PAPER I

Women’s Roles in Preventing Violent Extremism in Tunisia

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1. INTRODUCTION

This policy brief seeks to better understand and illustrate why and how women in Tunisia participate in preventing violent extremism (PVE) as well as what will allow us to objectively rethink the notions of women, peace, security (WPS) and violent extremism (VE). It will also provide an analytical grid of the institutional and legal factors at both a socio-cultural and local level that hinder or promote countering and preventing violent extremism in Tunisia and how women are engaged in this phenomenon.

2. SYNTHESIS OF THE STATUS OF THE ROLES OF WOMEN IN THE PVE IN TUNISIA

We will attempt to analyse the role of women in violent extremism in Tunisia. The axes of an overall strategic action of PVE involving governmental and non-governmental institutions specific to each region will be determined. We will provide a synthesis of women’s positions in PVE in Tunisia considering both governmental and non-governmental actions. The final part of the paper outlines good practices in Tunisia on gender and PVE. These have included the Congress of Tunisian Intellectuals Against Terrorism, the Civil Society Support Program, the International Institute for Human Development and aspects of the Tunisian National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security. As a result, first, intellectual debate on issues of gender and extremism ought to be encouraged in civil society in a context of political transition in Tunisia and in a delicate and fragile socio-economic situation. Second, gender-based approaches should be encouraged in civil society responses to PVE. These should increase women’s participation in training sessions. Funding and financial resources allocated to the prevention of violent extremism need to be adequate and consistent. Third, good practices are present in the preventing and countering violent extremism responses outlined in the Tunisian National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security, but again, budgeting and funding is crucial, as is taking a gender-sensitive approach to security sector reform. This paper will firstly take stock of the positive outcomes of fighting violent extremism in Tunisia thus far. It will also shed light on the role women have played in these actions, via forms and fact sheets documenting practices which have met the criteria outlined in this paper. We must recognise that there are good practices for preventing and combating violent extremism and these are useful at an international level. However, this research primarily considers Tunisia, the relevant experiments in this field as well as collect evidence to support recommended practices. We will occasionally refer to actions taken in other countries in order to understand different experiments and practices. By doing so, we should be able to construct methods and strategies that can be considered good practices, with concern, inter alia, the participation of women in the fight against extremism and approach the theme of violent extremism and gender, this will however be a long and complicated process.

This paper is part of a follow-up to serval campaigns promoting advocacy put in place to develop appropriate public policies on the issues of terrorism and extremism. This also creates a framework for the few experiments and practices stemming from initiatives taken by women or those committed to a gender-based approach. This emphasizes the need to give women positions of power, both in decision-making centres and in field work on the issue of combating extremism. Although Tunisia is recognised by some as a strong and organised nation, these practices are relatively new developments and remain uncommon. In fact, Tunisian organisations have a notable background in the human rights field, particularly regarding initiatives defending civil and political rights, women’s
rights, election monitoring, as well as constituent and parliamentary legislative action. This was all achieved in stages, human civil and political rights were addressed prior to 2011. It was only later on that elections and the legislative council began to be monitored. However, the experiments and initiatives launched by the Tunisian government to confront extremism are still new and have yet to be thoroughly trialled and tested. Therefore, it is necessary to monitor certain embryonic initiatives which may lack certain methodological conditions, a key criterion to gain the status of a good practice according to the standards and criteria we have developed.

3. WOMEN’S ROLES IN VIOLENT EXTREMISM: CAUSES OF WOMEN’S RADICALISATION

To contextualise roles of women in PVE, it must also be noted that women have been involved in violent extremism in Tunisia. The growth of radicalisation in Tunisia has not been closely surveyed until recently, however it has been ubiquitous for the past 30 years. The 1980’s saw a rise of religious sentiment and religion, the creation of satellite television channels followed shortly after in the 1990’s increased religiosity in connection with the diffusion of religious propaganda. Certain media channels broadcasting male and female preachers offering and promoting several types of programmes to both sexes. Some channels focus solely on women, proposing that they review whether their practices are in accordance with a rigorist reading of their religion. This recent wave of ideological discussion and debate has inspired its fair share of radicalisation, creating a forum for violent extremism to source its theoretical foundation.

Radicalisation is a phenomenon which has grown in recent years at both a global level as well as in the francophone community, both men and women are being increasingly affected by violent extremism.¹ This paper deconstructs the concept of radicalisation, analysing and developing a typology of radicalisation which could help us find pathways to counter this phenomenon.

We shall begin our analysis with a definition of human security, a fundamental right and its link with our current societies growing vulnerability when it comes to ensuring the safety of citizens in a global context where everyone is exposed to terrorism.

The definition of human security is different from that of traditional security, which aims to protect borders, people, institutions, property and the wellbeing of the state. Human security aims to protect not only individuals and societies, but to give them the means and ability to be involved in security solutions. Citizens are helping contribute the identification and implementation of some solutions to emerging security issues, for example, religion, intolerance, failing leadership, cultural policies, and media. These will be outlined in more detail below.

There are certain socio-economic factors which may be related to the causes of radicalisation such as age, sex and geography/region: whether that be urban/rural or dependant on their socio-professional category or education status. Other factors are also important, such as familial or geographical relationships, which may play a very important role. Radicalisation is often spread within the same family or neighbourhood which increases risks for more vulnerable targets. There have been cases of mother-daughter and father-daughter pairs in extremist groups. The idea of a “perfect man” or a “jihadist” prince charming has also been known to attract young women.

Radicalisation and religion

We shall begin this presentation by considering the radicalisation of young men and women by referring to a study conducted by the National Youth Observatory (ONJ).² This organisation conducted a survey of 1,200 respondents on the topic of religion and freedom of speech in Tunisia, this study took place all over the country. Over 5% of those surveyed think that Salafism/jihadist ideology is “acceptable” or “very acceptable”³ and 23% that it is “almost acceptable.” ⁴ 47% think that it is “not at all acceptable” and 70% think that it is “not acceptable,” meaning that roughly 30% of the population have no problem with the violent activity taking place in their country which is quite concerning (April 2016).

Intolerance

Those conducting the experiment asked the 1,200 surveyed what they thought of a mystical school of Islam. 32.6% of the said they do not find Sufism to be an acceptable, stable structure of thought. 12.6% responded that the Sufi doctrine was “not acceptable at all.”⁴ This reveals that many favour a Hanbalite and Salafist point of view, an ideology which positions itself against the mystical current in Islam.⁵ Which conveys that Hanbalism has flourished in Tunisia under the influence of satellite channels, although Tunisia is officially a Malikite nation. It is plausible that a minority of people express intolerance towards religious minorities, a significant number are religiously tolerant and form a good basis on which to build PVE programming.

Rejecting globalisation, democracy and secularism

In this report we shall address the relationship between religion and freedom of thought in Tunisian, a troubling question for many. The exacerbation of violent extremism and the intensification of terrorist acts committed by groups claiming to predate and dominate Islam have resulted in the multiplication of certain explanatory variables and therefore have been a catalyst for violent extremism.

This is partly due to the fact that the values of freedom and democracy are becoming less and less attractive to young people in the Arab world and internationally. According to the ONJ’s findings not all young people in the Arab world and globally have sympathy for Salafist ideas. According to the survey only 30% of the young people interviewed provided a positive response to Salafism. Monika Marks illustrates this point in one of her articles.⁶

Globalisation is not favoured by all; this brings us to the question of ‘outcasts’ not only in the Arab world but in any system, those who are not included and must explore other ventures. We must rethink how young people represent democracy and freedom in certain Muslim communities; this affects both the north and the south, men and women alike.⁷ Therefore we must ‘re-brand’ and ‘re-market’ to fit new trends.

³ Rapport sur l’état de la religion et la liberté de conscience en Tunisie, p.32.
⁴ Rapport sur l’état de la religion et la liberté de conscience en Tunisie, p.31.
⁵ Hanbalism: https://ifpo.hypotheses.org/tag/hanbalisme
Failing religious leadership

The global community is affected by and involved in many issues; this calls for reflection. For example, in the francophone community and many other countries secularism is a legal matter and considered a constitutional principle.

According to some scholars, there is an increasing Islamification of modernity. Thus, the principle issue at hand here, is the modernisation of Islam. Islamic beliefs are based on tradition, on the prophet speaking of a sectarian group that would be saved and promised paradise among 70 Muslim groups.

Therefore, it will be essential to rethink several themes, including Islam and freedom, as opposed to Islam and democracy, a theme that has surfaced recently. Thus Islam will have to completely reinvent itself for the contemporary world. This cannot be achieved in the absence of a religious leader; a lack of leadership will fail to provide answers that the younger community seeks. At least once a year several associations, academies and Muslim scholars meet to discuss current issues, so far, they seem unable to overcome the gaps between them and the young Muslim population.8 This is the case in both the North and South of Tunisia.

Violence against women

Here we shall recount evidence of ‘imams justifying potential violence against women’9. This will have an implication on potential interplay between demands for violence against women made during certain religious discourse and ideological radicalisation leading to the rejection of a modern society, this includes the emancipation of women. Arguments against the emancipation of women have become a regular part of preachers’ discourse who tend to create an amalgam between certain societies self-indulgence, moral decay and women’s freedom. It is plausible that people who wish to exercise violence against women feel some justification in radical preaching and this spurs them to join violent extremist groups.

Real life socialisation spaces for radicalised women

Charitable associations are known to have wrongly endorsed organisations related to Hadiths or the Quran and so on, accounts of this have been noted in religious courses offered in private, in institutions such as ‘koranic’ schools, mosques, during funeral ceremonies and even in the ablution or cleansing of the dead.

Education, media and culture

The failure of cultural and educational policies in Arab-Muslim countries contributes to the success of extremist theories. Along with the invention of social media networks we are witnessing a democratisation of a mediocre culture that has had a contaminative and regressive effect among Muslim communities in Europe and elsewhere. Political and religious leadership’s failure to create alternative and positive role models for the younger generation has fuelled a new wave of radicalised preachers; some of which have been seen on satellite channels since the 1990s and 2000s on the Internet, in particular on widely accessible social networks.

There have been instances of violent extremists and recruiters on open ‘chats’ between members on video games such as Grand Theft Auto, Assassin Creed, Call of Duty and other online games. It has been recognized in different contexts that some of

the groups use gender messaging in social media and networks to target women specifically, something that could be researched further in Tunisia.

**Radicalisers and the radicalised**

The vision of certain religious fanatics creates an ideological matrix which feeds violent extremism, this means that certain groups, especially young women, are targeted and thus commit acts of violent extremism. In these cases, they believe they are ‘saving’ or ‘purifying’ Islam, protecting it from an ‘ultra-light’ version of the religion so that it may remain uninhibited by the questions of modernity. The recruitment or process of radicalisation is not only dependant on mental vulnerability but also an economic vulnerability for some radicalised women.

**Financial incentives**

Large sums of money or economic incentives were reportedly offered to some women for certain actions. For instance, some claim they received transfers from Western Union as payment for having worn the niqab in 2012 and 2013.

**Jihadi and takfiri streams: between religion and ideology**

There are hundreds of young people who have been trapped by takfiri groups. Takfir is an ideology which consists of accusing people who have different beliefs or interpretations of religion of apostasy. There are reportedly 150 to 900 radicalised women, 150 of which have been sent conflict zones joining the 3% of terrorists already on the field. It is essential to understand the ideological matrix from which Takfirtes Jihadism draws its methods and teachings.

4. **PREVENTING AND COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN TUNISIA: GOOD PRACTICE AND CASE STUDIES**

**Legal frameworks and P/CVE**

P/CVE programs occur in a context where attempts have been made at the national level to counter terrorism and violent extremism. The ratification of a fundamental law in the fight against terrorism became law on August 7, 2015, after considerable debate. The law entails the creation of the National Committee to Fight Terrorism, under the aegis of the government, and the judicial anti-terrorist organization that brings together representatives of relevant ministries, in addition to judges. Hundreds of cases have been submitted to this division. In terms of gender, a representative of the Ministry of Women and other related ministries sits on the National Counter-Terrorism Commission, P/CVE efforts have begun, a new chairman have been appointed to the commission in the second half of 2018.

There is a clear distinction between traditional gender issues and sex, security, terrorism, gender and P/CVE issues. As yet, there have been no examination of how P/CVE programs may interact with Law No. 2017-58 from August 11, 2017, on the elimination of violence against women. Further studies should examine the possible links or lack thereof between these two issues, based on practical cases.

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13 Youssef and Mighri, “Women’s Groups Take on Radicalization in Tunisia.”
**Good practice**

In 2017, the Centre for Arab Women, Training and Research outlined good practices in terms of women’s inclusion in the prevention of violent extremism. These included:

*Achieving Good Results*

P/CVE programs ought to have a clear theory of change. Ideally, programs should be thought of strategically, and aim to be the most effective means of achieving a specific objective. Assessment of results should aim to gauge whether the program has had a positive impact on individuals and/or groups.

*Innovation*

P/CVE programs ought to be innovative and resilient in a specific field.

*Sustainability*

P/CVE programs need to have a positive and tangible impact, by improving the living conditions of citizens in general or of a given societal category.

*Gender equality*

P/CVE programs must underline the fact that the parties concerned, that women involved in this process, have been able to improve their living conditions and power relative to men.

*Viability and feasibility*

P/CVE programs must be adapted to local conditions, have potential for improvement and evolution, and be easy to understand and implement. It must have tangible and measurable material and moral performance.

*Participation*

P/CVE programs ought to have strong participation credentials. Participation is fundamental for deciding whether a practice is of quality or not.

*Adaptability and Replicability*

“Good practices’ in P/CVE programs can be replicated and must therefore be adaptable in different contexts to meet comparable objectives to prevent and counter violent extremism.

**Case study:**
**Congress of Tunisian Intellectuals Against Terrorism**

Tunisian intellectuals have formed a collective to think through and protest aspects of extremist thought and practice. The slogan of the congress was: “The women and men of Tunisia are creating a new culture”. This was a moment for these intellectuals to express their views on the struggle against extremism, rather than keeping quiet as has been the case for many years.

Forty intellectuals (women and men) of cultural standing took the initiative to organise a congress. Participants included, for example: Raja Ben Slama, Zahia Jouirou, Ikbel el Gharbi, Kmar Ben Dana. The women participants in this event were activists of the human rights movement and feminist movement in Tunisia. Women were the most influential in the organisation of this event. Based on transcripts, the event marked a moment of bonding and contact established between the women participating in the action and the anti-terrorist brigades. The various security forces and local authorities have found that women are not afraid to approach supposedly dangerous mountains. So, one of the goals was to break down the wall of fear and raise the morale of members of the army, security forces and customs. It was thus possible to raise the morale of the inhabitants of Kasserine, both women and men, to instil patriotic spirit among the children of Mount Chaambi and to build a relationship of trust between these children and the representatives of security institutions.

The same group organized a demonstration with the slogan “Touche pas à ma Tunisie’ (Don’t touch my

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16 See http://bit.ly/2ll1U1v (in Arabic)
Tunisia). This involved the reading of wishes for the coming year at the foot of Chaambi Mountain on the 12th of August, just after the ratification of the law on terrorism. The intellectuals were accompanied by members of the national army, security forces and customs, as well as 250 children from schools in the villages of the region.

This experiment, despite its importance and original approach was not taken up by more formal institutions; it is nevertheless worthy of interest as a new form of civil action. It also occurred in a context of political transition in Tunisia and in a delicate and fragile socio-economic situation.

Results

• The publication of the declaration against terrorism.
• The organisation of a solidarity demonstration including the national army, security forces and customs, as well as 250 children from schools and villages local to Chaambi Mountain. Participants came from neighbouring villages most were men, however and female staff and school teachers from five different schools were also present.
• The agreement between the National Library, the International Book Fair and the Boulaba School intends to strengthen the school library with books for school children.
• Women’s participation and political empowerment.

Case study: Civil Society Support Program

After the events of Ben Guerdène on the 7th March 2016, the growing enrolment of young Tunisians in extremist networks, it was imperative that associations active in public affairs consider how to combat terrorism and extremism

One of these P/CVE initiatives was to make an Action (think) Tank. The civil society support program has adopted a participatory approach based on the needs of local civil society. It aimed to inspire good initiatives and practices, especially in border areas. The aim of this experiment was to strengthen the capacities of local associations interested in PVE. This initiative was supported by civil society support programmes in the Southeast governorates of Medenine and Tataouine, and which was later extended to the offices of Gafsa, Tozeur, Kef and Tunis, etc.

The events included discussion workshops, conferences and training courses. These sessions were intended to empower the beneficiary associations of the project and to launch initiatives and activities for the prevention of extremism. The network also aimed to ensure the criteria of best practices adopted in other countries was met in Tunisia.

Beneficiaries were asked to include women activists from the beginning of this project and despite the difficulty of mobilizing women, emphasis was put on the importance of including them in these workshops. Women’s participation was important and greatly contributed to the success of the workshops and the dissemination of content to the communities and beneficiaries of participating associations. Women are a fundamental part of the family dynamic and the education of children. Their awareness clearly helps protect Tunisian society against the risk of violent extremism.

Results

• After six training sessions, groups could develop strategies and how to act, in order to combat extremism and terrorism. This is based on an approach that emphasizes the understanding of local specificities and proposes precise solutions based on the micro-approach.
• Local associations have acquired the ability to combat the phenomenon of violent extremism and to control the processes of detecting signals beforehand, likely to save many targeted by youth
enlistment extremist networks.

- Emphasis has been placed on the need to take into account the gender-based approach and to give a broader scope to women’s participation in training sessions; this approach has been very successful particularly work of community and local resilience.  

It should be noted that the sustainability criteria linked to funding and financial resources allocated to the prevention of this phenomenon; funding can provide a great boost to interested associations.

This good practice has enhanced local aspects and common approaches to preventing violent extremism. The gender approach has been present in civil society who took part in these activities and should be highlighted in future by strengthening the network of women’s associations in the southern governorates of Tunisia.

**Case study:**

**Tunisian National League of Policewomen**

The primary objective of the Tunisian Policewomen’s League is to highlight the role of women in the armed forces. As part of this programme, the LNTFP seeks to establish partnerships in order to strengthen the capacity of policewomen by participating in training sessions and by collaborating with partners. Highlighting the role of policewomen through United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and through comparative experiments inspired by the National Action Plans of countries such as Finland and Jordan.

The effective participation of policewomen in the mitigation of extremism and the fight against terrorism, alongside men, highlights and promoted the image of female police officers who work in the field, assuming certain responsibilities in military and security institutions.

This initiative was launched in the context of political transition in Tunisia and in a delicate context where security forces and institutions had begun to regain a positive image; by highlighting all the achievements of all its components, including the female security element.

This P/CVE initiative took place in Greater Tunis, Sousse, Bizerte. It focussed on capacity building and participation in seminars and training sessions on safety topics. Training was delivered by relevant ministries (such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs), civil society organizations, regional and international organizations

**Results**

- Building a new relationship between women in security forces and civil society.
- Some “good practices” have recently emerged, including videos and press articles that value the role of women in peacekeeping and security
- This experience could be considered a good practice as it is an experience that is adaptable to other challenges and renewable in the pursuit of similar objectives. Thus, the creation of a regional coalition, combining the efforts of women and young people and by organising seminars that allow policymakers to receive recommendations and reviews.  

**Case study:** **International Institute for Human Development and the Tunisian National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security**

Since 2014, the International Institute for Human Development (IIHD) has been working on gender and security issues and P/CVE. A project promoting the role of women in the fight against extremism

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17 Rôle de la société civile dans la dé-radicalisation : Vers l’élaboration de plans d’actions régionaux, http://pasctunisie.org/2017/06/03/role-de-societe-civile-de-radicalisation-vers-lelaboration-de-plans-dactions-regionaux/

18 See http://bit.ly/2kMsM77 (in Arabic)
and raising awareness of UN Resolution 1325 was launched in October 2016 called Women 4 Peace and Security.

It aims to provide focused research on understanding extremism and ways to combat it while supporting national efforts against terrorism, and develop training programs to support minor associations to help prevent extremism. The work is also aligned with the promotion of international human rights standards, including Resolution 1325, which calls for women to be a part of efforts to ensure security and peace.

Resolution 1325, approved by the Security Council in October 2000, entitled “Women, Security and Peace” is seen as an integral part of implementing mechanisms to support women’s efforts to maintain peace and security. This resolution commits signatory states to take legal and financial measures and allocate human resources for its implementation. Tunisia has drawn up an action plan under Resolution 1325 in 2018.

Some challenges remain. The National Action Plan must coincide with a budget to create pragmatic and efficient mechanisms to implement the four pillars of the action plan, which actually reflect the pillars outlined by the United Nations. The issue of the inclusion of women in decision-making processes and P/CVE strategies needs to be strengthened. We note that the Vice-President of the National Commission to Combat Terrorism (NCCT) is a female judge, Ms. Neila Feki. In addition, the authors feel a greater inclusion of civil society and academics researching related issues (Islamologists, sociologists etc.) would strengthen the implementation of the National Action Plan.

Under this program, actions include, first, the campaign in February 2016 to sign the Citizens’ Charter for Security and Peace, which aimed to create support for the effective participation of Tunisian women in national efforts and to promote peace and security in Tunisia.

Second, since July 2014, the International Institute of Human Development has worked to carry out a study to understand the causes of extremism among young people and make recommendations to contain this phenomenon.

Third, in partnership with the Ministry of Women and the Office of the High Commissioner of the Human Rights, the Institute organized an international conference in February 2016 on the theme of Women, Peace and Security.

Fourth, the Institute has, in partnership with the Tunisian National Association of Policewomen, organized two training courses in Tunis and Sousse focused on the Women, Peace and Security agenda. This was attended by more than 100 women in the security. The Institute intends to continue the partnership with the National Association of Policewomen, with hopes to train an additional number of female police officers.

Finally, the Institute will also produce anti-extremist discourse through various media and testimonies and exemplary stories (Edifying Stories / Storytelling).

**Results**

In the wake of the Human Development Institute’s effort to focus on the role of women in achieving peace, the project “Women for Security and Peace” 2017 - 2019 W4PS was launched.

- Training of fifty women and fifty men, so that they are the ambassadors of peace in all the governorates of the Tunisian Republic. It will also launch a campaign in support of the “Citizens for Peace” Charter on the Internet. This charter aims to create a dynamic way to support the effective implementation of the project.

19 cf the Youtube channel for IIHD: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC_p6ii7ybzezMOCKxeXeIHQ
participation of Tunisian women in national and international efforts to promote peace and security in Tunisia.

• This experience could be seen as a good practice, in some aspects, and as a practice likely to be improved, more consolidation with the Ministries of Defence, the Interior, and Justice could be beneficial. This, however, requires more human and financial resources, for some others: it is an experience adaptable to other challenges and could be recreated in a different context achieving similar goals, such as supporting women’s role in the fight against extremism. Indeed, the training of local ambassadors, including and equal ratio of women and men, with an effective role in the fight against extremism, is this an approach that can be replicated and duplicated.

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