Modernization as a Transition from a “Traditional” to a Postmodern Society

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Abstract: The purpose of the article is to explore the gender aspect of the modernization of Tunisian society from modernism to postmodernism, which defined the cultural concept of the twentieth century. The article conducts a comprehensive study of gender aspects of the modernization of Tunisian society since the beginning of this modernization in 1900 of the XX century. to the beginning of the XXI century; for the first time the periodization of the women's movement in Tunisia in the period of modern history is presented and substantiated; analyzed the history of the impact of political and legal reforms of the Tunisian government on changing the gender situation in society; reflects the specifics of gender ideas and practices of Tunisian society in historical retrospect. The degree of influence of the French colonial regime on the modernization of Tunisian society in a gender context is determined; an analysis of the specifics of gender relations in Islamic society. It is proved that Islamic democracy was presented as a guarantor of the real emancipation of women, provided that she retains the primary status of wife and mother. This principle, due to the socio-cultural traditions of Tunisian society, was in fact basic in gender perceptions and for this period. Biographies of the leaders of the Tunisian movement show that their social self-realization was usually directly ensured by the status of the wife of a politician.

Keywords: *gender aspect, Tunisian society, Arab countries, Islamic world, periodization of the women's movement, Islamic democracy.*

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1. Introduction

In the process of modernization of the Islamic world in the twentieth century the key role belonged to the Arab countries. The Arab world is constantly in the focus of world politics, in fact becoming one of the key centers for the formation of a new geopolitical and geoeconomic sphere of the world. This makes it extremely important to study the nature of modernization processes in the region. At the same time, Tunisia was usually seen as a successful experience of modernization in general, and in solving the problem of emancipation of women. This modernization was seen as a transition from "traditional" to modern society, i.e. Westernization. It should be noted that the representatives of modern historical science, for the most part, are not supporters of linear progressivism, with its Eurocentric component. The very historical reality of the second half of the twentieth century suggests that modernization cannot be seen as a transition to a single type of fixed society, as it includes a variety of models that give scientific relevance to the study of modern history, a non-European country, including Tunisia, as a model of "Westernization" in the Arab world. The events of the Jasmine Revolution in December 2010 show that Tunisia is actively influencing events in the Arab world. An objective approach to the analysis of the essence of modernization processes in the gender context is necessary to create a real history of modern Tunisian society, overcoming Eurocentric stereotypes. The relevance of the study is due to the fact that in modern domestic historiography there are no works devoted to the study of modernization of Tunisian society in general, and in particular in the gender context.

The purpose of the work is to investigate the gender aspect of the modernization of Tunisian society in the historical period from modernism to postmodernism (early XX - early XXI century).

In the context of postmodernism, gender issues are considered, first of all, as a multi-vector feminist movement, but gender inequality remains an important meta-problem, especially in the Islamic world. L. Bronzino and E. Kurmilova, exploring the problems of gender in the Postmodernist space of Russia, define the main gender breakdown of postmodernism as much in the equalization of the participation of men and women in the political, economic and legal life of society, as in the impossibility of "changing the consciousness of a person", therefore, feminism still exists "Not for everyone", not for the mass consciousness, but only for the one that accepted its key postulates (Bronzino, & Kurmeleva, 2017).

According to Knights (1997), a sociological study of even a limited

sample of postmodern feminists provides rich material for the study of postmodernist epistemologies of representation that are currently threatened with extinction due to overly voluntaristic, individualistic, or other holistic tendencies. The main problem is that power and the structure of society are in the relationship of appearance, so feminism and other trends relevant to postmodernism can be short-lived and trendy, at least to move to the level of paradigm.

Deconstruction of postmodernism inhibits the development of feminist psychology, because, according to scholars, it is "constructivism can be fruitfully applied to modern representations of gender in psychology, in particular to representations of gender as differences, it suggests how linguistic categories available in culture and dominant cultural ideology influence the construction of reality" (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1990). Thus, the development of gender psychology requires a constructivist approach.

The next contradiction, which has become aggravated in the era of post-modernism, is the discrediting of the correlation between the categories "gender" and "science". Postmodernism "criticizes" positivist approaches to gender, which crystallizes only quantitatively and experimentally, and not metaphysically "Gender as a social construct, conceptually different from the "biological" division into feminine and masculine, has also been challenged by postmodernist theory" (Oakley, 1998). Now we need to rehabilitate gender issues as a subject of scientific research. It also stands for emancipation as a woman's discourse about the "liberation" of women from any discrimination.

Relevant for our study are works in which there are a correlation between feminism, postmodernism and geography (literally or figuratively). Political dialogue between feminism and postmodernism can be complete only in a geopolitical context or at least a situation. It is therefore important to study "the often hidden tensions that underlie the links between geography, postmodernism and feminism, and highlight the key issues on the border between critical human geography and feminist deconstruction" (Bondi & Domosh, 1992).

Critical racial theory also correlates with gender issues in postmodernism, as it consists of an array of partial ideologies, including women's freedom. K. Schneider argues that there is a constructive connection between critical racial theory and the theory of postmodernism. His study hypothetically will successfully solve the problems of social reconstruction of race, class and gender (Schneider, 2004).

Interesting are the studies that believe that the two main postmodern movements, constructivism and reconstruction, can be applied to the study

of sex psychology. Researchers point out: "Examining gender theories from a constructivist point of view, we note that the main significance of gender in psychology was difference. The exaggeration of differences, which we call alpha bias, can be seen in approaches that focus on the contrasting experiences of men and women. Minimization of differences, beta bias, can be seen in approaches that emphasize the similarity or equality of men and women" (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988). Thus reconstruction allows to reveal earlier hidden gender cultural and social senses and at the same time to go beyond a design.

There are a number of studies that discuss existing ones and offer alternative views on gender in the context of postmodern discourse. Thus, Barrett and Strauss (1989) discuss with Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1989) on the impossibility of applying the hermeneutic approach and propose to put psychoanalytic theory at the center of feminist research (Barratt & Straus, 1989). Counter-arguments in their own discussions are offered by Hare-Mustin and Marecek (1989). This testifies to the fundamental openness of the methodology of gender research in the context of postmodernism.

At the turn of the millennium, a number of studies of gender appear directly in the Islamic environment (Hatem, 2002; Maumoon, 1999). Thus, our article is directly related to research that examines the non-participation of women in the economic development of the Middle East and North Africa, because the participation of women would contribute to the entry of such countries to a new economic level. Among the reasons are the religious factor, family and patriarchal values and "Muslim veil", which still allows women to participate in public life "while maintaining their reputation in the community" (Tausch & Heshmati, 2016).

We can conclude that "incomplete feminism", "Muslim veil", alpha-oriented society are still not destructive phenomena, but forms of specific integration of individual societies and countries in the globalized postmodern world.

2. Principles and source base for the study of gender relations in Tunisia

Numerous Soviet literature on the history of the Arab world contains stories on some aspects of the situation of women in Tunisian society. We are talking about the works of such authors as: Gusarov (1974), Levin (1989) Vagabov (1994). Based on the conceptual basis of Soviet historiography, these authors negatively assessed the role of Islam in women's issues, paid considerable attention to the involvement of Tunisian women in social production, and linked the prospects for further

emancipation of women with the development of secular modernization. The content of Russian research on women's emancipation in Tunisia since the 1990s has been largely driven by the spread of a gender approach. These are articles by Pavlutska (2003). The author pays attention to the policy of the Tunisian government in the field of legal status of women and women's education, determining the further process of emancipation by the formation of a democratic system of the European model.

In the 1950's and 1960's, Western historiography of Tunisian history was mainly represented by works by French authors. The first works on the history of women in Tunisia belong to Demirsman and Monteti (1958) which were written in the context of cultural colonialism. A significant influence on the study of the situation of women, including in Tunisia, had a feminist ideology, in which Islam was considered the most sexist religion. In the 1960s and 1980s, the situation of women in Tunisia was mainly reflected in general works on the modernization of the Arab world. First of all, it should be noted the research of Anderson (1987), Moore (1982), Stone (1975). From the second half of the 80's of the twentieth century, most of the research on both the history of modernization and Tunisia's gender issues is published in the United States. The first of them - articles by Larson (1984) analyze the evolution of the status of women in the Tunisian village and changes in the nature of family relations. A significant role in overcoming the Eurocentric interpretation of the modernization of Tunisian society, including its gender aspect, was played by representatives of Islamic countries that received US citizenship: Ahmed (2002), Afkhami (1997). The general level of development of historical science has allowed some Western researchers to reconsider the traditional assessments of colonial historiography on the history of Tunisian society, to recognize the need to study the socio-cultural specifics of gender relations.

Representatives of Arab historical science Asharif (1989), Saadat (2002), in their works on the problems of the Arab world of the twentieth century, pay considerable attention to the problems of modernization of Tunisian society and the role of the women's movement in this process. They are supporters of the idea of the socio-cultural determinant of the political development of Arab communities, including Tunisia. The problems of modernization, as well as the problems of gender equality, are not considered by them in the context of the universalization of the Western experience.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, works on the women's movement and gender issues in Tunisian society were published in Tunisia. Their authors — Bakalti 1996), Goodden (2001), Marzuki (1993) - are representatives of

official historiography, which are characterized by the idealization of the policy of the ruling party. A critical analysis of the solution of women's problems in the Republic of Tunisia under the authoritarian regime of Ben Ali is contained in the works of representatives of the Islamic opposition (Hamdi, 2000).

The history of Arab countries, in particular Tunisia, has been the subject of research by Gura (1982). The publications of Ihoshina (2010), Zinko (2009), Zubarenko (2009), devoted to some gender issues in the Islamic world, appeared in the national historiography.

Most of the works that address this issue are devoted to either specific issues or specific historical periods in the history of Tunisia. With such an abbreviated approach, the essential nature of gender processes in Tunisian society is often explained by superficial reasons, which are essentially a historical consequence of long processes that have taken place in Tunisian society.

The first group of sources includes official documents of the authorities of the Tunisian state, which allow to trace the principles of gender policy. These are, first of all, the Constitution of the Republic of Tunisia, the Code of Personal Status, the Criminal and Criminal Code, the Labor Code, as well as further additions and changes to these documents, which are necessary to create the fullest picture of the gender aspect of Tunisian society.

The second group of sources consists of speeches and speeches by officials of the ruling party and the government. First of all, these are speeches and memoirs of the presidents of Tunisia Bourguiba (1984) and Ben Ali (1987).

The third group of sources consists of UN documents on women's rights and gender policy, which have been ratified by the Tunisian government.

The fourth group of sources includes documents of women's NGOs and parties in Tunisia, as well as speeches by their leaders. These are: speeches of the head of the first women's organization - the "Muslim Union of Tunisian Women"; statute and speeches of the leaders of the pro-presidential party of the National Union of Tunisian Women (NUTW) (Mzali, 2010); speeches by the wife of former Tunisian President Ben Ali (1987). As well as sources that reflect the activities of opposition parties and the positions of their leaders on the gender issue. A separate source is the Koran.

3. Gender dimension of the initial period of modernization of Tunisian society

The process of the initial period of modernization of Tunisian society, as well as its gender aspect, thanks to the efforts of the ruling elite, began before the establishment of the colonial regime. However, the reforms did not affect the status of families and women. In the context of the existing Islamic tradition, the degree of women's involvement in the social and industrial spheres was determined by social differentiation.

After the establishment of the French protectorate, actively using the administrative apparatus, encouraging the growth of non-Muslims, the French pursued a policy of cultural colonialism, which led to the formation of the ideological and political reality of Tunisia in two directions. Representatives of the first direction continued the traditions of pre-colonial reformism, substantiating the idea of self-sufficiency of Islam. Representatives of the second, without denying the cultural significance of Islam, considered the prospects of modernization with the acquisition of European experience. The process of confrontation and demarcation of these two directions falls on the first quarter of the twentieth century. The status of the family and the woman in the conditions of modernization was the subject of lively discussions. Representatives of Islamic modernism argued that reformed Islam was becoming an ideological pillar of social development, including the liberation of women, the main role in which belonged to education. The most radical of them questioned the principle of using the hijab as a purely Islamic tradition. Without denying the traditions of Islam, they advocated the assimilation of the achievements of European culture and science. The ideal of the new Tunisian woman was to become a synthesis of Islamic and Western cultures.

In the early 1930s, a fierce ideological struggle unfolded over the women's issue in Tunisia. Most of the Tunisian intellectual elite was of the unanimous opinion that women's education is a necessary condition for the modernization of society. However, some advocated its purely Islamic character, others did not deny the need for a secular (French) character.

Women's issue in the national liberation movement in Tunisia. As early as the 1920s, new social forces, primarily the national intelligentsia and the local Tunisian bourgeoisie, as well as the political elite, entered the public arena and caused significant transformations in the socio-political and cultural life of the country. The further process of socialization of Tunisian women manifested itself in the creation in the 1930s of women's UMWTs ("Muslim Ladies Foundation", "Union of Muslim Women of Tunisia"). The members

of such organizations, as a rule, were representatives of the educated and wealthy elite of Tunisian society, whose activities were initially charitable. Westernized Tunisian women educated in France usually promoted their own feminist ideas. However, their activities caused a sharp rejection, even among representatives of Islamic modernists. Until the second half of the 1950s, it was not the struggle for emancipation but the participation in the national liberation movement that was the dominant factor in the social actualization of some Tunisian women.

4. Gender factors in the modernization of postcolonial Tunisian society

The problem of women's emancipation in the context of the formation and development of the Republic of Tunisia in the socio-political and political-legal aspects is considered.

Political and legal aspects of the formation and development of the Republic of Tunisia and the problem of women's emancipation. The role of the first president of independent Tunisia, the leader of the Neo-Dustur party Habib Bourguiba, in the gender aspect of the modernization of Tunisian society is analyzed. From the very beginning of his reign, he paid much attention to international legal human rights standards, deeming the oppressed position of Tunisian women unacceptable. The Code of Personal Status, adopted immediately after the proclamation of independence in 1956, enshrined the equal status of Tunisian women at the legislative level. Tunisia is virtually the only country in the Arab world where Article 18 of the Code prohibits polygamy. According to the law, a woman had all the civil and political rights. The role of the state proved to be fundamental for solving women's family problems as well. Women were given the right to vote and to be elected alongside men. The right to equal pay was also proclaimed. The doors of schools opened before the woman, she was equal to the man in the right to education. In the early 1960s, Tunisia adopted a family planning program that made it possible to limit the number of children in a family. This policy was due to the peculiarities of the modernization of Tunisian statehood, focused on the secular nature of power, where the influence of tradition was less than in neighboring, more conservative countries. The codification of family law was the first step towards the emancipation of women.

Socio-political development of Tunisian society in the context of gender relations. This characterizes the activities of the National Union of Tunisian Women, founded in 1956. This single women's organization (until the 1980s) had a variety of activities, among which the priority was women's education.

The female population managed to play an important role in modernizing the country. The attempt to liberalize the women's movement took place in Tunisia in two stages against the background of economic crises: from the late 1970s to 1983, and from November 1987 to 1989.

It should be noted that the authoritarian style of leadership of H. Bourguiba, as well as the one-party system and the attempt to implement the doctrine of "Tunisian concretization of general principles of socialism" led to the crisis of Tunisian society and the spontaneous emergence of illegal women's organizations during the 1970s. balance "between the involvement of women in economic life and the harmonization of family relations. The members of these organizations believed that the existing only women's organization, the NUTW, did not pay attention to the real problems of women, as it was under the influence of official circles. These organizations had a pronounced leftist character and the government began an active struggle against them. However, their impact on the state of the social sphere was minimal. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, under the Islamic boom, part of the female population came under the influence of various Islamic organizations that were repressed by the state. Despite this, this period was characterized by a significant revival of Islamic gender stereotypes in socio-political life.

5. The gender component of modernization during Ben Ali's presidency

The political and legal bases and socio-political evolution of Tunisian society in the gender aspect during the reign of the second president of Tunisia are analyzed.

Political and legal bases of gender development of Tunisian society during the reign of Ben Ali. The coming to power of the second president was marked by the declaration of democratic reforms: it is, first of all, the introduction of a multiparty system in 1988, as well as the expansion of women's rights through amendments to the Law on Personal Status. The presence of opposition parties created an opportunity for some women to participate in political life outside the context of the ruling party. The ruling Democratic Constitutional Union increased the number of women in its ranks through quotas. In addition, a number of new government agencies were formed to implement various areas of gender policy: the Center for Research, Documentation and Information on Women's Issues; National Commission for Women's Development; State Secretariat under the Prime Minister for Women. This has led to an increase in the share of women in the administrative apparatus.

Noting the increasing participation of women in party, state and public structures, it should be emphasized that this policy was largely due to the desire to establish control over the women's movement, to enlist the support of the female part of the electorate. In addition, she created a positive image of Ben Ali in the international arena.

6. Gender aspect of socio-political evolution of Tunisian society

The activities of the pro-government NUTW, which was still controlled by the authorities, as well as the activities of newly established women's NGOs: the Association of Tunisian Mothers, the Association of Tunisian Women in Research and Development, the Association for Development of Women's Projects in Economy and others. Government control over these women's organizations and their focus largely on the urban environment made them relatively weak.

The socio-political situation in the late 1980s and 1990s in Tunisia was largely determined by the influence of Islamic modernism. At the same time, the cornerstone of Ben Ali's policy was the fight against the Islamic opposition, which in modern socio-political thought is regarded as Islamic Democrats. Repression against the Islamic opposition has led to protests by women in the hijab, despite government bans. Under repression, the movement of Islamic feminism could not be organized. The situation was not the best for secular feminism. In 1989, a small Tunisian Association of Women Democrats was formed, which brought together members of the intellectual elite who declared the slogans of secular feminism. This organization did not find adequate support among the masses and was ignored by the government. It should be recognized that with the expansion of women's rights *de jure* and the process of increasing the number of women in administrative and political structures, state control not only did not weaken, but actually strengthened.

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7. Historical periods of the women's movement in Tunisia

Scientific novelty of the obtained results:

- The study is the first comprehensive study in historiography of gender aspects of the modernization of Tunisian society since the beginning of this modernization in 1900 in the twentieth century. to the beginning of the XXI century;
- for the first time the periodization of the women's movement in Tunisia in the period of modern history is presented and substantiated;
- analyzed the history of the impact of political and legal reforms of the Tunisian government on changing the gender situation in society;
- reflects the specifics of gender ideas and practices of Tunisian society in historical retrospect.

Found further development:

- determining the degree of influence of the French colonial regime on the modernization of Tunisian society in a gender context;
- analysis of the specifics of gender relations in Islamic society.

The materials of our research can be used in the development of the course "Recent History of Asia and Africa", special courses on gender history and the history of Arab countries, in textbooks on local lore.

Analysis of the historiography of the problem allows us to conclude that the research problem has not found comprehensive coverage in the historical literature. The identified set of sources and used scientific literature makes it possible to fairly objectively reflect the gender aspect of the modernization of Tunisian society.

A study of the development of Tunisian society during the French protectorate reveals that under the outer shell of "Westernization" or "Frenchization" in this society preserved age-old traditions, including

gender. Within the framework of the essential unified national socioculture, there was a struggle between certain elements of ideological trends, but the "civilizing" mission of the colonizers was opposed by the modernization tendency, which formed a stable and reproducible set of intellectual and political values. It is these values that have become the ideological preconditions that have decisively influenced the modernization processes of Tunisian society in general and the gender aspect in particular. In the context of these values, the Tunisian woman was perceived as a carrier of traditional national culture. In the political sphere, this was associated with the social actualization of women, exclusively their participation in the struggle for national sovereignty.

Analysis of sources and literature allows us to represent the following periodization of the history of the women's movement in Tunisia:

The initial stage (late 1920's - 1956) - the formation of the women's movement in Tunisia, which took place in the French protectorate. In the late 1920's, the first emancipated women from aristocratic families to receive a European education appeared. Socio-psychological basis of their gender behavior was cultural marginality. Another part of European educated women, while maintaining the Islamic mentality, directed their vector of social activity to the sphere of education and charity. The first women's charity, the Lady of Muslims, was founded in 1932. In the context of the growing national liberation struggle, the process of politicization of the educated part of the female population of Tunisia intensified, leading to the creation in 1936 of the Muslim Union of Tunisian Women. Since then, the process of involving Tunisian women in the national liberation struggle has begun. Thus, during the formation of the women's movement in Tunisia, women's issues did not dominate.

The second stage (1956 - 1966) - organizational design of the women's movement and the struggle for women's rights. The specifics of the development of the women's movement in this period is associated with the establishment of a one-party regime and the practical merger of party and state. This political model, accordingly, gave birth to a paternalistic type of state policy towards women, in the context of which a single public organization was formed - the National Union of Tunisian Women. During this period, the NUTW operated under the slogan "Women's Empowerment", but only within the limits allowed by the ruling party. Thus, in the first decade of H. Bourguiba's rule, the women's movement existed only within the control and support of the ruling party and did not have an independent character.

The third stage (1966-1988) was the emergence of a women's opposition movement, both secular and Islamic, against the ruling party. The beginning of this period is due to the emergence of the student movement, which had a leftist character. The few women's organizations created in the context of this movement were influenced by leftist ideas and Western feminism. In the late 1970s, the "Islamic boom" began in the Arab world, and dissatisfaction with some aspects of emancipation, which was largely caused by Western pop culture, gradually grew in Tunisian society. During this period, various Islamic organizations emerged, in the activities of which a significant number of women were involved. There were some differences between the ruling party and the leadership of the NUTW, which in the early 1970s was prone to liberal opposition.

The fourth stage (1988 - 2002) - the period of organizational design of the opposition women's movement. The initial facet of this period is due to the adoption in 1988 of the National Pact, which declared a course for democratization of the socio-political system. During this period, a number of women's associations were created under the auspices of the government. The exception is the de facto independent Tunisian Association of Women Democrats. The members of this association were the bearers of the idea of secular feminism and the gender principles that were inherent in European society and the global trend of gender development. Ben Ali has significantly strengthened the position of the traditionally ruling elite in the country, which in fact also included representatives of the NSTJ, as they held administrative positions in the newly created state structures that determined gender policy. Since the early 1990s, the NUTW has effectively come under the control of Tunisian President Leila Ben Ali's wife. The main activity of the NUTW is pro-presidential propaganda. Thus, the organizational design of the opposition women's movement in the country was accompanied by the strengthening of the position of the NUTW as the most important tool of the authoritarian regime of Ben Ali.

Analysis of the political and legal basis of gender policy in the Republic of Tunisia in their historical retrospect allows us to conclude that de jure equality of the sexes was recognized, a legislative system was established that establishes equal rights for men and women in all spheres of public life and family relations. . This system was focused on creating conditions for Tunisian women to combine reproductive, production and family roles. Benefits, benefits, leave in connection with the birth of children and their care were introduced. Thus, the paternalistic type of state policy towards women was legally implemented.

The first decade of Bourguiba's (1984) rule and the implementation of large-scale reforms aimed at modernizing Tunisian society, including gender relations, created conditions both for the further process of women's emancipation and for changes in gender perceptions in Tunisian society. In general, this decade can be considered very positive in the development of gender relations. At the same time, the process of strengthening the authoritarian power of Bourguiba (1984) took place, which led in the 1960s and 1970s to a number of political crises and the formation of opposition movements in which women also took an active part. As pro-Islamic sentiment grew, official propaganda aimed at women's equality became largely cautious, and the campaign against traditional Muslim customs was effectively halted. The last decade of Bourguiba's (1984) rule is characterized by the lack of capacity in the regime of sole power to create a national consensus that would unite the various active social forces. A large part of the female population came under the influence of various Islamic organizations, which were repressed by the state. Despite this, this period was marked by a significant revival of Islamic gender stereotypes.

Determining the nature and extent of the influence of President Ben Ali's (1987) policy on the gender dimension of the modernization of Tunisian society, it should be emphasized that in the first years of his rule paternalistic policies towards women were successfully combined with the so-called "managed democracy" of Ben Ali's (1987) rule. However, already in the early 1990s, under the pretext of the Islamist threat, an authoritarian regime was established in Tunisia, in the context of which, on the one hand, there was a process of creating pro-government women's organizations and relevant state structures in the administrative apparatus. according to representatives of the opposition women's movement. Formal equality of women in the absence of real political freedoms, contributed not so much to the social equality of the sexes, as to creating a positive image of the country's president in the face of the world community. Since the 1990s, a complementary form of patriarchal organization of the gender system of Tunisian society has existed in the context of a de facto authoritarian regime.

8. Conclusions

Gender perceptions, as well as the model of gender behavior in Tunisian society in the early twentieth century, were determined by traditional Islam, which advocated a hierarchical structure between mind and body, bey and subject, master and slave, and finally man and woman. The status of a woman was clearly determined by the functions of wife and mother, the family was based on a patriarchal hierarchy. At the same time,

the policy of cultural imperialism of the French government led to the spread among the upper strata of Tunisian society the idea of Western feminism, which influenced some leaders of the Tunisian national liberation movement. More significant influence on the evolution of gender ideas in the 20-40s of the twentieth century. had Islamic reformers who, in the context of the need for socio-political transformation in the country, focused on solving the problems of women's education and the participation of women in socio-political life. Their activities led to the fact that by the time of the declaration of independence of Tunisia, much of Tunisian society was aware of the need for women's education. After the proclamation of Tunisia's independence, a legal basis was laid for the emancipation of women, which affected the distribution of gender public roles and, consequently, gender perceptions. The processes of modernization that unfolded in the 1960s and 1970s contributed to the formation, especially in the youth urban environment, of new value orientations related to the European gender model of behavior, which was promoted by students (recall that French universities were dominated by French). language). However, the bearers of these gender ideas were, in fact, cultural marginals, as for the majority of the population European values remained unattainable, as involvement in them required not only education but also appropriate social skills, lifestyle. Therefore, the new gender ideas have not supplanted the old values, and we can only recognize the evolution from unambiguity to ambivalence. This thesis confirms the strengthening of the position of Islamists in Tunisian society since the second half of the 1970s with their criticism of state policy of family planning, Western moral values in general, and sexual behavior in particular. Much of Tunisian society has been critical of Western standards of sexual behavior, which they see as a threat to family principles. In the early twentieth century. Gender perceptions as an integral part of the value orientations of Tunisian society were conditioned by the influence on public opinion of the new intellectual elite, the opposition to the Ben Ali regime, and were the bearer of the idea of Islamic democracy. It was Islamic democracy that was presented as the guarantor of the real emancipation of women, provided that she retained the primary status of wife and mother. This principle, due to the socio-cultural traditions of Tunisian society, was in fact basic in gender perceptions and for this period. Biographies of the leaders of the Tunisian movement show that their social self-realization was usually directly ensured by the status of the wife of a politician.

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