

# The Portrayal of Egyptian Women in TV and social media: Drama versus Reality

Dr. Inas A.Hamid El-Khoreiby

Faculty of Mass Communication -  
Ahram Canadian University

## Introduction

All over the world, women have similar conditions in terms of how institutional arrangements define their position in society, in which traditions, norms, culture, race, class, among several others; shape their roles in their societies (Anggadwita *et al.*, 2017). Despite historians consider the first wave of feminism started during the nineteenth century (Lewis, 2019), many studies argue that full equality still has not been achieved (AAUW, 2016). Studies in psychology support that gender inequality is one of the gender stereotypes consequences (Heilman, 2012), as it is responsible for women's situation unimprovement (Peus *et al.*, 2015) and self-limiting behavior (Heilman, 2001) especially in most African cultures where stereotyping of women is a bane to the growth of women's positions and owned enterprises (Anambane & Adome, 2018).

In 1995, Steele and Aronson developed their theory, the stereotype threat theory, in which they highlighted the effects of negative stereotypes on the motivation and performance of target stereotyped group(s) (Steel & Aronson, 1995). As a result of this theory development, Steel (1997) could prove that people tend to psychologically disengage in tasks that are associated negatively with their gender performance, as gender stereotype impacts sociocultural factors that are consisting of traditional practices and society's perceptions as well (Aman *et al.*, 2019). Surprisingly, Hentschel (2019) argues that women in general tended to characterize themselves in more stereotypic terms. For example, in Adom & Anmbane's study (2018), 50% of the respondents of Ghanaian women mentioned that they chose to work in specific sectors because they correspond with their limited capability, time, and efforts needed to their works.

For a long time, **media** has been accused of stereotyping women negatively, which resulted in framing negative portrayal of women that was reflected in the minds and formed a stereotyped image of her. The image of women in the media reflects a historical context of social injustice and discrimination, and that those who take leadership positions in the media are responsible for promoting this image (Faraj, 2020). Ward & Grower (2020) review media's contribution to the development of gender stereotypes in children and adolescents in USA between (2000-2020), the results of content analysis indicate some positive changes in women's image even the misrepresentation of femininity in mainstream media which lead to negative stereotype of women (Ward & Grower, 2020). Matos (2016) indicates a positive correlation between inequality in societies and gender representations in the media, moreover this misrepresentation now is the same they were 20 years ago. Distorted images of women even included stereotyping the relationship between men and women, drawing a picture of modern women that contribute to the development of the consumer society or the promotion of values that are not appropriate for them, promoting discrimination, whether on the basis of race, color, religion or gender, and moreover, the marginalization of many categories of women in media.

On the other hand, one can never deny that **cyber revolution** has opened up for women specially in the Arab world a new digital public sphere that allows them to express themselves more freely specially

those representing specific educational level and socio-economic level empowering them to access sphere. But are the problems of women they freely present on social media different from those presented through drama? Is women's reality on social media different from those inherited stereotypes that the media have been displaying?

The huge number of studies that concluded with the negative image of women in media lead few researchers and committees to suggest solutions, especially, with the fact that media stereotypes are a reason for cultivating a certain depiction that affect public opinion and action (Gill & Baker, 2021). For example, Van Es (2019) argues that women can change their stereotyped image by monitoring their own behavior, as in her study related to Muslim women in Dutch society, she concluded that Muslim women try to change the dominant image of Muslim through representing themselves as modern and emancipated. Furthermore, Olsson & Martiny (2018) indicate another way of changing stereotyped image by long-term exposure to counter-stereotypical role models (e.g., female in non-traditional work) that will impact their aspiration toward new roles that are different from those stereotyped ones. The Willis Commission in UK suggested improving the image needs to encourage improved dialogue with the media (Willis, 2012).

This paper contributes to the ongoing debate among researchers on media and its impact on women's image, stereotype, and empowerment in two ways:

**First:** a series of studies points to the responsibility of media in cultivating negative stereotype of women with a noticeable violence. Despite the findings of few studies indicate that the impact of drama may be limited but correlated with frequent media viewing (Ward & Grower, 2020), this study agrees with (Ali & Ayesha, 2015) about the vital role of TV drama in promoting specific images of women. Tartaglia & Rollero (2015) argue that women are often presented at home or in domestic environment than being in leadership positions and as Olsson & Martiny (2018) assured, brief exposure to stereotype image in both childhood and adulthood can change stereotypical beliefs about women. Moreover, Appel & Weber (2017) confirmed that negative stereotypes of women in media content impact them negatively and impose a stress on them that cannot be explained from a priming perspective. All above were reasons behind the study to

understanding how TV drama portrays women's issues, problems, and behaviors towards them in most watchable TV serials in Holly Ramadan month and if this portrayal is consistent with woman's reality, that she expresses herself through her posts on women's groups on social media.

**Second**, agreeing with Fingerhut & Abdou (2017) individuals who belong to stereotyped groups can fear either being judged or confirming the stereotypes, this study adopts both the stereotype threat theory and the social network empowerment approach. These approaches may help in defining negative presented stereotypical images in media that may impact women negatively and explaining the dangers these negative portrayal images on women ability to present their real problems or to perform behaviors that may contradict the established traditions and norms of society. As social media can help women to be in touch with one another for sharing ideas and concerns (Heuwagen, 2014), the current study investigates whether social media is empowering the Egyptian women or imposing more restrictions on her in expressing her reality.

### **Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

Media is considered the mirror of society. It reflects and impacts it. Portrayal Images shown on media are believed to be factual picturization by viewers. No doubt that negative stereotype of women impacts their achievements. The study will benefit from the stereotype threat theory and the social empowerment theory through social media as a theoretical frame of the study. Moreover, the study will review the literature that focused on the portrayal of women in drama and that may answer the study questions.

#### **1. Stereotype Threat Theory versus Social Empowerment Approach:**

Stereotype threat theory is a socio-psychological theory that pointed to the process in which negative stereotypes associated with individuals' identities lead them to expect others will judge them negatively (Steele & Aronson, 1995). As a result of that expectation, they may undermine their capabilities and self-image resulting in low self-esteem (Steele, 2010). In 2008, Schmader developed the Stereotype threat theory that

argued stereotype threat is stemming from a situational evaluation that leads to a stage of imbalance (Liu *et al.*, 2021) and individuals who belong to stereotyped groups can fear either being judged or confirming the stereotypes (Fingerhut & Abdou, 2017). Stereotype threat has been proved to impact women's performance negatively in several contexts: mathematics, sports, entrepreneur, science, technology, etc.. and a burden on women (Kapitanoff & Pandey, 2017). Despite the previous findings that assure the threats of negative stereotypes in impairing members (Appel & Silvana, 2021), others suggest that negative stereotyped groups can impose a pressure on that groups not to fail. For example, Luong & Knobloch (2017) argued female university students under the gender-math stereotype threat selectively spent more time on career magazines and exposing to the role models.

**Based on the theory, the following issues were arisen:**

- Women may have sensitive issues but do not have the courage to express them even anonymously.
- Women may face opposition from other women if their problems contradict with the stereotypical image of women in society.
- Exposure to the problems of women and the solutions presented may help in a greater understanding of women's problems, empowering women and making important decisions.

As a result of many studies that women were portrayed and stereotyped negatively in drama in many countries, this paper seeks to study how social media can empower women aside from communities' restrictions. Gender equality and total empowerment of women are not only seen as an end objective but as vital elements to achieve sustainable development. For this reason, this study will focus on the use of social media networks in empowering women, as social media can help women to be in touch with one another for sharing ideas and concerns (Heuwagen, 2014). Accordingly, based on the conceptual model by Ajjan *et al.* (2014), the theoretical framework for this study enables the exploration of the roles of social media in empowering women. Most of the studies focus on economic empowerment of women via social media. For example, one of the studies that conducted on Egyptian entrepreneurs' women proofed that without social media they would not have started their business, and female entrepreneurs are relatively

more empowered than males after digital entrepreneurship (Miniesy *et al.*, 2021). In Pakistan, a study that aimed at enlightening the role of potential women entrepreneurship argued that Facebook has an overall positive impact on the lives of Pakistanis' women entrepreneurs, and this is due to its nature as friendly - user, and its ability to transfer from just social networking site to business platform (Zulqarnin *et al.*, 2020). Moreover, Iranian qualitative study based on 13 semi-structured interviews with female revealed that working online have significant impact on the economic situation of Iranian women by enabling them to engage in online business (Glozard, 2019).

**This study will benefit from the social media empowerment approach from a different angel, as it will:**

- Correlate between social media and its impact in empowering women to post their private issues via one of the most famous women private groups "Confessions of a Married Woman". This group may empower women and give them the courage to post real problems even if they are anonymous and asking the advice and support of others. Moreover, via this group women can post issues that contradict with old and traditional stereotypes and present new roles for women that can empower them.

## 2. Women portrayal in media

Gender stereotype in drama probed by many studies that affirmed the role of media in promoting specific images and social roles of women over more than four decades. Many studies aim at finding how women are presented in media and if the way they are presented impose a specific image that may cultivate a definite stereotype. Surprisingly, the results of studies related to women images and stereotyping in drama differ. This difference depends on the countries' culture, regional variations, the vision of the drama makers, and also the time period in which the drama was produced. For example, in Pakistan (Babul 2019) conducted a qualitative and quantitative content analysis study of four popular Pakistani private sector television channel dramas and concluded that women are presented in a fashionable way, with great determination and fighting to stand to their own values and beliefs. This result contradicted with the result of other studies conducted in Pakistan too, which argued the existence of violence against women in drama through physical violence, tone and quality of scenes, encouraging

men to divorce women and portraying the negative image of women (Ali & Ayesha 2015; Tabassum & Amin 2020). In Nigerian television content, findings from the reviewed studies revealed negative portrayals of women as domestics' workers, housewives and sex objects that contribute to national development negatively (Ojomo & Adekusibe, 2020). Moreover, in many countries, men are underrepresented in communal roles in health care, elementary education, and domestic functions (Croft & Block, 2015), whereas women are underrepresented in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematical (Beede et al., 2011). For example, Steinke & Tavaréz (2017) argue that women's professional characters in science, technology, engineering and mathematics in 42 popular American films from 2002 to 2014 were cast in co-lead or secondary roles in the films and were not just in the role of a mother.

As women's representation in Arab media is still insufficient, some television talk shows try to have a leading role in enhancing the society awareness about women's rights and increasing the presence and portrayal of successful and strong women. For example, two Moroccan talk shows hosted by women carry a pedagogical function; they inform and educate viewers about women's rights, laws, and government or civil society-led initiatives (Oumlil, 2017).

**Guided by the literature reviewed above, the following questions were generated:**

- To what extent sensitive problems that presented in women private groups are difficult to present in drama?
- How depth the Egyptian drama deals with the sensitive problems facing women and which contradict their stereotyped image?
- Has Egyptian drama in recent years presented more daring women's issues in terms of violating established traditions and customs?
- Does the audience criticize the drama that presents the problems of married women and that opposes their stereotyped image?

### **Research Problem**

Recently, many criticisms were directed at Egyptian drama that it presents many issues related to women, who are far from our contemporary reality due to its sensitivity, its departure from society's traditions, and the stereotypical roles recognized for women. Although the Facebook platform allows women to post their issues freely and

sometimes anonymously without disclosing their true identity, they often face negative comments and attacks by members on Facebook, which also make social media lose part of their advantages of dealing with issues that cannot be discussed through traditional media.

The current study raises a controversial question about whether the recent Egyptian drama presents the real problems and issues of women in the society, several which are contrary to the traditions and constants of society. Is what the drama shows consistent with women's reality, that she expresses herself through her posts on women's groups on social media? The study also discusses a question about whether social media can empower women and form a positive stereotypical image that may change their behavior.

### **Research questions**

- How are women portrayed in drama?
- How deep the Egyptian drama deals with the sensitive problems facing women and which contradict their stereotyped image?
- To what extent sensitive problems that are posted to social media are presented through Egyptian drama?
- Has Egyptian drama in recent years presented more sensitive women's issues in terms of violating established traditions and customs?
- Does the audience criticize the drama that presents the problems of women and that opposes their stereotyped image?
- Do women criticize women committing behaviors against the stereotypical image of women?
- Can women's stereotypical image threat women to confess their problems?
- Dose social media help in empowering women and making decisive decisions?

### **Methodology**

#### **Data and sample**

To empirically explore the images of women portrayed in media and gender stereotype, the study will utilize quantitative and qualitative methods:

- Online survey interviewed 200 Egyptian women during September 2021. Interviewed women are members in a private closed group for women on Facebook "Confessions of a Married Woman."

### **Reasons behind selecting this FB group are:**

- It is one of the most popular women private groups created in October 2013 with 190500 members (till 24 February 2022).
- Women can post their problems anonymously.
- It classified each post based on the marital status of the confessor and age.
- Despite the name of the group, unmarried women can post their problems.
- Women members of the group are more closely exposed to the problems presented by the group members and interacting with them.
- The study suggests that women members who volunteer to answer the questionnaire are often more interactive with the group.
- Contextual and image analysis will be used to analyze “Newton’s Cradle” drama series. Reasons behind selecting this series:
- The results of the survey showed that “Newton’s Cradle” series was the most watched series in Holly Ramadan 2021, where the viewership rate came to 49% of the sample followed by “Khally balak mn Zezy” (Take care of Zezy) series that the viewership rate came to 12.5% of the sample. This means “Newton’s Cradle” series got the highest viewership rating.
- This series was a subject of great controversy in Egyptian society at the time of its presentation, as many shocking events were committed by the core women characters and were differed from the stereotypical Egyptian women image.
- A content analysis of 95 posts or confessions were uploaded on the studied Facebook group during August 1 to September 30, 2021, sarcastic posts or questions related to the nomination of doctors, etc. were excluded.

### **Socio-demographic profile of the survey sample:**

The sample varied in terms of age, economic classification, and social status. The age categories were defined in the study to be similar to the age categories set by the closed group for women when uploading their complaints. The sample varied in terms of age as the highest age category (36.5%) was between 32 and less than 39. Although the group is called “Confessions of a Married Woman”, it includes a large number of members who are singles (17%), divorced (9%), engaged (6%) and widowers and they can post their problems and interact with

others. The majority of the sample (49%) has an income that is more than 10000 E.L monthly, and this reflects a high-income status level of the participants.

**Table 1: Socio-demographic Profile of the Sample**

| Variable                       | Percent |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| <b>Age (years)</b>             |         |
| a) 18: less than 25            | 7.5     |
| b) 25: less than 32            | 29      |
| c) 32: less than 39            | 36.5    |
| d) 39: less than 46            | 17.5    |
| e) 46: less than 52            | 8       |
| f) 52: above                   | 1.5     |
| <b>Economic classification</b> |         |
| a) 4000 E.L: less than 6000    | 22.5    |
| b) 6000 E.L: less than 10000   | 28.5    |
| c) 10000 E.L: above            | 49      |
| <b>Social status</b>           |         |
| a) Single                      | 17      |
| b) Engaged                     | 3       |
| c) Married                     | 21.5    |
| d) Married with children       | 49      |
| e) Widower                     | 0.5     |
| f) Divorces                    | 9       |

**N=200**

### **Findings and Analysis**

This study utilizes quantitative and qualitative methods to achieve its objectives. The qualitative method depends on an analytical study that utilize the content and textual analysis of 95 Facebook posts and one of the TV drama series to find out the portrayal of Egyptian married women - reality versus drama. While the quantitative study depends on representing the data collected from 200 women by a survey to find out women's assessment of their portrayal image in drama and social media.

### **First: Results of the analytical study**

Television provides many examples of how women act, look, relate, fail and succeed. These portrayals are different based on the age, time period, culture, and race (Cox & Ward, 2019). Moreover, Shillcutt et al. (2018) argued that the number of women who use social media for communication is growing; they use it in discussing sensitive topics that historically would have been shared privately. For these reasons, the main objective of this paper is to conclude how women were portrayed in Egyptian drama and the relationship between this portrayal and their real ones that was presented by themselves on social media. The results will be presented under two topics as the following:

- Women's portrayal in social media versus Egyptian drama
- The socio-psychological features of women's image in social media versus drama

#### **1- Women's portrayal in social media versus Egyptian drama**

##### **- Social Media**

The content analysis of 95 posts uploaded on the "Confessions of a Married Woman" Facebook group during August 1 to September 30 indicates that most of the issues women posted are related to violence. As most of confessors suffered from **different types of violence**; there is a **family moral violence**, reflected in some posts, for example cultivating the feelings of inferiority through distrust of women's decisions, starting from families before marriage and after marriage. Many of the confessors complained that their families feel that they are not capable of taking important decisions related to their lives as choosing their husbands, studies, and fields of work or even their friends. Moreover, the analysis highlighted discrimination against women, which is sometimes represented in giving her all the family's responsibilities even if she is a working wife and she may resign her work if it requires great effort and time. Most of confessors pointed to the lack of appreciation for committing various roles in their families and are exposed to negative statements directed at them. The analysis also reflected that women are suffering from **physical violence**, which was represented in harassment they faced from family members or friends, rape by friends, family members or husbands. Several confessions indicated that such physical violence starts from the family towards

them and not their brothers according to a stereotyped image of women that is well-established in the parents. Most of the confessions reflect the sense of fear, for example, the threat of loneliness if they did not get married, get divorced or not having children.

Despite the different nature of the problems associated with each age group, most of the problems are due to the **psychological and social constraints** that women face because of the stereotypical image of women in their societies and the fear of shattering or changing them. For example, the most prominent problems among ladies of the ages of 21-25 and 31-36 were fear of not getting married and how the community will judge them. Women whose ages between 37-45 have the fear of not getting married or divorced and how the community will judge or reject them in both cases. Second marriage or second divorce was one of the most dominant problems in all ages that represented how their communities will judge them and stigmatize them with “falliars”.

Furthermore, the problems of parents' rejection of unequal marriage financially, educationally, socially or age gap came to the forefront of the problems that unmarried women pointed to whatever their age was, and most of the comments, and maybe all of them, were the need to comply with the parents' desire because their point of view is correct, which confirms the stereotyped image of women that they are unable to make their own decisions, even if it is about their marriage. Moreover, there are problems of parents interfering in the details of marriage or the lives of their married sons and daughters. Some of the anonymous confessions that were called “sensitive issues” in the Egyptian society that are related to the private relations in marriage and need the consultation of doctors were posted on the group with highlighting the rejection of husbands to go for a consultation as they feel it will impact their stereotypical image as men, so their wives asked for the advice and support of other women on the group.

Surprisingly, some counter-stereotypical role models have also emerged on the group that break the well-established stereotypical image of women in the Egyptian society, such as the desire not to have children, the desire to divorce to marry another man, or the quest to oval freezing as a result of delay in marriage till old age.

### - Drama

The series "Newton's Cradle" main core revolves around middle-class Egyptian couple who seek to have their baby born in the U.S.A. to get the nationality of the United States. The idea of the series is related to the Newton's Third Law of Motion that states that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction (Britannica, 2020). The series led to surprise the audience and begin a debate on social media networks because the series presented so many contradicting values despite being presented with very high accepted qualified actors in Egypt.

Surprisingly, the results of the textual analysis of the series underlined five main issues that the Facebook posts analysis did not show. The women's core characters in the series were seeking American citizenship to her baby, faced oral divorce in Muslim legislations, caused genealogical mixing, suffered from inferior view of women, and involved in an illegal social relation. The core character in the series suffered from the untrusted treatment by her family and her husband as well regarding her decisions. She suffered from oral divorce by her first husband and marital rape by her second one.

Although the differences in problems and issues types in drama versus social media, family moral violence, physical violence and psychological and social constraints were common issues women face in drama and posted issues of Facebook. As the majority of women's issues revolved around unsuccessful marriage relationships, women's inability to make a right decision, committing a number of unacceptable behaviors to prove themselves and the inferior view of women by themselves, families, husbands and the community they live in. Moreover, illegal relations were raised in both drama and social media analytical study but not that much, as in drama one of the core characters are showed in few scenes with no clear treatment or highlight of this issue. In social media, this issue was mentioned with the regret of the confessors before mentioning the consequences of the relations and this assures the fear of shattering the stereotypical image of women or just coming close to it even if it is existing.

### 2- The socio-psychological features of women's image in social media versus drama

Studying the gender stereotypes in media pointed to those positive

socio-psychological features of women in media in general could have positive effects, create trust and support between men and women, reproduce gender stereotypes, change the image of gender priorities and rationalize discriminatory attitudes in the community (Khraban, 2021). This imposes an obligatory role on media to correct negative gender stereotypes based on the social-context and the professional activity of the person and the object of stereotyping.

The following results of the analytical study will answer the following question: Is there a difference between the socio-psychological features of women's personalities in the drama series being analyzed versus the real ones as shown in their posts on the social media?

### - Social media

The content analysis of Facebook posts uploaded on "Confessions of a Married Woman" Facebook private group showed that the community's socio-psychological restrictions and constraints contributed to the posted issues and comments of women as most of them reflect their **hesitation** between making a decision that may oppose the stereotypical image of women or accepting it to satisfy the family and society. The feelings of **fear and anxiety** appeared clearly in women's posts through using some words such as "afraid - lonely - People would think..."). In addition, the emotional approach was dominant in most of the confessions through focusing on the feelings of sadness, fear, and hatred for surrounding circumstances. The analysis argued that socio-psychological restrictions **hinder the intentions and behavior** to solve difficult problems and issues as taking the decision of divorce or insisting to marry a man despite the family refusal. Socio-psychological constraints added to the posts of the confessed women carried weaknesses to persuade others to seek their help and advice.

Moreover, socio-psychological constraints have played a role in the interaction of the readers with the confessor, so the readers' responses to a betrayal or an illegal relationship has always been rejected and attacked, so the comments turn into a platform for prosecuting the confessor and classifying her with negative qualities without giving her some help. On the other hand, in case the man betrayed, most advices are given to forgive and compete with the other woman to get the man back. The two opposing positions express the entrenchment

of the stereotyped image of women and their role in maintaining the family alone.

#### - Drama

The textual and image analysis of the 'Newton's Cradle' series assured the results of the Facebook posts analysis, as that community's socio-psychological restrictions contribute to the behavior of the three main characters represented in the series who reflected a distorted Egyptian women image. Although main issues that faced the core characters in the series may resemble the concern of women in reality, specially in the same age group and same socio-economic class, yet their treatment in drama was non-realistic to assure a certain image of women who cannot run their lives successfully. Most of these issues are related to many upper and upper middle class in Egypt. Over the climax of dramatically events, when the core character decided to take the burden of travelling to the USA decision alone, the series presented it as a wrong decision based upon stubbornness and the only solution was to acquire her goal by depending upon men either by marrying another man or allocating the baby to a man other than his father! Based on her decision, other issues and exaggerated treatment sometimes happened to shed light on different and more sensitive issues from those appeared from the posts analysis. The series presented how divorce is still considered a husband's decision, besides the intentions referring to the misinterpretations of Muslim legislations. Many escalating dramatical events were a consequence of oral divorce like her second marriage and the possibility of charging her for having two husbands and genealogical mixing by name her baby to her American second husband. The series presents the issue of open social relations in Egyptian society which was not found in the analysis of posts of the private women group. While the most liberal side justified the treatment that it is a reflection to the new westernized high class in Egypt nowadays. Although various socio-cultural segments of women were presented in the series, yet **the inferior view of women** domain the treatment as transformation in the character of women to better or worse is always linked to their relationship with men.

Despite the difference and high sensitivity of the presented issues in the series from those on social media, the same socio-psychological features of women characters appeared as fear, anxiety, inability to

take decisions, and the suffering from different types of violence.

### Second: The results of the survey

In 1995, Steele and Aronson developed the stereotype threat theory in which they highlighted the effects of negative stereotypes on the motivation and performance of target stereotyped group(s) (Steel & Aronson, 1995). For that reason, it is important to identify the women's perception and assessment of their portrayed image in both drama and social media via distributing a survey on the Egyptian women Facebook group "Confessions of a Married Woman." And before discussing their assessment, it is useful to identify the most important issues that 200 women are exposed to in drama and social media.

**Table 2: Women's perception about the most important women's problems presented in drama and FB group**

| Problems                       | Egyptian drama | Social media group |
|--------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
|                                | %              | %                  |
| Husband's betrayal             | 79             | 71                 |
| Divorce                        | 77.5           | 65.5               |
| Moral degeneration of children | 49             | 18                 |
| Wife's betrayal                | 45.5           | 36                 |
| Incest rape                    | 10             | 10.5               |
| Homosexuality in the family    | 9              | 15                 |
| Domestic violence              | 1.5            | 2                  |
| Second marriage                | 0.5            | 60                 |
| N = 200                        |                |                    |

There are some observations that can be monitored through the percentages shown in table 2, for example;

- While 49% of the interviewed women mentioned that Egyptian drama focuses on moral degeneration of children, only 18% of the women mentioned that this problem was among the problems

presented in the group, which can be explained that women feel private groups are their comfort and safe zone to present their own problems away from the children's problems, in addition, drama used to focus on this type of problems as a kind of stereotyping of the problems that women face.

- Women mentioned that the percentage of raising the problem of the second marriage in the drama was significantly less than it was presented in the social media group, and this may be due to the fact that this problem has many dimensions and details that may not be described within the dramatic sequence, but it appears with many details within the posts placed on the FB group.

Through the quantitative study, collected data was analyzed to discover the following:

- Women's assessment of their portrayal image in drama versus social media.
- Women's social empowerment through social media and drama

### **1- Women's assessment of their portrayal in Egyptian drama versus social media**

One of the most important results of this study is to identify the attitudes of Egyptian women towards what drama presents regarding their issues, and if private groups of women on social media have a role in presenting their most sensitive problems that the Egyptian drama may not express.

#### **Drama:**

A 5-point Likert-type response format (1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree) was used to conclude women's assessment of their portrayal image in drama.

The following table explains women's attitudes towards their portrayal in drama.

**Table 3: Women's attitudes towards their portrayal in drama**

| Statements  | Mean | Std. Deviation | Relative weight % |
|---|------|----------------|-------------------|
| There are still some sensitive married women's issues that Egyptian drama does not discuss  | 4.37 | 0.73           | 87.4              |
| The majority of the Egyptian society criticizes the drama that presents the issues and problems of married women of a thorny nature, even if some of them are real. | 4.23 | 0.84           | 84.6              |
| In recent years, Egyptian drama has presented more sensitive women's issues that may contradict with established traditions and customs.                            | 4.00 | 0.91           | 79.9              |
| The Egyptian drama raised sensitive issues for women that have been concealed for long periods  | 3.77 | 0.86           | 75.3              |
| The image of a married woman in recent Egyptian drama is shocking to the traditions of society.   | 3.72 | 0.94           | 74.3              |
| The problems of married women in drama are still traditional.   | 3.59 | 0.98           | 71.8              |
| There are models of married women in drama that contradict with Egyptian traditions and do not exist in reality.  | 3.16 | 1.10           | 63.2              |

N = 200

ANOVA test indicates that respondents' women have overall **negative attitudes** towards women's issues portrayal in drama. As table 3 illustrates that the majority of the sample agreed there are still sensitive issues related to women that the drama has not discussed yet and when the drama presents one of these issues they are criticized and attacked by the society, many of the respondents have denied the

existing of some models of married women in the drama in real life as their behavior totally contradict with the Egyptian traditions and this means that a large segment of women continues to reject a number of sensitive problems that contradict the stereotypical image of married women and consider that the drama exaggerates or reflects fictional stories.

**Social media:**

A 5-point Likert-type response format (1= strongly disagree, 5= strongly agree) was used to conclude women’s assessment of their portrayal image in social media as well.

In contrast to drama, ANOVA test showed a **positive attitude** towards women’s portrayal in women’s social media private groups. The following table explains their attitudes towards different points.

**Table 4: Women’s attitudes towards their portrayal on social media**

| Statements   | Mean | Std. Deviation | relative weight % |
|--|------|----------------|-------------------|
| The group gave the married woman the courage to raise private problems anonymously.                            | 4.64 | 0.58           | 92.8              |
| Social media has contributed to a greater understanding of the problems that married women face.               | 4.46 | 0.68           | 89.2              |
| The group discussed sensitive issues for women that have been concealed for long periods.                      | 4.44 | 0.82           | 88.7              |
| The group presented more sensitive women’s cases that contradict with established women’s stereotypical image. | 4.36 | 0.74           | 87.1              |
| The problems of married women on the group have not been addressed by drama due to sensitivity.                | 4.05 | 1.04           | 80.9              |

|   |      |      |      |
|---|------|------|------|
| Reading married women's problems and solutions helped me make important decisions that may be against stereotypical image of women. | 3.57 | 1.06 | 71.4 |
| My constant exposure to counter-stereotypical problems changed me.  | 3.00 | 1.18 | 60   |
| Some of the problems on the group represent me, but I do not have the courage to talk about them.                                   | 2.92 | 1.21 | 58.3 |

N = 200

Table 4 illustrates that the greatest benefit of women's private groups on FB is giving them the freedom to write their sensitive problems anonymously without fear of revealing their identity and this contributed to a greater understanding of the problems that a married woman face, that is raising sensitive women's issues that have been concealed for long periods. Some of the results argued that the social media role is empowering women as many respondents pointed to that constant exposure to some problems that contradict with the stereotyped image of women changed them, and accordingly, they believed in the importance of forming another image that contradicts with the established one. Moreover, a number of women pointed to the role of the group in helping to take important decisions that may be against stereotypical image of women.

## 2- Women's social empowerment through social media and drama

Many studies pointed to that women's empowerment can confront different types of violence against women (Bulte & Lensink, 2019). Women's empowerment has multiple dimensions of empowerment that all seek to improve a huge number of areas surrounding women (Narayanan et al., 2019). Sell & Minot (2018) argued that women who have a larger role in decision-making are on the right track of empowerment. Moreover, the survey-based women's empowerment index (SWPER, 2017) pointed to the ability of women to have a critical consciousness of their rights and of gendered power relations. Other studies pointed to important components of empowerment, as their political and economic participation or leadership (Yount *et*

*al., 2018*). As mentioned in table 4, the women's closed private group aims at providing a large number of women with a platform through which they could share their problems freely. In this study, women's empowerment can be measured through;

- Women's ability to present their problems on social media despite their sensitivity and departure from the stereotypical image of women in Egyptian society,
- Women's use of social media to support each other in order to make the appropriate decision for them.

### 1. Identifying why women post their issues on the group

**Table 5: Reasons for posting issues anonymously on social media private groups**

| Reasons  | N     | %    |
|--|-------|------|
| Not being able to discuss in the real community for rejecting this kind of problem | 170   | 85   |
| Getting support from others for a certain behavior the posting woman decides       | 151   | 75.5 |
| Getting advice   | 140   | 70   |
| Feeling it is a common problem through comments                                    | 41    | 20.5 |
| Acknowledgment of wrongdoing   | 25    | 12.5 |
| The media does not discuss such problems   | 12    | 6    |
| Total  | N=200 |      |

**Table 5** illustrates that the majority of the surveyed women (85%) indicated that they posted their problems and opinions to a closed private group due to the inability to discuss them in their communities and due to sensitivity and fear of being judged. 75.5% of the sample said that they posted their problems to the closed group to get support from the rest of women for their decisions, while only 6% indicated that they post it because the media does not address it and this is referring to the weak role of media in discussing the sensitive and real issues women face.

The analysis of a sample of the "Confessions of a Married Woman" group posts argued that most of the posts showed that there are no close people that the women turns to for advice or support in real life, but they make anonymous confessions to ask the rest of women

they do not know to provide them with advice, pray for them, or share similar experiences, especially when the confession is against the well-established stereotype.

Examples of the support were clear in many posts as when one of the women mentioned the suffering of loneliness as a result of traveling with her husband abroad, there were several tips by others to support her, for example, "I'm in your situation and my husband is always working out of town for several days up to weeks, got pregnant and was depressed with no family and friends, moreover, I was too shy to introduce myself to people living around me, I go for shopping sometimes and explore new restaurants in the area alone and I'm starting to get used to my new life, trust me keep yourself busy, talk to your family everyday, watch Arabic tv; it helps a lot, and go out by yourself... just go out and explore."

## 2. The role of social media groups in supporting and empowering women

When asking interviewed women (200) about how members of the group react to posting issues with women's counter stereotype, attacking others was one of the surprising answers though this type of groups established for posting freely and supporting each other.

**Table 6: Group members' reactions to sensitive issues**

| Reactions   | N     | %    |
|---|-------|------|
| Reactions varied between supporters and opponents               | 137   | 68.5 |
| Attacking the posting woman                                     | 98    | 49   |
| Reassuring the posting woman and supporting her psychologically | 47    | 23.5 |
| Mostly seeing the problem as a normal one                       | 24    | 12   |
| Total   | N=200 |      |

**Table 6** illustrates that the group members responded differently to posted problems that oppose the traditions of society or the religion. While 49% indicated that in such a case the posting women are attacked by the majority of members, a small percentage of 23.5% indicated that they are supported by other women in the group.

The previous results and the results of posts analysis indicate that such a group does not empower women that much when they

are posting issues that contradict with women's stereotypical image in the society. Surprisingly, the results of content analysis of posts indicate that the group has double standards in supporting women depending on their situation. For example, the analyzed posts indicate that women were advised to endure and maintain marriage despite the abuse and violence they face in the case they have children, and they were advised to get divorced if they do not have children. This means we still have the old and traditional stereotypical image that mothers are responsible for scarifying with everything to keep the family, regardless of the husband's defects.

Adding to that, sensitive sexual problems also came within the confessions of a large number of girls and wives, which were expressed freely due to the presence of anonymous confessions. At the time when these problems are related to married women, commenters were seriously discussing with advice related to the doctor's visit or personal experiences, but when these confessions came from unmarried women, they were met with a division between some who see that these problems should be respected and solved, and some believe that it is not permissible to take it in the context of non-marriage.

Some problems have also emerged on the group that break the stereotyped image of women in the Egyptian society, such as the desire not to have children throughout the marriage, the desire to divorce and marry another man, or the quest to oval freezing as a result of delay in marriage till old age.

### **Discussion**

Studies in psychology support that gender inequality is one of the gender stereotypes consequences (Heilman, 2012), as it is responsible for women's situation unimprovement (Peus et al., 2015) and self-limiting behavior (Heilman, 2001) especially, in most African cultures where stereotyping of women is a bane to the growth of women positions (Anambane & Adome, 2018). For a long time, media has been accused for stereotyping women negatively, which resulted in framing negative portrayal of women that was reflected in the minds and formed a stereotyped image of her (Faraj, 2020). For this reason, this study aims at identifying how drama portrayed Egyptian women in Egyptian drama by employing quantitative and qualitative methods. Agreeing with Ward & Grower (2020) that media in the USA shows

some positive changes in women's image, even the misrepresentation of femininity in mainstream media lead to negative stereotype of them and inequality in societies, the majority of the 200 Egyptian interviewed women in the current study also criticize the way the Egyptian drama is dealing with women's problems as the majority assured it dealt with that problems as they are normal problems, do not need much attention, and were treated superficially. Moreover, some of them feel that drama is focusing on specific women's problems in order to form negative feelings towards the women and when the drama presents one of these issues, they face criticism and are attacked by the society.

**The stereotype threat theory** that was developed by Steele and Aronson (1995) highlighted the effects of negative stereotypes on the motivation and performance of target stereotyped group(s). Steel (1997) could proof that people gender stereotype impacts sociocultural factors that are consisting of traditional practices and society's perceptions as well (Aman *et al.*, 2019). Because of that, the study aims at analyzing how women were portrayed in 'Newton Cradle' as the most watchable series in Holly Ramadan. The contextual analysis of the series indicates the core three characters portrayed as always taking wrong or illegal decisions based upon stubbornness, committing a number of behaviors that some are maybe wrong or hasty to prove themselves and always depending upon men to acquire goals. Although various socio-cultural segments of women were presented in the series, yet the inferior view of women domains the treatment as transformation in the character of women's to better or worse is always linked to their relationship with men.

Furthermore, agreeing with the stereotype threat theory and individuals who belong to stereotyped groups fear of being judged (Fingerhut & Abdou, 2017), 62.5% of the 200 interviewed women indicated that they face a number of problems that are presented in the studied women's group, but they do not have the courage to disclose them for fear of being judged and attacked. Moreover, a large number (61%) of them argued that drama sometimes portrayed models of women that violate traditions and do not really exist in society.

Despite the different level of sensitivity presented in the series from those on social media, the same socio-psychological features of women characters appeared as fear, anxiety, inability to take decisions and

the suffering from different types of violence. Through 95 FB posts analysis of the “Confessions of a Married Woman” group, within the whole studied period, the results indicate that despite the different nature of the problems associated with each age group, most of the problems are due to the psychological and social constraints that women face due to the stereotypical image of women in the society and the fear of shattering or changing them as fear of not getting married, getting divorced and how the community will reject or judge them in both cases. Moreover, the posts analysis showed that the community’s socio-psychological restrictions contribute to the behavior of the sample of studied women and their questions and comments reflect their hesitation between deciding to change the stereotype that is imposed on them or accepting it to satisfy the family and society.

Assuring Hentschel (2019) argument that women in general tended to characterize themselves in more stereotypical terms, posts analysis of the studied group showed that some women accepted unethical behavior from men as betrayal or being in illegal relationship and asked women’s confessors to forgive and compete with the other woman to get the man back. At the same time, they rejected and attacked the women’s confessions regarding being in illegal relationship and the comments turn into a platform for prosecuting the confessor and classifying her with negative qualities without giving her some help.

Based on all the above, the study concluded the fact that women’s portrayal on social media is not that much different from that the media have been displaying. The only difference that could appeared is the women’s ability to share their ideas, feelings, experiences and problems anonymously on social media private groups to have the advice of other women and this leads to one of this study questions:

### **Do social media empower women?**

Most of the studies focus on economic empowerment of women via social media. This study will correlate between empowering women through social media by giving them the chance to express themselves, trying to find support and advice.

Back to Narayanan (2019), Women empowerment has multiple dimensions of empowerment that all seek to improve a huge number of areas surrounding women. Sell & Minot (2018) argued that women who have a larger role in decision-making are on the right track of

empowerment. The greatest benefit of closed groups on FB is the ability of women to write their sensitive problems anonymously without fear of revealing their identity and this contributed to a greater understanding of the problems that a woman can face, raising sensitive problems and issues that have been concealed for long periods. One of the survey results argued that the social media role in empowering women, as many respondents pointed to that constant exposure to some problems that contradict with the stereotyped image of women have changed them, and accordingly, they believed in the importance of forming another image that contradicts with the established one.

Moreover, a number of women pointed to the role of the group in helping to take important decisions that may be against stereotypical image of women. On the other hand, a high percentage (49%) indicated that group members responded differently to posted problems by women that contradict with the traditions of society or the religion and in such a case, the posting women are attacked by the majority of members. Adding to this result, the double standard justifications by members is depending on the gender, marital status of the confessors, and level of contradiction with society norms that are showed clearly by posts analysis.

The previous results and the results of posts analysis indicate that such a social media group does not empower women that much when they are posting issues that contradict with women's stereotypical image in the society.

This dilemma needs to be solved through many steps; the most important one is the role of media in changing negative stereotypical image. Based on the results of many studies that argued that long exposure to counter stereotypes could have positive effects, destruct gender typology, and change the image of gender priorities (Khraban, 2021). Media should portray positive images of women that may constitute a different stereotype. Furthermore, the role of women themselves in changing their negative stereotypical image as Van Es (2019) assures women can change their stereotyped image through representing themselves in life and social media as modern and emancipated.

### References:

- (\*) The link of the group: <https://entaleqi.com/livevideos/anonymous/>
- Spring, (2016). "The simple truth about the gender pay gap". **AAUW**. Retrieved from: <http://www.aauw.org/research/the-simple-truth-about-the-gender-pay-gap/>
- Adom, K., & Anambane, G. (2019). "Understanding the role of culture and gender stereotypes in women entrepreneurship through the lens of the stereotype threat theory". **Journal of Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies**, 12(1), pp.100-124.
- Ali, A. & Ayesha, (2015). "Violence against women in Pakistani feature films". **International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection**, 3(2), pp.68-76.
- Ajjan, H., Beninger, S. & Crittenden, V. L. (2014). "Empowering Women Entrepreneurs in Emerging Economies: A Conceptual Model". **Organizations and Markets in Emerging Economies**, 5(1), 16 – 31.
- Aman, M. P., Hanapi, S., Yusof, A., Razali, A. B., & Dev, R. D. O. (2019). "Women in Sport Leadership Positions in Malaysia: Issues and Challenges". **International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences**, 9 (11), pp.1507-1519.
- Anambane, G. and Adom, K. (2018). "Assessing the role of culture in female entrepreneurship in contemporary sub-Saharan society: Insights from the Nabadam District of Ghana". **Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship**, 23(3), pp.1-17.
- Anggadwita, G., Luturlean, B. S., Ramadani, V. & Ratten, V. (2017). "Socio-cultural environments and emerging economy entrepreneurship: women entrepreneurs in Indonesia". **Journal of Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies**, 9 (1) 85-96.
- Appel, M., and Silvana, W. (2021). "Do mass mediated stereotypes harm members of negatively stereotyped groups? A meta-analytical review on media-generated stereotype threat and stereotype lift". **Communication Research**, 48 (2), 151-179.
- Babul, H., & Niaz, B. (2019). "Portrayal of Women in Pakistani Drama: An analysis of selected dramas". **Journal of Education & Humanities Research**, (1), 68-89.
- Beede, D. N., Julian, T. A., Langdon, D., McKittrick, G., Khan, B., & Doms, M. E. (2011). "Women in STEM: A gender gap to innovation". **Economics and Statistics Administration Issue Brief**, (04-11).

- Bulte, E., & Lensink, R. (2019). "Women's empowerment and domestic abuse: Experimental evidence from Vietnam". **European Economic Review**, (115), 172-191.
- Britannica, the Editors of Encyclopedia. "Equation of motion". **Encyclopedia Britannica**, 8 Sep. 2020. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/science/equation-of-motion>. Accessed on 9 October 2021.
- Croft, A., Schmader, T., & Block, K. (2015). "An under-examined inequality: Cultural and psychological barriers to men's engagement with communal roles". **Personality and Social Psychology Review**, 19(4), 343-370.
- Cox, V., & Ward, L. (2019). "A holistic view of Black women on scripted TV: A content analysis". **Journal of Black Psychology**, 45(6-7), 540-570.
- Ewerling, F., Lynch, J. W., & Victoria, C. G., et al. (2017). "The SWPER index for women's empowerment in Africa: Development and validation of an index based on survey data". **Lancet Glob Health**. (5), pp.916-923.
- Faraj, N. M. (2020). "The Stereotypical Image of Women in the New Media and their Implications for Domestic Violence-Field Study (Qualitative) in the City of Sulaymaniyah". **Journal of Al-Frahedis Arts**, 12(41), 408-429.
- Fingerhut, A. W., & Abdou, C. M. (2017). "The role of healthcare stereotype threat and social identity threat in LGB health disparities". **Journal of Social Issues**, 73(3), 493-507.
- Gill, J., & Baker, C. (2021). "The power of mass media and feminism in the evolution of nursing's image: A critical review of the literature and implications for nursing practice". **Journal of Medical Humanities**, 42(3), 371-386.
- Glozard, V. (2019). "Economic empowerment of Iranian women through the Internet". **Gender in Management**, 35(1), 1-18. DOI 10.1108/GM-11-2017-0145
- Heilman, M. E. (2001). "Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder". **Journal of social issues**. 57(4), 657-674.
- Heilman, M. E. (2012). "Gender stereotypes and workplace bias". **Research in organizational Behavior**, 32, 113-135.
- Hentschel, T., Heilman, M. & Peus, C. (2019). "*The multiple dimen-*

*sions of gender stereotypes: A current look at men's and women's characterizations of others and themselves*". **Frontiers in Psychology**, 10, 1-19.

- Heuwagen, S. E. (2014). "A good blog is a continuing conversation. how I learned to blog and use social media as a feminist activist". **GEMS**, 7 (7).

- Kapitanoff, S., & Pandey, C. (2017). "Stereotype threat, anxiety, instructor gender, and underperformance in women". **Active Learning in Higher Education**, 18(3), 213-229.

- Khraban, T. (2021). "Positive effects of female stereotypes functioning (Illustrated by the case of the Ukrainian military non-institutional discourse)". **Psycholinguistics in a Modern World**, 16, 303-307.

- Lewis, E. (2019). "A Literature Review of Black Women's Portrayal in Media and its Effects on their Treatment in Society". **Senior Honors Thesis**. University of North Carolina. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.17615/04mm-5d63>

- Liu, S., Liu, P., Wang, M., & Zhang, B. (2021). "Effectiveness of stereotype threat interventions: A meta-analytic review". **Journal of Applied Psychology**, 106(6), 921.

- Luong, K. T., & Knobloch-Westerwick, S. (2017). "Can the media help women be better at math? Stereotype threat, selective exposure, media effects, and women's math performance". **Human Communication Research**, 43(2), 193-213.

- Narayanan, S., Lentz, E., Fontana, M., De, A., & Kulkarni, B. (2019). "Developing the women's empowerment in nutrition index in two states of India". **Food Policy**, (89), 101780.

- Matos, C. (2016). "Globalization, gender politics, and the media: From the West to Latin America". **Lexington Books**.

- Miniesy, R., Elshahawy, E., & Fakhredin, H. (2021). "Social media's impact on the empowerment of women and youth male entrepreneurs in Egypt". **International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship**. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJGE-06-2021-0085>

- Peus, C., Braun, S., & Knipfer, K. (2015). "On becoming a leader in Asia and America: Empirical evidence from women managers". **The Leadership Quarterly**, 26(1), 55-67.

- Sell, M., & Minot, N. (2018, November). "What factors explain women's empowerment? Decision-making among small-scale farmers in Uganda". **In Women's Studies International Forum**, Perga-

mon. (71), pp.46-55.

- Shillcutt, S. & Silver, J. (2018). "Social media and advancement of women physicians". **Engl J Med**, 378(24), 2342-2345.

- Shyian, O. M., Foster, L. F., Kuzmenko, T. M., Yeremenko, L. V., & Liesnichenko, N. P. (2021). "Socio-Psychological Criteria of the Formation of Gender Stereotypes of Appearance". **Journal of Intellectual Disability-Diagnosis and Treatment**, 9(6), 651-666.

- Steele, C. M. (1997). "A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance", **American Psychologist**, 52 (6), p.613.

- Steele, C. M. (2010). "**Whistling Vivaldi: How Stereotypes affect us and what we can do**". New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company.

- Steele, C. M. and Aronson, J. (1995). "Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans". **Journal of Personality and Social Psychology**, 69 (5), pp.797.

- Steinke, J. & Tavarez, P. (2017). "Cultural representations of gender and STEM: Portrayals of female STEM characters in popular films 2002-2014". **International Journal of Environmental Science and Technology**, 9, pp.244-276.

- Tabassum, I. & Amin, S. (2020). "Portrayal of women in Pakistani dramas and its impact on Pakistani society and culture". **Human Nature Journal of Social Science**, 1(1), 23-31.

- Tartaglia, S., Rollero, C. (2015). "Gender stereotyping in newspaper advertisements: A cross-cultural study". **Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology**, 46, 1103-1109.

- Olsson, M. & Martiny, S. (2018). "Does Exposure to Counter-stereotypical Role Models Influence Girls' and Women's Gender Stereotypes and Career Choices? A Review of Social Psychological Research". **Frontiers in Psychology**, 9, 1-15.

- Ojomo, O. & Adekusibe, G. (2020). "Portrayal of women in select Nigerian Television Contents". **Ebonyi State University Journal of Mass Communication**, 7(1), 29-40.

- Oumlil, K. (2017). "The representation of women in Moroccan television talk shows". **The Journal of North African Studies**, 22:3, 435-457, DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2017.1307901

- Peus, C., Braun, S., & Knipfer, K. (2015). "On becoming a leader in Asia and America: Empirical evidence from women managers". **The**

**Leadership Quarterly**, 26(1), 55-67.

- Yount, K. M., Peterman, A., & Cheong, Y. F. (2018). "Measuring women's empowerment: A need for context and caution". **The Lancet Global Health**, 6(1), e29.

- Ward M. & Grower, P., (2020). "Media and the development of gender roles stereotypes". **Annual Reviews of Developmental Psychology**, 2(1), 177-199.

- Willis, Phil (2012). "Quality with Compassion: The Future of Nursing Education". **Report of the Willis Commission 2012**. p.32. Retrieved from: <http://www.williscommission.org.uk/data/.../Willis Commission executive summary.pdf>. Accessed on 12 December 2021.

- Zulqarnain, W., Hashmi, N. U., & Zulqarnain, A. Z. (2020). "A Path to Empowerment: Usage of Facebook by Pakistani Women Entrepreneurs". **Journal of Media Studies**, 35(2), Retrieved from: <http://journals.pu.edu.pk/journals/index.php/jms/issue/view/186>

- Van Es, M. A. (2019). "Muslim women as 'ambassadors' of Islam: Breaking stereotypes in everyday life". **Identities**, 26(4), 375-392.

