

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. During its 2012 Universal Periodic Review, Tunisia accepted recommendations from numerous countries to adopt new legislation and develop mechanisms to address violence against women, domestic violence, discrimination against women (including in personal legal status, marriage and child custody), and trafficking. As of the date of the submission of this report, Tunisia has taken limited steps or none at all to implement these recommendations.
2. Violence against women in Tunisia is widespread and systemic. Within the country there are high levels of domestic violence, physical violence, and sexual violence, and as of the date of submission of this report, the country lacks comprehensive legislation to combat violence against women. In 2010, it was reported that “one in six married women has faced sexual violence at least once in her life, mostly by her intimate partner. In the same year, 47.6 percent of Tunisian women ages 18 to 64 had been subjected to at least one form of violence in their lives.¹ Legal, cultural and social norms often result in inadequate law enforcement response in cases of violence against women, either refusing to file complaints or, if the perpetrator is a spouse, pressuring the victims to reconcile privately with the offender rather than take legal action.
3. The Tunisian Penal Code contains a loophole through which a perpetrator of sexual violence may avoid prosecution by marrying his victim. Article 227 *bis* provides that a sexual act without violence on a girl under 15 is punished by 6 years imprisonment and 5 years imprisonment if the victim is between 15 and 20 years old. The same article goes on to provide that in both of these cases, the marriage of the offender to the victim cancels the prosecution or the execution of the sentence. Recent reports suggest that despite the fact that polygamy is illegal in Tunisia, there may nonetheless be a practice of customary or *orfi* (verbal, non registered) marriages as a means of circumventing the formal system to create a polygamous marriage.² Such marriages place women in vulnerable situations when the “husband” abandons them and their children with no rights stemming from legal marriage.
4. Tunisian law also fails to adequately protect women from sexual harassment and provide proper legal recourse for the victims. A woman who files a complaint for sexual harassment could potentially be sued for defamation as well as being criminally prosecuted. The threat of these potential repercussions often leads women to drop their claims of sexual harassment rather than risk being sued or prosecuted if they fail to win in court. Statistics

available on the number of prosecutions for sexual harassment show that very few cases are successful.³

5. The practice of human trafficking is also a significant issue within Tunisia. Due to the lack of comprehensive laws against human trafficking, Tunisia relies on less extensive and less specific legislation already in the Penal Code to combat and investigate human trafficking. In the judiciary year of 2012-2013, there were a total of 1,279 recorded cases of trafficking in persons in Tunisia, 540 of which were for sexual crimes.⁴
6. The authors of this joint stakeholder report suggest that members of the Working Group urge the Government of Tunisia to respect and implement without further delay its previously accepted recommendations related to women's rights.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS

A. *Violence Against Women/Domestic Violence*

Status of Implementation: Not Implemented

7. During Tunisia's second Universal Periodic Review in 2012, at least six countries made recommendations accepted by Tunisia to adopt new legislation to eliminate violence against women.⁵ To date, these accepted recommendations have not been implemented.
8. Article 46 of the January 2014 Constitution provides in part that the "[S]tate shall take all necessary measures in order to eradicate violence against women." Article 23 provides that "the state protects human dignity and physical integrity, and prohibits mental and physical torture."⁶
9. **Currently, however, no specific legislation addressing violence against women exists in Tunisia.** Instead, violence against women is covered under the outdated, generally applicable provisions of the Penal Code, and rarely enforced in cases of violence against women such as domestic violence and rape.
10. **The Penal Code does contain some general prohibitions that may be applied to domestic violence,** including provisions establishing that a spousal relationship is an aggravating circumstance for sentencing purposes in criminal assault and battery cases.
 - Under Article 218, an individual who deliberately injures, strikes, or commits any other violent act or assault, shall be punished with imprisonment of one year and a 1000 dinar fine. The penalty is increased to two years and 2000 dinars if the perpetrator of the assault is a descendant or spouse of the victim. If the act is carried out with

premeditation, the punishment shall be increased to a three years imprisonment and a three thousand dinars fine.

- Article 219 increases the punishment to between 5 – 10 years if the victims suffers mutilation, loss of a limb or is incapacitated as a result of the violence.
- Article 319 provides for 15 days imprisonment for violent acts without serious or lasting consequences on health, although a spousal relationship is not an aggravating circumstance for sentencing purposes in such misdemeanor level cases.⁷

11. **However, the application of these Penal Code provisions to situations of domestic violence is limited both by the language of the law and in practice.** Articles 218, 219 and 319 apply only in situations of physical violence, excluding psychological and economic violence. Further, the restrictive definition of “spouse or descendant” means that it does not apply to unmarried or divorced intimate partners.
12. Additionally, articles 218 and 319 both provide that the prosecution, trial or execution of the sentence is cancelled if the victim spouse or descendant retracts the complaint. Ministry of Justice statistics on public prosecutions of marital violence complaints show that 65-72% of complaints were withdrawn or dismissed.⁸
13. **The Penal Code classifies rape as a crime against morality, rather than as a crime against persons.** Penal Code Article 227 makes rape punishable with the death penalty if committed with violence or a weapon or on a person under age 10, and provides for life imprisonment in other cases. The article continues to set the age of consent at 13 years old.
14. **Marital rape is not a crime under the current Penal Code.** Furthermore, **Personal Status Code Article 23 requires both spouses to “fulfill their conjugal duties according to practice and customs,”** a provision that is generally understood to mean that sexual relations constitute a marital obligation. In 2010, the Tunisian National Office of Family and Population (ONFP) conducted a nationwide survey that documented that violence against women is a widespread problem in Tunisia. It reported that “one in six married women has faced sexual violence at least once in her life, mostly by her intimate partner.”⁹ Forms of sexual violence identified by the survey “included being ‘coerced into sexual intercourse’, ‘forced to perform a sexual act that they disapprove of’, and ‘forced into sexual relations after having been beaten.’”¹⁰
15. **Tunisian Criminal Code still contains the loophole of Article 227 bis.** Article 227 *bis* provides that a sexual act without violence on a girl under 15 is punished by 6 years imprisonment and 5 years imprisonment if the victim is between 15 and 20 years old. The same article goes on to provide that in both of these cases, **the marriage of the offender to the victim cancels the prosecution or the execution of the sentence.** Amnesty

International published an account of a Tunisian rape victim, Amna, who felt pressured into marrying her rapist after he impregnated her. Amna stated she “chose marriage because [she] couldn't go back to [her] family with a child unmarried.”¹¹

16. Personal Status Code Article 31 provides that either spouse may seek a fault-based divorce on the grounds of material or non-material harm caused. Judges will interpret harm as including domestic violence, in addition to considering such violence as a breach of Personal Status Code Article 23 requirements that spouses treat each other with care and maintain good relations. In theory, women victims of domestic violence can file for a fault based divorce and obtain alimony, a housing allowance and compensation for damages. In practice, however, high evidentiary requirements of either a confession by the offender or a medical certificate create barriers to women seeking divorce on these grounds. Additionally, judges generally will not grant this type of divorce unless there is a criminal conviction first.¹²
17. **Tunisian law does not currently provide for any protection or preventive remedies** such as civil protection measures or exclusion orders that would remove the violent offender from the home or forbid him from having any contact with or harassing the victim.
18. **Violence against women remains a widespread problem in Tunisia.** According to the 2010 ONFP study, **47.6 percent of women ages 18 to 64 had been subjected to at least one form of violence in their lives.**¹³ Physical violence (31.7%) was reported as the most frequent type of violence experienced by women, followed by psychological violence (28.9%) and sexual violence (15.7%). The ONFP report study revealed that most violence against women is perpetrated by an intimate partner.¹⁴ Further, the State Report showed that in the 2012-2013 judicial year, there were 358 ruled cases of sexual crimes against women, 81 of which were rape cases.¹⁵
19. While the ONFP nationwide survey was conducted prior to the December 2010 – January 2011 revolution, government studies, human rights organizations, local activists and media outlets report perceptions that violence against women has increased since the revolution. Some sources attribute this to the rise of extremist Islamist ideologies in Tunisia,¹⁶ and corresponding attitude among the police and others that women are responsible for violence inflicted upon them if they dressed a certain way or were in the “wrong” place.¹⁷ The Ministry of the Interior reported 46 women murdered in a ten-month period in 2013.¹⁸
20. **Very few women victims of violence in Tunisia report the violence to the authorities.** According to the ONFP study, only 17.8% of women who had experienced violence had filed a complaint. Likewise, only 3.6% and 2.3% of women identified the police and health system institutions respectively as sources of assistance they would seek.¹⁹ Women

reported a lack of trust and confidence in the justice system.²⁰ Domestic violence and rape are also underreported due to social and cultural pressures, including the traditionally taboo nature of violence against women, a concern to protect the image and reputation of the victim's family, and the fear of ending up homeless.²¹

21. **Police often refuse to intervene when women ask for help, viewing domestic violence as a private matter.**²² When they do intervene, police often try to convince women not to bring a complaint against their husband. Local activists also report delays in prosecutorial orders to police to investigate violence complaints (during which time the violent offenders are free), administrative runarounds, and pressure to withdraw complaints on the part of the police when women do attempt to report violence. Police stations are insufficiently staffed, resourced or equipped to receive women victims of violence adequately. One report indicates at least one instance where a woman complainant was arrested for “insisting too much” with the police and threatened with being charged with offense of a public officer in the exercise of his functions. Others report police telling victims of violence, “Filing a complaint will get you nowhere,” “Stay at your home,” “All women are victims of violence,” or “That’s not an assault, it’s a minor injury.”²³

22. **An additional barrier is the lack of sufficient housing or shelter programs for survivors of violence.** The first government-run shelter and national helpline dedicated to victims of domestic violence was reportedly opened in 2012.²⁴ Amnesty International reported in November 2015, however, that the helpline is non-operational and the three shelters (in Tunis, Sousse and Sfax) that can take women victims of violence have limited space, provide only short-term housing, and encourage mediation with the abuser.²⁵ Local NGO reports to MRA on the number of shelters ranged from 2 – 4.²⁶

23. In order to file an assault case, women must first bring a medical certificate establishing the violence and its severity, and then go to the forensic medical doctor in a public hospital designated by the judge in order to draw up a report on the nature and length of incapacity suffered as a result of the violence.²⁷

24. Local activists report how judges are reluctant to convict husband for assault in the absence of visible physical injuries.

In one case we had, the husband would repeatedly beat his wife on her head between his two hands until she would pass out and then have to stay in bed. When she went to the public hospital, the medical report said “There is no trace of violence we can cite.” Based on this, the judge dismissed the case.²⁸

25. **There is also no comprehensive or consolidated database on the incidence of sexual violence.** Convictions for sexual violence were far below the number of actual incidents.²⁹ Penal code provisions criminalizing sexual relations outside of marriage discourage women from reporting rape, and women victims of violence from an intimate partner not their spouse from reporting domestic violence,³⁰ out of fear of being arrested themselves. Given the attitudes prevalent in society and among police that marital rape is something that does not exist and that women have a duty to obey their husbands, women report judges not taking sexual violence into account for determining harm or harm in divorce cases.³¹
26. Since the revolution, there have been some cases of state-sponsored violence and threats against women that have been reported. One is the case of Meriam Ben Mohamed, who was raped by two policemen in 2012. The Tunisian Interior Ministry alleged that she had offered herself to the policemen, and she was charged with infringing good morals. After a public outcry, those charges were later dropped, and the policemen were convicted of the rapes.³²
27. **Proposed Violence Against Women Legislation:** Since 2013, the Tunisian government has announced a pending violence against women bill, although to date the law remains to be enacted.³³ As of the date of the submission of this report, a Violence Against Women bill had been filed with the *Assemblée des représentants du peuple* and is currently in front of the Rights, Liberties and Foreign Relations Commission.³⁴ The 43-article bill proposes reforms to the Penal Code that would increase penalties for assault crimes, and create new definitions of and increase penalties for sexual harassment, rape, and sexual relations with minors. The bill also includes 6 month-protective measures and the creation of a National Observatory on Violence against Women.
28. **Concerns expressed by local activists include the fact that the bill is limited to Penal Code reforms rather than a comprehensive law with both criminal and civil provisions,** and addresses violence in the family more broadly rather than being a gender specific, violence against women law. Concerns have also been raised about the lack of structure, lack of clarity and precision in the language, and vague provisions such as those in the procedures section providing that prosecutors will have assistants to take complaints.

B. Gender equality and discrimination against women

Status of Implementation: Not Implemented

29. Tunisia accepted recommendations from several countries regarding gender equality and laws and practices that discriminate against women (including in personal legal status, marriage and child custody).³⁵ In its UPR Mid-Term Report, Tunisia states that it has

“been [...] implementing programs aim[ed] at contributing to the elimination of patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes regarding the role and the place of women” for several years, although it provides no specifics.³⁶ To date, these accepted recommendations have not been fully implemented.

1. Polygamy

30. While polygamy is illegal under Tunisian law, the UN Working Group on discrimination against women in law and practice has expressed concern about the growing practice of customary or *orfi* marriages which may be used as a means of circumventing the formal system to create a polygamous marriage.³⁷ Concluded verbally and without a written contract, such marriages frequently occur in rural areas distant from the public administration. They place women in vulnerable situations when the “husband” abandons them and their children with no rights stemming from legal marriage. Media outlets in Tunisia have reported that the practice has increased since the revolution, including among well-educated and urban Tunisians.³⁸

2. Sexual Harassment

31. Tunisia has some legislation to combat sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is punishable with a year imprisonment and 3000 dinar fine under Article 226 *bis* of Tunisia’s Penal Code, as amended in 2004. Article 226 *quarter*, however, provides that the victim’s complaint is necessary for the public prosecutor to initiate proceedings. Further, under Article 226(4), “anyone accused of sexual harassment may not only request reparations for damages incurred, but also initiate a defamation lawsuit, which carries with it criminal penalties punishable by up to two years’ imprisonment and a fine.”³⁹ In other words, a woman who files a complaint for sexual harassment could potentially be sued for defamation as well as being criminally prosecuted.⁴⁰
32. **However, this legislation has not proven effective.** Activists have “welcomed the law concerning sexual harassment but expressed concern that it linked sexual harassment to safeguarding manners, lacked an adequate definition of harassment and did not contain adequate provisions for investigating allegations.”⁴¹ Statistics available on the number of prosecutions for sexual harassment show that very few cases are successful: one conviction during the 2008-09 judicial year and 14 convictions during the 2012-13 judicial year.⁴² In the 2012-2013 judiciary year, there were 172 sexual harassment cases in first instance courts and appeal courts, 14 and 158, respectively.⁴³
33. In a survey of rural women working in agriculture, the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women found that women reported not only work-related health problems, but also sexual

and other forms of harassment as well as physical, verbal, and psychological violence.⁴⁴ One in five women reported having been the victim of domestic violence at work, with 47.1% reporting verbal abuse and 29.4% reporting physical violence by their spouse.⁴⁵

C. Human trafficking

Status of Implementation: Not Implemented

34. Tunisia accepted a recommendation from Japan related to taking measures with respect to human trafficking.⁴⁶ In Tunisia's recent periodic report to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Committee) in 2015, it states that the human trafficking law "is pending submission to the Assembly of the Representatives of the People."⁴⁷
35. Human trafficking is a significant issue in Tunisia, According to Tunisia's report to the Committee, in the judiciary year of 2012-2013, there were a total of 1,279 recorded cases of trafficking in persons, 540 of which were for sexual crimes.⁴⁸ Due to the lack of comprehensive laws against human trafficking, Tunisia relies on less extensive and less specific legislation in the existing Penal Code to combat and investigate human trafficking.⁴⁹ According to the State party's 2014 Mid-Term Report, a "draft law on the fight against trafficking is being prepared in collaboration with" the International Organization for Migration ("IOM").⁵⁰ As of the date of this submission, however, the Tunisian Parliament had tabled draft anti-trafficking legislation.⁵¹

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

36. The authors of this joint stakeholder report suggest the following recommendations for the Government of Tunisia:

- Pass "the necessary legislation to eliminate gender-based violence," as recommended by Denmark, that contains both criminal and civil provisions.⁵² The Tunisian Government should collaborate with a wide range of NGOs and experts in the field to ensure that any draft law contains the essential elements of an effective domestic violence law to adequately protect victims and hold perpetrators accountable, while taking care to not cause further harm to victims.⁵³
- Adopt "law[s] and regulations to combat violence against women, including domestic violence and marital rape," as suggested by Honduras.⁵⁴
- Reforms creating a law combating violence against women should specifically:

- expand the definition of violence against women to include physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence, as well as constraint and deprivation of liberty;
 - include a large scope of relationships covered by the law that are not limited to spouses in legal marriage, but includes others such as fiancés and ex-fiancés, and ex-husbands;
 - clearly and specifically criminalize acts of domestic violence;
 - eliminate the high threshold requirement of incapacity certificates for women to be able to bring a complaint for violence;
 - establish civil remedies including comprehensive protection orders that are part of the civil procedure code instead of integrated into the Penal Code;
 - allow courts, in protection orders, to at least temporarily order child custody and support to the non-violent parent, and allow courts to enter a protection order as to the child;
 - create a criminal offense for violation of the order for protection with a cross-reference to any relevant provisions of the criminal laws, such as punishment for various level of offenses;
 - prohibit perpetrators from possessing a firearm;
 - provide for enhanced penalties for other domestic violence-related criminal offenses;
 - increase police resources to respond to violence against women, including an adequate number of and sufficiently trained personnel and facilities;
 - increase police powers to intervene in violence against women cases;
 - include provisions on implementation of the law, including training of relevant professionals, monitoring and evaluation of the law, and funding of the implementation of the law;
 - ensure that inter-agency task forces that create a coordinated community response to domestic violence are established and adequately funded to provide for effective services.
- Amend the Penal and Personal Status Codes to explicitly criminalize marital rape and eliminate the requirement that spouses “fulfill their conjugal duties according to practice and customs,” respectively.
 - Abolish Penal Code provisions that allow a perpetrator of sexual violence to escape prosecution for marrying his victim.
 - Abolish Penal Code provisions allowing cancellation of the prosecution, trial or execution of the sentence when victims retract the complaint.
 - Create a legal framework and provide state financial support for shelters and housing to female victims of violence.

- Ensure that the standard of providing a shelter/safe place for every 10,000 members of the population, located in both rural and urban areas, capable of accommodating complainant/victims and their children is upheld.
- Strengthen the current legal framework with respect to NGO-run shelters for women victims of violence. Increase the support that the government provides to these NGO-run shelters.
- Ensure that the State adequately and consistently supports and funds NGOs to continue regular trainings on women's human rights, domestic violence and implementation of the law for police, prosecutors, judges, social services, and child protection authorities.
- Increase the coordinated community response among NGOs, police, courts, the DSA, health care providers and the media.
- “Implement all measures to combat impunity, initiate proceedings against the perpetrators of human rights violations and provide compensation for victims,” as recommended by Belgium.⁵⁵
- Establish the supremacy of international human rights conventions to which Tunisia is a party and of the direct applicability and justiciability of such conventions in domestic courts.
- Set up “a comprehensive strategy to eliminate [...] discrimination against women that still exists in the national legislation, in particular concerning marriage” and “effective and equal access to justice,” as recommended by Poland.⁵⁶
- Pass a specific human trafficking law.

¹¹ Office National de la Famille et de la Population, *Enquête Nationale sur la Violence à l’Egard des Femmes en Tunisie: Rapport de l’enquête* (Tunis, December 2010), available online at <http://www.medicities.org/documents/10192/54940/Enqu%C3%AAt+ Nationale+ Violence+ envers+ les+ femmes+ + Tunisie+ 2010.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2016).

² U.N. Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the issue of discrimination against women in law and in practice: Mission to Tunisia*, (May 30, 2013), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/23/50/Add.2, ¶ 12, available online at <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G13/141/67/PDF/G1314167.pdf?OpenElement>

³ Amnesty International, *Assaulted and Accused: Sexual and gender-based violence in Tunisia*, 57 (Nov. 2015), available online at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/tunisia-assaulted-and-accused-report.pdf> (accessed January 4, 2016)

⁴ U.N. Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *Third report of States parties due in 2000: Tunisia* (hereinafter referred to as “State Report”), (June 30, 2015), U.N. Doc. E/C.12/TUN/3, Annex: Article 10, Table No. 4.

⁵ U.N. Human Rights Council, *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Tunisia*, (May 24, 2012), ¶¶ 114.4, 114.6, 114.7, 114.8, U.N. Doc. A/HRC/21/5, available online at http://www.upr-info.org/sites/default/files/document/tunisia/session_13_-_may_2012/ahrc215tunisiae.pdf (accessed July 29, 2016).

⁶ La Constitution de la République Tunisienne (2014). Available online at <http://www.legislation.tn/fr/constitution/la-constitution-de-la-r%C3%A9publique-tunisienne>. See also U.N. Committee Against Torture, *Third Periodic Report: Tunisia (Addendum)*, (Nov. 6, 2014), U.N. Doc. CAT/C/TUN/3/Add.1, ¶ 9.

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- 7 Code Penal, available online at http://www.legislation.tn/fr/affich-code/Code-p%C3%A9nal__89 (accessed January 6, 2016).
- 8 Amnesty International, *Assaulted and Accused: Sexual and gender-based violence in Tunisia*, 21, (Nov. 2015), available online at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/tunisia-assaulted-and-accused-report.pdf> (accessed January 4, 2016).
- 9 Amnesty International, *Assaulted and Accused: Sexual and gender-based violence in Tunisia*, 21, (Nov. 2015), available online at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/tunisia-assaulted-and-accused-report.pdf> (accessed July 8, 2016).
- 10 Amnesty International, *Assaulted and Accused: Sexual and gender-based violence in Tunisia*, 21, (Nov. 2015), available online at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/tunisia-assaulted-and-accused-report.pdf> (accessed July 8, 2016).
- 11 Amnesty International, “Pressured to marry her rapist in Tunisia,” (Dec. 11, 2015), available online at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2015/12/pressured-to-marry-her-rapist-in-tunisia/> (accessed July 15, 2016).
- 12 *Etat du Droit Tunisien sur les violences faites aux femmes et aux filles*, UNFPA and the Secrétariat d’Etat pour la Femme et la Famille (Tunis, December 2013), available online at http://www.unfpa-tunisie.org/images/stories/2014/publication/Publication%20Etude%20violence%202014_f.pdf (accessed January 6, 2016).
- 13 Office National de la Famille et de la Population, *Enquête Nationale sur la Violence a l’Egard des Femmes en Tunisie : Rapport de l’enquête* (Tunis, December 2010), available online at <http://www.medicities.org/documents/10192/54940/Enqu%C3%AAt+ Nationale+ Violence+ envers+ les+ femmes+ +Tunisie+2010.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2016).
- 14 Id. The intimate partner is the perpetrator of physical violence in 47.2% cases, of psychological violence in 68.5% of cases, of sexual violence in 78.2% of cases, and of economic violence in 77.9% of cases. See also Carolyn Lamboley Tunisia-live, *1 in 5 Tunisian women victim of domestic violence, according to new survey*, (March 2, 2012), available online at <http://www.tunisia-live.net/2012/03/02/1-in-5-tunisian-women-victim-of-domestic-violence-according-to-new-survey/> (accessed July 2, 2015).
- 15 Annex to State Report, Article 10, Table No. 3.
- 16 *Expérience et vécu des femmes survivantes à la violence conjugale dans les régions du Kef, Béja et Jendouba : résultats d’une étude qualitative* (Office national de la famille et la population, 2015), available online at http://www.onfp.nat.tn/liens/violence_nord_ouest_resultats_2015.pdf (accessed January 6, 2016). See also, Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, *Violence against Women in the context of Political Transformations and Economic Crisis in the Euro-Mediterranean Region: Trends and Recommendations towards Equality and Justice*, 25, (March 6, 2014) available online at <http://euromedrights.org/publication/violence-against-women-in-the-context-of-political-transformations-and-economic-crisis-in-the-euro-mediterranean-region/> (accessed January 4, 2016), and Business News – Tunisia, *New Law Pushes Tunisia to Protect Women*, (June 28, 2014) available online at <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/culture/2014/08/tunisia-women-victim-gender-based-violence.html#> (accessed August 13, 2015).
- 17 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.
- 18 “Violence against women has double three times: 46 dead in ten months,” available online at <http://www.alchourouk.com/28592/567/1/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%86%D9%81-%D8%B6%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%AA%D8%B6%D8%A7%D8%B9%D9%81-3-%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA:46-%D9%82%D8%AA%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A3%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1--.html> (accessed March 11, 2016).
- 19 Office National de la Famille et de la Population, *Enquete Nationale sur la Violence a l’Egard des Femmes en Tunisie : Rapport de l’enquête* (Tunis, Dec. 2010), available online at

<http://www.medicities.org/documents/10192/54940/Enqu%C3%AAt+ Nationale+ Violence+ envers+ les+ femmes+ +Tunisie+2010.pdf> (Accessed: January 6, 2016).

20 Office National de la Famille et de la Population, *Expérience et vécu des femmes survivantes à la violence conjugale dans les régions du Kef, Béja et Jendouba : résultats d'une étude qualitative*. (Tunis, 2015), available online at http://www.onfp.nat.tn/liens/violence_nord_ouest_resultats_2015.pdf (accessed January 6, 2016).

21 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.

22 Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, *Tunisia: Domestic violence, legislation and protection available to victims (2007-2009)*, TUN103273.FE (November 24, 2009), available online at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4b20f04a3c.html> (accessed July 8, 2015).

23 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.

24 U.S. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, *Tunisia 2014 Human Rights Report*, 15-16, (2014), available online at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236836.pdf> (accessed July 9, 2015).

25 Amnesty International, *Assaulted and Accused: Sexual and gender-based violence in Tunisia*, 66 (November 2015), available online at <https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/tunisia-assaulted-and-accused-report.pdf> (accessed January 4, 2016).

26 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.

27 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.

28 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.

29 U.S. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, *Tunisia 2014 Human Rights Report*, 15, (2014), available online at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236836.pdf> (accessed July 9, 2015).

30 Penal Code Articles 226 (public indecency) and 236 (adultery).

31 Communication from local Tunisian activists to MRA (February 2016), on file with authors.

32 International Federation for Human Rights, *Sexual Violence in Tunisia: from denial to dawning recognition* (June 2, 2014), available online at <https://www.fidh.org/en/region/north-africa-middle-east/tunisia/15425-sexual-violence-in-tunisia-from-denial-to-dawning-recognition> (accessed July 8, 2014). Ms. Ben Mohamed's book on the subject is titled *Coupable d'avoir été violée* (Guilty of having been Raped).

33 See UNFPA Tunisia at <http://www.unfpa-tunisie.org/index.php/en/news/1-actualites/268-presentation-du-premier-draft-du-projet-de-loi-integrale-sur-les-violences-faites-aux-femmes-et-aux-filles.html>; Sana Sboui, *La loi contre les violences faites aux femmes en Tunisie : un processus lent*, Middle East Eye, (June 29, 2015), available online at <http://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/reportages/la-loi-contre-les-violences-faites-aux-femmes-en-tunisie-un-processus-lent-1424501485>.

34 http://www.arp.tn/site/projet/AR/fiche_proj.jsp?cp=94555. The text of the bill 60/2016 is available at http://www.arp.tn/site/servlet/Fichier?code_obj=94555&code_exp=1&langue=1.

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