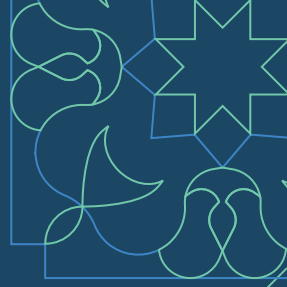
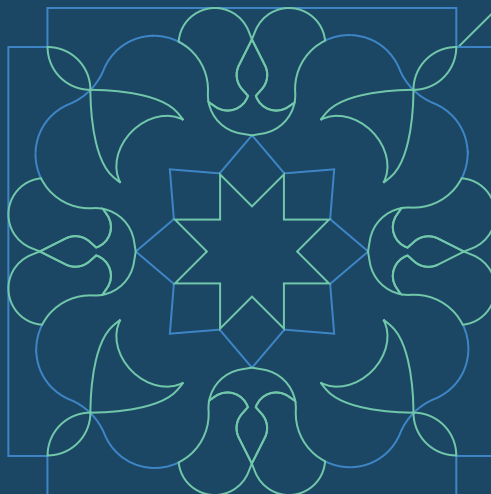
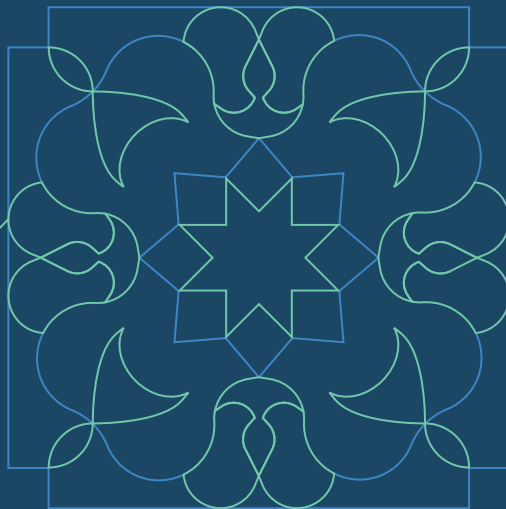
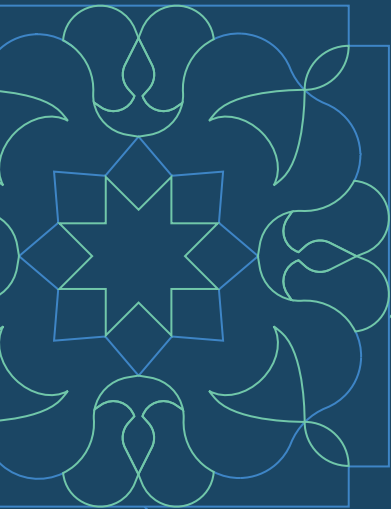


Understanding Masculinities:

INTERNATIONAL MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY SURVEY (IMAGES)

EGYPT

KEY FINDINGS



National Council for Women

In light of creating national capacities that contribute to women's advancement, the National Council for Women has been established under Presidential Decree No. 90 of 2000. The Council aims to improve the status of women and enable them to play an effective role in the social renaissance of Egypt. Within the framework of preserving the national heritage and the Egyptian personality. The mandate of NCW includes proposing the public policies related to women empowerment and development, enabling them to fulfill their economic role and integrating them into comprehensive development programs, political empowerment, addressing legislations, raising the awareness of the society on the importance of women's involvement in the socio-economic development process, developing a national plan for the advancement and resolution of the problems facing them, follow up and evaluating policy affects women and drafting proposals and observations that protect women and ensure the improvement of the status of women.

For more information: www.ncw.gov.eg

UN Women

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

For more information: www.unwomen.org

El Zanaty & Associates

El-Zanaty & Associates is a research organization founded in 1995 with extensive expertise in national and large-scale surveys, as well as a strong reputation in high quality of data collection, analysis and dissemination. El-Zanaty has been engaged in many national surveys that contribute to monitor the main health and population indicators in Egypt and other countries. For example, El-Zanaty & Associates has conducted the Egypt Demographic since 1995, and has implanted the two rounds of the Service Provisions Assessment Surveys that were conducted in Egypt in 2002 and 2004. In addition, El-Zanaty has also special experience in monitoring and evaluation. El-Zanaty & Associates has been engaged in several assignments in the Middle East and North Africa region. Besides the surveys that were carried out in Egypt, El-Zanaty & Associates has conducted national surveys and provide technical assistance to many others in Jordan, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Djibouti and Oman.

For more information: www.elzanaty.com

The Social Research Center (SRC) – American University in Cairo SRC/AUC

The Social Research Center (SRC) is an applied multidisciplinary research center reporting directly to the Provost. The mission of the center is to conduct and encourage social science research in Egypt and the Arab region. Also, the mission aims to train researchers, and to guide and assist graduate students, scholars and organizations engaged in social science research in the region. The center strives to inform policy formulation and implementation while contributing to knowledge in the social sciences. It aims to contribute to developing skills and building institutional capacity in the region as well as to advance public debate about important issues. SRC does not offer degree courses but, currently, it offers a professional diploma accredited by the Supreme Council of Universities.

For more information: www.http://schools.aucegypt.edu

Understanding Masculinities:

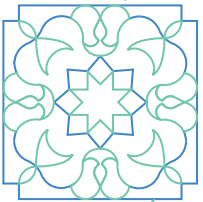
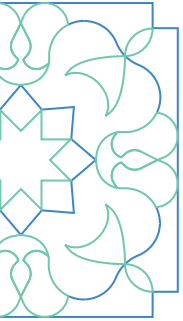
INTERNATIONAL MEN AND GENDER EQUALITY SURVEY (IMAGES)

EGYPT

KEY FINDINGS

2016-2017





1. Introduction

Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment are among Egypt's priorities, and is clearly articulated in the Constitution, policies, national strategies and plans. "The State commits to achieving equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution" (Egypt's Constitution of 2014). The National Council for Women (NCW), established in 2000, acts as a convener of State and civil society actors working for gender equality and women's empowerment.

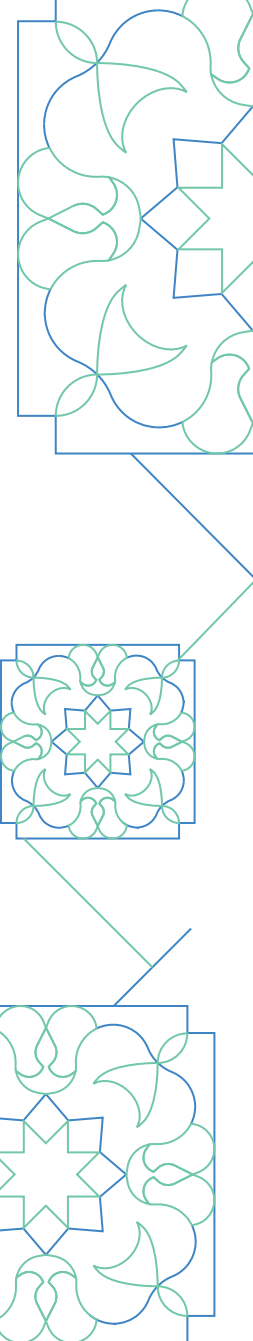
Egypt has ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), with some reservations, and has committed to achieving the newly established Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with Goal Number 5 of achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls

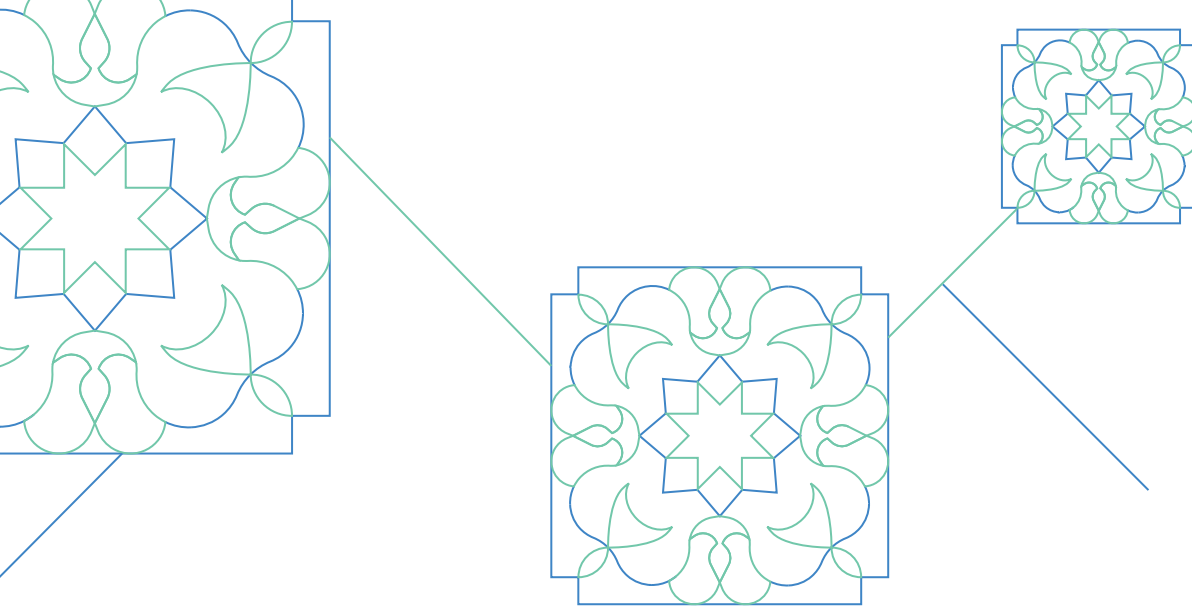
Despite the turbulent events of the recent past, and the political and economic challenges, there is a strong commitment at the highest level to advance the status of women, and this is reflected in Egypt's Vision 2030. The President declared 2017 as the Year of the Egyptian Woman, signalling the State's determination to empower women and enhance their potential roles in political, economic and social spheres. The President endorsed the 2030 National Strategy for the Advancement of Women, prepared by the NCW, and personally launched it in March 2017.

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) was conducted in Egypt in 2016-2017. IMAGES is a comprehensive study on men's attitudes and practices – along with women's opinions and reports of men's practices – on a wide variety of topics related to gender equality. Consisting of both a quantitative household survey and a companion qualitative research, the overall goal of IMAGES is to build understanding of men's practices and attitudes, in order to inform, drive and monitor policy development in this respect, by engaging men and women in the process.

IMAGES Egypt was conducted by local partner organizations, including El-Zanaty and Associates and the Social Research Center of the American University in Cairo, under the aegis of the UN Women Regional Programme: Men and Women for Gender Equality, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The study was conducted under the auspices of the NCW. The Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) reviewed the survey tools and provided the necessary field work permits. The tools also fulfilled the requirements for ethical review of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the American University in Cairo.

The study included two sets of tools: a quantitative survey and a set of qualitative tools, using focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. El-Zanaty and Associates led the quantitative research part. They helped to adapt the survey instrument to the local context, conducted the survey in the field, and prepared the quantitative report. The Social Research Center of the American University in Cairo led the qualitative research. They developed the design and tools, and prepared the qualitative report. All partners in this ground-breaking activity have been involved in guiding the study, discussing tools and findings, as well as reviewing reports.





The quantitative survey selected a sample of nearly 3000 households representing urban and rural areas in five governorates in Egypt. The selected governorates represent the different regions of the country: one with an urban setting (Cairo), two from Lower Egypt (Menoufia and Sharkia), and two from Upper Egypt (Sohag and Beni-Suef). A multi-stage cluster sampling was designed and applied, using the 2014 Egypt Demographic Health Survey (EDHS) master sample as a frame. A total of 1380 men and 1402 women were interviewed during the survey, ***with the proviso that it cannot be considered nationally representative for Egypt at large.***

Data collection involved a specially designed IMAGES questionnaire for men and a related questionnaire for women. The Egypt questionnaire covered a range of topics related to gender equality and women's empowerment: socio-economic characteristics; childhood experiences; marriage and divorce; migration; household relations; parenting; family gender dynamics; gender-based violence; female circumcision; work experience; quality of life; physical and mental health indicators; attitudes towards women in public life and laws and policies related to gender equality.

The qualitative study consisted of 20 focus group discussions (FGDs) and 35 in-depth key informant interviews. The first set of 16 focus group discussions investigated how distinct groups of participants of similar ages reflect on and discuss aspects of masculinity, identity and gender relations. The second set of four focus group discussions was conducted with a mixed age group of men and women. This round of four FGDs was designed to help with the interpretation of some of the unexpected findings in the quantitative survey. It was held with groups of 18-25 from the same geographical areas as where the quantitative data were collected. Topics discussed included gender roles, violence and circumcision.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with men and women who could be described as non-conformists or role breakers in terms of gender norms. The main objective of the interviews was to understand the dynamics that enable individuals to challenge or change gender norms and expectations.

2. Attitudes towards gender equality and women's empowerment in public and private life

2.1 Men and women: Roles and rights

Inequitable views about gender roles are common among women and men

Overall attitudes toward gender equality and women's empowerment were assessed using the Gender Equitable Men (or GEM) Scale, an internationally recognized and validated composite measure of attitudes towards men's and women's roles and rights. On a scale in which "0" represents complete rejection of gender equality and "3" full acceptance, men score low at 0.9, and women slightly higher at 1.3. There is relatively little variation in men's views by age, although urban men and those with greater wealth hold more equitable views. Younger, urban, wealthier and single women also score higher on the scale.

Education is clearly a driving support for equality. Both men and women with higher education, as well as those whose mothers have higher education themselves, score higher on the GEM scale, women notably so. Parental division of household labour also contributes to more equitable attitudes; both men and women whose fathers participated in housework also hold more gender-equitable attitudes.

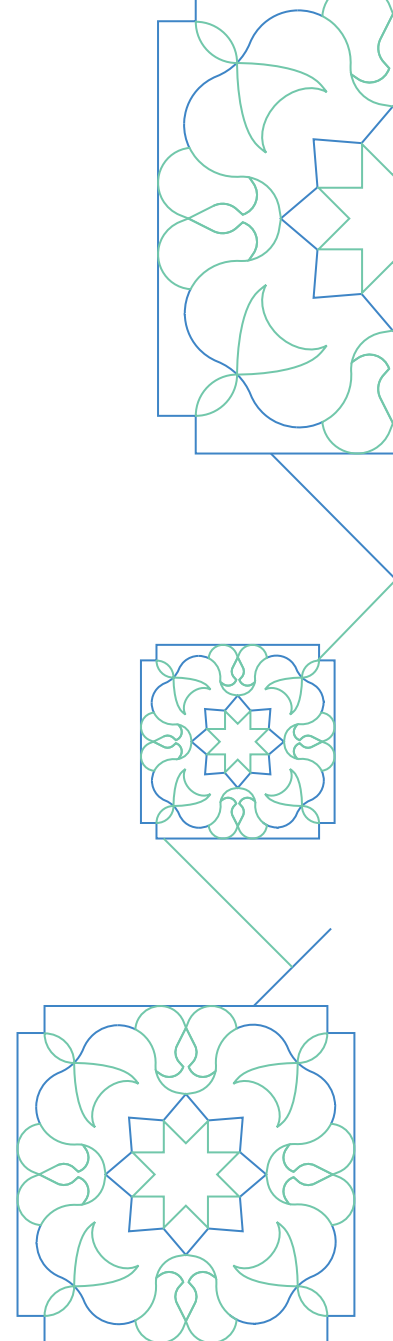
Manhood is seen in positive terms, but its attendant pressures are also recognized

Qualitative interviews affirmed that men and women associate masculinity with courage, strength, dignity and fortitude. Men are considered to be street smart, exposed to the risks of the public sphere, but also possessing considerable strength. Younger participants tended to think of masculinity as the ability to impose one's will and get one's way, whereas older respondents emphasized morality, resilience and forgiveness. Many men take religion as a reference for defining the "rightful" attributes of men and women. Some participants described Islam as a religion of equality, and believers who pray, fast, and perform their religious duties and were also expected to share their wives' burden.

2.2 Men, women and work

Men strongly support the idea that they should be the primary breadwinners

While almost two-thirds of men surveyed reject the notion that more rights for women mean fewer rights for them, in practice, most male respondents also support men's economic dominance and their traditional role as providers.



Two-thirds of the men surveyed consider girls' education to be just as important as that of boys; however, a similar proportion also feel that it is more important for a woman to marry than to have a career. Only around a third of men—mainly those with jobs or higher education—support the idea of women working outside the home on the same terms as men. In contrast, three-quarters of women want the same right to work, hard when there are constraints: almost 90 per cent of women say that, when employment is scarce, men's employment is more important, and even more women than men agree that marriage is more important than a career.

Consistent with these attitudes, men are also unenthusiastic about guaranteed positions or quotas for women in the workplace. Only a third of male respondents support a fixed proportion of places for women at university, in executive positions at work or in parliament or cabinet. In contrast, twice as many women as men are in favour of quotas in all three sectors.

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

Qualitative research reveals anxiety among men and women about shifting gender roles. Some men in focus group discussions described women's work outside the home as a destabilizing force within the family, supplanting a husband's "natural" role as the provider, as stipulated by religion. Others worried about a woman's career drawing her away from her supposedly primary role as a caregiver, or putting children at risk.

2.3 Women in public life

Men recognize women's abilities to lead, but generally oppose their prominence in political life.

Over the past decade, female judges, police officers, marriage notaries, governors and other public officials have been appointed in increasing numbers. At a national level, some 15 per cent of seats in the present parliament are occupied by women, the highest ever reported, while women ministers make up less than 12 per cent of the Cabinet¹.

More than two-thirds of men oppose more women in positions of political authority, and more than half of men believe that politics are best left to men. Three-quarters of men assert that a similarly qualified woman can do just as good a job as a man—but more a question of social norms: half of men doubt that women can be both effective politicians and homemakers, and almost three-quarters say that women are too emotional to lead. Younger men are particularly opposed to women's political leadership.

The majority of men accept women's leadership in civil society, government ministries and parliaments; but only a third or less accept their participation in such traditionally "male" spheres as the courts, the army or the police.

¹Women in Politics: 2017, Inter-Parliamentary Union and UNWOMEN, February 2017

2.4 Gender equality and the law

Laws promoting women's rights attract mixed support from men and women

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

More than 60 per cent of men and women in the survey are aware of the existence of legislation promoting women's rights, mainly laws on divorce and violence, including sexual harassment. Ironically, men are better informed on these issues than women, with almost a quarter of female respondents unaware of the existence of any law to protect their rights.

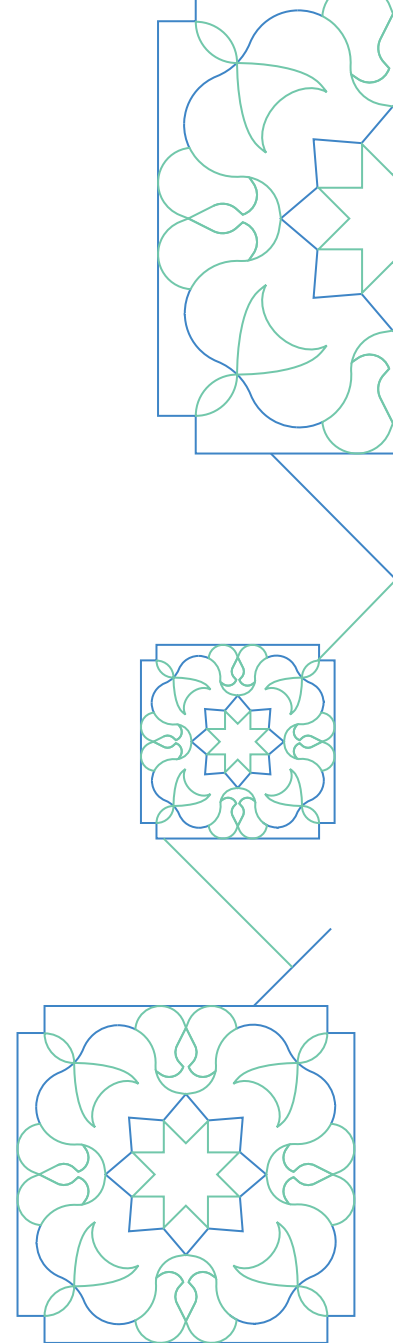
Women are more sceptical of the practical benefit of such laws, with almost a third doubting their impact, chiefly due to poor enforcement and complicated legal procedures. Other obstacles cited include the weight of social norms that encourage women to remain silent on such matters, and the stigma and scandal that often ensue when women bring cases to light.

In terms of prospective laws, a third to a half of men favour legislation that would criminalize domestic violence, or would prevent men from unilaterally divorcing their wives without notice or legal proceedings, currently under consideration by the government.

In qualitative interviews, men spoke about the impact of personal status laws, mainly divorce laws, on their own lives. Some men also voiced fears around the potential misuse of such laws, in what they perceive to be an age of expanding rights for women.

More than half of men and three-fifths of women agree that gender equality is not part of Egypt's traditions or culture. Women are significantly less optimistic about the present, and convinced, in substantially greater numbers, of the need for further efforts to promote equal rights between women and men.

Qualitative data indicated that many educated, urban men and women consider themselves on the path to equality. Some men in focus group discussions embrace this change, others noted the risks of women gaining ground, including talking back to men, acting without male permission, dressing or acting like men or taking on conventionally masculine jobs.



3. Childhood

3.1 Difference in gender roles during childhood

Gender inequality starts early in the lives of most Egyptian men and women

Four-fifths of men surveyed believe that boys should be responsible for the behaviour of their sisters, even if older than themselves, while only three-fifths of women agree with such male supervision. Such attitudes translate into practice. Virtually all male respondents recall having greater freedom in their youth to go outside family home than their sisters. Around 60 per cent also recall enjoying more free time because they were not expected to perform household chores as were the girls of the family. However, more than half of men report having had less leisure time in their youth, because of family expectations that they would earn money outside the home.

3.2 Housework and household decision-making in childhood

Few respondents saw their fathers carry out household chores, a pattern repeated by sons

Less than a third of male respondents say their fathers or other male relatives ever cooked or cleaned. They do, however, remember them taking charge of household shopping, as well as looking after them and their siblings. Younger, urban, wealthier and more educated men (and women) are more likely to report their fathers having cleaned or cooked. Following their fathers' examples, less than a third of men recall ever cooking or cleaning as children; by comparison, women nearly universally remember being occupied with such tasks throughout their teenage years.

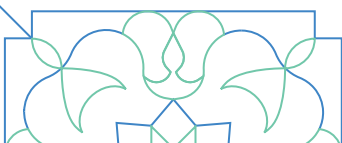
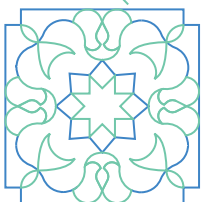
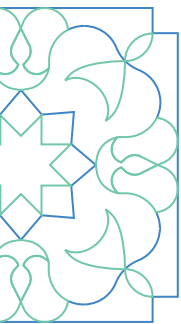
On matters such as schooling and large investments, both men and women recall their fathers having the final say much or most of the time, but women remember their mothers having been considerably more involved in decision-making than men acknowledge. While fathers were little involved in housework, by contrast, around half of male and female respondents report that their fathers were the main decision-makers on most domestic matters. For example, fathers most often had the final say on daughters' marriage.

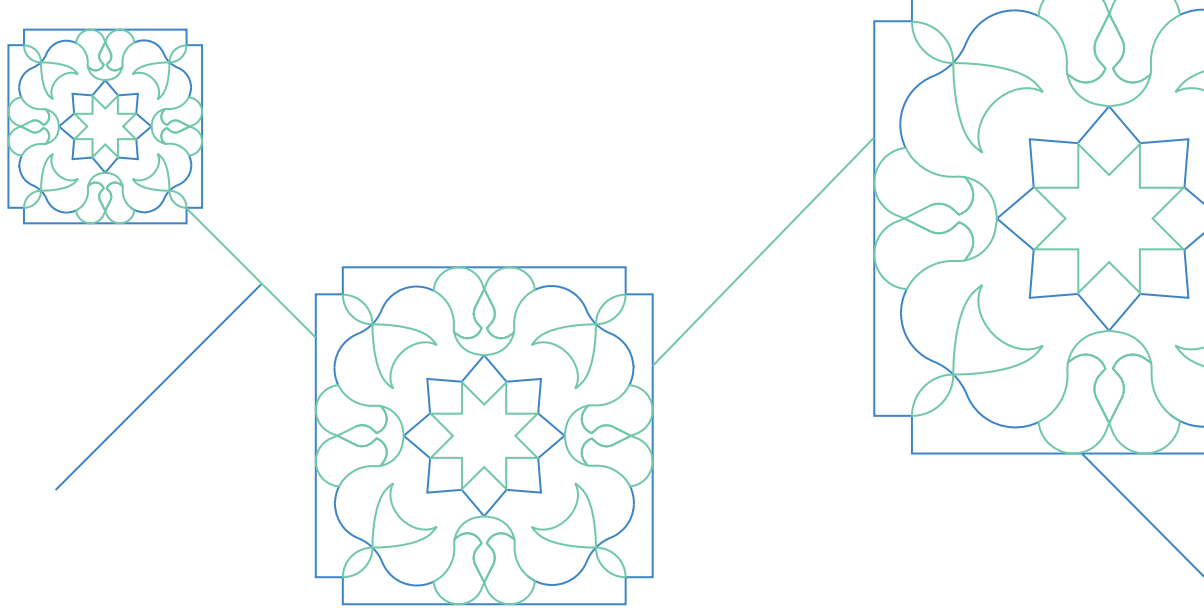
3.3 Adverse childhood experiences

Violence is a fact of life for most boys and girls in Egypt

More than three-fifths of men and women in the survey say they were spanked or slapped by their parents. A third were beaten at home with an object, and, as stated by more than a tenth, so severely that it left a mark. Around 30 per cent also recall times in their youth when they had too little to eat.

Women are more likely to have been subjected to physical violence as children, and report almost twice the rate of emotional abuse than men. On the other hand, boys are much





more vulnerable to physical abuse outside the home. In qualitative research, men described a range of physical, emotional and economic punishments meted out by their fathers, such as being removed from school as boys to earn money for the family, for example. For some men, this created profound resentment, affecting not only their relationships with their fathers, but also with their sisters; others accepted it as the way of making them a man.

A third of women and a fifth of men report witnessing their mothers being beaten by their father or another male relative at some time when they were children. In qualitative interviews, significant numbers of men and women spoke, not only of their mothers being physically abused, but of their anger with their fathers about such violence and of frustration at their own inability to intervene.

4. Relationship dynamics in adult life

4.1 Health

While men are stressed by work, women show signs of depression

Results from a 20-question standardized panel assessing depressive symptoms found that a third or more women experienced loneliness, fear, depressed mood, restless sleep, feelings of sickness, crying spells and other symptoms in the week preceding the survey, at considerably higher rates than men. In sum, almost half of women in the survey exhibited symptoms of depression, nearly twice the rate of their male peers.

4.2 Marriage and divorce

Marriage decisions are generally made with or by the family, and the cost of marriage is seen as a burden by men

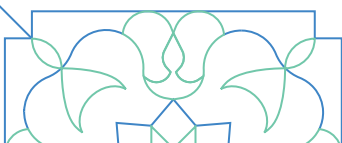
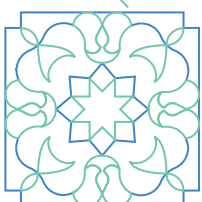
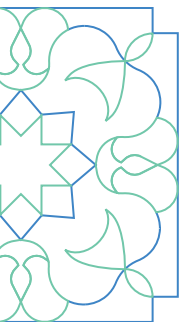
While marriage is not regarded as being as crucial to achieving adulthood for men as it is for women, it is, nonetheless, an important milestone for both sexes. Despite regular moral panics about the decline and fall of marriage, the reality is that more than 90 per cent of Egyptian women, and 70 per cent of Egyptian men, are married by the age of 30. Divorce is rare, with fewer than 3 per cent of men and women having legally broken ties with a spouse. Polygamy is also uncommon: less than one per cent of the men in the survey have more than one wife.

More than three-quarters of men in the survey made decisions about whom and how to marry, almost 90% of women said this decision lay with other family members, mainly fathers.

Men and women generally agree on what constitutes a socially acceptable marriage. Less than a quarter of never-married respondents are willing to marry a divorcé(e) or an older woman/younger man. Men are expected to bear most of the costs when it comes to marriage. This has become an increasingly heavy burden, with more than 70 per cent of men reporting that the cost of their own marriage was a burden on their families. Despite this responsibility, fewer than a third would have liked to see more of those costs shared with the bride's family.

Divorce is a source of anxiety in Egypt, particularly among men

Although only a small minority of respondents consider divorce to diminish the respectability of individual men or women, almost 90 per cent also believe that it will lead to the breakdown of society. Divorce law is particularly complex in Egypt, with different types of divorce authorized for men and women. Men are resistant to women initiating divorce, with just a third agreeing with the right of women to do so, less than half the proportion of women who are in favour.



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

4.3 Housework and household decision making

Women perform the bulk of domestic work, with some exceptions

Among ever-married men, fewer than a quarter report having cooked or cleaned in the past month. Their participation in housework is largely confined to traditionally “male” tasks, with more than three-fifths taking on repairs and more than 90 per cent paying bills. Men who are more educated, and the minority whose wives work full-time, are more likely to report participating in “feminine” domestic chores, as are those who saw their fathers more involved in domestic tasks, and were themselves more engaged in such housework as children.

Nearly all male respondents are highly satisfied with this state of affairs, and a similar proportion believe their spouses to be equally satisfied. In fact, more than 95 per cent of women surveyed also claim to be content with this division of labour.

Qualitative findings suggest that men will sometimes “help” with household chores, but this is far from systematic. One female participant described how her husband “helps” with the laundry because of his concerns that she might damage their expensive washing machine, but would never hang up the laundry in full view of the neighbours.

While the division of housework may seem clear-cut, the balance of household decision making is more complex.

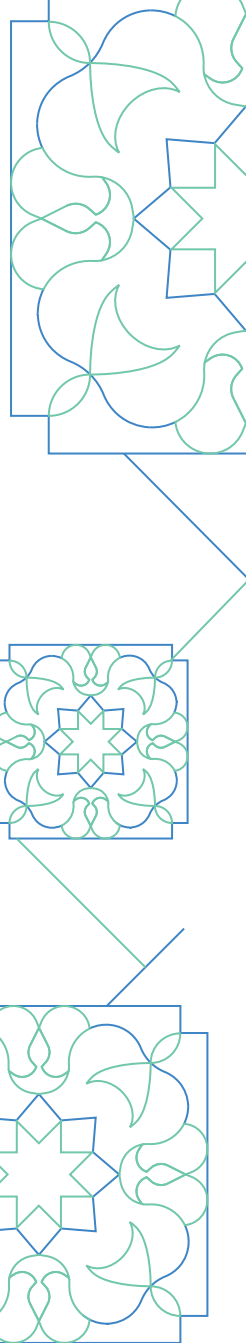
Two-thirds of men claim to have the final say when it comes to household spending on certain items. In contrast, women claim more power, with roughly two thirds or more saying they themselves have the final say on spending, or share spending decisions with their husbands.

Those men who saw their fathers sharing decisions on household investments with their mothers are significantly more likely to do the same with their own wives. Also, women working outside the home are more likely to make household decisions than their stay-at-home counterparts.

Men’s dominance over women extends to women’s movement and other personal freedoms

Virtually all the men say they control their wives’ lives, including what they wear, whether they can leave the house, and wanting to know about their whereabouts at all times.

Two-thirds or more of women affirm this control over their lives by their husbands.



4.4 Fatherhood

Men are more involved in childcare than housework, and would like to do more

Almost three-quarters of married male respondents reported attending at least one antenatal visit with their wives. Women, however, remember the situation differently, with only two-fifths recalling their husband's presence at such visits. During delivery, however, three-quarters of male and female respondents said that men were present at the birth of their youngest child, albeit, given prevailing cultural norms and hospital regulations around childbirth, in a different room.

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

Childcare and child discipline are largely women's work

In terms of daily caring, fewer than 10 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women felt there is shame in men taking care of children or contributing to housework. The view held by the vast majority of men and women is that changing nappies, bathing and feeding children should be a woman's responsibility, and this is reflected in daily life. Although infant and toddler care is not on the list of men's duties, almost three-quarter of men report playing with their children.

When asked about selected disciplinary methods with their children aged 3-14 years of age in the month preceding the survey, more than 80 per cent of men and women reported verbally disciplining their sons and daughters. Physical measures were far more commonly used by women than by men.

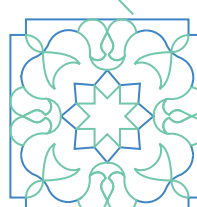
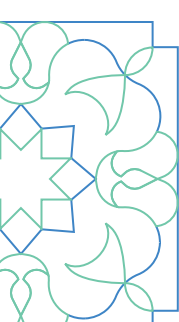
4.5 Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

Support for FGM is high among women and men

IIMAGES Egypt survey finds that more than 80 per cent of women and 90 per cent of men agree that men are involved in deciding whether a daughter is circumcised, with roughly two-thirds of all respondents reporting that male and female family members together have the final say on the matter.

More than half of female respondents in IMAGES Egypt approve of FGM or believe the practice should continue, a sharp decline over approval rates found in earlier national surveys.

However, in focus groups and in-depth interviews, men described marital violence as being a thing of the past, saying that women's enhanced status has made such violence less common and less acceptable. For some men interviewed in the qualitative study, male



Men, however, are significantly more supportive of FGM than women: more than two thirds of men approve the practice and endorse circumcision of their daughters. Men agree more than women with continuing the practice, because of tradition, which is mistakenly perceived by some as a religious obligation, and the importance of adhering to community norms.

A significant minority of men appear to disagree with FGM: around a third of men surveyed are opposed to circumcising their daughters, while almost one third would be willing both to marry an uncircumcised woman themselves, or see their sons do the same. Urban, wealthier men, as well as those with higher education, are significantly less likely to support FGM than other male respondents.

4.6 Violence against Women

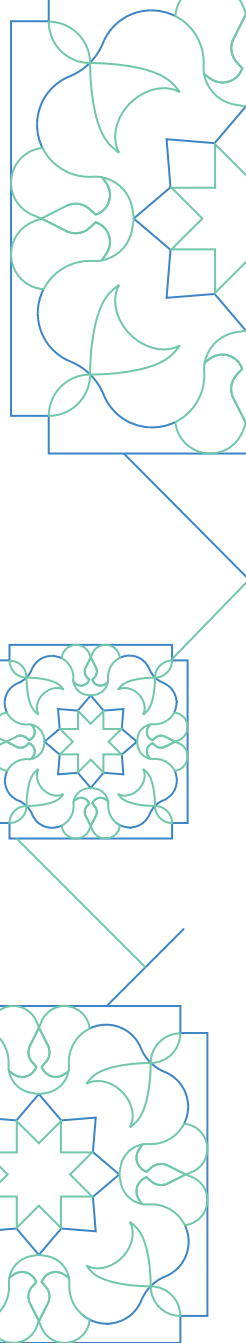
In terms of domestic violence, more than half of male respondents believe that women deserve to be beaten on occasion and 90 per cent assert that women should accept such treatment in order to preserve the family. While women strongly disagree with their male counterparts on the former point, 33% are willing to tolerate violence for the sake of family unity.

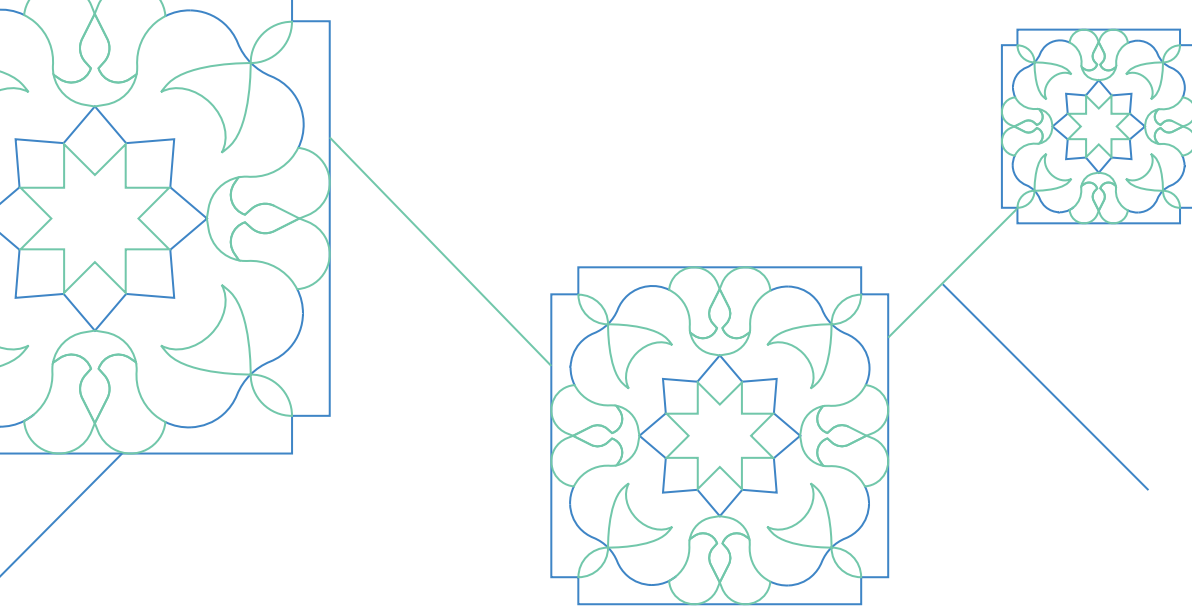
More than 8 in 10 ever-married men report having been emotionally violent to their current or most recent wives at some point in their lives. Just over half of ever-married men surveyed had carried out one of these acts of violence in the past 12 months. Physical violence is also common: almost half of male respondents have at some time slapped, shoved, struck or otherwise physically assaulted their wives, with a fifth of ever-married men reporting physical violence against their wives in the past year. Furthermore, a fifth of men also report having at some time used forms of economic violence against their wives. More than half of men and women report that such acts of violence were committed in front of children.

As seen in other IMAGES studies, men who, as children, experienced violence at home are significantly more likely to exercise physical, emotional or economic violence against their wives. In addition to these forms of marital abuse, men who witnessed violence against their mothers in childhood are also more likely to use sexual violence against their wives. More educated and more equality-oriented men are less likely to engage in physical, emotional or economic violence; richer men and those in urban areas are less likely to use emotional violence against their wives.

violence against women is considered irrational and a sign that the man has lost self-control, quite distinct from men's moral duty to discipline those under their supervision. Women in the qualitative study considered men's violence against wives to be far more common, and to be more consistent with what is expected of men than, for example, fathers physically disciplining their children.

The majority of Egyptian men consider it their duty to protect the honour of women and girls in their family and nearly three-fifths agree with so-called "honour killing" in some circumstances.





More than three-fifths of men believe that female victims of honour killing usually deserve such punishment and nearly half of female respondents agree. However, significant majorities of men and women disagree with reduced punishment for those who commit an honour killing: only around one third of men and women hold the view that perpetrators should go unpunished.

Egypt's legislature is considering tightening the law on rape. The legal loophole that allowed perpetrators to escape punishment by marrying their victims was closed almost twenty years ago. Around 60 per cent of men and women continue to support the idea that a woman who is raped should marry her attacker. Only a third of respondents consider that marriage to the victim should exempt a perpetrator from prosecution.

IMAGES Egypt results indicate that almost 60 per cent of female respondents have at some time been exposed to sexual harassment, mainly ogling and sexual comments, a third in the past three months alone. Men's accounts are similar: almost two-thirds of men admit to having sexually harassed a woman or girl at some time (and 30 per cent in the past three months), although men tend to admit to less intrusive acts.

Almost 90 per cent of those having at some time sexually harassed a woman or girl say they did it for fun or excitement. More than three-quarters of male respondents also cite a woman's "provocative" dress as a legitimate reason for harassment. Women hold even more conservative views than their male counterparts, pinning the responsibility for harassment firmly on women, essentially for tempting men into such acts. At the same time, only 20 per cent of women say that women enjoy such attentions, compared with more than two-fifths of men surveyed.

Men who, as children, experienced violence at home or witnessed violence against their mothers are more likely to harass women than those who did not. Wealthier, more educated men are more likely to commit an act of sexual harassment than their poorer, uneducated peers. Younger men, aged 18-24, are more likely than men over 50 to commit an act of sexual harassment.

A 2015 survey on the Economic Costs of Gender-Based Violence in Egypt indicated that violence perpetrated by the intimate partner costs EGP 1.49 billion yearly. However, this amount is considered an underestimation of the actual cost².

² The Egypt Economic Cost of Gender Based Violence Survey (ECGBVS), UNFPA, NCW, CAPMAS, 2015. See link: <http://egypt.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/Costs%20of%20the%20impact%20of%20Gender%20Based%20Violence%20%28GBV%29%20WEB.pdf>

5. Main findings and recommendations

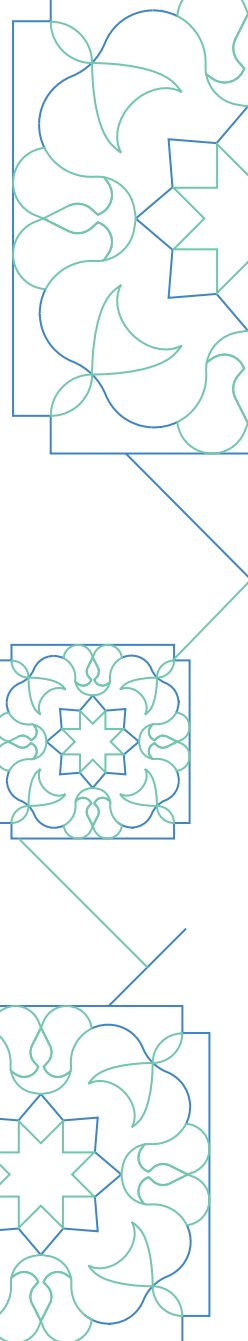
The study recognizes the Government's political commitments and the introduction of many interventions that promote women's empowerment and gender equality, shape notions of gender and impact perceptions and values. However, traditional societal attitudes tend to linger and resist. The findings demonstrate that patriarchy is "alive and well", and that there is still need for further concerted actions to promote gender equality. The purpose of this concluding chapter is not to conclude the discussion on the role of men in gender equality in Egypt, but rather to set the stage for further discussions. The chapter starts by highlighting some of the main findings, simultaneously drawing on the quantification of the survey which may be generalized, as well as on the interpretive findings of the qualitative research. A set of policy recommendations are then introduced, each corresponding to each of the main findings.

5.1. Main Findings:

1) The findings indicate that the roles of men and women are perceived by the majority of those surveyed as inherently different, but not necessarily unequal. Many men and women, old and young, and of all socio-economic levels, see that an ideal family, and an ideal society, is one where men and women complement each other by assuming different roles. In such an idealized world, men are the breadwinners, custodians and decision-makers, while women are the housewives whose responsibilities are to take care of their husbands and children. This division of roles is conceptualized as both natural and efficient; it is seen neither as degradation of women nor a consequence of women being inferior to men.

Idealistically, the differential roles of men and women should not imply hierarchy or inequality. A large majority of Egypt IMAGES survey respondents (74% of men and 93% of women) supported equal pay for equal work. The majority of men and women (but more women) approved of women assuming several (but far from all) leadership responsibilities such as being parliamentarians, and leaders of NGOs, professional associations and trade unions.

A majority of men (55%) accepted having female bosses and a significantly larger proportion (86%) accepted having female colleagues at the same level. In addition, a substantial proportion of survey respondents (77% of men and 89% of women) agreed with the statement that men and women of equal qualifications could do equally good jobs. Such positive attitudes, nevertheless, exist hand in hand with the assertion, by both men and women, that when jobs are scarce men should take precedence in employment opportunities. It is an assertion that is consistent with the perceived roles of women and men.



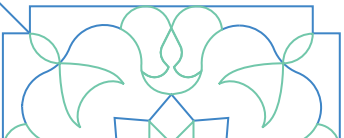
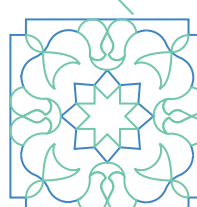
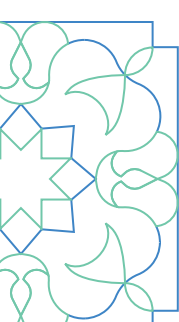
2) The reality of Egyptian life, however, is that men and women are assigned less distinct and more unequal roles. The “perceived ideal” of a complete division of roles is, however, seen as exactly so, an ideal. Most women and men recognize that the reality is usually something else. Women are visible in public life and are contributors to family income, sometimes even as the main providers. Women also participate in making major household decisions. Men do have women as work colleagues and bosses. Boys and men occasionally help take care of younger siblings and do assorted household chores.

The findings of the survey confirm the previously described realities. More than a quarter of male respondents reported that their wives shared decisions about household spending, not only relating to food and clothing, but also decisions on large investments. Several participants in focus group discussions also noted that families now need both couples to provide income and to share domestic responsibilities.

3) The disconnect between perceptions and realities infringes women's rights and is a burden on both men and women. When discussing masculinities, participants in focus groups noted that assuming the provider role was the biggest disadvantage of being a man, while freedom was its most significant advantage. The severe stress caused to men who cannot find a job or a job that provides enough income is documented in both the quantitative and qualitative research. Around half of the male survey respondents reported that they felt ashamed to face their families due to lack of work or insufficient income. When discussing health with men participating in focus group discussions, mental stress and drug dependence were attributed to work-related stress. As noted in the analysis of the focus group discussions, it is revealing that the same word in Arabic, “ajz”, could be used to indicate either male sexual impotence or a man’s inability to provide for his family economically.

It is worth noting that both quantitative and qualitative research findings document a tendency of younger men to express more rigid gender attitudes than their older counterparts. Younger men also tended to equate manhood with the ability to impose one’s opinion, while older men equated it with fortitude and responsibility. This might be attributed to a manhood crisis experienced by the younger generation that makes them cling to an abstract notion of being privileged by simply being males, with no need to adhere to the ascribed manhood duties. Younger women, on the other hand, tended to hold significantly more equitable gender attitudes than older women do. A crucial question is whether this divergence between men and women of the younger generations would ultimately result in aggravating the manhood crisis or, alternatively, in resolving it.

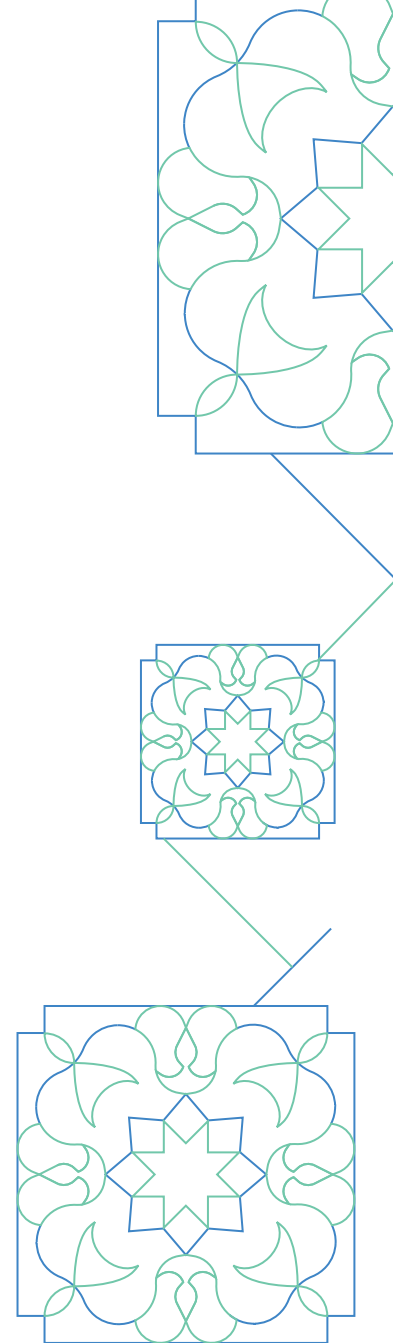
4) What people experience as children appears associated with their behaviour as adults. It is hardly surprising that early experiences are important in shaping later opinions and behaviours. However, it is noticeable how much men seemed to inherit both positive and negative attitudes and practices from their fathers, as documented through the correlations based on survey data. This is a particularly significant observation, given that respondents’ fathers and mothers were less educated than the respondents and their spouses. However, men whose fathers had participated in traditionally feminine household work and caring, as well as men who were taught to do this work as children, were far more likely to report contributing in this way within their own marriages.



5) Men and women are either unaware of efforts targeting equality between men and women and women's empowerment or are ambivalent towards them. When asked about their perceptions on equality between women and men in Egypt, a majority of survey respondents said that more is needed to be done to promote gender equality, while a majority claimed that equality has already been achieved. When asked whether they were aware of laws promoting women's rights, more than 60% of men and women are aware of laws promoting women's rights, mainly laws on divorce and gender based violence, including sexual harassment. These are the laws that have received high publicity. Respondents were largely unaware of other important legislation, such as that related to women's political participation, child marriage, and women's right to pass their nationality to their children. Interestingly, the same kind of confusion and limited information on women's empowerment policies were displayed in focus group discussions. All participants were aware of changes in the personal status law and the criminalization of sexual harassment. Some participants expressed the view that such laws had a negative impact on the family, echoing the one third of male survey respondents who agreed that more rights to women meant less for men. For other focus group participants, women's empowerment was "good and natural".

6) Domestic violence is prevalent and seems to be accepted as a legitimate disciplinary measure. The findings document high incidence rates of acts of physical and emotional violence by parents, especially mothers, towards children, boys and girls, and by husbands towards wives. The quantitative findings suggest that violence breeds violence. Boys who were violently disciplined by their parents are more likely, as adult men, to act violently towards their wives. Likewise, women treated violently by their husbands are more likely to discipline their children using violent measures. The qualitative findings do not refute this observation, but invoke stress as the main mechanism that derives this association between being both a victim and a perpetrator of violence. Both sets of findings also stress a belief that it is the woman's duty, as a good wife and housekeeper, to put up with intramarital violence. The statement that a woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together was confirmed by as high as 90% of male respondents and 71% of the female respondents in the sample; statements to this effect were also mentioned by FGD participants.

Previous research in several settings has shown that acceptance of domestic violence is a strong predictor of the prevalence of violence. Understanding factors associated with acceptance or justification of intramarital violence, hence, is crucial. Survey results indicate that more than half of male survey respondents and around a third of female respondents agreed with the statement that there were times when a woman deserved to be beaten. The acceptance of beating as a legitimate disciplinary measure is problematic, and is consistent with the high prevalence of corporal punishment to discipline children in the home and at school. The agreement with this statement is also indicative of an implicit belief that women, just like children, occasionally need to be disciplined. Discussions of domestic violence in FGDs have been too nuanced to provide an answer. In addition, the fact that the discussion in the FGDs was about 'violence' with its negative connotation should be noted. Survey respondents were reporting on specific acts that the researcher constructs as violent acts but could be experienced by respondents as normal facets of intimate relations. Here, as in several other places, the qualitative data cannot be used for triangulation purposes.



5.2. Recommendations

The findings presented above provide the basis for a set of recommendations and the involvement of a diverse group of stakeholders. These could inform and encourage implementation of initiatives and different programmes in alliance with all partners and stakeholders from various government entities, NGOs and academic institutions.

The NCW in Egypt is mandated to play a leading role in this agenda, and the nature of its role calls for contributions from the many stakeholders. As is evidenced from the findings, public culture and institutions have an impact on the level of equality between women and men and the types of experiences amongst them. Medical practitioners, school teachers, police, media and other agents of public services shape and influence perceptions and experiences, as well as being able to foster an enabling environment for equality between men and women.

In addition, findings can be utilized in impacting legislation through work being done on the Personal Status Law and other related laws.

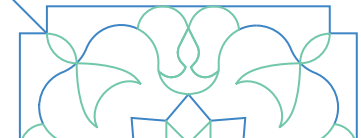
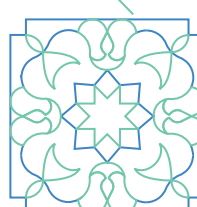
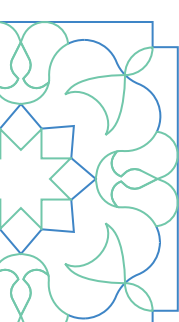
Linkages could also be established with the achievement of Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals, (SDG's), achieving equality between women and men and empowerment of women and girls, which should be mainstreamed throughout all the 17 goals, thus emphasizing the added value of engaging men and boys in this process. This would include involving men and boys in the design and implementation of programmes, as well as considering them accountable for their role in accomplishing this goal, eliminating all forms of discrimination, violence, and harmful practices against all women and girls; and supporting women's and girls' full social, economic, and political equality.

The emphasis here is to provide a set of tangible recommendations that link directly with the key findings presented earlier. These recommendations should not be considered in isolation, but need to be addressed collectively, so that they work in synergy. It is expected that progress on one front could greatly reinforce progress on the other fronts.

In addition, it should be noted that changes that translate into new behaviours and practices, require systematic action on three fronts:

- I. Developing an equality narrative and agenda that is inclusive and actively engages men, as well as responding to the specificities and diversities of the many social groups in Egypt.
- II. Building an enabling environment and adopting public policies that support women and men in achieving their potential, entrusting the different players in society with their respective responsibilities in fostering the equality agenda.
- III. Enforcing social and legislative reforms that root out unequal, harmful and violent practices.

The binding thread of the detailed recommendations is the necessity of engaging men and boys in any efforts to achieve equality between women and men, as well as to sensitize them to the multiple benefits of equality for both women and men.



Men can act as champions in promoting equality and transforming concepts of equality within their communities. There is an equally urgent need to work with women and girls to transform their internalization of the social norms that oppress them.

The following are more detailed recommendations that correspond to the list of findings detailed in the previous section:

1. Draw on the positive features of the prevalent culture.

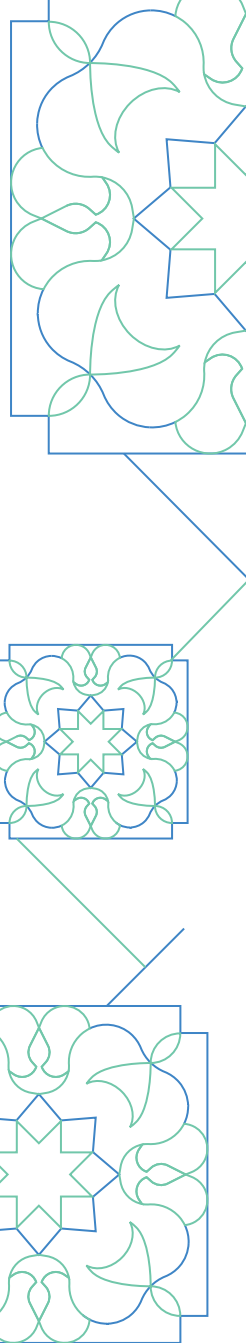
In order to successfully engage men, it is necessary to build on a common ground, as follows:

- Legislative reforms, in particular, should, as far as possible, emphasize their consistency with, rather than in opposition to, culture and religion. The introduction of the wife-initiated unilateral divorce is a case at hand; it would not have been possible without the support of mainstream Islamic scholars.
- Culture is expressed also in art, literature, drama and folklore. Identify and adopt narratives and expressions that are owned by society (not verbatim translation of terminologies that are foreign and difficult to comprehend), and search for evidence of the equality paradigm and encourage it.
- Integrate the proposed narrative that is anchored in positive religious and cultural features into widespread community-level awareness, education and mobilization programmes and campaigns that focus on changing inequitable attitudes, practices and relationships, and engaging boys and men for equality between women and men.

2. Dismantle the idealization of men's and women's role differentiation

The emphasis on the positive aspects of the prevailing culture should not be understood as uncritical endorsement of that culture. While emphasizing the equality silver lining, the overarching idealization of men's and women's role differentiation should be dismantled. The reality of the unequal dynamics that give men unwarranted authority over women and favour men just for being males should be portrayed as unfair, as well as in contradiction to religion and basic human rights.

- Support ideational changes through the dissemination of evidence and organization of public campaigns built on documenting the realities of women/girls and men/boys in public and private life, while underscoring the unfairness and ineffectiveness of the current division of roles, and highlighting the contribution of men who share household responsibilities as role models.
- Fathers' attendance at antenatal care visits can be an opportunity to promote men's involvement in childcare and maternal health. Programmes and policies to enhance men's involvement in caregiving and domestic work should be designed and expanded nationwide.



- Enable women's participation in public life through more capacity building guided by their potential and market needs, as well as by encouraging a more hospitable family-friendly work environment. The recent Ministry of Manpower efforts to pilot interventions and develop strategies for women's economic participation are good starting points. Similarly, the Gender Equality Seal Certification Programme created by UNDP, and piloted by the Ministry of Investment in Egypt, is another promising example. The Seal is awarded by the Government to firms that have managed to institutionalize equality policies and facilitate equal opportunities for men and women in access to jobs, working conditions, and professional development, training, and participation in decision-making processes.

- Promote family-friendly legislation and policies that help both men and women to combine work with family care. Granting benefits such as paternity leave and flexible hours to men as well as to women emphasizes cooperation and encourages more male involvement in housekeeping and childcare.

- Enforce legislation on decent work, equal pay and recruitment procedures.

3. Stress the fact that patriarchy and unrealistic idealized roles of women and men are not only unfair to women, but to men as well. Introduce egalitarian roles as a win-win solution to the "masculinity crisis".

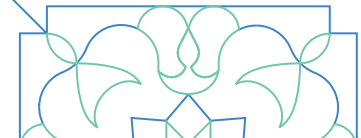
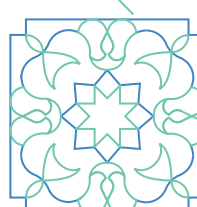
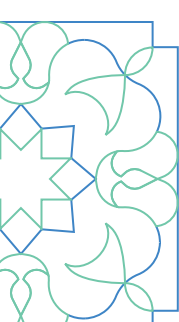
- As long as inequality is perceived as unfair to women but beneficial to men, efforts to engage men in the equality agenda would be futile. The findings of Egypt IMAGES study that document the stress put on men by the idealized notion of complementarity of roles of women and men provide the needed argument to show equality and egalitarian roles as beneficial to men, as much as they are to women.

- In writing strategies and policies and in advocating them, make it clear that women's empowerment is not vis-a-vis men but rather an empowerment against an unjust social order. Equality between men and women is an empowerment for men too. It is important to note, for example, that one of the reforms brought about by NCW, was to grant men the right to benefit from their late wives' pension plans. Policies should not be portrayed as favouring either women or men, but as fair to both.

- In designing "Men for Gender Equality" campaigns, it should be stressed that this equality is not a zero-sum game. As men concede unwarranted authority, they gain cooperation and support, social and economic.

4. To address violence against women, start from how children are treated and disciplined and transform school to agents of change for relations between women and men

- Cultural changes start from childhood. As long as boys and girls are treated differently, dynamics will continue to be non-egalitarian and unfair. Concurrent with advocacy for gender equality and women's economic empowerment, advocate for non-discriminating parenting practices. NCW in collaboration with the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood can develop a campaign and capacity building for parents to promote positive non-discriminatory parenting.



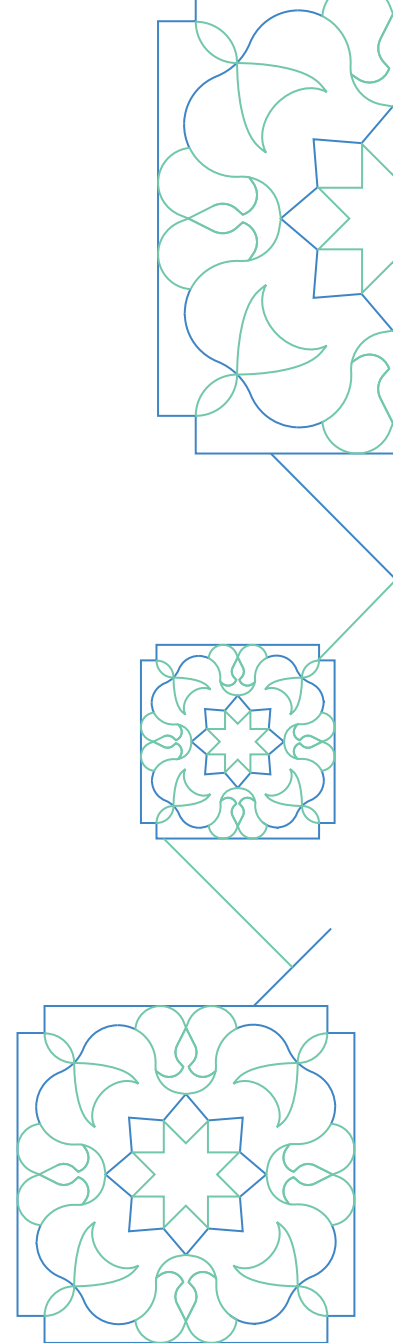
- Develop school programmes to address the violence practiced in education institutions. The school programme should involve working with the Ministry of Education to train male and female teachers in the use of positive behavioural reinforcement and positive disciplinary procedures rather than violent acts. Also, teachers and social workers could be trained in how to promote gender equality between girls and boys, preferably implementing awareness sessions within the school, as well as how to detect child abuse.
- Review school curriculums and non-curriculum activities for evidence of discrimination based on sex, and promote values of equality and non-violence between women and men. Likewise, carry out monitoring to detect gender stereotypes in mass media, art and cultural products.

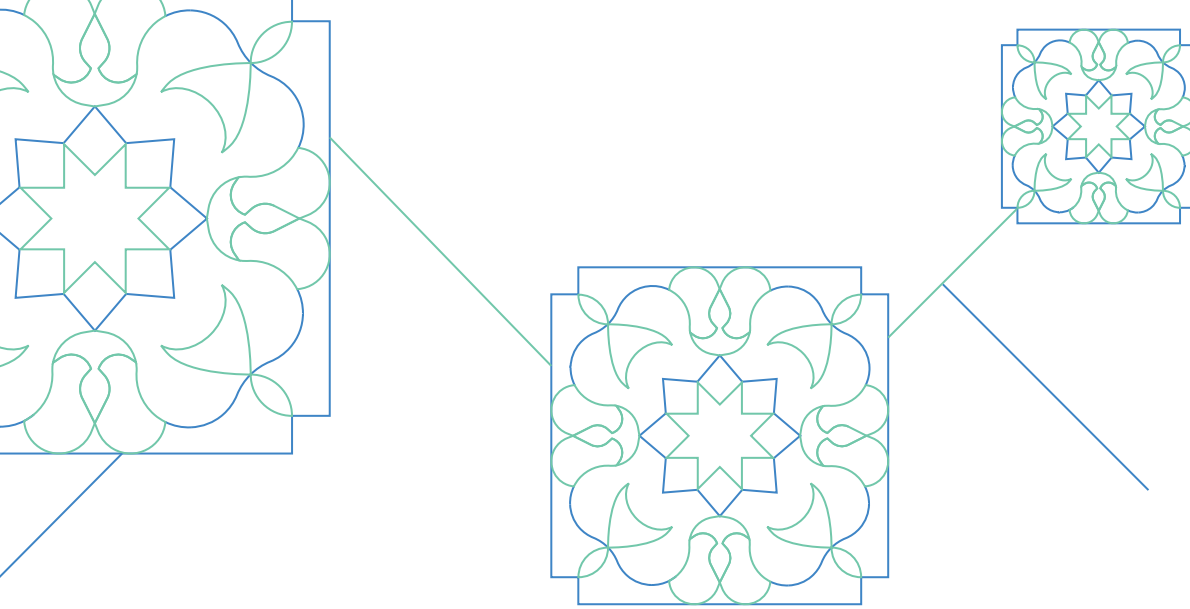
5. Policies related to equality between women and men need to be properly showcased and implemented, and responsive to people's real needs.

- Legal reforms, budgetary measures and procedures to enforce existing legislation and address impunity are crucial.
- Developing and enforcing anti-harassment laws, policies and programmes are important. Such laws can contribute to changing the community perception but are not effective on their own.
- Creating networks of public services between police, health providers, social services and psychosocial support organizations at community level is important in order to provide support to women and their families.
- Enlist popular mass media support for the agenda of equality between women and men, bring it on board and introduce its specifics.
- Use new and traditional media to question deeply rooted perceptions of women's and men's roles in society.
- Community recognition and support should be sought at an early stage in developing strategies, policies and interventions. Grassroots NGOs and local community leaders should be real partners from the outset. Involve men and boys in the development of positive messages around male engagement.
- Involve and engage young men and boys at school, university, and youth clubs to promote youth participation. Meetings and seminars at schools and universities need to be carried regularly.

6. More advocacy campaigns to combat violence against women are necessary.

- Efforts should be directed, through positive parenting advocacy campaigns, to breaking the vicious cycle between intramarital violence and child abuse. Otherwise, parents will continue to use abusive behaviours towards their children who will grow up to be abusing husbands or wives who justify being abused.





- The venue of this campaign could extend from mass media to campaigns in schools and in youth centres. Promote fatherhood programmes that foster equality and non-violence between women and men. All could benefit from positive experiences and best practice from other countries.
- Engaging men and boys is crucial in the campaign to fight sexual harassment. With sexual harassment being accepted “as a norm” of how women and girls should be treated on the street, it takes strong counter peer pressure to establish new norms of zero tolerance.
- Religious leaders’ involvement is beneficial, especially in fighting the tendency to blame the victims.

7. Involve men in fighting FGM. Involve medical practitioners.

- Target men and boys, building on the ongoing positive trend of male engagement. As fathers and future husbands, men and boys can play a larger role than usually credited to them. In addressing men and boys, there is a need for openness in challenging the misconception that FGM makes women less sexually demanding.
- Men and women are ready to listen to physicians in deciding whether to circumcise their daughters. By involving medical and nursing schools and colleges of physicians, medical practitioners will be well trained and equipped to answer parents’ questions.
- Several men and women still believe that FGM is religiously ordained, despite the existence of many religious rulings against it. Fighting this misconception, as several others that help perpetuate inequality between women and men, needs further supportive and sustained work by enlightened and courageous religious scholars who are willing to distinguish religion from tradition.