that due to the distrust in the school system experienced by many girls, these commissions were not successfully utilised. Women and girls had been silenced for so long by the school institutions themselves, granting that the cause of the problems could not be trusted to develop the solutions. As a consequence to this, Moroccan Outlaws created their own hotline, on a voluntary basis with the opportunity for victims of sexual harassment to receive psychological and legal support. Once the hotline was launched it exploded with calls from women and girls seeking support, making it clear that funds were needed to hire professionals and deal with the high volume of calls. Due to this, Moroccan Outlaws 490 had to close down the hotline again, albeit it is soon to reopen, as funds have been found.

Unfortunately, other sectors did not pick up on the #metoouniv movement to highlight the sexual harassment that (arguably) occurs in every sector of most societies. Moroccan Outlaws 490 would have liked to see other sectors follow suit.

Backlashes – The Role of State Institutions and Gender Norms

The women and girls who come forward with their experiences through the Me-Too movements in Morocco, request to remain anonymous in most cases. This means that while the movements enable the women to break their silence, it does not necessarily lead women to file a criminal case against their perpetrator and demand justice. Only 10.5% of acts constituting violence against women (VAW) are reported to the police or other competent authorities (8% in the case of domestic violence) (cited in EuroMed Rights 2021). According to the interviews carried out by KVINFORM, this may be explained through several factors, including an apparent distrust in the legal system and pressure and resistance felt by institutions and family members. The distrust and unwillingness of women and girls to utilise the hotlines and commissions set in place by some schools as a direct consequence of #Metoouniv further highlights this issue.

Women and girls are afraid to come forward with their experiences and legally accuse their prosecutors, due to article 490 of the Moroccan Penal Code and

the risk of imprisonment. Moreover, while some schools may have introduced commissions to deal with cases of sexual harassment, Moroccan Outlaws still hear of women and girls who are pressured by administrative staff, professors and family members to stay silent. The potential damages of ruining the reputation of a school or the reputation of a women's own family outweighs the enormous physical and psychological harm felt by women and girls and their own legal rights. According to Moroccan Outlaws 490 some victims will turn to them for legal and psychological support, but give up the case once the legal procedure begins, due to pressure and resistance experienced from the institutions and families. The fact that many issues are looked upon as "private" and of only concern to those living within the household, further prevents women and girls from seeking help and support. The continued lack of support for victims and general understanding of the issue, became prevalent when both JawJab and Moroccan Outlaws 490 were asked about the negative comments received alongside their advocacy work. The hate speech received online and towards the victims included: "Don't leave your parents' house, if you don't want to get raped", "Dress properly and no one would rape you", "Stop being dramatic" and "Did you seriously bring a whore to tell her story" (JawJab 2021).

Another factor contributing to women and girls not filing a criminal case against their prosecutors, has to do with a general distrust of the legal system. According to a study, 68% of Moroccans express a distrust of the judicial system (US Aid 2016:45¹⁰). The issue of impunity, seen in the case of Moroccan king Mohammed and the trial of Lamjarred, as mentioned earlier, further reestablish this distrust. At last, is the issue of not being aware of your own rights and thus applying them in practice. Many Moroccan women and men are unaware of the existing law on combating violence against women, especially in rural areas, showcasing the issue of not integrating policies into practice and engaging the general public in the process.

CONCLUSION ON MOROCCO CASES

Not only legal frameworks but also cultural, religious and societal norms and taboos are preventing women and girls from raising their voices and upholding their own legal rights. When women and girls are pressured to stay silent, persecutors are left unprosecuted and able to continue the harassment. This is problematic and opens up for a society where harassment is normalised and tolerated and where victims are shamed in return. Portraying the importance of pushing for legislative changes alongside the work of challenging the social norms justifying the harassment.

As previously described, movements are working fragmented in Morocco, and supporting a more united front could be a way forward. In an interview, the director of ATEC, highlighted the importance of forming alliances, exchanging knowledge and establishing collaborations between informal and formal organisations. She acknowledged that MeToo hashtags often are created by informal movements, reestablishing the need for formal organisations to take part and engage, if wishing to sustain and enlarge the movements. KVINFO should encourage partners to engage and work with informal organisations who work on creating and delivering MeToo content by resharing campaign materials, hashtags and/or signing relevant petitions. This would increase public

awareness of MeToo movements, provide credit to the work of the informal organizations and show a united front against the issue of sexual harassment in Morocco and pressure state officials for legislative change and support mechanisms.

The case of Moroccan Outlaws 490 can exemplify the need to support informal organisations. The collective has managed to create a platform, where women and girls are comfortable in reaching out, breaking the silence and speaking openly about their experiences. They have a large reach on their social media platforms and a good network of national and regional organisations and individual activists, potentially contributing greatly to sustaining the MeToo movement. While KVINFO may not support the collective directly, given its position as an informal organisation, it could consider supporting the collective through formal partners. Ahel and ATEC are currently collaborating and signing the petitions of Moroccan Outlaws 490, while ATEC also took part in the work of Masaktach.

In order to sustain and integrate the MeToo movement into more areas of society, this report will recommend the following



RECOMMENDATIONS – SUSTAINING THE METOO MOVEMENT IN MOROCCO

- Support drivers of campaigns and platforms designed with the intention to create and share MeToo content
- Support media organisations or companies that distribute MeToo content
- Support organisations proposing to contribute to the MeToo movement in Morocco and encourage collaboration:
 - collaborations should be prioritised and organisations should invite and encourage collaboration between JawJab, HitRadio and Moroccan Outlaws 490 given their mutual interest and contribution to the observed MeToo movements within Morocco.
 - Support collaborations with independent media outlets like HitRadio on the sharing of MeToo content.
- Support organisations that work for the abolishment of article 490 in the Penal Code:
 - A collaboration between KVINFO and Moroccan Outlaws 490 could also be centred around optimising their online platform, something which was mentioned by the collective itself. Such optimisation would include additional training on media outreach and communication, further strengthening and sustaining future MeToo initiatives.
- Support work on the reform of law 103.13 on violence against women and girls. This law should include a clear definition on domestic violence, criminalise marital rape, set out concrete duties for police, prosecutors and other judicial officials, allow for protection orders without legal proceedings and be clearly financed and budgeted for.

TUNISIA

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA

In Tunisia, MeToo has flourished as a unified local hashtag #EnaZeda, equivalent to “me too” in Tunisian Arabic. #EnaZeda started spontaneously in October 2019, growing through individual testimonies shared online, mostly anonymously to avoid social stigma and shame. Women’s rights- and feminist organisations have pushed the #MeToo-agenda forward and formed coalitions such as “la Dynamique Féministe”. In Tunis and online, KVINFO interviewed a journalist who had reported on #Metoo, representatives from the feminist collective Falgatna (*We’re fed up* in Tunisian Arabic) and the established feminist organisations supported by KVINFO, Aswat Nissa (Women’s Voices), and a consultant who has worked with Tunisian women’s rights organisations. We elaborate on significant cases and drivers after addressing Tunisia’s political context and legal framework related to GBV.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – PROGRESSIVE LAWS ON GBV IN THE POST-REVOLUTION ERA

Tunisia’s women’s rights movement has mobilised to reappropriate women’s rights to their own body and sexual and reproductive rights since the 1980’s, and civil society has played an even larger role in the post-revolution era, where women’s and feminist organisations have become more numerous (Aswat Nissa 2022). Scholars argue that Tunisia’s #EnaZeda movement would not have been possible without the Jasmine revolution that brought women activists into the streets (Vogelstein and Stone 2021: 58; Zakarriya 2022). Regarding laws and legislation on women’s rights, Tunisia has been considered progressive: in 1957 it banned polygamy and gave Tunisian women the right to vote, marry, divorce, and get custody of children (Zakarriya 2022). In 1973, abortion was legalised, though not socially accepted among all Tunisians (Inkyfada 2022). In 1993, Article 218 of the Penal Code introduced punishments for perpetrators of family violence, but despite all this, a 2010 National Survey revealed that 50% of Tunisian women experienced violence in their lifetime (Vogelstein and Stone: 2021:72). During the last days of Ben Ali’s regime, Tunisian protesters became victims of sexual violence at the hands of the regime security forces, as women were under Mubarak’s security forces in Egypt. In Tunisia, the target for Ben Ali’s gendered violence was mostly women in poorer areas, but the regime systematically aimed at discouraging women from protesting (Zakarriya 2022). Post 2011, authorities set up a national commission to revise the “*National strategy to Combat Violence against Women through the life cycle*”, adopted in 2008. Civil society mobilisation and feminist advocacy contributed to including the principles of equality and protection of women and girls against violence in the 2014 constitution and the lifting of Tunisia’s reservations on CEDAW (Aswat Nissa 2022). In the 2014 constitution, the State committed to take all necessary measures to eliminate violence against women (VAW). With the Organic Law 58 passing in 2017, legislation on the matter was strengthened, as it is a comprehensive GBV law, which protects against all types of non-digital GBV, including psychological, economic and political violence and marital rape (Yerkes and Youssef 2020). However, it fails to explicitly address digital violence (UN Women Arab States 2022:2).

Lack of Budgeting and Implementation of Law 58

Women's Rights groups have pushed for implementation of law 58 since it passed, and in some cases the government has responded positively, as in the first year of Covid-19, where reporting of GBV cases increased as government GBV hotlines received over 7,000 complaints in March-May 2020, compared to 1400 complaints pre-pandemic. (Yerkes & Youssef 2022). Women's organisations criticised the state for failing to address GBV and condemned the Ministry of Justice's halting of the prosecution and review of GBV court cases and the Ministry of Health's inability to provide access to 24-hour shelters. The government responded by opening a new GBV shelter in 2020 with the support of UNFPA, and created a free psychological support phone service for victims and extended the national domestic violence hotline to 24/7 (ibid). The Ministry of Women with UN Women raised awareness about GBV, creating videos and radio programmes on GBV prevention, masculine behaviour during confinement, and increased services available to female survivors. Despite taking these measures, most women did not know about them and continued to struggle with GBV.

Interviewees emphasised that many, especially women outside of urban well-educated milieus, are not aware of law 58 and the rights it should provide. Additionally, interviewees criticised the police, as they do not take women's complaints seriously, pressuring them to return home when filing, for example, a domestic violence complaint. Under law 58, the State is responsible for the prevention of GBV and the protection of victims, in addition to prosecuting the violators. The Ministries of Education, Health, Social Affairs, Justice and the Interior as well as the media are responsible for training staff and professionals in the prevention of VAW. The law also holds the police accountable for timely responses to victims' complaints and for reporting cases of violence (UNDP 2022). However, according to an interviewee: "*Despite the so-called progressive laws, this country is not safe for women*". (Journalist 2022). Policies and decisions are not efficient in practice, and none of the persons KVINFO interviewed see political will, as there is no implementation plan nor a budget. The government has promised to allocate money for preventing GBV and securing justice and protection for victims/survivors, but the system is opaque, and Aswat Nissa stated that they do not see where money goes (Interview 2022). Many women are reluctant to file complaints because they do not know the law and their rights, or they are afraid of social stigma and victim blaming. They are often met with an ignorant or hostile environment by police officers when attempting to file complaints, making many refrain from reporting, or dropping complaints. Sometimes family members pressure the woman to not file or to drop complaints since it can damage her and the family's reputation. A report released in 2017 states that in 97% of sexual harassment cases, the harassed did not file a complaint, or if they did, perpetrators received no fine or sentence (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:53). UNDP found that there is an increasing number of women seeking legal support, but on average, the legal procedure lasts 1 to 1.5 years, and few complaints result in actual convictions. (UNDP 2022). The length and cumbersomeness of the legal procedure is one of the reasons why many women give up their complaints. CSOs supporting women victims of violence explain that it can be linked to deliberate decisions from administrators to halt legal procedures. UNDP and Aswat Nissa also state

that when victims/survivors are supported by lawyers, NGOs or their network, they are more likely to uphold complaints. (ibid).

The Rise of a New Police State

On 25 July 2021, President Kais Saied declared Tunisia a “state of exception”, claiming that the economic and corruption crises justified him firing the Prime Minister, Hichem Mechichi, freezing the parliament, dismantling the High Judicial Council, and removing political actors who were not loyal to him. Many political actors condemned this anti-democratic path and refused to participate in it. Saied inserted Tunisia’s first female Prime Minister, Najla Bouden-Romdhane, but many consider it symbolic as he also invalidated large parts of the 2014 constitution (Global Nyt 2022). In March 2023, he dissolved the municipal councils confirming his authoritarian path. The Ministry of Women’s Affairs still exists, but Aswat Nissa considers it weak and symbolic (Interview 2022). Saied introduced a shift in the political dynamics within Tunisia, and imposed restrictions making it difficult for civil society to operate as freely as before, where it was more predictable, and activists knew where to direct their protests (Falgatna activist 2022). Now, no one knows how to operate, though they have an idea about where the “red line” is. It has become more difficult to protest, and the Falgatna activist is afraid that Saied would not hesitate to imprison and sentence protestors. To her, it is worrying that he does not care about Tunisia’s reputation internationally, and that he is impeding efforts to combat GBV. Some organisations with a past pattern of criticising the government have been silent in the wake of this new political situation. Saied distances himself from Islamist parties and organisations, and undermines them. Therefore, Islamist women’s groups that were vocal about GBV throughout the Covid-19 pandemic, where GBV increased, have been quiet in this new political environment. Saied’s discourse is seen by some as “elitist” as he speaks publicly in a nearly archaic version of formal Arabic rather than Tunisian Darija, or a Modern Standard Arabic, yet still, many Tunisians support Saied’s actions (Falgatna member 2022; Youssef & Yerkes 2022). Now, authorities increasingly use measures similar to those employed under Ben Ali (The New Arab 2022), and interviewees stated that Tunisia is becoming a Police State. Therefore, a coordinated institutional critique and joint advocacy through CSO coalitions across thematic areas is as important now as ever.

INCIDENTS

#Enazeda – Tunisia’s Metoo Movement

In 2019-2020, Tunisia witnessed hundreds of online testimonies denouncing sexual harassment, -assault and -violence, and thousands of comments and reactions. It is a continuation of the existing struggle led by Tunisian women’s rights organisations and feminists for the recognition of sexual rights, bodily integrity rights, and reproductive rights (Ghazyal 2020). The phrase “*Ena Zeda*” had been used before, by a street protester in 2014, ahead of the #MeToo (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:53). The *hashtag* #EnaZeda was sparked by an incident of sexual harassment where the harasser was a powerful politician, Zouheir Makhoulouf, at the time MP of the Tunisian parliament for the Qalb Tounes party. We refer to this as the Makhoulouf-case. The other two included are the ENS-case and the 2022 Kef-case. Cases are numerous, but these are included because they were referred to by the interviewees as significant examples, and have

been given attention in academic- and news articles. Though Tunisia's MeToo movement is characterised by one local hashtag, the movement is independent and spontaneous and is:

"...the ownership of everyone, every survivor, every victim of sexual violence in Tunisia" (Aswat Nissa 2022).

This means that #EnaZeda belongs to everyone who testifies or shows support, no organisation can take ownership of it, and there are different drivers and ways of organising under #EnaZeda. On Facebook, there is a closed group administered by Aswat Nissa (*Women's Voices* in Tunisian Darija), a feminist Tunisian non-governmental organisation created in 2011¹¹. There is also an open group that in the beginning was moderated by the independent feminist intersectional collective Falgatna (*We're fed up* in Tunisian Arabic).

The Makhlouf Case

EnaZeda's drivers consider the Makhlouf-case as the catalyst of the EnaZeda movement. The MP Zouhair Makhlouf masturbated in his car in front of a 19-year-old student outside of her high school. She documented and exposed the incident through pictures she sent to a fellow student and administrator of a private Facebook page. While keeping the identity of the young girl anonymous the administrator of the page posted the pictures, producing a shock wave effect of women and girls coming forward with their personal experiences. (Aswat Nissa 2022). The harassed student did not know that the harasser was a powerful politician, and had no idea how the incident would be a catalyst for an organised civic effort and go viral. Still she used the safer virtual space to name the aggressor. News of the photos spread, and outrage among the public rose. An investigation was opened against Makhlouf though the young woman was afraid that she would not be supported, and thus did not file a complaint at first. This is where the feminist effort to organise and take advantage of technology and the high-profile case becomes important.

Organisation and Activism

Aswat Nissa reached out to the girl harassed by Makhlouf and offered to defend and accompany her throughout the trial. She was anonymous, so they reached out confidentially. Aswat Nissa used his case as a beacon for others looking to bring similar charges:

"Having such a high-profile case end in a pretty substantial sentence should help some women feel like the justice system can work and could perhaps inspire other victims to come forward." (Aswat Nissa Interview 2022)

This inspiration is needed as many victims currently refrain from filing complaints due to social stigma and a hostile reporting environment at police stations. The appearance of the #EnaZeda hashtag in October 2019 prompted Aswat Nissa to create a private Facebook group organised with a charter and a questionnaire for those who wanted to be part of it. Messages began to flow in, accumulate, and a community was formed as a safer space online. Misogynistic messages and attacks are filtered out and potential harassers are dismissed by the moderators. The group has 43.000 members, but could have more, if it

was open. Keeping it closed is prioritised, as it protects its users from further harassment, and Aswat Nissa notes that it has helped to sustain the movement and foster interest in the issue of sexual harassment. Aswat Nissa mentions that this trend has spread to new pages not considered in this report. In relation to Makhoulouf, Aswat Nissa organised online campaigns and street protests on the dates of his trials and considered it an opportunity to show how skewed the justice system is against women. “We wanted to highlight how difficult it is for female victims of violence to have access to the courts.” (Aswat Nissa 2022, interview) – With other women’s rights associations, e.g. “*Association tunisienne des femmes democrates*” (Tunisian Association of Democratic Women, ATFD) participating in a national protest on 30 November 2019. Scenes from this protest are featured in a piece of street art on the walls of the French Institute, in downtown Tunis.

Another driver of EnaZeda that was active in the Makhoulouf-case is the feminist intersectional independent collective Falgatna.¹² Falgatna’s ideology and strategy included communicating in Tunisian Darija, rather than Modern Standard Arabic, French or English as a part of its post-colonial, power critical, non-hierarchical ideology. Furthermore, it is separatist as it is “*lobbying against patriarchy, discrimination, and violence inflicted on individuals who were either assigned female at birth or identify as women.*” (Meshkal 2020) The collective openly ascribes to LGBTIQ+ persons’ rights, which makes its activists more targeted by the police than organisations less outspoken on this topic. In December 2019, they organised around 100 women to protest outside the government headquarters in Tunis. In addition to online campaigns, blindfolded demonstrators pointed their fingers towards the prime ministry while singing a song inspired by Chilean anti-rapist activists and adapted to the Tunisian context in a reference to Makhoulouf, who was sexually harassing while he was member of parliament and thus a lawmaker. One verse is: “The sexual harasser does not legislate”, and using the same performance as in Chile, Falgatna becomes a part of a transnational struggle against SGBV. Falgatna’s goal was to gain momentum as a mobilising force to raise awareness about SGBV, and the negative consequences for victims. The campaign also attempted to be a force to exert pressure on sexist and misogynistic politicians and police while providing a space for those identifying as women to shed light on some key concepts and notions with the intention of increasing knowledge and solidarity (The Arab Weekly 2019). Falgatna is both a campaign and a hashtag used with #EnaZeda, occasionally in the private Facebook group, but more often in the open EnaZeda group¹³. The open group exploded in members and content, and the moderation of comments made the workload too overwhelming for an unfunded collective.

Aftermath and Current Activity

Tunisian law gave Makhoulouf immunity due to his position as MP, thus it seemed that the victim would not get justice (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:54). It was not until Saied fired the parliament in July 2021 that Makhoulouf could get sentenced, and in November he was found guilty and sentenced to a year in prison for sexually harassing the young girl who documented and exposed him (Middle Eastern Eye 2021). That a powerful politician got sentenced was seen as a major achievement by many who considered it an important step on the

way to end a culture of impunity. Though important, interviewees agreed that Makhlouf's sentence is not enough. Accordingly, the greatest achievement is that #EnaZeda has taken the debate on SGBV and harassment a step further because it played a unifying role in an online feminist mobilisation allowing many women, and a few men to testify as victims of SGBV.

The Ens Case: University Teacher and Serial Rapist

In the ENS-case a student at the state-sponsored elite university École Normale Supérieure (ENS), used the #EnaZeda group to call out the teacher Aymen Hacen, known for offering female students tutoring in order to sexually harass or assault them. Hacen knew that good university grades from ENS can open doors to Tunisia's limited job market. If a girl rejected him, she risked getting bad grades, putting at stake future job opportunities. Already in 2017, nine of Hacen's students filed an official complaint to the institute's board, but the director at the time did not investigate the allegations.

Organisation and Activism

In 2019, one of Hacen's former victims turned to the EnaZeda Facebook group and revealed his name. When she was his student, he had liked and commented on her Facebook photos, asked if she was a virgin, and made her come to his office. When she intended to leave, he tried to hug and touch her. Back then she reported the harassment to the head of the department which reacted by ascribing her to another instructor. Due to EnaZeda, she began to organise students and alumni at ENS (Vogelstein and Stone 2022:55). After Hacen's name was revealed, testimonies came out on the #EnaZeda page, rallying 47 victims and supporters of the movement to sign a letter of complaint against him. The student who revealed his name was driven by a feeling of injustice and an aim to prevent him from continuing the same abusive behaviour. The increased attention on sexual harassment created by #EnaZeda made her take up the case again. It matters that she had a supportive family and knew that Hacen did not have the right to touch her, but for some students the consequences of reporting SGBV can be worse than bad grades. Some parts of Tunisia are conservative depending on stereotypical gender roles for men and women. Students from this background risk getting stigmatised and physically violated if they tell their family that they have been sexually harassed or abused (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:56). In this case as in the Makhlouf-case, technology made a difference, because it provided a safer space for organising and sharing information anonymously. In the #EnaZeda group, students could connect to keep Hacen in a negative spot-light when university authorities did not take action. Organisers from the #EnaZeda group taught the students at ENS the Chilean anti-rape song "A rapist on your path", also used against Makhlouf, and performed it at ENS. Students also participated anonymously in the TV programme *Les 4 Verites* (The Four Truths), as well as organising transnationally. Through #EnaZeda, some discovered that he was accused of raping a student in his former position in France. Alumni from that institution added their support to the #EnaZeda group. Hacen did everything in his power to fight back as he filed a defamation lawsuit, launched a campaign and tried to gather a group of colleagues to sign a petition asserting his innocence (2021:57). Nevertheless, the students used #EnaZeda to post photos of anonymous victims/survivors holding signs stating: "Sexual harassment is a

crime”, and screenshots of messages they had received from him. This finally made the institute’s administration dismiss him from his post in December 2019, after he had been sexually assaulting and harassing female students for 10 years in Tunisia and France (Inkyfada 2020; Galal 2021).

The Kef Case

In October 2022, a woman in Kef was murdered by her ex-husband. She left him because he was violent towards her. She had reported the violence and requested an *ordonnance de protection* (protection order), from the police in Kef, expecting that the police would meet their legal duty and keep the man away from approaching her and their children. According to interviewees, the woman was denied this protection order and three days later her ex-partner burned her alive. Interviewees emphasise that this is just one of many cases where women who are killed or molested have actually gone to the police and requested protection.

Organisation and Activities

Following the Kef-case, Aswat Nissa arranged a press conference to reach mainstream media and politicians, and communicated about the tragedy on all their platforms. Aswat Nissa used the case for advocacy and awareness raising of police inaction and lack of implementation of the right to be protected from violence, which should be secured by law 58. Systemic violence towards women is a key area of focus for Aswat Nissa, and also Falgatna. Interviewees describe the lack of willingness to act and the insensitivity that meet people at the police station when they try to report as an example of the patriarchal behaviour and culture of victim blaming that permeates institutions such as the police. This, combined with a lack of knowledge, is described as the systemic violence that the EnaZeda movement attempts to change. According to UNDP (2022) and two interviewees, the Ministry of Justice was supposed to install anti-violence units in each police station where women who have experienced violence are supposed to be able to file charges against their perpetrator and be met with knowledge and support. However, in reality these units do not exist in all police stations and even when they do, the officers in charge of them lack important knowledge. Many need training to understand their legal responsibility, and the lack of gender sensitivity makes them blame the victim, sending them back home. There is a need to “translate” the law into a more simple language so people who are usually not familiar with reading law texts can understand it. Awareness raising and knowledge building among women is an important mission, but the overall goal is a systemic change where the government prioritises creating a budget and a plan for implementing law 58. Aswat Nissa and others use cases such as the three described here, for mobilising the public and advocating for this.

LGBTQ+ PERSONS, MEN, AND #ENAZEDA

Compared to other countries in SWANA except for Lebanon¹⁴, a distinctive characteristic for Tunisian #EnaZeda is that LGBTQ+ persons use the hashtag to reveal their experiences with SGBV. Homosexuality is illegal in Tunisia and LGBTQ+ persons have been vulnerable and silenced victims of harassment and discrimination for social and religious reasons, but started speaking up more after the revolution. (Zakarriya 2022). Using #EnaZeda, a few men shared their experience with sexual violence anonymously, and a couple of Tunisian

homosexual men shared their stories about being sexually abused as children. One man posted several stories about rapes that he had witnessed happening regularly in prisons. (Zakariya 2022 citing Said 2019). Due to the persistent activism of LGBTIQ+ communities the former Tunisian president, Beji Caid Essebsi, called for “the de-penalisation of homosexuality in Tunisia”. (Fitzsimons 2018). However, the current political environment does not indicate that a de-penalisation is about to happen. On the contrary, the President favours criminalisation of homosexuality¹⁵. He refers to gay people as “deviants”, and several interviewees stated that his discourse on “men”, “women”, and “the family” adheres to traditional, stereotypical ideas about gender roles and sexuality. (Interviews with Aswat Nissa and Falgatna 2022; Human Rights Watch 2019).

STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES

Aswat Nissa still coordinate testimonies, events, press conferences and enter into coalitions with other organisations, for example in la Dynamique Fèministe, which formulated a press release criticising Saied’s constitution that was accepted through a referendum held on July 25 2022, a year after he fired the parliament (Dynamique Fèministe 2022¹⁷). The private Facebook #EnaZeda group administered by Aswat Nissa and the open group are still active as of March 2023, and has 97.000 members. However, the movement is not “stable” in level of intensity and strength, but goes in waves, and the intensity and level of support increases when specific incidents are noticed by mainstream media. Therefore, Aswat Nissa uses high-profile cases to keep the momentum going. The closed Facebook group is still an important safer space where people can share their testimonies, and has in addition turned into a place where people share knowledge about law 58 or GBV in Tunisia. Furthermore, victims/survivors can seek help and get advice on where and how to press charges against perpetrators. This is important, since interviewees pointed to the huge knowledge gap among victims/survivors and women in general, and a need to create solidarity among them. There is also a need to spread knowledge among men, educating them to be allies in the fight against sexual violence. In addition to the Facebook group, Aswat Nissa created a unit to support victims of sexual violence for legal and psychological counselling, and engage volunteers, who receive training. Many of the volunteers are survivors of SGBV who did not speak out when they were younger, but because of EnaZeda feel empowered to do so due to awareness raising, a feeling of less victim blaming, and the collective support from members of the group. Aswat Nissa said that many of the volunteers are motivated by a wish to prevent the current generation of young girls and women from experiencing sexual harassment and violence, and break down taboos and shame. The unit employs a psychologist and a lawyer, providing services that the state has actually committed to provide. Aswat Nissa would like to expand this service provision because even though law 58 should make it possible for victims/survivors to get justice, implementation is lacking as a consequence of the lack of a budget and implementation plan. Aswat Nissa is also collecting documentation of online harassment, and plans to publish a report on the scope and nature of it.

Falgatna had decided not to seek foreign funding in order to stay independent, and consequently, it did not have any paid staff, making it difficult to sustain

efforts over time, because coordination and organisation requires resources in terms of time and technical knowledge. The group had to pause their activities, because they were overwhelmed by the workload related to EnaZeda. (Interviews with consultant and Falgatna activist). Though it is not active, former group members still believe in the project and in a more informal, non-hierarchical way of organising. During the interview with KVINFO, the former member stated that they, as activists, need some capacity building, especially on both cyber security and general security, for example on how to deal with police during protests. She further expressed a need for exchanging experience transnationally, but also trans-regionally, and told KVINFO that Falgatna is inspired by social movements against SGBV in Latin America, perceived as successful in organising a large number of protesters establishing collective action. She mentioned that facilitation of training, meetings or workshops where Latin American activists are invited would be relevant support.

Backlashes – Risks for Activists

Security forces are still accused of using excessive force towards both women and men, and since Saïed's power grab "the authorities have increasingly used heavy-handed measures similar to those used by former leader, Ben Ali". (Africa News 2022). According to Aswat Nissa, Saïed has brought the fight for human rights to a standstill:

"The president's speech claims that civil society is a devil and an actor of fraud and encourages terrorism and he puts it all in one box, which is the opposite of what we do. So there is a discourse that is very dangerous for us as activists." (2022)

Ahead of the referendum on 25 July 2022 concerning Saïed's draft constitution, Aswat Nissa created an online campaign, including videos, explaining how some articles in the constitution are against women's rights. Soon after, they were targeted by a digital smear campaign, which got personal as some staff members were insulted openly on Facebook. In another backlash, an interview with a staff member on a popular media platform resulted in a massive amount of insulting comments not removed by the media platform. Aswat Nissa has started to document the hate speech intending to press charges against those behind it, though some of them could be powerful, as, according to Aswat Nissa, the smear campaign targeted feminists and activists who try to raise awareness among the public on why the constitution is against women's rights. In another backlash, a high school student in Tunis made a sexual harassment complaint about her teacher, who was subsequently held in police custody. Another teacher at the school supported the harassed student, but became subjected to threats and intimidation by her colleagues. Some colleagues and parents of students would rather cover up the cases to preserve the school's reputation. The case divided the school, and some of the teachers demanded that the detained teacher should be released immediately. Tunisia's powerful UGTT labour union backed the accused teacher, suggesting that the case was politically motivated, while expressing the union's support for campaigns against sexual harassment. The teacher was provisionally released with his trial postponed. This is an example of how a culture of taboo and silencing exists parallel to the increased awareness of the gravity of the problem.

Similar to other countries, anti-MeToo actors often argue that there is a lack of protection of the accused person and that it is undermining the justice system. Furthermore, EnaZeda has been accused of creating division within Tunisian society and destroying families. (Middle Eastern Eye 2020).

Police Violence and Arrests of Activists

Activists have been harassed by the police and security forces digitally and at street protests. Some have been arrested, imprisoned and sentenced, mainly when an individual or a group of activists have been in a confrontation with the police, or if an individual is deliberately targeted due to political reasons. When a person is targeted by the police, officers have in some cases appeared at private homes to arrest them, accusing them of crimes they did not commit (Interview Falgatna activist 2022). In 2021, an LGBTIQ+ activist from *Damj, the Tunisian Association for Justice and Equality*¹⁶, visited a police station in Tunis to file a complaint against harassment, but because their treatment upset her, it ended in an argument, resulting in her arrest. In March 2021, the court of Tunis, sentenced her to six months in prison. She was convicted of “violating the general morality”, “insulting a governmental employee”, and “being drunk in public places” under articles 125, 315 and 316 of the Tunisian Penal Code. (Front Line Defenders 2021). She was released two weeks later, and then left Tunisia as up until her arrest she also had been subjected to harassment on some police union’s social media platforms. (Rights Africa 2021). Harassment is also a democratic problem leading to activists refraining from protesting, due to surveillance and the risk of being imprisoned. It is an efficient strategy for regimes to control and limit the freedom and actions of civil society. It is difficult for activists to know when they are crossing the line. The Falgatna activist also left Tunisia due to harassment and surveillance over a long period of time (Interview 2022). She believes she was targeted due to, among other reasons, her being an ally to LGBTIQ+ people. She experienced a smear campaign against her, which made her work from “behind the scenes” with coordination and planning rather than attending protests.

Police violence permeates Tunisia’s security system. Tunisian Human Rights League says 14 men have been killed in recent years in incidents involving the police who rarely face justice. These police killings of civilians have caused anger among the public and led to social mobilisation. The journalist KVINFO interviewed covered a case where witnesses claim that officers forced a 19-year-old football fan to jump in a river in 2018. When he told them that he could not swim, they reportedly said: “ta’alem oum” (“learn to swim” in darija). Afterwards, the phrase appeared in graffiti across Tunisia and as a digital hashtag against police abuse. In March 2022, prosecutors formally charged 14 police officers now facing lesser charges of “involuntary manslaughter and failure to assist a person in danger”, instead of murder. (Meshkal 2022).

Outing and Doxing

There are cases where police officers “outed” LGBTIQ+ activists and revealed their personal information, including home addresses and phone numbers, and threatened them with violence (Human Rights Watch 2021). This is “doxing”, which is when someone exposes private or sensitive information about another person without consent, often online. It can be damaging, depending on the

content shared and the context it is shared in. There are similar examples we do not consider as doxing, because the information shared is “just” a picture without further personal information. This we refer to as “outing” and can be when police photograph activists at protests and demonstrations, and then expose the photos on social media. This harassment strategy is not illegal, as police are allowed to take pictures of people in public places and expose them online, but the consequences for victims can be similar to doxing. Being exposed publicly as affiliated with homosexuality, sex-work or drug-dealing, all illegal in Tunisia, can have damaging consequences for the victim. Outing and doxing is also carried out by activists as a way of seeking justice in cases of harassment. An example of such, can be sharing of screenshots and personal messages as in the ENS-case or exposing pictures of street harassers, calling them out or asking others to identify them, as in the Makhoulouf-case. Sharing of MeToo content can thus be doxing without the “malicious intentions” often associated with it. These examples of doxing show that it is not unusual to encourage others to harass further by, for example, calling the victim, sending threats or even showing up at their private address, where as MeToo activists in the examples we know of, do not encourage others to harass the perpetrator, but to expose and document the scope of sexual violence towards women in general, and seek justice in specific cases.

CONCLUSION ON TUNISIA CASES

In 2019, women’s rights movements rode on a huge wave of public attention where everyone was talking about sexual violence. EnaZeda highlighted how SGBV takes place in all environments and moments of life and includes cases of incest and rape, as well as harassment and assault on the street, the work place and at educational institutions, but also the most severe forms of violence such as femicide, while encompassing a critique of institutions and patriarchal structures. EnaZeda has renewed the debate on social relations between women and men in Tunisia (Aswat Nissa report 2022). The unifying role of #EnaZeda has given young people opportunities for expression, denunciation and visibility in the fight against GBV. Tunisian police registered nearly 69,000 complaints of VAW in 2021, but many fear the real number of violence is much higher. (Human Rights Watch 2022). Regarding sexual harassment, the number of cases handled remains much lower than the number of complaints filed. Between 2019-2020, only 400 cases of sexual harassment were brought to trial based on figures provided by the ministry of justice to Aswat Nissa. However, it is an achievement that an increasing number of women seek legal support after being subjected to violence, even though few complaints result in convictions. (UNDP 2022).

According to CSOs and activists, the safer online spaces where victims/survivors can get support and advice on where to seek further support should be supported and sustained, which is backed by the finding that “women are often encouraged to file a complaint when they are supported by others” (UNDP 2022). Tunisian women have many important legislations and laws, but they only exist on paper, and work remains to implement them. (Interviews 2022; Zakariya 2022). The absence of the implementation of laws such as law 58, impunity and corruption prevent victims/survivors from getting justice. Thus, a shared goal for the EnaZeda movement is to get the government and institutions to

realise that they are a part of the structural problem with SGBV. It has for too long been considered a “private” problem. Though independent, EnaZeda is characterised by a level of coordination and organisation of collective action not seen in Jordan and Morocco. The success of EnaZeda is related to activists’ and organisations’ mobilisation around high-profile cases, and their creation of digital spaces where victims/survivors can testify and share knowledge. Due to the unpredictable political context, the most important work at the moment is to support initiatives that keep the conversation alive at as many media platforms as possible, through videos, press releases, conferences, campaigns, events and street protests.



RECOMMENDATIONS – SUPPORT FOR TUNISIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

- Support women’s rights and feminist groups that work for shaping public opinion on social and mainstream media
- Campaign targeting men. While most campaigns target women, there is not an equal focus on men’s behaviours, and masculinity. Behavioural insights could be further leveraged in the area of GBV
- Support work on the implementation of law 58
- Support training of police, and in this context, partner with or involve the Ministry of Interior
- Involve more authorities, public institutions, and the private sector in the fight against sexual harassment at work
- Support establishing more empathic and people centred services, which are easy to access. Often victims feel they are in a position where they need to justify their victimhood. Changing the paradigm of interactions in various services is a necessary step to make women feel safe and to encourage them to seek justice
- Support a security system reform
- Work with the improvement of psychological care, and legal and medical follow-up, for child victims of sexual abuse
- Support initiatives and organisations that work for a law that can prevent, protect and and punish acts of digital sexual violence
- Support organisations and initiatives advocating for ratification of:
 - The Istanbul Convention, which protects women against all forms of violence
 - The ILO Convention 190 on violence and harassment at work. Make sure that trade unions apply this
- Support shelters and other services for victims. Combine service provision with awareness raising and advocacy work, e.g. in relation to legal and psychological support

- Support and assist victims/survivors to file complaints
- Support knowledge building on women’s and children’s rights in relation to law 58, and especially in environments where people are far from service provisions and organised support
 - Through working with families
 - Working with women in general and specifically with victims/survivors to inform them of their own rights
 - Targeting men
 - Targeting youth through educational institutions
 - A learning workshop, a conference or a series of trainings where activists from different countries share their learnings with Tunisian activists (maybe include activists from Egypt, Jordan and Morocco).
 - Support security training including cyber security
 - Support LGBTIQ+ community for example by strengthening networks and international solidarity

EGYPT

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA

National and international media, and scholars have reported on a movement setting off from April-July 2020 against sexual violence and harassment that:

“...mark a boost for feminist and women’s legal, socio-cultural, and political resistance against gendered and sexualised abuse and violence in Egypt.”
(Zakarriya 2022)

This movement can be seen as an Egyptian MeToo movement or as different MeToos, considering the various hashtags and platforms. Though MeToo in Egypt is a continuation of a historical struggle against SGBV which existed for many years among feminist and women’s rights activists prior to MeToo, data agrees that in 2020, something changed in the public opinion regarding how sexual harassment and violence is considered, and technology played a key role. This chapter is informed by two interviews held on Zoom in addition to articles, and a podcast by Kerning Cultures with two women who participated in driving the movement in 2020. KVINFO interviewed the director of the Egyptian organisation Tadwein Center for Gender Studies¹⁸, a knowledge producing organisation and a part of KVINFO’s network. Tadwein is known for studies and campaigns against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and other forms of GBV. Already in 2010, the director of Tadwein was a co-founder of HarassMap, an app created to document and combat sexual harassment. The other interviewee is Jihan Zakarriya from Aarhus University and previously Egypt’s Beni-Suef University. She studies gender, social movements, regime resistance, feminism and women’s rights movements (2021; 2022). KVINFO carried out fewer interviews about Egypt than about Tunisia and Morocco. Due to time and resources, we did not travel to Egypt and we prioritised organising more

meetings in the countries we visited. It would have been relevant to consult those drivers we refer to as young “digital” activists, but as they are loosely organised, it was challenging to identify which of the various pages, actors and hashtags have been and continue to be significant. For example, the woman behind @assaultpolice, often referred to as the major catalyst for MeToo in Egypt, is not active anymore. Tadwein provided us with more insights on these actors, and this report recommends reaching out to some of the young “digital” feminists she mentioned, possibly through Tadwein, which already works on capacity building of these individuals and groups through network meetings and feminist schools carried out online.

In Egypt SGBV is one of its most widespread human rights issues (OHCHR 2021). CSOs and activists have been concerned with the issue for years, and those starting and sustaining hashtags such as, #MeToo / #Me_Too), or #AnaKaman #assault police, #SpeakUp, #CatCallsofCairo, and #Superwomen are all a part of a long historical struggle (Vogelstein and Stone 2021: 66). According to a study published by UN Women in 2013, 99% of girls and women in Egypt stated they experienced harassment. Moreover, 83% of women in the survey reported they did not feel safe or secure in Egyptian streets (UNFPA 2021). The 2014 Population Council Survey in Egypt showed that 41.9% of girls aged from 13 to 29 years old were subjected to sexual harassment, while the number was 49.5% for girls aged from 13 to 17 (Tadwein 2018). Tadwein states that, despite amendments in the Egyptian Penal Code and in the definition of sexual harassment in the law in 2014, sexual harassment continues, and the law fails to bring much change as victims rarely report assaults. Many women facing such violence have learned to live with it. In some cases, sexual harassment has led to femicide. Already in 2018, Tadwein conducted a social media campaign entitled #Slayed_by_harassment, documenting the stories of those who were killed by sexual harassers. (Tadwein 2018¹⁹). This showed the severity of the crime and connected harassment to femicide. Tadwein has recently published the study *Killed Because We Are Women*²⁰ documenting and analysing cases of femicide from October 2021 to October 2022. Those subjected to very aggressive forms of sexual violence like rape or molestation are likely to be silenced due to shame, avoiding reporting to the police for fear of the associated stigma, social pressure from perpetrators or their families, or a lack of trust in the process itself (Global Voices 2021). That women’s fear of reporting SGBV in Egypt is not without reason is clear from the cases included in this report, which reveals state violence such as arrest and imprisonment of activists as in the Amal Fathy case, failing to protect witnesses and sentence perpetrators as in the Fairmont Rape case, and generally failing to protect victims and survivors from shame and anxiety. However, the cases also suggest less silence and victim blaming and more public support than before 2020.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – FROM THE 2011 REVOLUTION TO #METOO

There is not a specific law addressing Violence against Women (VAW), though women’s rights organisations have pushed for it by leading draft laws (New Woman Foundation 2022). Regarding sexual harassment, some official attempts to address the issue have been made, for example, the state issued its first law to criminalise it in 2014, but women continued to refrain from reporting as the 2014 law failed to ensure protection of the identity of the victim/survivor and

witnesses. This was changed in the midst of the #MeToo movement in 2020. A new law was approved to protect the anonymity of victims, as the Minister of Justice came forward with a law stating that the investigator could not reveal personal information of the victim to anyone besides authorities directly involved in the trial. Though seen as a major victory for the movement, the law was not implemented, as for example in the Fairmont Rape-case, where someone leaked information to the news media which were not aware of the law (or ignored it). Another improvement happened in 2021 as sexual harassment went from being trialed as a misdemeanour to a felony. (Kerning Cultures 2022). Also, Egypt has added amendments criminalising the use of electronic devices and social media for sexual harassment to Penal Code 14 (EuroMed Rights 2021:7). There have been official attempts to give an impression of Egypt as a state that cares about women. This “state feminism” is a phenomenon that goes back to before the 2011 revolution but this report addresses post-2011. In March 2017, President Al-Sisi declared 2017 the year of the Egyptian Woman, and Egypt adopted the National Strategy for the Empowerment of Egyptian Women 2030, which was developed by the National Council for Women (NCW). Prior to this, the national strategy to combat violence against women was adopted in 2015, seeking to coordinate efforts by the government, the NCW, the National Committee on the Eradication of FGM, and civil society. In reality, recent years have revealed that the government’s suppression of public dissent, including dissent voiced by leading activists on women’s rights, has been more severe. Prior to 2011, stakes for women reporting on sexual harassment and assault in Egypt were also high, as they risked “their career opportunities, reputations and safety”, but now, speaking out is to gamble with one’s own freedom and health (Vogelstein and Stone 2021: 65). For example, the founder of the organisation Nazra for Feminist Studies was largely confined to her home and banned from leaving Egypt (ibid; International Alliance of Women). Human Rights Watch argues that a part of the Egyptian authorities’ strategy to uphold control is to target women social media influencers, and particularly those from lower socio-economic classes. This is policing women’s bodies and subjecting their behaviour to moral grandstanding, while allowing impunity to reign when it comes to crimes of sexual violence by men from powerful backgrounds (Human Rights Watch 2021). In 2020-2021, at least 12 female social media influencers with millions of followers on TikTok and Instagram were arrested and prosecuted, some have been released after activists’ campaigns, while others have been sentenced with fines and up to 10 years of prison (ibid). Some have been directly related to MeToo, such as in May 2020 when a 17-year old girl spoke out about her assault and gang rape on TikTok but subsequently found herself detained for morality-related offences for her videos. She was released in September after campaigning by activists, and a criminal court sentenced five of the people she accused. It shows how the regime is performing a balancing act: on one side it responds to the public awareness on SGBV, but on the other it does everything possible to control civil space. It is difficult to know where the regime’s red line is. For example, the TikTok influencers did not deliberately criticise the regime, however, they were still subjected to ‘morality’ arrests which is a:

“populist tactic to whip up moral fervour, preying on women who already face deeply-rooted discriminatory attitudes, and making it easier for the authorities to justify and maintain stiff and arbitrary limits on freedom of expression.” (ibid)

This and other backlashes to be described confirms that, as Zakarriya also points out, the regime considers women digital influencers, activists and the MeToo movement as a real threat (2022). Despite the regime's limits on freedom of expression, the United States has supported al-Sisi's regime economically, for example, by donating 1.4 billion dollars in security assistance while failing to use this influence in accelerating real change for women and calling for the release of imprisoned women activists. Instead, the Trump administration in 2019 "publicly praised al-Sisi for initiatives that supposedly benefitted women" (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:69). In the light of al-Sisi's repressive methods it is impressive that various organised groups and activists keep fighting back, making the most of the digital space. #MeToo in Egypt was able to lead several online campaigns and is now a significant social movement. It should be emphasised that, though the activists work more digitally now, #MeToo would not have been possible without the longstanding and continuous work of feminist and women's rights organisations and it did not happen in a vacuum (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:73).

LGBTIQ+ and Women Violating 'Public Morality'

Egypt does not have a law regulating sexual conduct or gender expression, but the regime criminalises and persecutes LGBTIQ+ people using several Penal Code provisions such as Article 178.24 which punishes anyone who distributes materials, including photographs, violating "public morality", or provisions from the 2018 cybercrime law pertaining to public morality, family values, and decency (Euro Med Rights 2021:11) Tadwein's director emphasised that the laws are vague. It is LGBTIQ+ persons and women who are convicted for violating moral and family values, not cis-hetero men. There have been examples of technology being used by the State to facilitate the persecution of LGBTIQ+ persons. LGBTIQ+ campaigners have noted that since 2013, the Egyptian police have used technology, specifically gay dating apps, to track users, gather photographic evidence of 'obscenity', and arrange fake meetings. This has led to prosecutions on the grounds of 'debauchery' or 'public indecency' for which judges can impose jail sentences. In September 2017, several people raised a rainbow flag during a Cairo performance by the Lebanese band Mashrou Leila and posted pictures on Facebook, leading to an intensification of the campaign against LGBTIQ+ people. Following the concert, the Supreme Council on Media Regulation silenced Egyptian media so that they could not publicly express support for LGBTIQ+ rights or campaigns. In addition, the government unleashed a wave of arbitrary arrests and torture of LGBTIQ+ people: 33 people were detained. Some faced criminal charges and reported assaults and being subjected to forced anal examinations in custody (EuroMedRights 2021).

INCIDENTS

Zakarriya argues that more public awareness on SGBV started as a direct consequence of women's participation in the 2011 January 25 revolution where the state allowed for and participated in sexual violence against female protesters and specifically sexualised assaults such as virginity-tests. (International Viewpoint 2019; Zakarriya 2021 and 2022). Since 2011, people in Egypt have become more courageous about speaking out on sexual harassment, and the Blue Bra Girl could be considered as one of the catalysts

for a growing women's movement in Egypt against sexual harassment. This woman was captured on video in December 2011 being dragged along the ground, and her abaya came undone, exposing her blue bra. The video spread on social media globally, and is thus an example of how digital social media has played an important factor that helped to spread the word on the problem of sexual harassment even before the #MeToo (The National 2021). According to Tadwein, the new thing is that digital organisation and social media now seem to be used by all the drivers (Tadwein 2023). Further, digital naming and shaming of individuals or, doxing²¹, has become more popular for victims/survivors and activists as a tool against sexual predators, though it is not without risk since it can backfire, as the regime or perpetrators can use the same strategy to shame and harass, or incite violence through smear campaigns. It further sparks debates within the feminist community, as the director of Tadwein mentioned that there is a discussion on the methods used in relation to naming and shaming of perpetrators.

The Rania Fahmy and Amal Fathy Cases

When #MeToo went viral in October 2017 spreading from English speakers based in the USA to a transnational multilingual phenomenon, Arabic posts mainly originated in Egypt (Ghazal, 2020:276). Ghazal has looked into two equivalents in Arabic, #AnaKaman, used in Levantine and in Egyptian dialect, and the more Standard Arabic, #anaAydan. Both hashtags were used by Egyptian women already in 2017, and are Arabic translations of "me too". Though they did not develop into sustained movements back then, there are some incidents of early #MeToo in Egypt that got media attention and we have included two here to show how unpredictable the Egyptian regime treats MeToo cases.

In Upper Egypt in August 2017, a female university student, Rania Fahmy, fought back against a man harassing her on the street (Vogelstein and Stone 2021: 64). The incident was caught on a security camera and went viral on social media. Soon women started to show solidarity using the hashtag #Times-Up (2021: 64). The case got attention in mainstream media, and Fahmy was honoured by the NCW after she became the first woman from Upper Egypt to take a man accused of sexual assault to court (Egypt Independent 2018). For their study of MeToo movements in Egypt and Tunisia, Vogelstein and Stone (2021) spoke with the founder of the Egyptian grassroots organisation Nazra for Feminist Studies. Nazra was active in the coordination of legal, medical, and psychological assistance to women who had been sexually assaulted during the 2011 revolution. Afterwards, Nazra turned its attention towards campaigning for legal changes that would protect women, enhance gender equality and advance women's political participation (2021: 61-62). It contributed to the collective effort of including women's rights in the 2014 Egyptian constitution in which one of the achievements was to ensure that the Penal Code was changed so that it allowed women to charge their harassers and take them to court (2021: 63). One of the first times this law was enforced was in relation to Fahmy's case. In February 2018, the harasser was sentenced to three years in prison and the case is an example of how collective effort under #MeToo/#anakaman builds on previous efforts. (2021:64). The momentum gained when Fahmy won the case and met a backlash three months after in another case where the woman speaking up, Amal Fathy, an activist known to the Egyptian regime

from the 2011 revolution, uploaded a video on Facebook documenting that she was harassed twice within the same day. Two days after she posted the video, “masked and heavily armed police appeared at her home” (2021: 65). They arrested Fathy and took her son and husband into custody as well. Her family was released soon after, but Fathy was jailed and held for eight months before she was convicted of the charges of “threatening national security and spreading fake news”. She was under house arrest until March 2020 and the case had severe consequences for her psychological and physical health (2021:65; Human Rights Council 2020).

The ABZ Case

Two years later, in the summer of 2020, Egypt experienced a cultural reckoning which ended up “monumentally changing the culture around sexual harassment in Egypt”. This is how “The Rise and Fall of #MeToo in Egypt: Part 1 & 2” by Kerning Cultures, a female-led podcast network, describes the rise of Egypt’s MeToo movement²² (Kerning Cultures 2022). Many consider the testimonies against perpetrator, Ahmed Bassam Zaki, referred to as ABZ, as the catalyst. He was exposed by a female university student in June 2020 on her private Facebook page. In her post she named and shamed ABZ for sexually harassing her and two of her friends.

Organisation and Activism

What sparked the post further was that the story was picked up by the Instagram account @assaultpolice launched by another university student. Over the next weeks through Tweets, Facebook posts and Instagram stories, it became clear that ABZ had assaulted and harassed at least 50 other women who stepped forward with a list of accusations against him (Zakariya 2022). ABZ threatened these women after the allegations and then left for Barcelona to join a business school. Despite this, @assaultpolice collected and reported more than 100 anonymous testimonies from women who had been assaulted or harassed by ABZ, including a 14-year-old girl (Zakariya 2022 citing Tarek 2020; Saleh 2020). What started as one woman’s anger became a coordinated effort to get ABZ sentenced, and @assaultpolice played an important role in this as it posted a message encouraging his victims/survivors to come forward promising that they would remain anonymous to the public. They needed women to come forward to press charges if they were to get ABZ sentenced. They managed to gather over 150 sexual harassment testimonies against ABZ, but in the end, only 6 women/girls came forward to press charges. This confirms how women rarely file complaints of sexual harassment in Egypt. If and when they do, the outcome can often be humiliation, and the Egyptian legal system is ill equipped to deal with sexual violence. Further, women do not trust the police and general security system, even though there has been an all women police unit since 2017 specialised in sexual harassment and assault. One reason is the fact that the police and security forces were some of the worst perpetrators of sexual violence and abuse during the revolution. Another is Egypt’s debauchery and morality laws, opening for police to turn the case against the woman by questioning her sexual history (Kerning Cultures 2022).

The motivation for the woman who first named and shamed ABZ was that she did not want other women to experience the shame that she did. She had no

idea that her post would end up travelling far beyond her own social circle, neither did she expect that she would be met with support from hundreds of women, other Facebook pages and organisations. Instead of blame and blacklashes she was met with a large number of messages from women stating that it happened to them too (ibid). ABZ was arrested, and in April 2021, he was sentenced to eight years in prison for sexually assaulting and blackmailing three underage girls (Egyptian Streets 2021). In September 2022, ABZ made an appeal which was approved by the Egyptian Court, and thus the final outcome remains unknown (Egyptian Streets 2022). Still, it was an achievement that ABZ got arrested and sentenced, at least because it made more women speak up and seek help. The day it went public that ABZ had been arrested around 400 cases of sexual assault were reported to Egypt's National Council for Women's hotline and "social media was literally blowing up" (Kerning Cultures Podcast 2022).

The Fairmont Case

When ABZ had been arrested, many felt that it was finally going to change and "Egyptian women were celebrating a moment of euphoria, victory and relief" (Kerning Cultures 2022). Some of the drivers of the social media pages felt that they were met differently by family, friends, colleagues and other people they met, including men. Suddenly the public were taking the issue of sexual harassment seriously, and many stopped blaming the victim, addressing their anger at the perpetrators instead (Kerning Cultures 2022; Egyptian Streets 2021). More women shared stories, and a specific high profile case started out promisingly, but ended up putting an end to the euphoric feeling of victory as it met a backlash. In late July 2020, @assaultpolice, the Instagram page that made it possible to collect enough testimonies against ABZ, exposed another incident that made it clear how impunity prevails for the most powerful who can twist the narrative against witnesses and victims/survivors. The case is referred to as the Fairmont-case and the crimes include systematic rape, drugging, and blackmailing of various women and girls, and shows that the most powerful in Egypt's elite are untouchable no matter how severe the crimes they commit and how strong the evidence is. In July 2020, a videotaped rape case sent shockwaves through Egyptian social media when a woman contacted @assaultpolice testifying that a group of six men from rich, powerful families had drugged, gang-raped, and video recorded her in Cairo's five-star Fairmont Nile City Hotel in February 2014 (Zakarriya 2022).

Organisation and Activism

This video which should serve as evidence disappeared but witnesses still had screenshots of it. The hashtag #fairmontincident came forward and @assaultpolice administrator put out a call for further information and testimonies, but soon suspended activity on the account and deleted their posts after they reportedly began to receive death threats. The case was taken up by other pages, such as Cat Calls of Cairo²³ and Gang Rapists of Cairo²⁴, trying to publish whatever information they could find. These accounts urged anyone who had information or video recordings to submit them to the Public Prosecution and to stop circulating them in order to protect the victim/survivor's rights. They also indicated that the Fairmont rape might not be an isolated incident (2021 Mada Masr). People on social media began to give details of the crime this was referring to. More details came out about the men who appeared

to be serial rapists. They had done this frequently over the past 10 years, and more men were involved. It also came to be known that the rapists blackmailed and threatened the victim/survivor, who remained silent for six years after the crime. The growing impact of #MeToo in Egypt, and especially the arrest of ABZ encouraged the Fairmont-case survivor to share her experience with rape and blackmail (Zakariya 2022; Mada Masr 2021). The victim/survivor reported the case with several other women who had allegedly experienced sexual violence by the same men in order to file reports together, but in the end, the woman from the video had to file her report alone, with the others serving as witnesses to the case (Mada Masr 2021).

The complaint was initially submitted to the National Council for Women in August 2020, which referred it to the Public Prosecution. The viral hashtags put pressure on the authorities to act. Prosecutors in Egypt ordered the arrests of the men involved in the gang rape. After one month of this social media outbreak, the public was getting frustrated about why the rapists had not yet been arrested. The video was still not to be found, and most of the perpetrators had fled the country. On August 24, 2020, the prosecution officially announced the arrest warrant of nine men involved in the crime (including three men involved in a related gang rape crime). Though it seemed promising that Egyptian authorities were taking the case seriously, the Fairmont-case soon took a negative turn as Egyptian security agencies on 28 August 2020 arrested a man and three women who were witnesses in the case. In September, 2020, a lawyer filed a report with the investigating authorities, accusing the woman who was gang raped in the Fairmont case of drug abuse and incitement to immorality and prostitution, pressing charges against her and the witnesses for violating laws on “morality” and “debauchery”. Suddenly witnesses, campaigners and a bystander found themselves targeted by authorities. Three were ordered into remand detention by the Public Prosecution, while three others were released on bail. One witness said she was accused of “promoting homosexuality” because she had a rainbow flag filter on her profile picture on social media. The arrests were accompanied by a smear campaign by media websites affiliated with Egyptian security agencies that published information attributed to the case file, saying that the Fairmont-case was “not what it appeared to be” but rather a revenge campaign orchestrated by two individuals, one of whom is among the women arrested. This flipped the narrative in order to win the public (Kerning Cultures). In addition, the smear campaign framed the party at the Fairmont as a “group sex party” and used homophobic slurs to depict what they called a group of “perverts.” The arrests sent shockwaves through the community of campaigners and advocates seeking justice in the case. Kerning Cultures and Mada Masr state that witnesses were targeted as a result of pressure from the families of the men accused in the rape. Mada Masr states that one of their sources believes there was an intention to “sabotage the case” as witnesses were arrested simultaneously from their homes at dawn (2021 Mada Masr). Although all witnesses have been released, they remain accused of activities that should not be crimes in the first place: “suspicion of homosexuality,” “inciting debauchery,” personal drug use, and “misuse of social media” and several witnesses were banned from travelling to “stop them from escaping punishment” and “prevent interference with the investigation.” In May 2021, the Public Prosecution announced it was suspending criminal proceedings in the Fairmont-case, citing insufficient evidence.

The Farshout's Girl Case

Farha was a 17-years-old lower-class girl who lived in Upper Egypt, Qena Governorate, where she was kidnapped and raped. She managed to escape and report the rape to the police already back then, and afterwards, she spoke on national television, but without showing her face. She spoke from behind a veil, about her panic while listening to her rapists discussing what they were going to do with her, about how she succeeded in escaping from her rapists, and how she went directly to a police station to file a report against her rapists. She also spoke about how she waged a bitter struggle within her Upper Egyptian community to obtain “some justice” for what happened to her, and how her father blamed her and refused to support her. (Zaki 2021). The rapists came from wealthy families and thus, though Farha went to the police and filed a report, they were not prosecuted back then. The fact that Farha was lower-class made the struggle harder. She lived with her divorced mother who worked as a cleaner in a school. Instead of getting justice, Farha's mother was fired, and they had to leave their village after receiving threats and humiliating treatment from the rapists, their families, and the community (Farshout's girl 2020; Zaki 2021). However, Farha and her mother did not drop the case. They sought help from women's rights organisations who introduced her case to mainstream and social media using #MeToo. As Farha's case drew public attention and sympathy, the rapists offered her money and marriage to concede the case, but she refused. In July 2020, in the midst of the MeToo momentum, the rapists were sentenced to death (Three Men who Kidnapped 2020). KVINFO has not confirmed if the men have been executed as of February 2023, but in any case does not support the Death Penalty.

The conviction of Farha's perpetrators came with negative consequences for her as she had to seek police protection because of fear despite a judicial ruling that restored her right. This shows a fundamental flaw within the Egyptian justice and security system in addition to the fact that filing a case is a long struggle in the first place, especially if you are lower-class, living in a conservative community, without a strong network. Before the conviction Farha had already been subjected to several threats to push her to withdraw her case since the start of legal procedures and the trial, as well as threats after her appearance in the TV show Hekayat Nehad (Nehad's Stories) on Al Qahera Wel Nas TV channel in an episode entitled “Rape Cases and Breaking the Silence”. (The Egyptian Centre for Women's Rights 2020; Cairo Scene 2020). That authorities do not prioritise protection of the person reporting the crime and the witnesses can lead to victims/survivors refraining from reporting and filing cases regarding sexual violence. This lack of willingness to protect those reporting and witnessing is systemic, happening to activists and persons who have never done activism before, and became a major theme in Egypt's MeToo. Thus, it was seen as an achievement when the parliament passed a law in August 2020 giving women the automatic right to anonymity to encourage more to report sexual assaults (Reuters 2020).

METOO AND MALE VICTIMS, SURVIVORS, AND SUPPORTERS

During Egypt's #MeToo there are examples of men coming forward with stories of sexual abuse. Tadwein's Director and Zakarriya mention a case where two heterosexual, famous cis-male actors, Tameem Youness and Abbas Abu Al-

Hassan issued sexual harassment and molestation complaints against their dentist, Bassam Samir. Afterwards, more men accused the same dentist of sexual harassment. In July 2021, the dentist was sentenced to 16 years in prison for his sexual violations. As a consequence of the public awareness created by MeToo, they were encouraged to come forward, which led to a trial and conviction. Youness and Al-Hassan shared that they were inspired and encouraged by Egyptian women leading #MeToo and Al-Hassan praised women for fighting “ambivalence and shameful silence in the society” (Long live a sex 2020). Youness expressed “his empathy towards every woman who had to go through such a situation and stressed the fact that it’s never the victim’s fault. (Henein 2020). Youness’ and Al-Hassan’s sexual abuse helped them understand the sufferings and trauma of abused women. This understanding motivated them to act individually and collectively. (2022 Zakariya; 2020). It is an achievement that, because of #MeToo, some men speak publicly about their sexual abuse. Men’s engagement and support, as family members, friends, spouses, colleagues, or in the public debate, can make a huge difference in the fight against SGBV. In another case, journalist May al-Shamy shared her experience of sexual harassment at her workplace, the Cairo newspaper, al-Youm al Sabaa, in 2018 using #AnaKaman, but she was met with an immediate backlash. However, because she was supported by her spouse, she pursued a legal case. This was rejected by the public prosecutor due to lack of evidence, as witnesses did not dare to testify out of fear of retribution. Supported by her spouse, May filed an employment rights case to get compensation, ending in a fine for the workplace and economic compensation on the condition that she would drop “any harassment complaint”. She never saw the money, and she eventually stopped speaking up about MeToo: she and her spouse, who has publicly supported her, became targets of al-Sisi’s regime through a “campaign falsely linking May to the banned Muslim Brotherhood party” (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:67-68). May states that the support from her spouse was crucial, as she would not have dared coming forward without his support, as she stated to Vogelstein and Stone:

“Any independent woman who has been through a harassment experience couldn’t speak about it unless she had a husband or a family providing her material and moral support.” (2021:68)

May’s case happened before the 2020 “awakening”, and though there is still a lot of work ahead of the movement when it comes to getting men involved, some of the MeToo drivers stated that women found support from male colleagues, friends and family members to an extent that was not seen before the public awakening in 2020 (Kerning Cultures 2022). It indicates that there is potential to involve men more in MeToo as being a man is not an obstacle to empathic engagement with women.

STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES

Though the number of testimonies has decreased now compared to 2020-21, many of the young digital drivers are still active, and Tadwein supports initiatives such as Superwomen and SpeakUp, but it is hard work to be involved in MeToo related issues in Egypt, and there are huge risks of burning out or giving up because it is exhausting and dangerous. However, the work

is not meaningless, something has changed, including the mentioned laws. In addition, Tadwein's director notes that, besides the law to protect victims, which is only implemented if the regime considers it favourable, and the change of sexual harassment to a penalty, which also lacks implementation, it is difficult to measure the impact of MeToo, but she is not doubting that something has changed, and the fact that so many people speak up is a change. At universities, MeToo has also played a role, and to tackle GBV, some universities have established "Safe Women's Units", supported by NWC and UNFPA (al-Fanar Media 2021).

The methods have also changed with #MeToo, as Digital activism for women's rights and feminism has become even more used, and now "almost everyone is using digital media" (Tadwein 2023). However, being online is not enough. A major challenge in Egypt as well as elsewhere is the fact that algorithms create social bubbles making it nearly impossible to reach persons outside of very specific social milieus. This is why Tadwein holds that the movement still has to meet people outside of the small "feminist circle" and organise public opinion. However, the political context makes it difficult to move and meet freely in public, and organisations constantly have to apply for official approvals from the regime, which is a control strategy used by authorities in Jordan as well. Therefore, financial supporters must have this in mind and attempt to be flexible with reporting and deadlines.

Another challenge is that many young digital drivers start spontaneously without having been engaged in the feminist or women's rights movements before. Often they are inexperienced regarding organising, law and human rights, and it is symptomatic for the initiatives that they are coordinated and the level of organisation is limited. Still they became catalysts for public attention which was possible due to digital social media support from more established NGOs. The role of the NGOs has been, and still is, to support them and use the momentum they create in coordinated advocacy work. They also try to sustain the movements by initiating projects to build the capacity of the young digital activists for example by building their knowledge on feminism, activism and women's rights work through, for example, online feminist schools (Tadwein 2023).

"Under a regime that strives to silence all forms of dissent – and that has painted #MeToo as a form of sedition – refusing to stop speaking is the most powerful form of resistance." (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:69)

Tadwein's online feminist school will be in Arabic and the curriculum is in Arabic about what gender inequality and feminism is, and the history of feminism in Egypt. Among others, Tadwein uses resources from another Egyptian organisation also supported by KVINFO, Women and Memory Forum.

Based on the amount of news articles written in English, KVINFO's impression was that the Instagram account @assaultpolice was the main actor. There is no doubt that the account and the young woman behind it played an important role in exposing incidents in 2020, but according to the representative from Tadwein, she is not currently active in the Egyptian women's rights movement. She did attend a few meetings back in 2020 but has withdrawn from activist circles as

she was not prepared to handle the pressure. She did not have any experience with activism or feminism ahead of the work she did with sharing testimonies on the Instagram account (Tadwein Interview 2023).

The movement did dismantle the idea that men can get away with everything and Zakarriya argues that “Egypt’s #MeToo offers an inspiring and hopeful form of resistance and resilience to violence and vulnerability” (Zakarriya 2022). MeToo related drivers succeed in mobilising for legal and public action against patriarchal and authoritarian practices (Zakarriya 2021: 175). She argues that though hard to measure, she sees change in the way these issues are discussed more openly in public, holding that Metoo is an extension of the same feminist awareness that was sparked during the 2011 revolution. Since then, Egyptian women have led protests and been at the forefront of public opposition and political conflict with patriarchal and corrupt authorities in Egypt. However, since al-Sisi’s rule in 2014, civil and women’s protest spaces have been remilitarised, as he controls public places and media, both censored by the military-backed regime that has banned all forms of protest whether digital or analogue (Zakarriya 2022; Ashendouek 2020).

CONCLUSION ON EGYPT CASES

The summer of 2020 was not the start of MeToo movements in Egypt, but it was a significant period with an overwhelming amount of anonymous testimonies by women and a few men speaking up. MeToo in Egypt is happening on many platforms with so many different hashtags that it is too overwhelming to grasp. However, an important catalyst in 2020 was the ABZ-case, which ended in conviction of the perpetrator and created a feeling of “euphoria”, and when the Fairmont-case first came to light and some of the accused rapists were taken into custody, it was hailed as a step forward for a revitalised women’s movement combating sexual violence in Egypt. Fairmont has since become a story about the repercussions of reporting crimes of sexual violence for the victims/survivors, the witnesses, and their supporters. It has shown that the amendment in 2020 of the law that should protect the victims/survivors and witnesses, is not implemented, and impunity rules, especially when it comes to members of Egypt’s powerful elite. Instead of supporting witnesses, authorities kept them in pretrial custody, one for up to five months, subjected them to forced anal exams, virginity tests, and drug testing, traumatised their families, and publicly smeared their reputations (Mada Masr 2021; Kerning Cultures 2022). The Farshout-case stands out because the young woman and her mother reported the case despite their poor economic and social situation. They got the case to trial and the perpetrators convicted. In the ABZ-case and in the Fairmont case, victims/survivors came from educated, affluent families and were university students. Yet, even these more privileged victims/survivors remained silent out of fear of social stigma, shame, and blame that are directed at victims of sexual violence at first. So what changed? Egypt’s #MeToo, @assaultpolice, @catcallsocairo, Speak Up, and Super Women all mobilised women’s organisations and pressured legal institutions against the rapists and the harassers. Though these incidents show that sexual violence occurs irrespective of the victims’ socioeconomic class, Farha and her mother in the Farshout case were successful because of the public attention it got after #MeToo, and because they got support from organisations. Zakarriya states

that this summer of 2020 is the first time the public focused on the crimes, instead of blaming the victim (2022). This is a fundamental change pressuring the regime to act at least to some extent, hence the backlashes described, in order to maintain control. Also important to mention as an achievement in the ABZ case, the Farshout case and the Fairmont is the fact that the assaulters and rapists come from powerful families who feel empowered and advantaged under al Sisi's rule (ibid). Still, the women they committed crimes against came forward and met support at least until some of them were targeted by regime sponsored smear campaigns, some of the perpetrators got convicted. However, we can also conclude that some men in Egypt are just too powerful and influential to get convictions even for continuously committing some of the most severe crimes including kidnapping, drugging and rape. Nevertheless, the success of #MeToo and @assaultpolice in mobilising and supporting victims to defend their rights is impressive, and keeping any kind of feminist and women's rights organising and resistance to the regime is an achievement in itself, and should be supported, even though it seems nearly impossible to make systemic changes at the moment as the regime is doing everything to maintain power.

Drivers and Organisation

Egypt's #MeToo is characterised by a huge number of cases and anonymous testimonies appearing digitally on various blogs and social media catalysed and driven by many different young individuals or groups. Victims/survivors coming forward are in most cases anonymous, as "Women do not trust the state" (Tadwein interview 2023). It is often young female university students who are catalysing and driving the cases through collecting and posting testimonies online on different platforms. Tadwein's director emphasised that in her view, many of the drivers did not consciously decide to ascribe their testimonies to a global #MeToo. She sees MeToo as a symbol and a "representation of every resistance that happens by women against the patriarchal system" (Tadwein interview 2023). Considering this, MeToo in Egypt can both be seen as various different MeToos with or it could be seen as one loosely organised social movement with various drivers, sustainers, contributors, supporters, using different hashtags, platforms, and media, but in any case, what unites them is exactly their way of benefiting from social media and their shared goal of exposing and combating gender based harassment, violence and sexism. These young digital drivers are usually not established organisations and are instead loosely organised. Tadwein's director referred to them as "young digital feminists" and she provided information on who they are and what their role is in the fight against sexual violence and harassment. Some have become engaged in activism and are currently a part of the women's rights movement, supported by more established NGOs such as Tadwein among others.

Tadwein Centre for Gender Studies

Tadwein Center for Gender Studies²⁵ was established in 2014, with the aim of spreading evidence-based awareness on gender issues, carrying out projects, drafting policies, and taking the needed procedures to enhance women's position in Egyptian society and reduce violence against women and girls in general. When @assaultpolice appeared, Tadwein decided that their role as an established organisation was to support through a campaign for survivors of sexual violence. Other established NGOs started similar initiatives. A part of

Tadwein's campaign was a video which had more than 100,000 views after one month. It is difficult to measure the exact impact, but it has put violence against women, especially sexual violence, into politics to an extent not seen before (Interview 2023). To try to document the amount and impact of the movement, Tadwein has analysed more than 658 of the testimonies on social media that can be related to MeToo after 2020. One of the findings was that street harassment and assault was very frequent as one in three happens on the street. They also found that 40% of those speaking up was children under 10 years of age when they experienced sexual harassment or assault for the first time. The issue with child abuse has been a major topic under the hashtag #lammakinta_saghira When I Was a Child and on TikTok under the tag #Medusa. The director of Tadwein emphasised the role of youth and digital social media in bringing the testimonies forward, but holds that the support from more established NGOs is necessary in order to sustain the movement and to advocate for legal improvements, if the movement should lead to real change. The documentation aspect is important for Tadwein as a way of learning how to support and sustain the movement when a new momentum arises (Interview 2023).

The Speak Up Initiative

Speak Up is "a feminist initiative to support victims of violence in all its forms".²⁶ Launched in 2020, it was born out of the MeToo wave in response to a rise in sexual harassment attention in Egypt, and still raises awareness on sexual harassment (Global Voices 2021). On its platforms, including a blog, an open and a closed Facebook group, and an Instagram profile, victims of GBV in Egypt can speak up about perpetrators anonymously, get legal guidance, and psychological support. It mainly communicates in Arabic, and has 334,000 followers on Instagram²⁷. It also created a network facilitating the connection between victims and authorities to hasten the arrest and trial of harassers, attempting to bridge the gap between victims and those who hold the power to take action. The problems detected by Speak Up included a lack of adequate laws and regulations that protect victims of GBV, a lack of access to proper education on sexual and reproductive health for girls and women, and taboos preventing girls and women from being aware of their basic rights in Egyptian society (Global Voices 2021). The group has also worked with Brazilian activists on a joint campaign in Arabic, English, and Portuguese calling for the arrest of a doctor accused of sexual harassment.

The Superwoman Initiative

@Superwomen provides digital safer spaces on Instagram²⁸ and Facebook²⁹ for women to share experiences with SGBV anonymously and name and shame the perpetrators. It describes itself as a group working on a voluntary, non-profit basis to raise awareness among various societal classes about women's issues, and especially GBV and economic and legal empowerment. It has 84,598 followers on Facebook and nearly 6,000 on Instagram. It is active on both platforms and communicates in Arabic. In addition to open pages, the group has a closed Facebook group. The group hosts online meetings, referred to as "salons" on the open Facebook page. The salons are for women only on issues related to gender myths, stereotypes and norms. An example is a critical approach to the concept of virginity³⁰. Meetings are announced on the open page, and participants are required to sign up and get accepted by the organisers ahead of attending the

meeting. We know from Tadwein that it is difficult to engage persons who are not already a part of the feminist and women's rights movement, and it would be valuable to know how Superwomen deal with this challenge.



RECOMMENDATIONS – KEEPING THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT ALIVE

Clearly, al-Sisi's regime sees MeToo as a threat, making it dangerous for activists. Thus, a key recommendation is to focus on keeping the current feminist movement alive, and focus on gender justice beyond economic empowerment. Though economic empowerment is important, microloans or job training is not enough when women are arrested for attempting to reform the political system or speaking out about violence (Vogelstein and Stone 2021:69). Supporting publishing of anonymous testimonials via technology where to break the silence and confront the public is recommended as the testimonies of women, loaded with all the contradictions of state and society, bear witness to the systemic failure in dealing with crimes of sexual violence (The Wire 2021³¹). It is also recommended to support prevention of burnout and capacity building of the loosely organised digital feminist groups, as Tadwein's director emphasised how exhausting work on issues of SGBV is, especially if you are not prepared for it.

- Support groups that collect and publish anonymous testimonials
- Identify and support young, technology driven feminist individuals and groups who administrate the digital platforms
- Support established organisations such as Tadwein in capacity building of the young feminist drivers
- Dedicate resources to involve men
 - Campaigns that target men and raise awareness on how men can engage in supporting victims/survivors
- Work to shape public opinion:
 - Consider how to frame the subject
According to Tadwein, it is more controversial to discuss sexual violence and harassment and can still, even in post MeToo Egypt backlash. Therefore, Tadwein recommends to, at least in some cases, talk about issues in the family or family/intimate violence instead? Frame it differently.
- Support established organisations working on law reform:
 - Work on law reform as Egypt still needs a comprehensive law to combat sexual violence in the private and public spheres, along the lines of similar legal reforms that were adopted in other countries in the region, such as Tunisia
 - Advocate to make the regime budget for implementation of existing laws such as protection of victims
 - Attention on sexual harassment in mainstream media is not consistent but arises with specific high-profiled cases as in the other countries investigated

- Advocating for changing and implementing laws and procedures protecting victims/survivors of SGBV
- Social and Mainstream Media:
 - Support young feminists working with social media

JORDAN

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER AND DATA

Of the countries in this report, Jordan has been the most difficult to identify MeToo movements in, reflected in the length and content of this chapter. We did not identify any sustained movements, but have included a few incidents that briefly got some attention in the media. As with Egypt, we did not travel to Jordan and the number of interviews is limited, as we prioritised the countries we travelled to. However, we did conduct two Zoom interviews, one with Rana Hussein, an influential journalist and author of the book *Years of Struggle: The Women's Movement in Jordan* (2021).³² The other interview was with an activist and former campaigner in the Jordanian/Palestinian organisation Ahel. Ahel works with people pursuing change through collective action to organise their voice and build shared leadership³³, and is an important part of KVINFO's network. We also conducted a written correspondence with the administrator of the Instagram page @feminist.movement.jo³⁴. To understand the MeToo incidents that have taken place in Jordan, we will first turn to understand the legislative framework in place.

LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK – A LACKING DEFINITION

In 2022, Jordan added one of its first provisions for women's rights into their Constitution, when the title of Chapter 2 was changed from "Rights and Duties of Jordanians" to "Rights and Duties of Jordanian Men and Women." Alongside this, it was added to Article 6:

"The State guarantees the empowerment and support of women to play an active role in building society in a way that guarantees equal opportunities on the basis of justice and equity and protects them from all forms of violence and discrimination." (cited in UN Women, Women Count and Economic & Social Council of Jordan 2022)

Despite the guarantee of equal opportunities and protection, Jordanian law is non-comprehensive in the area of discrimination, as Jordanian women are discriminated against on various grounds. For example, Jordanian women cannot obtain Jordanian citizenship for their children, if marrying a non-Jordanian man, as is possible for Jordanian men marrying a non-Jordanian woman. The father is, likewise, seen to be the legal guardian of any children, providing the man with several provisions, here also in the case of divorce. The marriage of girls down to the age of 16 is furthermore not unlikely, given the high prevalence of exceptions made to the existing marriage age of 18.

All in all, the legislative framework resembles that of Morocco mentioned earlier.

However, one distinct difference between Jordan and Morocco is the non-existing law on sexual harassment in Jordan. In Jordan, only 14.2% of women are participating in the labour market, which is one of the lowest rates for women's labour force participation in the world (The World Bank 2023). The inadequate participation of women can partly be explained by the prevalence of sexual harassment on the Jordanian labour market. A 2018 World Bank report on social norms in Jordan concluded that more than 40% of women and men believe that women risk exposing themselves to harassment either on their way to or when performing a job (The World Bank 2020). Being mindful of these statistics, the Jordanian government has currently embarked on a commitment to improve its labour force participation to 24% by 2025, with the support of the Mashreq Gender Facility (MGF), which is a World Bank Group-facilitated inter-agency initiative (The World Bank 2020). However, at this stage, the Jordanian Labour Code does not explicitly mention sexual harassment crimes in the workplace nor specify any punishment to acts of sexual harassment committed by employers or employees. It is on these same grounds that the International Labour Organisation (ILO) has addressed violence and harassment in the world of work in Jordan and asked the country to ratify the ILO Violence and Harassment Convention (No. 190) (International Labour Organization 2020). It remains unknown whether Jordan will come to address sexual harassment in its legislation in the near future. The issue has been up for discussion in Jordan, but met resistance from the Islamic front, according to women's rights activist and journalist Rana Hussein, who lives and works in Jordan. Hussein further outlines how the issue of sexual harassment is not talked about in public and the Jordanian parliament has, in her perspective, neglected its existence. The term sexual harassment is not mentioned in any other parts of the Jordanian legislative framework and Jordanian Penal Code mentions instead "indecent flirting or behavior" crimes, "immoral conduct," and "immoral conduct in public places." The protection against cyber sexual exploitation is furthermore limited to males and females under the age of 18 in the Jordanian Cyber Crimes Act of 2015 (The Jordanian National Commission for Women 2017).

When examining Jordanian law, one may also address the articles that are likely to encourage GBV and more specifically "honour" crimes. Article 340 states that any man or woman who kills their husband or wife on the basis of having committed adultery should receive a reduction in penalty. Likewise, Article 98 states that any man or woman who may commit a crime while in a "state of great fury" due to an unlawful act on the part of the victim, should have his/her penalty reduced. It is, furthermore, common to detain women within so-called administrative detention centres (prisons) for their own protection, if they are threatened by family members or the like. However, according to Amnesty International, many of these women are not only detained for protection, they are detained for so-called "absence" and *zina*. In Jordanian law, women below the age of 30 will need the consent of their male guardian to get married and any sexual intercourse is forbidden prior to marriage. Women that leave their home without the permission of their male guardian can be trialed and imprisoned for "absence" (Amnesty International 2019). *Zina* is an Islamic legal

term for fornication, which in Jordan refers to any sex outside of marriage. The Jordanian legal framework does include a law on Protection against Domestic Violence (Law No. 6/2008), which ensures protection measures, here including protection orders and anonymity for victims in court. However, it fails to address any violence towards women that occurs outside the family home or by someone who is not a family member. This is highly problematic and relevant when analysing the cases of sexual harassment and assault, seeing that the victims are not necessarily in the same family as their prosecutors (Nasrawin 2017).

METOO IN JORDAN

Jordan is the only one of the four countries that does not define and criminalise sexual harassment in its legislation or prohibit it by its Penal Code or Labour Code. Though we do not see MeToo movements as in Egypt and Tunisia, women's rights and feminist organisations are concerned with sexual harassment and other forms of GBV. They have used hashtags and other forms of digital campaigning before the global #MeToo to raise awareness and fight against legal and social discrimination. A study from 2017 concluded that three out of four Jordanian women and girls have experienced one or multiple forms of physical sexual harassment (The Jordanian National Commission for Women 2017). According to human rights activist and journalist Rana Hussein, certain incidents and MeToo related movements have occurred in Jordan, however none of these have been sustainable. In this regard, the case of Jordan resembles that of Morocco, where incidents and movements have taken place, however one movement has not managed to manifest itself, keep up momentum and involve the vast majority of the general public. Certain movements came about as a consequence of the international movement of MeToo in 2017 and others were sparked by an incident and talked about for a short time, before being forgotten by the public again. The following section will focus on the most well-known incidents and movements taken place over the past 10 years.

INCIDENTS

Social Media / Human Chain Event

On a Monday in late June of 2012, over 200 people created a human chain in the streets of Jordan's capital Amman. The individuals consisted of both women and men and attended as independent individuals and/or members of grassroots movements, who had come together to plan the demonstration. The demonstration was themed, meaning There Is No Difference Between You and Me. Many individuals held up statements along the roads in Amman, challenging the unjust laws found in the Jordanian legislative framework. The demonstration was used to protest multiple forms of gender-based crimes, here including public sexual harassment, honour killings and the practice of forcing rape survivors to marry their rapists. The demonstration was led by the grassroots movement Ayna Nagef, which means Where Do We Stand? in Arabic (Global Voices 2012a). The movement stems from the No Honor In Crime campaign that specifically calls for legislative change and support for victims of honour killings. According to Toleen Touq, who was one of the organisers of the demonstration, activists from different women's initiatives joined together to demonstrate, something which rarely occurs in Jordan (Toleen cited in

Albawaba 2012a). This was supported by Rozan Khalifeh, another member of the “No Honor in Crime” campaign:

“Although some of us belong to initiatives and movements that are independent of each other, we have made a point to join forces on specific efforts, like today’s human chain, so as to better serve our goals and strengthen our legal voice towards getting heard in the house of representatives.” (Rozan cited in Global Voices 2012a)

Other women’s rights movements present included (*My Mother is Jordanian and Her Nationality is My Right*), Mesh Shatara (It’s Not Cool) and (*No to article 308 of the Jordanian Penal Code*) (Global Voices 2012a). As can be seen by the names of these movements, they each have their own focus and target a specific part of the Jordanian legislative framework. The movements mentioned have all used Facebook to gain support and while their accounts remain, current activity on the sites remain low.³⁵ However, The *la sharaf fil-jarimah* (No Honor In Crime) movement is now a part of the larger transnational organisation No Honor, which investigates honour killings across the globe, here including the Middle East (No Honor n.d.).

The demonstration was a spontaneous idea by Ayna Nagef and was planned in the matter of a few days. The goal was to catch the attention of those walking and driving by and to make them think and reflect upon certain ideas and viewpoints (Albawaba 2012). While many walked and drove by in support of those demonstrating, the overall reaction was mixed. Some drivers laughed, heckled or even harassed the demonstrators. According to Global Voices, many passed by and said “Go home!” to the demonstrators. In the days following the demonstration, comments flourished on social media with some saying that the event had been a disgrace to Islam and/or that the dress of the protesters had been unacceptable (seeing that female protestors had been unveiled). This made Global Voices conclude that Jordan had been unprepared for a demonstration of this character (Global Voices 2012b).

Sexual Harassment at the University of Jordan

In June 2012, students of a feminist theory class at The University of Jordan also caused public debate. Dr. Rula Quawas, the professor of the course is highly known for her advocacy for women’s rights in Jordan and was the first ever academic to introduce courses on feminism at the University of Jordan. In 2009, Dr. Rula Quawas received the Meritorious Honour Award for Leadership and Dedication to the Empowerment of Jordanian Women, by Princess Basma of Jordan. However, public support for Dr. Rula Quawas diminished when she gave her students a course assignment in the fall of 2011. The assignment was to produce a visual campaign on any issue that was linked to women’s freedom and rights. A group of her students decided to produce a 2.5 minute video expressing their frustration over the sexual harassment they were constantly facing on their school campus from their male peers. The documentary shows the female students holding up signs with the abusive words and phrases they have been accustomed to, such as “made to suck on” and “juicy bottom” (Albawaba 2012b). The video was uploaded to Youtube in June 2012, where it stirred debate amongst Jordanians, with some claiming that the girls had

exaggerated and the language used was too explicit. As a response to the critics, the president of the university decided to remove Dr. Rula Quawas from her post as Dean. While the school proclaimed that the dismissal had nothing to do with the documentary, Dr. Quawas has spoken openly about this being the case, as well as the angry phone call she received after the publication of the video, where she was blamed for having ruined the university's reputation (The Jerusalem Post 2012, The New York Times 2017). Dr. Quawas later described that the public reception of the documentary left herself and her students demonised and deprecated (Quawas 2020). According to Rula, the students of her class were afraid, seeing that being enrolled in a feminist theory class carries the stigma of being anti-Islam, an agent of the West, against your own nation and identity. Rula proclaimed that students admit to buying their own peace, as the consequence of being an outcast is much worse. She further states that many women learn to use the rules to their advantage and play around them by walking on the edge (Hubris Media 2017).

Supporters of Dr. Rula Quawas formed the website "Supporting Rula Quawas & Academic Freedom" as well as pages on social media³⁶. The case also received international attention and Dr. Rula Quawas was nominated for the U.S. State Department's International Women of Courage Award in 2013 (The New York Times 2017).

Campaign to the Abolishment of Article 308

By 2016-17, over 50 civil society organisations were involved in the campaign to abolish Article 308 of the Penal Code in Jordan, which permitted a rapist to escape legal punishment if marrying the victim. The campaign was highly organised by Sisterhood is Global Institute-Jordan (SIGI) and showed a collective effort to raise public awareness and pressure the state, ultimately leading the Jordanian Parliament to first review and later repeal the article. Moreover, and as an additional triumph, it was decided to abolish Article 98, which asked to reduce charges in certain crimes involving violence against women (US Aid, New Tactics and fhi360 n.d). The abolishment of these articles can be seen as a major step towards holding prosecutors accountable for their crimes against women and girls and portrays how a collective movement of organisations and civil society members succeeded in pressuring the Jordanian state for legislative change.

Jordan Speaks Up

A little over seven years after the publication of the Youtube video highlighting the issue of sexual harassment at the University of Jordan, another documentary made by 17-year old high-school student Rama Hamad aired³⁷. The documentary was published on Youtube and portrays high-school students reading up anonymous stories of women and girls being sexually harassed, both physically and verbally with the aim of "breaking the silence and overcoming the fear of disclosing harassment incidents" (Jordan Times 2019). As the documentary aired on Youtube, women and girls began to use #JordanSpeaksUp and share their own experiences with sexual harassment in Jordan (The National News 2019). This was particularly done on the social media platform Twitter and the hashtag was mostly used within the latter months of 2019, here predominantly in the weeks after the documentary

premiered. In an interview with Jordan Times, Hamad explained that the idea of the movie came as she noticed how victims of sexual harassment were traumatised forever while their perpetrators went on to live their lives without shame (Jordan Times 2019). The inability of victims to react and defend themselves is also apparent within the stories portrayed in the documentary.

By making the documentary in English, Hamad wanted to portray how the issue of sexual harassment is global in scope. She wanted to reach across Jordanian borders, while simultaneously targeting the Jordanian community. Hamad acknowledges that the #JordanSpeaksUp movement resembles the international MeToo movement, which went viral in 2017. However, while the international MeToo movement uncovered sexual harassment and abuse towards celebrities, the documentary of #JordanSpeaksUp portrays young people, who are not famous, but living an ordinary life within Jordan. According to Hamad: “the authenticity and rawness of the video allowed a lot of people to relate to it” (Hamad cited in Jordan Times 2019).

As with the YouTube video targeting the selfsame issue at The University of Jordan, mentioned above, the documentary by Hamad was also criticised for harming Jordan’s reputation. Hamad expresses that Jordanians claim to have values, underpinned by traditions and culture, that can prevent sexual harassment from taking place, but in reality this is only denying the problem. A continuous denial of the problem is harming the image of Jordan in return and leaving victims without the necessary support (Jordan Times 2019). However, different from the Youtube video developed in 2012, the documentary of Jordan Speaks Up is still to be found on Youtube with a total of 29,000 views (February 2022).

#TechnoHarasser

In June 2022, the hashtag #TechnoHarasser came to be, as sexual harassment at Jordan University of Science and Technology (JUST) became public knowledge. Allegations against a physics professor at the university began to flourish online, as Seba Al-Taamari, a 21-year-old student at JUST released multiple accounts of sexual harassment on her personal Twitter account. Al-Taamari received these accounts from former students, going all the way back to 2006, including testimonials of how the professor had sent inappropriate messages, made flirtatious comments and physically harassed his students. The sharing of testimonials online sparked a wider debate around the prevalence of sexual harassment in Jordanian society (Aljazeera 2022). The university, moreover, urged students to come forward and share their testimonials to the investigative committee that was set up to deal with the issue, enabling students to break their silences in a safe and confidential manner. In an interview with Aljazeera, Al-Taamari portrays how victims are scared of the consequences of coming forward, as it may affect their reputation within their families and within university. In this regard, Al-Taamari only received testimonials from students who asked to remain anonymous (Aljazeera 2022). The professor himself complained to the police department about the allegations made and argued that the students had fabricated the testimonies and material shared online. The professor was suspended from his position, following a referral from the university to Jordan’s prosecutor general’s office for

investigation, however it has not been possible to find evidence of the outcome of the investigation yet.

STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES

When asked about organisations working on sexual harassment, the former campaigner for Ahel mentioned the Instagram page @Feministmovementjo. In a³⁸ chat on Instagram she told KVINFO that the group behind the page aims at creating a:

“feminist, human rights and participatory awareness movement with a democratic, developmental approach that aims to defend and spread awareness about all issues related to women in Jordanian society in particular and Arab society in general.”

Accordingly, they work to change stereotypes about women’s capabilities, “activating their prominent roles in society, amending laws to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, and enacting laws that guarantee the achievement of equality and equal opportunities for all, supporting victims financially, morally and legally, providing a safe environment for their protection, enacting laws that deter violence and closing loopholes that contribute to impunity for perpetrators.” There is a team writing articles, analyses, research papers, and trying to shape public opinion in a manner that takes into account the privacy of the victims and works to ensure that the necessary support is provided to them. The work is not limited to writing, and the administrator stated that there is a volunteer team of lawyers, jurists, doctors and psychologists, who provide support to victims, or write articles with reference to their legal and scientific background, as well as a follow-up team for the victims, providing financial, psychological and logistical support and searching for job opportunities that guarantee the dignity and safety of those in need of work, within the capabilities of the team and in a legal manner, and following up with the specialised official authorities to help victims and cases.

The movement also has a team working to mobilise public opinion and sign petitions for legal amendments to shed light on issues of violence against women victims and try to spread societal awareness of everything related to human rights issues. As a team of activists, they worked and are still working to provide a safe environment for victims of domestic violence and support them financially, morally and legally, by providing lawyers to solve their legal cases, providing jobs for some, supporting each other financially, providing medical and psychological treatment, and mobilising public opinion in their favour.

When asked what kind of support the group think would be useful for movements fighting sexual violence and harassment in Jordan, the administrator answered that “all kinds of support” are needed, including, legal, material, logistical and media support. It is recommended to try to reach out again and potentially have a meeting with the group to get more insights on what possibilities they see for working on sexual harassment in Jordan.

In addition to @Feministmovementjo, the Ahel campaigner mentioned Takatoat as a group that could be open for working on sexual harassment.

Organisations within Jordan have worked with the issue of sexual harassment in recent years, here including the Jordanian National Commission for Women (in collaboration with national and international stakeholders). In 2018, the campaign Do Not Stay Silent: Harrassment Is a Crime was carried out with the intention of raising the awareness of sexual harassment within Jordanian society, here especially within schools and universities. Through awareness raising on social media and websites, radio public service announcements, educational series and live testimonies etc. the campaign reached more than 13 million users (UN Women, Women Count and Economic & Social Council of Jordan 2022). By looking at the results of pre- and post-test and remote assessment, the campaign managed to raise awareness amongst the general public. According to UN Women, the percentage of women who could identify the concept of harassment increased from 73% to 96.6%, while knowledge of the legal methods and procedures to reduce harassment rose from 28.3% to 89.7% as a consequence of the campaign (UN Women 2022). Investing in teaching the general population about the concept of sexual harassment and the legal procedures in place, plays a huge role in combatting public incapacity to understand and thereby deal with the issue at hand.

Backlashes – Underreporting and Gender Norms

From a human chain to several documentaries showcasing the issue, several incidents have stirred public debate on the issue of sexual harassment over the past century. However, to what extent have they been successful? The incidents show that activists and organisations working within Jordan are ready to speak upon the issue. By being encouraged and brave enough to target the issue, it automatically raises public awareness. This is in itself a very important and successful step. By raising public awareness, all of the movements have received support from some and criticism from others. In some cases the criticism fueled public awareness of the incidents heavily, as in the case of the criticism given to the documentary prepared at the University of Jordan and the subsequent actions by the university to dismiss Dr Rula Quawas. It is worth analysing the criticism received from the general public, as they provide significant information on the gender norms present within Jordan and how they continue to impact the lives of women and girls. Mentioned throughout are the comments of being a disgrace to Islam and anti-Islam, if speaking up on the issue and for activists to use too explicit language or being unacceptably dressed. Talking about the issue ruins the reputation of the family, the school/ institution and the nation as a whole, outlining the importance of keeping it quiet. This is further supported by a study carried out by The Jordanian National Commission for Women in 2017, who found that reputational concerns was the most common reason for victims' negative reaction to filing a case or something similar (2017). The study further found that social attitudes and practices showcase a tolerance and acceptance of sexual harassment amongst the general public, something which has also been prevalent in the incidents described. Reputational concerns and a general tolerance of harassment can partly explain why so many cases of harassment go unreported in Jordan. However, another important factor is the role of legally protecting the victims and guaranteeing a fair trial. The aforementioned study showcased that for most of those victims filing a complaint, the authorities would refuse to accept it due to insufficient evidence (The Jordanian National Commission for Women 2017).



RECOMMENDATIONS

From the MeToo incidents (movements) mentioned above several recommendations for organisations working within Jordan may be mentioned. These recommendations are all linked to the issue of victim-blaming and lack of support to victims witnessed in Jordan, something which has become clear from all of the incidents mentioned. The process of filing a case for sexual harassment without a clear legal definition in the Jordanian Penal Code is complicated and does not encourage victims to file a case. Continuous work to reform the Jordanian Penal Code to include a legal definition of sexual harassment is needed. The incidents mentioned showcase how victims are afraid of coming forward with their experiences of sexual harassment, due to ruining the reputation of their family, university or others and the issue of victim-blaming. Challenging existing social gender norms and attitudes includes acknowledging the presence of the problem of sexual harassment and challenging the conservative idea of women being subordinate to their male counterparts. In Jordan as in Egypt, it is a challenge for civil society organisations that they need various approvals from authorities to operate and receive funds. In that sense, implementing activities and not at least whole projects are time consuming processes. These approval processes need to be considered and supported when supporting other initiatives. Organisations in Jordan need to advocate for the state to create a unified and open access national data system that includes information on all matters related to GBV, including sexual harassment and early marriage. Women's rights organisations should be involved during the development of the database.

- Defining sexual harassment in the Jordanian Penal Code
- Challenging existing social gender norms and attitudes
- Teaching the population about sexual harassment
- Support initiatives that collect data and spread knowledge
- Providing protection for victims of harassment
- Support established organisations in approval processes by being flexible

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

THE ROLE OF MAINSTREAM AND SOCIAL MEDIA

An ongoing development in the MENA region is the continuous role played by media, here including mainstream and social media, in facilitating political and social change. Online media provides a space for activists and citizens to organise and promote change, something which is extremely valuable within contexts where freedom of expression, protest and mobilisation is limited. Thus in the contexts investigated above, social media has played a large role in promoting and facilitating social change, while mainstream media has provided the means to bring the online campaigns out to a broader audience and increase international awareness. All the movements included in this report have mobilised support and awareness through media and in some cases this has even been useful in promoting legislative changes. An example of such, was the repeal of Article 475 in Morocco, due to the social media campaigns organised and the immense attention that these received in both national and international mainstream media (Anwar 2021). In Tunisia, Makhoul's sentence and the fact that the teacher at ENS was fired was a result of the collective effort and organisation through social media, and the massive attention in mainstream media. The latter is a result of the digital mobilisation, but it is not the whole story, as mainstream media also covered protests on the streets and at the university, showing how it is important to be present in as many spaces as possible and both physically and digitally. The Director from Tadwein added to this point by reminding us of the bias in algorithms when campaigning on social media. Due to the way algorithms are programmed to learn from the user's behaviour and provide them with more of the same based on what they search for, 'like', and spend time on, it is difficult to reach new target groups and you end up preaching to the choir.

Transnational Collectivity

Digital media and hashtag activism are useful for transnational collective action, and during this study we identified examples of how this can play out, for example in relation to the movements against Lamjarred, the pop-singer and serial harasser from Morocco, and the teacher Hacen in the ENS-case in Tunisia. Concerning Lamjarred, the Egyptian digital feminist group Speak Up started a campaign against him because he was giving a concert in Cairo. In the ENS-case, thanks to the EnaZeda Facebook group, students in France heard about the case against Hacen in Tunisia, and revealed that he had raped a student in France. These are examples of how the digital space can unite movements across countries.

METOO AS A SECOND WAVE OF THE ARAB SPRING UPRISINGS

As discussed in the chapters about Tunisia and Egypt, Zakarriya sees MeToo here as building on a feminist awakening on SGBV among the public that arised as a consequence of the so-called Arab spring revolutions where women went to the streets, but were harassed by security forces and other protesters (Vogelstein and Stone 2021: 58; Zakarriya 2022). This resonates with other

scholars and activists. For example, KVINFO asked Professor Nadjé Al-Ali about the relation between the 2011 revolution and the MeToo movement in Egypt. She answered that the strategic and systematic harassment and violence done by the regime's security forces against female revolutionaries and activists created an unprecedented public attention towards the deep rooted problems that, for example Egypt has with GBV and sexual harassment on many levels (Al-Ali 2022, BRISMES Annual Lecture). It is worth considering that MeToo movements, according to our data, have been more coordinated and influential in Tunisia and Egypt, where respectively the Jasmine revolution and the January revolution took place, compared to Morocco and Jordan, where no significant public uprisings have taken place recently. This could support Zakarriya's argument.

AUTHORITIES TARGETING LGBTIQ+ PERSONS DIGITALLY

It is a pattern across the countries studied that though digital technology is efficient for youth and activists to fight injustice and raise awareness, it is not without risks. While digital platforms have enabled youth, women activists and LGBTIQ+ people to express themselves and amplify their voices, they have also become tools for state-sponsored repression. Human Rights Watch found that in Egypt, Jordan, and Tunisia authorities have integrated technology into their policing of LGBTIQ+ people, and this report touches upon state sponsored digital violence in the Egypt and Tunisia chapter, but more studies could be done specifically on women activists, and especially in Morocco and Jordan. In any case, there is a need for activists, organisations and youth to get training in digital security.

CATALYSTS, DRIVERS AND SUPPORTERS CAN BE UNPREDICTABLE AND SPONTANEOUS

It is unpredictable what incidents will spark public attention and create movement, and likewise, it can be unpredictable where the support and opposition comes from. A general feature in the fight against sexual harassment worldwide is that, while we always see both opposition and support from predictable sides, unpredictable actors may announce their unexpected support, for example, if they themselves have experienced sexual harassment. An example is Saida Ounissi, a former minister from the moderate Islamic Ennahda party in Tunisia, who came forward using the hashtag #EnaZeda as she shared her experience with sexual harassment as a child. She voiced her support for the movement by coming out as a sexual harassment victim. Coming from Tunisia's Islamist party, it was difficult for her to have an open discussion with the drivers of the EnaZeda movement, and she feels that representatives of the EnaZeda have treated her with mistrust because of her Islamist affiliation. Islamist groupings have a complicated relationship with many Tunisian women's rights groups, not surprisingly, as some members of Ennahda have conservative ideas about gender roles and norms affecting the relationship between them and the women's movement with a general mistrust (Middle Eastern Eye 2020). KVINFO did not discuss this further with the interviewees, but MeToo and religiously grounded actors would be interesting to investigate further in another study.

THE ROLE OF YOUTH

To fulfil the purpose of the report which is to identify how the MeToo movements

can be supported and sustained, it was necessary to identify who the drivers are and how they organise. We found that they are often catalysed by young women, mainly in urban areas at universities, and that the platforms used vary, but seem to be mainly Facebook and Instagram, at least based on our data. The director of Tadwein mentioned that a reason could be that some of the drivers have worked with the topic at university which can contribute to shaping and sharpening their knowledge, awareness and attitudes towards gender stereotypes in relation to SGBV. The journalist from Tunisia also pointed at school curriculum as an important entrance point in combating SGBV (Tadwein Interview 2023; Journalist Tunisia 2022)

STATUS AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES

Throughout our study we found evidence to support the work of Zakariya stating that:

“Arab women’s relentless activism and utilisation of digital and social media document and publicise different cases of public, political, and domestic violence. By doing so, they raise awareness and consciousness about women’s legal and human rights and form a collective pressure on authorities in their countries to act against gender-based violence.” (2022)

We found that it is common for #metoouniv in Morocco, the #enazeda in Tunisia, #assaultpolice in Egypt or #Jordanspeaksup that they are examples of movements constituted by activists coming together to form a collective front against SGBV. Moreover, the movements aim to do the same, namely raise awareness of women’s experiences regarding violence and sexual harassment and use this awareness to advocate and pressure for societal and legal change. In some cases, legislative changes have occurred as a direct consequence of movements, like the ones mentioned above. An example is the #RIPAmna in Morocco, which was prior to the global MeToo, but highly influenced the decision to repeal the part of Article 475 that allowed for rapists to avoid punishment if marrying their victim. Similar campaigns and movements have followed elsewhere, and in Jordan, the so-called Marry Your Rapist law, article 208 of the Penal Code was abolished in 2017³⁹. In Egypt, the MeToo movement contributed to put in place a law protecting victims/survivors and witnesses, and tighten punishment for sexual harassment, but as stated, impunity rules when perpetrators are powerful and the anonymity of those filing cases is not guarded if the regime judge that it is threatened.

While legislative changes in favour of women’s rights should be mentioned as successes, they are happening rather infrequently in the region and as shown through this study, implementing a law is sometimes harder than passing it. For example, both Tunisia and Morocco have quite comprehensive GBV legislation, but shared problems are lack of implementation, impunity, corruption and lack of willingness to budget for protecting and preventing violence against women. Added to this is the role played by traditional gender norms, something which has become clear throughout the countries studied, mirrored in the fear of reporting due to social stigma in all countries. A self-censoring culture based upon shame and victim blaming prevents people in all four countries from challenging the existing structures and gender norms (IMED Yearbook 2019:306),

but data suggests that, at least in Tunisia and Egypt, MeToo has actually succeeded in changing the narratives away from victim blaming, as in the Makhlouf-case in Tunisia and the ABZ-case in Egypt. Despite this achievement, results of our study confirm the work of Ghazal, who proclaims that:

“Telling personal stories of sexual harassment in Arab cultures, as in others, is complicated; often people dismiss inappropriate comments or behaviour in workplaces, brushing it off as “cultural” or a “compliment”. (Ghazal 2020:276).

Though Ghazal’s point is still relevant, and that structural gender norms inhibiting societal and legal change as well as the fact that MeToos in SWANA have not fundamentally changed institutions or governments, they have still played a role in breaking taboos and providing women with platforms to raise their voices and break the silence otherwise forced upon them. Moroccan Outlaws 490, Awat Nissa, Falgatna, Tadwein and many others, are organisations who have provided or supported safer spaces for women and girls to speak openly about their experiences, reinstating the importance of believing and providing support to the victim/survivor. In this regard, our study’s findings correlate with those of Ghazal, who argues that:

“Perhaps one of the greatest revelations of the #MeToo movement in MENA has been greater understanding of the connection between reclaiming one’s dignity and being believed by those around you.” (Ghazal, 2020: 379)

That the conversation about victim blaming has started and that more people encourage others to believe the survivor is, according to Ghazal, the direct result of the millions of stories of sexual abuse that have been shared as part of the MeToo movement (Ghazal 2020: 380). The hashtags have strengthened the post-Arab Spring changes in historic legal and cultural progress towards women’s sexual and gender rights. These hashtags are critical in raising awareness and starting conversations that will eventually change the attitudes towards sexual and gender-based violence and increase the implementation of the laws. Accordingly, it is the first step towards change. The next step is maintaining the momentum of the past few years and reforming systems that are inherently harmful to women. However, in some countries like Egypt, keeping the conversation alive under an extremely authoritarian regime is impressive itself. In Tunisia, a once promising example with a comprehensive GBV law, the ability for civil society to move freely only becomes more and more limited as of the first few months of 2023. Saied claimed in an official statement in February 2023 that persons who have migrated from sub-Saharan countries “threaten the Tunisia’s identity” advocating to send them “home”⁴⁰. Further, he has dissolved municipal councils ahead of the elections. Hence, the change happening in the country is going towards less democracy (Haugbølle 2023 Ræson), and nothing indicates that preventing GBV and protecting victims/survivors will be prioritised. In such an authoritarian environment, supporting coalitions across civil society is recommended, as a collective pushback across areas of interest strengthen.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FOUR COUNTRIES STUDIED:

The following recommendations are relevant in all four countries. They are directed at organisations, institutions and donors wishing to support and sustain the MeToo movements in the SWANA region.

Please refer to the country specific recommendations in the previous chapters.

- Support decentralisation of knowledge to make sure that women, girls, men and boys outside of urban areas get the opportunity to know about SGBV in terms of:
 - What it encompasses, including what sexual harassment is and how it affects the victim
 - What rights the victim/survivor has
 - How to file complaints and how to get support for this
- Transnational knowledge sharing among activists where young loosely organised activists are invited as well as more established organisations. It can be online or offline workshops, meetings, a conference or similar, and participants could be from the SWANA region or even Chile or other countries from the Americas as this was requested by Tunisian activists.
- Support security training for activists, especially in relation to digital security
- Support initiatives to prevent and protect activists from burn out
- Be flexible and support processes for achieving necessary approvals from authorities, especially in countries such as Egypt and Jordan, and be patient.
- Support knowledge production on men's engagement, especially among youth, for example through qualitative studies about men's and boys' attitudes towards SGBV or MeToo movements

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LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Activists

- Former member of Falgatna (Tunisia), November 2022, Zoom
- Former campaigner in Ahel (Jordan)

Women's rights organisations

- Moroccan Outlaws 490 (Morocco)
- Association contre les violences faites aux femmes Equité et Citoyenneté pour Tous, ATEC (Morocco)
- Head of Communication in Aswat Nissa (Tunisia)
- Director of Tadwein (Egypt)

Media Outlets

- HitRadio (Morocco)
- JawJab (Morocco)

Journalists

- Rana Hussein (Jordan)
- Ghaya Ben Mbarek (Tunisia)

Consultants

- Nessryne Jelalia (Tunisia)

Scholars

- Jihan Zakarriya (Egypt, Tunisia and the region)
- Liora Sion (Denmark)

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NOTES

1. While the acronym MENA (Middle East and North Africa) is the dominant way in which this region is referred to in academic discussions and media debates, activists has recently suggested SWANA (Southwest Asia and North Africa) as an alternative, which decenters the Americas and Europe cartographically
2. According to Arab Barometer, 56% of women and 79% of males have access to the internet in Morocco. In Egypt, 47% of women and 69% of men have access. In Tunisia, 44% of women and 73% of males have access. In Jordan, 83% of women and 86% of men have access. According to a study carried out by the International telecommunication Union (ITU), a UN agency focused on information technology, the internet user gender gap in Arab states grew by 5% between 2013 and 2019. The report also found that, across all Arab states, men have an average internet usage of 12% higher than women.
3. For example, in Morocco, 60% of men consider that wives should tolerate violence to keep the family together, and the number goes up to 90% in Egypt.
4. The Moroccan and Tunesian Arabic is referred to as Darija
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10. https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00M1NH.pdf
11. Aswat Nissa website About Us <https://www.aswatnissa.org/en/about-us/>
12. Author's translation from: (<https://www.facebook.com/falgatnaTN> acc. 16.12.2022)
13. According to the description: "*La page EnaZeda est un SAFE SPACE à disposition des survivant.e.s d'agressions sexuelles et de harcèlement. #EnaZeda #MeToo*" Translation to English: The EnaZeda page is a SAFE SPACE for survivors of sexual assault and -harassment. #EnaZeda #MeToo. Link to page: <https://www.facebook.com/EnaZedaTN/>
14. In Lebanon, as in Tunisia, LGBTQI+ people have been integral to the #MeToo protests that began on October 17, 2019 to denounce sexual violence in Lebanon. Though homosexuality is illegal, young gay and queer people openly participate in protests, using #@KAFA to fight sectarianism and homophobia (Zakariyya 2022, unpublished; Time 13 November 2019. How LGBT Rights Found a Place in Lebanon's Protest Movement | Time)
15. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/05/17/tunisia-end-persecution-lgbt-people>
16. Damj works on the promotion and defence of human rights and the rights of minorities. It started in 2008 by creating safer spaces for the LGBT community due to a wave of arbitrary arrests of LGBT community members. <https://www.peaceinsight.org/en/organisations/damj/?location=tunisia&theme>
17. July 2, 2022 "Les associations de la dynamique féministe rejettent le projet de la Constitution" <https://www.businessnews.com.tn/les-associations-de-la-dynamique-feministe-rejettent-le-projet-de-la-constitution,520,120626,3> acc. 28.11.2022
18. Tadwein was established in 2014, with the aim of spreading evidence-based awareness on gender issues, carrying out projects, drafting policies, and taking the needed procedures to enhance women's position in Egypt and reduce VAW. (About us <https://tadwein.org/about-us/>)
19. Tadwein 2018 <https://tadwein.org/%d9%82%d8%aa%d9%84%d9%87%d9%85-%d8%a7%d9%84%d8%aa%d8%ad%d8%b1%d8%b4/> accessed 01.02.2023
20. Tadwein 2022. Killed because we are women. <https://tadwein.org/%d8%af%d8%b1%d8%a7%d8%b3%d8%a9-%d9%82%d8%aa%d9%84%d9%86-%d9%84%d8%a3%d9%86%d9%87%d9%86-%d9%86%d8%b3%d8%a7%d8%a1/> accessed 10.02.2023
21. Doxing (or doxxing) means publishing someone's personal information online without their permission. Doxing can also refer to uncovering the real person behind an anonymous

username, and exposing that person's real identity online. Often it is associated with "malicious" intentions and a tool for harassment, but the Danish organisation Cybernauterne has made KVINFO aware of the fact that this strategy is actually what is sometimes used in MeToo. As such, doxing can both be a method for harassment but also as a tool fighting harassment.

22. Kerning Cultures 2022. "The Rise and Fall of #MeToo in Egypt" (provides a more detailed account of the cases)
Part 1 <https://kerningcultures.com/the-rise-and-fall-of-metoo-in-egypt-part-1/>
Part 2: <https://kerningcultures.com/the-rise-and-fall-of-metoo-in-egypt-part-2/>
23. Instagram page @catcallsofcairo <https://www.instagram.com/catcallsofcairo/>
24. Instagram page @gangrapistsofcairo <https://www.instagram.com/gangrapistsofcairo/>
25. Tadwein (about us) <https://tadwein.org/about-us/> acc. 08.03.2023
26. Speak Up Facebook group https://www.facebook.com/SpeakUp00/?ref=page_interna acc. 16.01.2023
27. Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/speakup.00/>
28. @Superwomen on Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/superwomenstory/>
29. @Superwomen Facebook page. About. Authors translation from Arabic <https://www.facebook.com/Superwomenstory> accessed 02.02.2023
30. @Superwomen post on Facebook 25.02.2023. <https://www.facebook.com/Superwomen-story>
31. The Wire 2021 "How Egyptian Women Have Broken the Stigma Around Sexual Violence" <https://thewire.in/women/egypt-women-rights-sexual-violence-rape-farshout> acc. 20.03.2023
32. Hussein, Rana. 2021. Years of Struggle: The Women's Movement in Jordan. The book is open access <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/amman/18192-20211124.pdf>
33. Ahel "About us" <https://ahel.org/about-us/> acc. 14.03.2023
34. @feminist.movement.jo <https://www.instagram.com/feminist.movement.jo/> acc. 14.03.2023
35. Ayna Nagef: <https://www.facebook.com/aynanaqef>
My Mother is Jordanian and Her Nationality is My Right: <https://www.facebook.com/MomJordanian>
Mush Shatara: <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100079909020267>
No to article 308 of the Jordanian Penal Code: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/132446410212930/>
36. Website: <https://fortheLoveoffreedom.wordpress.com/the-story/> Twitter: SupportQuawas
37. Link to documentary - #JordanSpeaksUp: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqLt2r8bgd8>
38. @Feministmovementjo <https://www.instagram.com/feminist.movement.jo/> acc. 01.03.2023
39. UN Women 2017 Jordanian Parliament abolishes law that allowed rapists to avoid prosecution by marrying their victims <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2017/8/news-jordanian-parliament-abolishes-law-that-allowed-rapists-to-avoid-prosecution>
40. Le Monde 2023. Tunisia's President Saied claims sub-Saharan migrants threaten country's identity https://www.lemonde.fr/en/le-monde-africa/article/2023/02/23/in-tunisia-president-kais-saied-claims-sub-saharan-migrants-threaten-country-s-identity_6016898_124.html acc. 15.03.2023





KVINFO
CHRISTIANS BRYGGE 3
1219 KØBENHAVN K
TEL +45 33 13 50 88
kvinfo@kvinfo.dk
www.kvinfo.dk