

University of Salerno

Title:

The grounds of the violence against women in Egypt: An ethnographic study of 'Forced marriage'.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work for the very few people that I love in my life, my mom

Howyda my brother Karim, my sister Dina,

*But I also dedicate it for every woman or child, who needs to start again
after anything they face,*

I can sum up an advice out of my work, reminding you that

*'Whenever it is hard to live, Stand and fight cause it is your right to fight for
your place in this world.. you will not find someone to help you, but
remember here you are, you are so enough to fight for yourself..'.
'*

Introduction

The rights of women are a contentious topic through ages; it fuels debates in both Muslim-majority and other countries. Overall, equality between women and men in their rights is a debatable issue particularly in Muslim-majority countries.

Through ages, opinions are coming to differentiate between women and men in their rights based on religious or cultural norms, while there was always a resistance comes usually to fight these discriminated opinions, advocating for equal rights between both women and men. Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 feminist treatise was the earliest recorded advocacy for women's rights, it argued for women's social and moral equality, resulted in the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*.¹

From the earliest efforts for advocating for women rights was the organized national movement began with the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention, where Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott prepared many women and also men to ask for equality between women and men in their rights, resulted in the *Declaration of Sentiments*.²

Efforts for asking for equal rights to women never stop at these efforts, they always coming from every part of the world.

¹ *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*: (1792): British writer and philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft published this seminal work, which is considered one of the first feminist treatises. She advocated for the social and moral equality of the sexes and the importance of women's education, laying intellectual groundwork for future feminist movements.

² *Declaration of Sentiments*:

During the convention, Stanton drafted this groundbreaking document, which declared that "all men and women are created equal" and outlined the economic, educational, legal, and social inequities women faced.

In Islam, the rights and duties of women have often been debated. Although many studies have dealt with this subject, there has remained a need to discuss specific aspects of the issue than are often tackled. In the west, there has been always a trend in talking about women's rights, which the current study believes that it's not the right way to defend the rights for women all over the world. In all the social movements of the west, from the seventeenth up to the present century many demands usually focused on only two things: liberty and equality and especially on appearance of women which not touches the real life of women.

In the current study, the student focuses on the case of Islam with Women's rights and in particular with Egyptian Muslim Women, and it touches as well some rights of children since many women -as moms- have their rights correlated with their children's rights.

However, the current study will examine the rights of women but not within the frequent frame of asking for more liberty in appearance as it has usually debated in the West especially when talking about Muslim Women, but it focuses on the idea of the violence that women face and its relation with specific factors which are religious, cultural factors, with referral at certain points to the economic factor. One of dimensions –even if it is not the core of the current study – is to know that the problem of Muslim women is not wearing Hijab, but it is how they live.

Accordingly, the current study studies the rights of Egyptian Muslim women, trying to figure out the reasons behind the violence upon them, whether there are cultural, religious, economic reasons that resulted in such violence with all its types. So, the current study will give a special focus on the Islamic Shariaah and its regulations towards women and the possible violence that they may be exposed to, then the study will examine all possible real factors that are reasons behind violence against women as mentioned, using a relatively new methodology in this topic, which is Ethnographic analysis.

Violence that women can be exposed to is very various in its shades, it is an issue that is one of the world's most prevalent human rights violations.³ The term Gender-based violence is the one that the study is analyzing, and it is the sexual, physical, and mental or other types of violence that come against a woman just because she is a woman.

Violence against women can come in several types. On the top of these types, there are Intimate-partner violence, sexual violence, economic violence, and physical violence. One of the types of gender based violence- violence against women as she is women- that include several types of violence all together, is Forced marriage; it include several ways of violence against the women as intimate, sexual, physical and also economic ways of violence.

³ <https://www.unwomen.org/en/articles/faqs/faqs-types-of-violence-against-women-and-girls>

Several studies have examined these factors from several points of view, however the current study after analyzing the women situation in Egypt and in particular in Islamic Shariaah, the study adds to the current bibliography a new way for delivering this topic, shedding the light on the topic by a new methodology that has not been used in this topic before, it is the ethnographic way of research with selected Egyptian Muslim women, that will be clearly defined and discussed later in the current study.

Accordingly, the current study is sectioned in several sections as follows:

- Literature review.

- Chapter 1: Violence and Women.

- 1) Definition of Violence.
- 2) Types of violence against women.
- 3) Selected critical consequences of the violence against women.

- Chapter 2: Rights of Egyptian women in the Egyptian society.

- 1) Brief discussion for general women rights in Egypt.
- 2) Forced Marriages as a type of violence against women in Egypt.
- 3) The role of the Ministry of Interior and the police – as prime defenders
- in protecting women's rights.

- Chapter 3: Reasons of Violence against Egyptian Muslim Women based on Ethnographic examination.

- 1) Theoretical analysis about Islam and violence against women; (Muslim Women as stated in Quran)
- 2) Theoretical analysis about Patriarchal culture and the violence against women.
- 3) Ethnographic Analysis for the real reasons behind the phenomenon of forced marriages and correlated violence in Egypt (based on a live field research to investigate the truth- Real Stories of selected Egyptian Muslim women).

- Chapter 4: Result of the analysis.

- 1) Discussion of the Results.
- 2) Correlated consequences of the studied violence on children's

rights(women as moms)

-Conclusions and Recommendations.

- Literature review

The current study selects the most relevant to the topic as the author viewed. There are previous studies that discuss the forced marriage and how to prevent such phenomenon, examples of these studies include the study of Brigitte Clark and Claudina Richards (2008).⁴ They have discussed -in comparative analyses- the protective measures preventing the forced marriage in two countries, France and England. They have discussed the differences of the English common law and the French civil law systems in this regard. They have shown that in both countries, the phenomenon of the forced marriage is considered a more challenging problem for the younger generation than for the middle-aged and older groups. Another study for Mariam Ouattara, Purna Sen and Marilyn Thomson (1998) has discussed the forced marriage, child marriage and the forced sex.⁵ The authors have discussed the same idea we examined with the selected Egyptian women in the current study which is the rape during forced marriages and how far it affects girls and women. Ouattara, Sen and Thomson have chosen countries of Nepal, West Africa, and India to discuss different cultural practices that are harming girls.

The study of Charles M. Becker, Bakhrom Mirkasimov and Susan Steiner has also discussed the forced marriage phenomenon beside other similar studies. Becker, Mirkasimov and Steiner have discussed particular kind of forced marriage that they called 'Bride kidnapping' which implies that

⁴ Brigitte Clark and Claudina Richards, "The Prevention and Prohibition of Forced Marriages: A Comparative Approach" (Cambridge University Press, *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 3, 2008), pp. 501-528.

⁵ Mariam Ouattara, Purna Sen and Marilyn Thomson, "Forced Marriage, Forced Sex: The Perils of Childhood for Girls" (Taylor & Francis: *Gender and Development*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Nov., 1998), pp. 27-33.

women are forced to marry their kidnappers.⁶

One of the crucial studies that have also discussed the forced marriage, Intimate Partner Violence, and Sexual Violence is for Meredith Dank, Hanna Love, Sino Esthappan, Janine Zweig (2018)⁷, their research has relied upon survivors who sought help from government or social service. Other studies discuss reasons behind violence against women. One of these studies is the study of Valentine Moghadam (2004) in which he has discussed the patriarchal culture that the author of the current study has related it to the phenomenon of the forced marriage. Moghadam has stated that the patriarchal culture is practiced in the Middle Eastern Muslim family which makes women have subordinate position within the family.⁸

Other studies have discussed the forced marriage for women living under Muslim laws as the study submitted to the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OCHCR) on 15 December 2013⁹. This study has examined this phenomenon in several countries as Afghanistan, Iran, Sudan, Nigeria, Senegal and Pakistan.

⁶ Charles Becker, Bakhrom Mirkasimov and Susan Steiner, "Forced Marriage and Birth Outcomes" (Duke University Press: Demography, Vol. 54, No. 4, August 2017), pp. 1401-1423

⁷ Meredith Dank, Hanna Love, Sino Esthappan, Janine Zweig, "Exploratory Research into the Intersection of Forced Marriage, Intimate Partner Violence, and Sexual Violence", (The U.S, the U.S Department of Justice: Document Number: 251485, January 2018).

⁸ Valentine Moghadam, "Patriarchy in Transition: Women and the Changing Family in the Middle East (University of Toronto Press- Journal of Comparative Family Studies , Vol. 35, No. 2, 2004), pp. 137-162.

⁹ " Women Living Under Muslim Laws : Child, Early and Forced Marriage, A Multi-Country Study". A Submission to the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OCHCR) on 15 December 2013.

There are many studies that have discussed the physical violence against women; examples of the most relevant to the current study include:

In Alice Emasu (2005) - the author has aimed to encourage the women to end their marriages which they are forced to through legal procedure. It is connected to our aim here, since the author of the current study examines the effect of the selected drama on proposing solutions for the interviewed women who have been under physical or sexual violence.

Moreover, there are some studies that have discussed the physical violence against the Egyptian women, such as¹⁰;

The study of Kathryn Yount (2005) in which she has discussed the physical violence that the Egyptian women can be exposed to, in Minya city – a close city to one of the selected cities in the current study, Beni souef. She has examined another variables related to this violence as the influence of household wealth, women's socioeconomic dependence, status inconsistency, and family organization. Our current study examines such violence with relation to religious and cultural variables.¹¹

Many studies have discussed the honor term in the context of sexuality and associated the term to fidelity that equates to maintenance of virginity (Amnesty International, 1999).³ The Egyptian scholar Saadawi (1980) has defined the term as "the very fine membrane [hymen] called 'honor'".¹²

Eisner and Ghuneim (2013) have states that female virginity is

¹⁰ Alice Emasu ,“Use the Law to Bar a Forced Marriage”, (Africa News Service, 2 August 2005).

¹¹ Kathryn Yount, "Resources, Family Organization, and Domestic Violence against Married Women in Minya, Egypt", (National Council on Family Relations: Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 67, No. 3, 2005), pp. 579-596.

¹² AmnestyInternational, available at: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset>.

⁴ Nawal El. Saadawi, "The hidden face of Eve: Women in the Arab World", (London: Zed Press, 1980).

considered so important in many patriarchal societies around the world¹³.

Honor killings as introduced by the selected documentary is part of the honor based violence which has been defined by several studies as it is a violence (physical, social, psychological) or incident, which has or may have been committed against an individual who has brought shame to the family and/or community through a dishonored act or behavior.

Abu-Lughod (2002) has mentioned the criticism of honor based violence which usually raised by human rights and feminist organizations in developed countries that condemn cultural relativism, call for the need to protect the victims of such violence who are usually girls and women, and call for enforcing universal standards for human rights.¹⁴

Several studies have correlated Muslim women's rights and ethnography, on the top of these studies are Abu-Lughod' works as: Lila Abu-Lughod (2010),¹⁵ Abu-Lughod has examined some sites where “Muslim women’s rights” are differentially in play. She has selected both Egyptian and Palestinian women. She has reported that in rural villages ordinary women and girls live their lives at the intersection of national media and local institutions.

Furthermore, there are studies of Mankekar (1999), Shetty (2008) and Rofil (2016) that apply the ethnographic approaches in their television audience research. Ethnographic approach to audience research has come to existence among the researchers in the field of media and cultural studies since the 1980s (Gray, 2003; Seiter, 2004; Hermes, 2010).

¹³ Manuel Eisner & Ghuniem, "Honor killing attitudes amongst adolescents in Amman, Jordan", (Aggressive Behaviour, Vol. 39, No. 5, 2013), pp. 405-417.

¹⁴ Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others", (American Anthropologist, Vol. 104, No. 3, 2002), pp. 783-790.

¹⁵ The Active Social Life of “Muslim Women’s Rights”: A Plea for Ethnography, not Polemic, with Cases from Egypt and Palestine. Journal of Middle East Women's Studies 1 March 2010; 6 (1): 1–45.

Other media research studies have adopted the participant observation approach as, Vicki Mayer's two-year fieldwork in San Antonio (2003) who used interviews and participant observation approach. Other examples of ethnographic work, is the study that have been done among lower-class urban women in Cairo by the anthropologist Heba el-Kholy (2002). El Kholy has discussed the aborted attempt by a coalition of professional Egyptian women-lawyers, activists, and scholars- to push through a new model marriage contract in the mid-1980s.

One of the most crucial studies that have used ethnographic analyses – similar to our current study- is the study of Reema Safadi, Valerie Swigart, Ayman M Hamdan- Mansour and Radwan Banimustafa. They have conducted ethnographic analyses to Jordanian women who have been under domestic violence.¹⁶

Among the studies that discuss the patriarchal nature of the Egyptian society quiet similar to our current study using the ethnographic approach include: Marcia C. Inhorn, Kimberly A. Buss (1994)¹⁷. This study focuses on another phenomenon in the Egyptian society which is infertility, but the study's approach attempts an explicit merging of ethnographic and epidemiological research designs, methods of data collection and analysis, a bit similar to our current study here in its approach. Furthermore, one of the crucial studies that explored the position and the

¹⁶ An Ethnographic-Feminist Study of Jordanian Women's Experiences of Domestic Violence and Process of Resolution
Article in *Health Care For Women International* · June 2012

¹⁷ "Ethnography, epidemiology and infertility in Egypt", *Social Science & Medicine*, Volume 39, Issue 5, 1994, 671-686.

rights of women in the Quran is for Haifa Jawad (2003).¹⁸

In this study, Jawad has mentioned the relevance of the Qur'an to the lives of modern women, through interpreting it a female perspective within their modern context. She has offered critics against the earlier interpretations of the Quran since it is biased, such interpretation ignore the basic social principles of justice and equality. Such biased interpretation has resulted in depriving Muslim women many of her rights.

Some studies explore the audience's decoding of television programs through qualitative interviews as Dorothy Hobson's study of British Soap Opera (1982), Ien Ang's Dutch Dallas study (1985), David Morley's Family Television (1986), Charlotte Brunsdon's study of woman television audience (1986), and Ann Gray's study of feminine Video Cassette Recorder (1987).

Regarding the most critical studies that have tackled the Anthropology of Media; it could return back to 1950 when Hortense Powdermaker made the first ethnographic and social scientific study of Hollywood studios. In 1993, there is Deborah Spitulnik who stated that there are several ways to approach media anthropologically including cultural products and social activities. Spitulnik has focused his analyses on visual anthropology and ethnographic films.

In 2002, F. Ginsburg et al states that the anthropological perspective on media need to include the analysis of the social processes of media consumption and also production.

¹⁸ Muslim Feminism: A Case Study of Amina Wadud's "Qur'an and Woman" Author(s): HAIFAA JAWAD Source: *Islamic Studies* , Spring 2003, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Spring 2003), pp. 107-125 Published by: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20837253>

While K. Askew (2003) defines the anthropology of media as the analysis of the ways in which people make sense of media. Later in 2005, Osorio studied the anthropology of media and mentioned that it includes the relationship with culture in the society. Media is used to reflect the culturally shared ideas and imaginaries.

There are several efforts concerning the effect of Cinema that may have on the public opinion regarding social and political issues, one of them is the study of Amanda Wrigley (2011)¹⁹, the study has examined the role of drama in the society. Wrigley has reflected on how acts of translation of Greek drama encourage reflections on international dialogues in that period. Ali Agwa in his study of "The public relations and the mental images" in 2003 has defined the mental image in general, it's type, it's characteristics and it's connection with public relations as according to the relations between people, the images are formed.²⁰

Furthermore, Nagwan Abdlma3bod, in "the mental image and the European image in Egyptians' mind" in 2010 has studied the mental image and the European image in Egyptians' minds in which she talked about the types of the images in general and how it is shaped.²¹

Regarding the theoretical framework, there are several theories that explain the effect of media on people and public opinion, the author selects the cultivation theory which can examine the role of the selected

¹⁹ "Greek Drama in the First Six Decades of the Twentieth Century: Tradition, Identity, Migration" 2011

²⁰ على عوجة، العفت العامة و الصورة الذهنية،

(The public relations and the mental images)

(القاهرة : عالم الكتب، 2003)

²¹ نجوان عبد المعبود، الصورة الزهنية : التشكل و التغير، دراسة ميدانية عن صورة أوروبا لدى المثقف المصري ،

(the mental image and the European image in Egyptians' minds)

(رسالة ماجستير، جامعة القاهرة ،كلية الاقتصاد و العلوم السياسية، 2010)

documentary film "Honor diaries" in presenting personal stories that could stimulate interviewed victim women to speak up about their personal stories in the conducted in-depth interviews.

Cultivation theory is developed by George Gerbner and his colleges through the research proposal about cultural indicators that aimed to establish empirical evidence about the effect of TV on the cultural environment.²²

Gerbner defined cultivation as “the independent contributions television viewing makes to viewer conceptions of social reality”.²³ It focused on studying of media effects, and more precisely the influences of television over the audiences’ ideas and perceptions and consequently their images. The main assumptions of the theory is that people’s understandings of realities of cultures, histories, identities, and religions are affected more by television and other kinds of dramas as long as they spend more time watching. In other words, viewers of different forms of drama and cinema who are exposed to its huge number of messages are expected to understand realities and construct images and perceptions that are consistent with what they viewed through different presented scenes.²⁴

²² حسن عماد مكاوي و ليلي حسين السيد، الاتصال و نظرياته المعاصرة
(Communication and its contemporary theories)

(القاهرة : الدار المصرية اللبنانية، 2004، ص299) .

²³ Kristen E. Van Vonderen, William Kinnally, Media Effects on Body Image: Examining Media Exposure in the Broader Context of Internal and Other Social Factors (American Communication Journal, Volume 14, Issue 2, 2012 Spring), p.43.

²⁴ James Shanahan, Michael Morgan, The state of cultivation, (Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Vol.54, Issue2, 2010), pp. 337-338.

- Chapter 1: Violence and Women.

1) Definition of Violence.

Accurate definition of the term violence is essential. In general, it should include incidents like child abuse, sexual offenses, physical offenses and manslaughter. One of good studies has classified the definitions of violence in four approaches, as follows: *the exemplars approach, the social psychology approach, the public health approach, and the animal research approach*, with recommendations to include some dimensions of each approach in giving the final definition of the term.

Consequently, a comprehensive definition of violence includes four essential elements: it is the behavior that is harmful, intentional, unwanted & nonessential. More accurate definition of violence create the possibility of more accurate identification of causes and consequences of any action that is classified as violent act, accordingly more accurate solutions can be concluded.²⁵

2) Types of violence against women.

Violence that women can be exposed to is very various in its shades, it is an issue that is one of the world's most prevalent human rights violations. The term Gender-based violence is the one that the study is analyzing, and it is the sexual, physical, and mental or other types of

⁴ Hamby, Sherry. (2017). On defining violence, and why it matters [Editorial]. *Psychology of Violence*, 7(2), 167–180. <https://doi.org/10.1037/vio0000117>

violence that come against a woman just because she is a woman. Violence against women can come in several types. On the top of these types, there are Intimate-partner violence, sexual violence, economic violence, and physical violence.

As mentioned, one of the types of gender based violence- violence against women as she is women- that include several types of violence all together is forced marriage; it includes several ways of violence against the women as intimate, sexual, physical and also economic ways of violence. In this part, the study can give a brief discussion of some repetitive types of violence, then later the study will examines on Forced marriages as one of important types of violence that the women can be exposed to.

One critical type of violence that the woman can be exposed to regularly is *Domestic violence* which has several types as well. Domestic violence means in general the kind of violence that happens within the private, domestic sphere, which means between people – whether men or women - who are related through blood or intimacy. Accordingly, Domestic violence is not confined to women; it extends to include other kind of abuse to other categories of people, such as child abuse and elderly abuse.

One of the manifestations of the Domestic violence is the *Intimate partner violence*, which refers to when the intimate partner for the woman causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, to the woman, including coercion to sex, psychological abuse or any other kind of controlling behaviors. This is one of the most regular forms of violence women can be exposed to everywhere in the world, whether in Islamic or non-Islamic world. This kind of violence includes several dimensions against the woman, it includes physical violence: acts as slapping or burning, sexual violence: Coercive acts including spousal rape, psychological violence:

fear and control such as intimidation or forced isolation.

This kind of intimate partner violence includes also the kind of economic violence, may be this kind of violence is especially so clear here, caused in most cases by the intimate partner or the male member within the girl's family. This kind of violence economic control against the woman – girl within her family or the wife with her husband- is very common. This economic control over the woman is a severe violence in most cases; maintaining total control over financial resources, withholding access to money, and/or forbidding attendance at school or employment, all these examples cause severe harm to the girl within her family whether this violence caused by the father or the brother, or to the woman by her husband.

The second type that the study can shed the light on is the *Sexual violence*; this can be part of domestic violence if it is carried by any member of a family against the girl within the same family or the husband/intimate partner against his woman. However, this type is wider because it can be not a domestic kind of violence if it is carried by a stranger against the girl or a woman. Sexual violence is any sort of harmful or unwanted sexual behavior that is imposed on someone.

This type is one of the most severe of the violence that any individual can be exposed to- according to many opinions. It includes any act of abusive sexual contact, such as forced engagement in sexual acts without consent, attempted or completed sexual acts with a woman (or even children or men in other cases) without her (or their) consent, verbal abuse, threats,

unwanted touching, incest, other similar actions, on top of them and very repetitive is sexual harassment that can take a variety of forms – from looks and words though to physical contact of a sexual nature.

There are several examples of sexual harassment. Such as sexual comments about clothing, or body parts, sexual jokes, unwelcome touching; including rubbing, purposefully brushing up against another person, pinching, patting, or repeatedly asking a person for dates or asking for sex. Accordingly, there are lots of acts that can be classified as sexual violence.²⁶

Rape is another most radical form of sexual violence, and it is defined as any sexual penetration to the victim, which usually a woman (can be for man or children as well) without consent or under force, threat or fraud against the victim that is raped. Rape can be done during all times, it is caused due to of corruption above all other reasons, and it can be found within marriage and relationships, and during armed conflict. This kind of raping caused by several reasons, displaying power, psychological reasons, sexual repression for men in several contexts of cultures and religions, poverty, or just as an attempt to humiliate the woman or the victim in general, working to hurt him through this method.

Rape is usually used as a method of exploitation, this rape may be filmed so that the victim remains under the influence of exploitation to do whatever the rapist asks of him in order to avoid exposing the victim, especially during this era of spreading the social media tools and the possibility that such video can be shown in public using any social media tools or any of new applications. Several studies tried to connect the Rape

²⁶ Ibid.

issue to specific religion; however it is not the truth, because rape as a problem is done by all religions, so it is not the mistake of any religion but it is the mistake of the people, regardless of their religion.

Another form of severe extreme Violence against the girl/ woman is *Femicide*. It is the intentional killing of a girl just because she is a girl. On one side, this type of violence includes the killing of the new born girl which is most popular within uneducated families, not only in old times and still can be carried in our time nowadays. The killing for new born girl usually happen from the male member of the family against the new born girl in most cases, due to several reasons as harmful stereotypes about the girls that the girl can cause honor scandal to her family²⁷.

This late type of killing a girl will be discussed later, however a quick discussion about that point is that it is considered s a Gender-related killings so-called *honor killings*, where any of family members of the family of a girl, usually targeting a girl within the family that she is discovered that she has committed an act that bring a dishonor or shame upon her family. These killings is very well linked to a religion this time, this is connected to Islam and also in old Christianity. But in Islamic countries it is still carried until today. It is related to sexual purity of the girl, if the girl lost it by making any sexual relationship with a man, she is under threat to be killed by any male member of her family, cause this is what is called Honor of the family.

On the other side, femicide can take place in a wide range of contexts, not only within same family for instance it can happen in correlation to slavery

²⁷ This will be more explained later in the study "honor issue related to woman" usually is the reason that the woman is exposed to several types of severe violence. This all will be explained later in the study.

human trafficking, forced labour or other contexts. This type of violence against the woman is indicating a psychological problem from the perpetrator that is always a male; it indicates a clear intent to exercise the power over the weaker body of the female. For this reason and in most cases the body of the victim (girl/woman) is disposed of in a public space, pointing to the perpetrator's intent to show his power and reinforce fear.

The Human trafficking is another type of the violence that the woman exposed to in the world, it is very widespread against women from poor countries, on the top African woman from poor African countries that fled to Europe or America or any rich country as a trial from the woman to find a work, and this end up with this problem, human trafficking.

So, human trafficking is a global crime that trade in people and exploits them for profit. As mentioned this type of violence is carried against women as a main target for this type of violence that is considered as a sexual exploitation usually under several types of threat (sometimes men or children as well can be victims). In general this type of violence is carried most against the poor people that fled their poor countries to find opportunities for work and life in another richer country. So, usually the removal of official documents is used by traffickers to control their victims, beside other kind of physical and sexual abuse or emotional exploitation.

Sexual exploitation is the most popular form of human trafficking. It is actions that victims pay the price sexually in a very painful way, in order another person - traffickers – can get profits, whether these profits are money, political positions, or any other benefits out of these shameful harmful violent acts against the victims that are usually women from poor countries or poor families.

Accordingly, there are several types of violence that the women all over the world can be exposed to just because they are women, not because of

religion or cultures. The current study examines certain types of violence against women, in a trial to understand the real reasons behind such violence but also with a big trial to give solutions.

Women are not the victims of violence only because religions or cultures, on the contrary the idea is always returning back to one certain point which is that all harmful practices that women are exposed to, whether within her family, with her intimate partner, in the workplace, or in the society in general, is always due to one certain fact which is the woman is the weaker creature in humans. This is one of the hypothesis of this study, girls and women are not under threat of violence due to cultural or religious facts, they are under violence because male side is more powerful, it is like exactly the idea of power in politics. For this reason, children as well are found to be also victims of violence, again because they are weaker creatures in human sect.

In the current study, the examination for certain hypothesis that is basically regarding Islamic Shariaa and cultures related to the type of violence of forced marriages and all other correlated violence that women can be exposed to during this marriages, is an examination that will prove that it is always the decisions of people more than a decision of God to humiliate any creatures on earth. Consequently, harmful practices against women vary so much, they include lots of behaviors that harm the woman as female genital mutilation (FGM), child and forced marriage, virginity testing, corporal punishment, stoning, violent initiation rites, widowhood practices, accusations of witchcraft and ritual attacks, son preference, daughter aversion and gender-biased sex selection, honor crimes, dowry related violence, menstruation restrictions, infanticide, incest and many other forms.

When we talk about the Female genital mutilation (FGM), it refers to a religious practice against girls in Islam which refers to partial or total removal of the female external genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons.

This practice has several consequences on the health of the girls, whether psychologically or physically. This part is related to Islamic Shariah conditions, this act of FGM is made in Islam to control the behaviors of the girls, in other words to make girls lose their lust for sex, so this can protect the girls from going in informal relationships before marriages.

Although it is an act relate to the shariah of Islam, not all Muslim families do it to their girls, it is usually done in poor educated Muslim families, or very religious families, usually in peasant towns inside Muslim countries. As said before, this act has immediate health risks, such as hemorrhage, shock, infection, HIV transmission, the girl might suffer infertility or complications during childbirth, the girl might experience urine retention and severe pain. Beside the Psychological side that affect the girls; the girl might lose her trust in her caregivers, to longer-term feelings of depression. Without a doubt, this act of FGM is a violation of the woman fundamental human rights, especially her rights to health, security and dignity. It was first classified as violence in 1997 via a joint statement issued by WHO, UNICEF and UNFPA²⁸.

One of the severe types of harmful practices against the girls is Child marriage, which is any marriage where at least one of the parties is under 18 years of age. This is correlated to the examined phenomenon of the current study that is forced marriage, since child marriage is a one type of

²⁸ Ibid.

forced marriages. Forced marriage is the examined type of violence in this study, it is a marriage in which one and/or both parties have not personally expressed their full and free consent to the union.

This kind of marriage is not only a violation for women rights, but if it happens for young girls, it is a violation as well for children's rights and has several harmful effects on the lives of children (overwhelmingly girls), including early pregnancies, and there is a greater possibility of maternal mortality and school dropout.

Consequently, one of the issues that are considered a type of both physical and sexual violence against the woman is the phenomenon of Forced marriage, as mentioned. Accordingly, behind studying the violence and its types as stated, the current study will give a great focus and examination for the issue of Forced marriage as a test for these two kinds of violence – sexual and physical- and such test will be held using a new kind of methodology, using the test upon the selected Egyptian women who have faced this issue through ethnographic approach of analysis, that will be defined later in the coming chapters.²⁹

²⁹ Ayatullah Murtadha Mutahhari , "The Rights of Women in Islam ", W.O.F.I.S. World Organization for Islamic Services. <https://www.najaf.org/books/pdf/240.pdf>.

3) Selected discussion about critical consequences of the violence against women.

As stated by the Declaration of the United Nations, the unequal relationships of power between men and women – whatever its scope or its type- that force women in a subordinate position in comparison with men is considered as violence. Such violence is not a short term behavior on women's life; however there are lots of consequences that can occur on the woman when she is exposed to violence, whether negative impact on her physical health- limited mobility, back and abdominal pains, gastrointestinal disorders and a low level of health status. Besides effects on psychological side that can extend to other grave problems as it can be the reason for future to drug consumption and alcohol abuse and to potentially hazardous sexual behaviors later on in life.

Consequently, the victims of the physical or sexual violence can suffer in the long term mentally and physically on different disturbances such as: post-traumatic stress disorder – a trouble associated with a traumatism or a shocking or frightening experience, such as sexual aggression or physical abuse. Adding to all that, violence on women can lead also to a grave negative impact financially, and other various forms of negative impact.

Furthermore, the effect of violence against women is not confined on her only; it can have a very severe negative effect on children when women become moms of children within the society.

From the very beginning such violence can affect the child when is still babies; simply because the violence of a violent partner during pregnancy is increasing the probability of a spontaneous abortion, death to the mother, low birth weight babies or prenatal birth . A study from 2013 had shown that the women who have experienced the violence from an intimate partner have had 41% probability to a prenatal birth and 16% more chances to experience a miscarriage.³⁰

Although this dimension will not be tested through the ethnographic analysis of this study, but it is important to give a deep insight about the effect of violence against women on the children as one of the critical consequences of violence on women that extends to children as well.

There are various rights for children in any state; one of the most important documents that stated their rights is UNESCO document, the international agreement on childhood. In 1989, world leaders made a historic commitment to the world's children by adopting the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. It is considered the most critical ratified human rights treaty that has been made in history.

These rights include several rights, one of these right that are most affected by the violence against women – moms in this cases- are as follows: the right that every child has the right to life, And that Governments must do all they can to ensure that children survive and develop to their full potential.

³⁰ Magdalena Roxana Necula, "The Effects of Violence Against Women", December 2020 Logos Universality Mentality Education Novelty Law 8(1):73-84 DOI:10.18662/lumenlaw/8.1/38, available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347567709_The_Effects_of_Violence_Against_Women.

This right cannot be implemented if the father usually uses violence against the mother in the family sphere, in which the child lives, and this is the simplest example, there are tons of examples where the mothers are left alone to afford their babies.

Such cases in which the women has to afford financially the child on her own, in several cases , the mother can be exposed to more types of violence, and this can lead in several cases that the children are directed to work in very young ages and left schools, all these issues cause the problem which is named street children that are deprived from almost all their rights that stated in Un Convention , whether right to access education, good health care, decent life, trafficking, drug or sexual abuse.

Accordingly, it is important to understand that violence against women can appear both in the public sphere as well as in the private one, in any moment of life and is affecting not only the victim directly, but also the community it belongs to. There are lots of cases where the children pay the price of the violence and discrimination against women Children when their moms – women- have experienced any kind of violence from the male partners.

- Chapter 2: Rights of Egyptian women in the Egyptian society.

Egyptian women -as all women all over the world- have been under several types of violence through years. As we discussed the reasons and types of violence in general that the woman can be exposed to, there is a remaining question, is there a reason behind this kind of violence against women?, and whether this reason is global reason or more specific and confined to each part of each country?

Several opinions have studied that religion is usually a main reason behind the violence against women. Others have shown in its results that it is related always to the culture, while other studies related violence against women to economic factors upon women. In the current study as mentioned, the focus will be on one example of violence which is forced marriages.

1) Brief discussion for women rights in Egypt.

In Egypt there are several types of violence against girls and women. Accordingly, the examination here will be if the religious factor –Islamic Shariah as Egyptian society is Islamic in its majority and its applicable local laws- is the reason or the cultural reason is the behind of this violence. Here the study starts with the most feasible latest data about a part of the picture of the violence against girls and women in Egypt.

In 2024, Egyptian women have continued to face the challenges to their rights on various levels, despite the constitutional guarantees protecting women's rights.

Regarding family law, there is no new amendments happened to help women or children, so they continue to suffer under the outdated law of 1920. However a new government committee for this purpose has been created in 2022, there is no new amendments happened. The old law gives the main power for male partner in the family sphere, whether he is the father, brother or husband and this is derived from the Islamic Shariah, which make the situation for women still complicated and there are many who experienced domestic violence; as confirmed by statistics revealing that 31% of women are subjected to domestic violence. Separation is also increased as divorce rates recorded 265,606 cases in 2023, which makes it urgent to legislate new forms of laws to give more protection for the women after divorce.³¹

Giving a brief picture for the status of women in Egypt, we can see that the political equality for women is a fundamental way to guarantee her rights, Egypt's ranking in the Women's Political Empowerment Index declined in the 2024 Global Gender Gap Report, placing it at 90th compared to 85th in 2023.³² So, it is clear that Egyptian women continue to face challenges in participating in politics or getting in power, and the reason is due to customs and traditions favor men in leadership positions.

Moreover, the economic inclusion for women in the society -as it is known that women's economic empowerment contributes to higher opportunity to face domestic violence against her and cause improvements in living standards of the whole family- is also facing problems; Egyptian women continue to face significant challenges that limit their opportunities in the labor market.

³¹ The 2024 Annual Report on Women's Rights in Egypt, The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights, Outcomes 2024: Egyptian Women Between the Challenges of Reality and the Aspirations. <https://ecwronline.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/02/English-Summary-of-ECWRs-Annual-Report-2024-on-Womens-Status.pdf>

³² Ibid.

According to the 2023 statistics from the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, the employment rate for men stood at 84.2%, compared to just 15.8% for women. This was a brief insight to the political and economic rights for women in Egypt, although it is far from our concern in the current study. However it is critical to understand the frame of rights and the situation of the Egyptian women in the society in all spheres so we can understand the results from the ethnographic analysis that will be presented in the coming chapter.³³

2) Forced Marriages as a type of violence against women in Egypt.

Schwartz and Bardi and Hofstede mentioned that the Middle East countries are characterized with male-dominated social relationships, including the forced marriages in which a man decides to marry specific girl without her consent.³⁴ The phenomenon of forced marriage is very wide spread within the Muslim countries in general and not only the Middle East. This phenomenon is usually occurred because of religious and cultural arguments. It is defined as any kind of marriage in which at least one spouse is not agree with that marriage, either with regards to the timing of the marriage or the choice of partner.³⁵ As expressed by Duval in 1998, forced marriage treats women as bodies for sex or kitchen, so the woman is created just to be a tool for the man, this picture that deprive the women her rights to be an equal creature as a man. Although forced marriages give the men the opportunity to choose a girl to marry – usually too young in these cases of forced marriages- it deprives this right to the girls who gets married by force for men –usually too old in age.³⁶

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Shalom H. Schwartz , & Anat Bardi, "Value hierarchies Across cultures". (Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32, 268–290, 2001). doi:10.1177/0022022101032003002.

³⁵ United Nations Population Fund, "Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage, UNFPA, New York, hereinafter Marrying Too Young", 2012, p.11.

³⁶ Soroya Duval, "New Veils and New Voices: Islamist Women's Groups in Egypt" in K. Ask and M. Tjomsland, eds., *Women and Islamisation: Contemporary Dimensions of Discourse on Gender Relations* (Oxford: Berg, 1998), p.58.

Forced marriage include several types of violence against Muslim girls and has several negative impacts on the girls, girls that have been experienced forced marriages usually stop their education without completing her education properly, consequently they will be out of labor market, and as a result of that another kind of violence is created upon the girls, which is economic violence; the girls become dependent financially on their husband forever.

This problem is one of the main problems of forced marriages; because girls usually face lots of problems since they do not have any source of funding their lives, especially if they become Moms, the problem to funding their children puts another burden on the women and girls. Another kind of violence is sexual violence that is practiced over these young girls that married to men that they don't know, the girls experience physiological side effects that usually has a long term side effects. Throughout various forms of violence that the girls can experience during such kind of marriages, the current study gives a due concern for the physical and sexual violence.³

In Egypt, The phenomenon of forced marriage spreads very widely especially in the cities away from the capital of Cairo. Within the Egyptian society; women cannot easily speak up about their personal sufferings especially when it comes to sufferings of the kind of physical or sexual abuse during forced marriages or any kind of relations that entail such sufferings; because of religious limitations in Islam, it is a scandal for a girl/woman to speak up about any sexual violence that has happened to her, cause this is already something that harm her honor³⁷.

³⁷ A term that will be discussed later in the coming chapter.

As mentioned earlier there are several reasons behind violence in general against women, for forced marriages there are the same several reasons that scholars have always try to understand which one of them are more influential on causing such violence in related to other reason. Economic factor –Poverty- is often studied to be the underlying cause for several forms of violence against women, including the forced marriage as a kind of violence, other studies has discussed other factors as religious, cultural, or social factors. Before studying the reasons behind the forced marriages in Egypt through the new analysis in this field, it is important to understand that Forced marriages are not the same as ‘Arranged marriages’ in which a third party as a family member facilitates a willing union between two people. Arranged marriages can be only problematic as well if they are forced against the will of the partner.

3) The role of the Ministry of Interior and the police – as prime defenders - in protecting women's rights.

The role of Police in defending women, girls and children is obvious in all countries as they the primary defenders for the people in the interior society. In Egypt and after the revolution in 2011, there was a good shift towards human rights, especially for women, girl and children. This part is to discuss the latest efforts of the police that are directed for protecting women and children in Egypt and to discuss the effectiveness of these new measures that have been adopted since 2012 in Egypt.

Here the discussion is not about any private information about the internal system of the ministry since the author is not allowed to conduct such kind research, as it happens in all other countries. However, it is important to discuss the good achievements towards the human rights in the ministry and the police system, derived from the data available online in the ministry of interior of Egypt. The establishment of the Human Rights Sector is one of the great achievements in a trial to achieve more human rights within the society, regarding the role of the police in Egypt. This Human rights sector is one of the specialized sectors of the Ministry of Interior. It was recently established with the aim of promoting, developing, protecting human rights and consolidating their values. It aims to spread the culture of human rights among police personnel, upholding the values of these rights in all police sectors. The sector includes the General Department of Human Rights - the General Department of Community Communication - the Department for Monitoring Crimes of Violence against Women, Children and People with Special Needs.³⁸

The idea of its presence in the form of a Supreme Committee for Human Rights began with the issuance of Ministerial Resolution No. 22562 of 2001 and its amendments, and then developed until the issuance of Resolution No. (2694) of 2012 by the Minister of Interior regarding the establishment of the Human Rights Sector at the Ministry of Interior, and what followed from it the issuance of Ministerial Resolution No. (4030) of 2015 regarding the definition of the detailed competencies and duties of the agencies affiliated with the Human Rights Sector.³⁹

³⁸ All information is available for the public on his site:
<https://site.moi.gov.eg/humanrights/Pages/home.aspx>.

³⁹ Ibid.

This sector can make a picture of the importance of the role of Police in protecting rights of women and children, cause as long as the relationship between the police and the people is getting more closer and on friendly terms, the police can act as a safe place to resort to any woman, girl, child that face any kind of violence, even if within the family sphere.

So the author believes this sector is a good start in this manner, it has already implemented several relevant activities, and more activities for women is undergoing.

The main activities⁴⁰ of this sector are;

- Promoting, developing, and protecting human rights, consolidating their values, spreading awareness of them, and contributing to ensuring their practice among police officers.
- Developing the necessary plans and programs to implement the Ministry's human rights system in accordance with the Constitution, the law, and international conventions and treaties ratified by the Arab Republic of Egypt.
- Communicating with citizens of all backgrounds and legally registered organizations and institutions working in this field.
- Strengthening relations among all citizens. - Activating the social role of the Police Force and its members, as well as social activities (national occasions, governorate national holidays, visits to universities and educational, religious, and cultural institutes and participation in their activities, visits to hospitals and medical institutes, holding seminars and conferences, etc.).
- The Sector works to disseminate the culture and concepts of human rights among Ministry employees, holding training courses, and organizing conferences, seminars, and workshops in coordination with relevant Ministry agencies.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

The sector is responsible for monitoring any human rights violations in police stations, identifying their causes and motives, exploring ways to address them, and communicating the facts through the Ministry's Media and Public Relations Sector.

- Coordinating with security agencies to monitor the work of reconciliation committees in all security directorates, with the aim of contributing to containing blood feuds and preventing any security repercussions. This is aimed at maintaining security and calm throughout the country.

- The sector adopts a traffic plan for all police stations, departments, and service locations that provide public services (traffic, passports, civil status, work permits) to emphasize officers' commitment to the constitution and the law, their good treatment of citizens, their dignity, and the importance of their national role in serving society.

Accordingly, the situation of women in Egypt is regulated by Shariah, and implemented by local Egyptian laws, and there are several efforts from several institutions in the state that can even work more towards a more involved role in preventing incidents of violence against women. For this reason this section has two departments; the first is the Public Communications Department which is responsible in general for Developing the necessary programs to activate the police force's social role and strengthen the relationship between the police force, with all its categories, and all segments of society. and the most important department is the second one, it is The General Administration for Human Rights:

This second department -in the ministry- aims to promote and consolidate human rights values among Ministry employees and protect citizens from any violations of their rights or practices that conflict with the Constitution and the law. It also cooperates and coordinates with state institutions concerned with human rights. This department has several sections as follows⁴¹;

1- Human Rights Complaints Follow-up Department:

- Receiving all petitions and complaints submitted to the Ministry, including those related to human rights violations by all means, whether from citizens, civil society organizations, or human rights centers. It studies and examines these complaints and takes the necessary action in their regard.
- Cooperating with national councils specialized in the department's field of work to achieve common goals.
- Proposing the necessary mechanisms to measure the level of performance in public services provided by police agencies and submitting proposals to improve and develop these services and simplify their delivery procedures.
- Technical supervision of human rights departments and units in security directorates, departments, and general administrations, and submitting reports on the results of monitoring and evaluating their performance.

2- The Department for Monitoring Violence Against Women:

This department is responsible for the following:

- Receiving complaints and petitions related to crimes of violence against women and taking the necessary action.
- Coordinating with designated entities within the Ministry and relevant state agencies to provide all forms of psychological, social, and legal support to women and girls subjected to violence.
- Preparing the necessary plans and programs to develop a strategy for addressing crimes of violence against women in all its forms and

⁴¹ Ibid.

manifestations and following up on their implementation.

- Proposing and implementing the necessary awareness programs (seminars, discussion groups, conferences, preparing and printing brochures and publications) to raise community awareness, as well as among Ministry employees, of the importance of combating crimes of violence against women.
- Technical supervision of the departments and units combating violence against women in security directorates, departments, and general administrations regarding the implementation of approved plans and programs for strategies to combat these crimes, and presenting reports on the results of monitoring and evaluating the technical performance of these agencies.
- Cooperating with national councils specialized in the department's field of work to achieve common goals.

3- Training and Education Department:

- Proposing training plans and programs to promote and develop the concepts and values of human rights protection and working to disseminate a culture of respect for human rights among all Ministry employees, with the participation of civil society figures.
- Preparing relevant publications (brochures, bulletins, magazines, etc.) to enhance the performance of the Ministry's agencies on human rights topics and issues within the framework of human rights values and principles.
- Working to arrange technical and logistical training assistance related to human rights issues and topics within the framework of human rights values and principles.

So, this is a brief discussion about the latest efforts of the ministry of the interior regarding the protection of human rights. Certainly, more efforts should be implemented, and the author hopes that the recommendations of the study will be taken into consideration by all concerned institutions as

the ministry of the interior, El Azhar, and other institutions.

- Chapter 3: Reasons of Violence against Egyptian Muslim Women based on Ethnographic examination.

In this chapter the study tries to give the results and the analysis of the reasons behind the forced marriages in Egypt and its correlated violence, based on a new tool of the analyses that touches the reality of the Egyptian Society. So the chapter gives two innovative ways to study this issue by selecting a tool – intervention of a drama tool with the selected Egyptian women - to analyze the problem and to enhance and encourage the selected women to interact more freely due to the restrictions whether psychologically or other restrictions that the selected women may be exposed to, during the study. And the second innovative way for this field of study is the use of ethnographic analysis in the Egyptian society with Egyptian women, this creates the most realistic results that any scholar can reach; since it is based on real stories and real people within the problem.

- 1) Theoretical analysis about Islam and violence against women; Muslim Women as stated in Quran

This study as mentioned earlier gives a due concern to the religious and cultural factors to this phenomenon within Egypt, with a bigger concern to measure the religious factor, in case of Religion of Islam. To study the religious Islamic factor, the study shed the light on the situation of the women rights between The Legal framework and the Shariah framework.

In all Islamic countries, the legal framework interacts with the Shariah framework in framing the laws that regulate all local policies within the state. This indicates all human rights in general and the status of the women in particular. So the legal framework might differ between countries but the Shariah regulations are similar in all Islamic states. However, each Islamic country has its specific way to mix both the legal and the Shariah framework together, especially in framing the women rights laws, for instance Tunisia has very different regulations in compare to Egypt in the marriage system for Muslim women. In this study the author focuses the analyses on the case of Egypt and the women status, especially the laws that regulate the forms of violence or forced actions that the Egyptian Muslim women can be exposed to. But the first question that should be asked at the beginning is: "What says the Shariah for the status of the Women? And how it is applied in Egypt on paper, meaning as said by laws?

Egyptian laws – as most of Arab's legal system- are religious-based laws which mean that they are bounded by a specific frame in which they are controlled in both their making and their application by Islamic Shari'ah.⁴² The interpretation of the Islamic Shari'ah is –to a great extent- controlled by a patriarchal culture within the Arab society including Egypt. Within such frame, the rights of Egyptian Muslim woman are implemented. The author studies the right of Egyptian Muslim woman to marry with her consent; the Egyptian Muslim woman has a limited protection in the marriage system within the society.⁴³

⁴² Personal Status Laws in Egypt, "Promotion of Women's Rights", (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH), available at <http://www2.gtz.de/dokumente/bib-2010/gtz2010-0139en-faq-personal-status-law-egypt.pdf>.

⁴³ As stated in the Egyptian constitution 2014; Art 2 states that Islam is the religion of the state and Arabic is its official language. The principles of Islamic Sharia are the principle source of legislation, the full articles available at https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2014.pdf.

Accordingly, in this part there is discussion about the possibility of religious factor- Islam is the concerned religion here- and then an analysis of the patriarchal society. The masculinity of Qur'an is obvious in the misinterpretation of some of its texts; accordingly re-interpreting such Islamic sources from a female perspective is a means for protecting Egyptian Muslim women. So, in this section it is critical to understand the main regulations of Islam regarding several rights of women.

Islamic law -or Shariah -governs many aspects of women's lives, with rulings derived from the Quran and Sunnah, and interpreted by jurists over centuries. Accordingly, Women's rights within Islamic law have basic understanding and regulations; however, they vary significantly depending on each applicable local law in each region, or country. So we have to understand that Islamic shariah is influenced in its application by cultural practices, religious interpretations, and contemporary reforms.

Several Issues related to the woman such as, marriage contracts, custody of children, and reproductive rights, have long been debated and regulated through legal and religious rulings. By analyzing the holy book Quran – the main book In Islam that is From Allah and all Islamic regulations are derived from it. In Islam, there is always a general rule that all Muslims know, women can not make lots of actions while she is alone without a man. This is one of the main restrictions that Islam has put on the woman, even if the aim is that she is the weaker creature, but this limitation makes the woman weaker since not all women have a good man to accompany her in almost all her grand steps in her life.

For instance the Muslim woman cannot go Makka to have her worship in Saudi Arabia unless she has mahram guardianship⁴⁴, and not only for her worship to Makka, but if she needs to travel anywhere, she has to find a man that is father, brother or formally a husband to accompany her.

This is what stated in Quran in Surat "An Nisa, 34"⁴⁵;

"الرِّجَالُ قَوَّامُونَ عَلَى النِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ اللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَى بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا أَنْفَقُوا مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ ۚ فَالصَّالِحَاتُ قَانِتَاتٌ حَافِظَاتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ اللَّهُ ۚ وَاللَّاتِي تَخَافُونَ نُشُوزَهُنَّ فَعِظُوهُنَّ وَاهْجُرُوهُنَّ فِي الْمَضَاجِعِ وَاضْرِبُوهُنَّ ۚ فَإِنْ أَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلَا تَبْغُوا عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيلًا ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيمًا خَبِيرًا (34) وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ شِقَاقَ بَيْنِهِمَا فَأَبْعَثُوا حَكَمًا مِّنْ أَهْلِهِ وَحَكَمًا مِّنْ أَهْلِهَا إِنْ يُرِيدَا إِصْلَاحًا يُوَفِّقِ اللَّهُ بَيْنَهُمَا ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيمًا خَبِيرًا (35) ﴿٣٥﴾ وَاعْبُدُوا اللَّهَ وَلَا تُشْرِكُوا بِهِ شَيْئًا ۚ وَبِالْوَالِدَيْنِ إِحْسَانًا وَبِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْيَتَامَىٰ وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَالْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَالْجَارِ الْجُنُبِ وَالصَّاحِبِ بِالْجَنبِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ وَمَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُكُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ مَن كَانَ مُخْتَالًا فَخُورًا (36) الَّذِينَ يَبْخُلُونَ وَيَأْمُرُونَ النَّاسَ بِالْبُخْلِ وَيَكْتُمُونَ مَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ ۗ وَأَعْتَدْنَا لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابًا مُّهِينًا.

Here is one of the most important word stated in Quran and regulate many rights of women in Islam. So, the current study prefers to give a due care to this concept "the word qawwama" in the above verse, this word is very wide in regards to women rights; it intervenes may be in all rights of women, make it dependable on men. One of the earliest interpretations of this word is by Imam Ibn Jarir At-Tabari (d. 310/923), who says:

‘Allah Almighty means by the verse 34 of surat An-Nisa’ that ‘men are caretakers of women’ which means men is responsible of the guidance of the woman. ⁴⁶

⁴⁴ سورة النساء ، آية 34 ، القوامة علي النساء

⁴⁵ Surat is like a long passage inside the book of the Quran , and 34 is the number of a one versus inside this passage inside the Quran

⁴⁶ Scope of Men's Guardianship over Women - Fiqh - IslamOnline

<https://fiqh.islamonline.net/98314>.

There are several understandings of this term, like what is done by Hasan al-Basri (d. 110/728), Imam Al-Baghawi (d. 510/1117) also mentions this event in his M'aalim At-Tanzeel, Yemeni Shari'ah scholar and judge `Abdullah Mahfuz Balawi

However, in general it can be interpreted in some few sentences as a summary for all interpretations, as follows:

On the authority of Abu Hurairah, who said: The Messenger of Allah, Mohammed"peace upon him" said: "The best of women is one who pleases her husband when he look at her, she obeys him when he command her, and protects him with regard to herself and his property." Then the Mohammed, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, recited this verse: "Men are quamun over women, which means in summary as the protectors and maintainers of women".

This related to another obligation on women towards her man; because its related to another versus when Allah the Almighty says:

وَقَوْلُهُ تَعَالَى: وَاللَّاتِي تَخَافُونَ نُشُوزَهُنَّ [النساء:34] أَي: وَالنِّسَاءُ اللَّاتِي تَتَخَوَّفُونَ أَنْ يَنْشُزْنَ عَلَى أَزْوَاجِهِنَّ، وَالنُّشُوزُ هُوَ الْإِرْتِفَاعُ، فَالْمَرْأَةُ النَّاشِزُ هِيَ الْمُرْتَفِعَةُ عَلَى زَوْجِهَا، التَّارِكَةُ لِأَمْرِهِ، الْمُعْرِضَةُ عَنْهُ، الْمُبْغِضَةُ لَهُ، فَمَتَى ظَهَرَ لَهُ مِنْهَا أَمَارَاتُ النُّشُوزِ فَلْيَعْظُمَهَا وَلْيَخَوْفُهَا عِقَابَ اللَّهِ فِي عَصْيَانِهِ، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ أَوْجَبَ حَقَّ الزَّوْجِ عَلَيْهَا وَطَاعَتَهُ، وَحَرَّمَ عَلَيْهَا مَعْصِيَتَهُ؛ لِمَا لَهُ عَلَيْهَا مِنَ الْفَضْلِ وَالْإِفْضَالِ، وَقَدْ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: لَوْ كُنْتُ أَمِيرًا أَحَدًا أَنْ يَسْجُدَ لِأَحَدٍ لَأَمَرْتُ الْمَرْأَةَ أَنْ تَسْجُدَ لِزَوْجِهَا مِنْ عِظَمِ حَقِّهِ عَلَيْهَا⁴⁷

This versus means that those women on whose part you fear disobedience meaning: the women whom you fear will rebel against their husbands.

Rebellion means to rise up, so the rebellious woman is the one who rises up against her husband, abandons his command, turns away from him, and hates him. So when he sees signs of rebellion in her, he should admonish her and frighten her with Allah's punishment for disobeying Him, because Allah has made the husband's rights upon her and obedience to him obligatory, and has forbidden her from disobeying Him.⁴⁸

So, the principle of Quama is very linked to putting a huge hand of men over her woman in Islam.

Islamic laws have regulated the Inheritance and Property Rights for Women. Women have the right to inherit property from both parents and spouses, and this entitlement is stipulated in the Quran. In inheritance part, the term caretaker also has the influence that extends in the part of inheritance as well, so the brothers to women are still gaining the upper hand. For instance in most cases in Islam and the current study will not go deeply in this part of inheritance cause other studies have already do, but it is critical to understand that the influence of controlling more power in inheritance that is accumulated in the hand of the man. This is also creates economic violence at the end of the day against the women; because the woman is simply the weaker creature and by the Islamic rule, male heirs receiving twice the share of their female counterparts. So, women typically receive a smaller portion of inheritance than men, which created more power to men over women.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

This difference in the portion between men and women in inheritance is always justified that it is balanced by other financial legal responsibilities placed solely on men, like providing for the family. A Muslim woman is not obligated to contribute financially to household, but it is not always the case, this will be highlighted through the coming ethnographic analysis. As on paper, the inheritance right for women in Islam should empower women economically since it is an allowance for women to possess assets while safeguarding their financial independence, but it is not always the case on the ground, in several cases it is a system that Muslim men manipulate to control women and give her a more smaller portion or even not give her any portion from the inheritance.

In another discussion for a very repetitive topic especially in the west is the veil that the woman should wear, and it is always discussed and many western scholars condemned Islam for making women wear it. Since it is not critical part to discuss in the current study, but it is important to mention that this veil is not considered at all a condemn to Islam , especially many Muslim women likes and chooses to put it, for the opinion of the author, the veil is not the problem at all to any right of the woman; because at least and without going deeply in that discussion of the good or badness of the veil, Islam favors to protect the woman's body and this is commonly accepted by all Muslims, exceptional cases are not following the intention of Islam, but more importantly in Islam the Veil is obliged on the women, however if a girl or a woman does not put it, Allah can forgives her, cause he is more merciful. It should be known that Islam provides guidelines on women's wear for both modesty and protection, ensuring that women feel secure and respected in their communities.

And this is not meaning that woman is inferior, on the contrary cause the body of the woman is more sexy and valuable , so it should be protected. Regardless these notes, the current study will not discuss this point of Veil, however the author just wanted to highlight that the veil is not at all the problem that Muslim women -that really need help-suffers from. And it is just an argument, whether carried by Muslim women that in reality do not face sufferings at all in face of their, or by non-Muslim scholars that are not really touching the reality of Muslim Women that are really under sufferings whether violence or inequality by their men.

From the framework we can understand that Islam is not the main factor for causing violence against any girl or women, however there are still a high percentage for forced marriages in Islamic countries, and also domestic violence within Muslim families is usually occurred against the girls morethan the boys.

So returning to the discussion of the term male caretaker and the marriage system in Islam, several interpretations have revealed that Allah favored men over women because men are the caretakers of women. However, in the marriage system, it is clearly should be noticed that although both spouses enjoy the usufruct of each other, Allah has ordered men to pay women their marriage portion, and to daily provide them with their support, so that the increase on one side is met with an increase on the other—and so it is as though there is no favoring from Allah to men as some interpretations said, but it is the misuse of versus of the Quran that can be used by the corrupted men over women that can make Islam religion appears to be against women.⁴⁹

In several other versus inside Quran the holy book in Islam, it is notable that Allah has mentioned men's support of women in several verses such as the one in surat At-Tahrim '*Let him who possesses plenty spend of his plenty; and let him whose provision is straitened spend of what Allah has given him*' (At-Tahreem: 7). This verse shows the real meaning of Quama 'Men are caretakers of women'. For example if whenever a husband is unable to support his wife, he is no longer her caretaker, Quama: she is not obliged to remain at home, and she is not obliged to obey him. Furthermore the woman is entitled to have the marriage annulled.

So, in case the man failed to fulfill the objective of protecting the woman by marriage, he is not entitled to be her caretaker anymore.⁵⁰ Consequently, it is like a balance in the relationship, with more duties of protection upon the man since he is the more powerful creature by biological fact, and more duties of obedience over women since she is ore fitted in this role, according to Allah, which is logic, since by nature women is weaker than men in making the protection role.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

So, it is critical to understand the marital relationship and the rights and the duties granted to each partner in the relationships in the marriage in the Islamic law. Marriage in Islam is a union based on mutual respect, love, and understanding in life. Islamic laws reveal that both men and women have distinct rights and obligations within marriage, so not only the man that have the rights in this relationship, which creates a balanced partnership in life.

Women have the right to receive a dowry (mahr), which is a symbol of financial security. It is the amount of money that is given for the girl to accept the marriage, not to be understood in bad way, it is like a gift for the girl. The Shafi'i, the Hanafi and the Imamiyyah schools observe: Everything which is valid as price in a contract of sale is valid as mahr in a marriage contract, though it be a single morsel. Moreover, Women retain ownership of their wealth and property after marriage.⁵¹

Caretaker may be seemed sometimes as controlling women in a bad way, and actually it is exploited in many cases by men over their wives, however, In Islam, the marriage should be based on love and mercy and Muslim women have the right to be treated with kindness and respect, and their duties include maintaining a nurturing and supportive environment for the family.⁵²

Women in Islam are not aliened by their men in the marriage system. However, Islamic teachings encourage men to consult their wives in household matters, encouraging the kind partnership based on mutual respect between both partners. These laws protect the rights of women and support their independence.

⁵¹ <https://al-islam.org/marriage-according-five-schools-islamic-law-muhammad-jawad-mughniyya/al-mahr>.

⁵² Maryam Akram, The Marital Rights of Women in Islam, 4TH JULY, 2022. Available at: <https://www.amaliah.com/post/65081/rights-of-muslim-women-in-marriage>.

However, there are several verses in Quran and stated in the Islamic laws, according to the analysis of these mentioned verses in Quran the holy Islamic book, in the opinion of the author of the current study, some interpretations of verses of the Quran regarding especially "male Guardianship" -unfortunately in our times- create chaos against women who do not have a father, nor a brother. What the woman should do if she does not have a brother and her father died or left her for any reason?, literally speaking and according to Islam, she has to be inside her house till a man comes to marry her officially if she wants to travel to get work or any other reasons, even if the travel for health reasons.

Consequently, this term creates sometimes inequalities - including the roles of fathers or male guardians in decision-making- so this part can be impacting negatively the financial and custodial aspects of a woman's life throughout all her life. Although, modern scholars and reformers advocate for changes within Sharia's framework to address these issues, the situation is still the same until our time nowadays of 2025, there are tons of families that are still imposing such control over girls, even if the intention to protect her in Islam, but the results in our era is that these girls pay the price at the end of the day and they do not have any opportunity to create a future for themselves, the only way to get out all these, is just to marry a man and to be a good man to her, which is not always the case for many girls worldwide.

"I have never conducted sexual relation before official marriage. I always respect that, the wrong was to force me to stay with a man who takes away my virginity and takes away my respect for my body by such forced marriage, my father took this argument of worrying about his honor and imprisoned me with a man and since that moment, I never feel I have honor anymore.." one of interviewed woman in the current study said.⁵³

In the Qur'an, the term *zawj* (husband in English) is used in "You, who have believed in our revelations and were self-surrendered, enter the Garden; you and your *azwaj*(husbands), to be glad"⁵⁴ The term *azawj* is interpreted to give the Muslim man the upper hand in deciding the destiny of his spouse. However, it needs to be reinterpreted, such false interpretation to the Quraan text makes Muslim woman restricted by the limitations her husband draws up on her.⁵⁵ Other texts in Qur'an have mentioned that the good women have to be *qanitat*- another term that is exploited from Muslim men to impose more control on women, it is an Arabic Islamic term and referred to the women who obey the god's orders and the women who do not commit sins- and the bad women are *nushuz*- the women who do not follow the Islamic guidelines.⁵⁶

The misinterpretation that is widely spread within Islamic societies is that the Muslim woman has to obey her husband in whatever he asks; otherwise he has the right to beat her. "This must be revised" said one of women that has been interviewed in the current study; the woman has been hardly beaten to refuse to do sexual relation one day with his husband that she was forced to marry 5 months earlier, he punished her with very aggressive way that cause her serious health problems. "The term *Qanitat* is referred to the good woman in obeying her God and not her husband" the woman added.

⁵³ The whole analysis of the ethnographic examination in section 3 of this chapter.

⁵⁴ See Qur'an 43: 69-70.

⁵⁵ Op, cit, Amina Wadud, p.55.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.74.

In most of Islamic countries, family laws were modernized and written to be enforced in the Muslim countries, such laws characterized by male dominance over key decisions affecting their women and they are based mainly on a combination of the Islamic schools (Hanafi, Maleki, Hanbali, Shafii), beside pre-Islamic or tribal rituals.⁵⁷ In addition to that, there is another term that increase the Masculinity feature in the Qur'an but in limited texts; however this opens the door for more exploitation to the woman, for instance; the idea of the permission of a male guardian – Wali- as a necessary condition for a marriage to be conducted gives men the upper hand over women's personal life, exploiting the Muslim women in a way that is not associated with the core objectives of the Islamic religion since women's consent to the marriage is a necessary condition for a marriage in Islam.⁵⁸

Furthermore, this Wali requirement or the legal representative of the woman refers to a family relative who could better protect the girl in her choices in the marriage but most of the time he takes a sense of patriarchal authority, and practices violence against the girl. On the other hand, the idea of Male guardian/ Wali is not obligatory in Qur'an. Ibn Rushd has quoted certain Qura'n verses that mention that the existence of Wali is not required.⁵⁹ Women should have the right to conduct her marriage on her own self and to accept her marriage, as stated in hadith –Prophet Mohamed words- cited by Ibn Abbass, there was a young woman who complained to the Prophet that she was forced to marry by his her father, and the Prophet gave her the freedom to cancel this marriage.

⁵⁷ Eleanor Doumato, "Hearing other voices: Christian women and the coming of Islam." (International Journal of Middle East Studies 23 (2), May 1991), Pp. 177-199.

⁵⁸ Human Rights Watch, "Divorced from Justice: Women's Unequal Access to Divorce in Egypt", 2004, Pp 16-17, available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2004/egypt1204/index.htm>.

⁵⁹ Abderrahmane Ibn Aoud Eljezri, "El Fiqh fi al madahib al araba", (Dar el Kitab el arabi. Beyrouth, 2005), Pp. 19-20.

Although some Islamic text are in favor of man, but still the forced marriage is not accepted by Islam and thus there is no Islamic religious argument should be a base for such a marriage by force that entail physical and sexual abuse as reported by all the cases of the current study as will be discussed in the following sections. Any woman should not be forbidden from freely choosing her partner.⁶⁰

In Egypt and other countries of the Muslim Middle East, forcing girls to be married is linked to the patriarchal culture's application, and in certain cases, it is associated with Islamic religious argument of honor. The association of family's honor with the girl's virginity creates an exaggeration of the Muslim family's preoccupation of female virginity, that leads to force the girl to be married in the event of real or perceived sexual misconduct committed by her. In other severe cases, such sexual misconduct of the girl -or the existence of just the suspicion that the girl is in love with a man without a formal marriage- could allow a male member of her family to kill her- these are called honor killings. This argument is also discussed with the interviewed women of the current study.

The suspicion of having had sexual transgressions violates the honor of the Islamic family, which makes the Muslim family kill the girl to get rid of the shame. Furthermore, governmental and non-governmental agencies have estimated about 17-38% as a rate of underage marriage across different regions in Egypt.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.33.

⁶¹ Sarah El Masry, "Under-reported and underage: Early marriage in Egypt", 2012, available at <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2012/12/05/under-reported-and-underage-early-marriage-in-egypt/#sthash.BiFP4HkJ.dpuf>.

"This happened with my sister as well, she was very young –only 14 years old- when she was forced to live with a man that has 47 years old...my father sold her", another girl in the current study mentioned.

"My father said this is the religion and she was just 14 years old, and now it is my turn, he is selling me as well" the 20- years old girl has added. Many of rural girls ranged from the ages of 11 and 18 are forced to marry rich Gulf Arab men –usually old in age- for receiving financial assistance to their families.⁶²

In Bedouin and rural areas in Egypt, girls are married around just thirteen years old²⁸ that is not as stated in Qur'an; The Qur'an emphasizes the distinction between reaching puberty for the girl and reaching the age of *rushd*, at which the girl is mature enough to enter into legal agreements, including marriage contracts. Qur'an gives limited texts to save the woman; further such texts have always been misinterpreted to favor the man.⁶³

The Qur'an states: "It is not lawful for you to inherit women by force, unless they commit an act of flagrant indecency".⁶⁴ This sentence "Unless they commit an act of flagrant indecency gives the man the right to use the force with the Muslim women which has to be reinterpreted, since this is not associated properly with the main message of Islam that confirm the justice and equality between all human beings.

⁶² Cam McGrath "Underage Girls are Egypt's Summer Rentals", (Inter Press Service, 2013), available at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/08/underage-girls-are-egypts-summer-rentals/>

⁶³ 3 Jamal Nasir, "The Status of Women Under Islamic Law". (London: Graham & Trotman, 1990)

⁶⁴ See Qur'an 4:19.

So, a new updated evolved discourse need not only to be presented, but also to be applied and to be implemented through the local laws of each Muslim country. This aims to align Islamic practices with today's views on equality, which creates an ongoing commitment to understanding and reinterpreting God's guidance. Islam's intention – as known for Muslims- is to protect and help woman , and not the contrary, but unfortunately men are not always making the real intention of Quran and Islam, it ends up with a bad life for women, which Islam itself does not accept.

There are other regulations that is important to be clearly defined here, beside the mentioned analysis for this critical and core term – male guardian ship- which decides lots of regulations regarding the status of the women in Islam. So, it is important to know that Islamic law provides a detailed structure concerning the status of women in both personal and societal domains. Contrary to any understandings, Islam identifies the rights of women in spheres of life, like; marriage, property, education, and societal roles, aligning with principles of justice and equality. The Quran and Hadith—primary Islamic sources—are filled with directives that reinforce women's roles and responsibilities. The application of Islamic law with taking islam's real intention to protect and help women is always the problem.

So, Equality in Islam between men and women is stated in Quran even if it is not practiced in all situations, Islam upholds that while men and women may have different roles in society, both are equal before God. Both men and women in Islam have complementary roles, and no one can take the role of another, this creates the basic understanding that Islam emphasizes the role and the equal place of women in the society. Consequently, Women in Islam are not seen as inferior. Before Islam, women are treated as slaves in very old times, for lust and sex, so Islam

comes to regulate all that, but on the side of interpretation and application is not always go in the same intention of Quran – the Islam main book.

So, equality is stated in The Quran, and it affirms this by stating, whoever does good deeds, whether male or female while being a believer, they will enter Paradise”⁶⁵.

Such verses reveal that both men and women are equal in Islam as creatures, even if each one has different rights and duties. This is an evidence for the commitment to gender equity that respects the status of women in the eyes of Allah. Another example that reveals the equality between both genders is the right for education that it is sometimes the families deprives their girls from it. Education is a fundamental right granted to both men and women in Islam. The Prophet Muhammad (peace upon him) emphasized that seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim.

This is not a right granted to women, it is an obligation, so we can understand that knowledge creates an economic and financial independence for women in many ways. By knowledge women can find a job and it can collect her money by herself, this creates an opportunity for her to face any economic violence by her family or her intimate partner. So, Women are not only encouraged but also required to pursue knowledge, making it clear that Muslim women have the right to education. Consequently, every scholar needs to understand that women in Islam are permitted and also encouraged to work and pursue careers that align with Islamic values.

⁶⁵ The Holy Quran, Surah Nisa Surah An-Nisa ayat 124, available at: <https://surahquran.com/english-aya-124-sora-4.html>

There are many examples in Islam and in old times that is a big proof for every Muslim and non-Muslim that Islam favors work for women as men, but maybe in spheres that are relevant for her body, not as she is inferior but to be balanced by her biological powers, as a way for protection for the women. One of the greatest examples is the wife of the prophet Mohammed (Peace upon him) Khadijah bint Khuwaylid, was successful entrepreneur and respected figure in her communities. ⁶⁶

2) Theoretical analysis about Patriarchal culture and the violence against women.

After the analysis of the most relevant Islamic laws that govern the lives of women, it is critical to understand the culture that is prevailed in the society of Egypt, which is the patriarchal culture. Patriarchal culture can simply be defined as the domination of men over women in almost all spheres, within the family and within the society in general. One clear instance of this culture is when we can see the control over the decision making from the husband, the father, the male boss in the works place over the female counterpart, the wife, the sister, the female worker. This culture is still prevailed in many parts all over the world, and it is not correlated with any type of religions.

Within the family sphere, this culture treats women are as the barn and backbone of the family, like to make the primary place of the woman is the kitchen and so her primary work is serving food, beside her biological role, whether using her for sex or for getting babies and later caring for her children. It should be known that these responsibilities that designed

⁶⁶ Lessons From Khadija Bint Khuwaylid Every Muslim Woman Should Know

Khadija bint Khuwaylid, available at: <https://www.quranwindow.com/blog/khadija-bint-khuwaylid/>

for women, is not a wrong thing to do, but when all these tasks are prioritized to women alone, it is inhumane, whereas in a family, complementarity and cooperation are expected. Accordingly, each member whether male or female member do not feel burdened.⁶⁷

Consequently, we can understand that the patriarchal culture has negatively affected the women's status in the society. Moreover, this culture is only limits the responsibilities of the woman in specific spheres, but it extends to be a cause in several other kind of severe problems for the woman. For instance and the most relevant to the current study, this culture deprives women from their right to consent or not about their marriage. Accordingly, this is one of the basic factors of forced marriage.

In several parts of the world, Patriarchal culture prevailed, and this creates a society that depends on this social formation in which the man has the control over descent, the family, and the property, the woman is considered a form of such property⁶⁸. Sexual role and Childbearing are the main roles of the woman inside such society. So, women sexual role has been maximized; since their honor and the honor of their family depend on the woman's virginity which means the preservation of the women sexual purity before an official marriage.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Marzellina Hardiyanti; Abdul Jalil, The Dynamics of Patriarchal Culture and Power Relationships Towards Gender Responsive Policies for Women Workers in, The Study of Feminist Legal Theory Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang 50275, Indonesia, International Journal of Arts and Social Science ISSN: 2581-7922, Volume 8 Issue 5, May 2025. Available at: <https://www.ijassjournal.com/2025/V8I5/41466640297.pdf>.

⁶⁸ Renée Hirschon, "Introduction: Property, power and gender relations," in Renée Hirschon (ed.), Women and Property - Women as Property. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), Pp. 1-22.

⁶⁹ Jean G Peristiany, "Honour and shame in an Cypriot highland village," in J.G. Peristiany (ed.), Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society. (University of Chicago, 1966). Pp. 171 – 190.

3) Ethnographic Analysis for the real reasons behind the phenomenon of forced marriages in Egypt and correlated violence (live field research to investigate the truth- Real Stories of selected Egyptian Muslim women).

Here the analysis will be sectioned in two parts, the first will be dedicated to the analyses of the effect of the tool of drama and cinema on women; the author assumes that there are certain kinds of drama that can be directed towards stopping violence against women, or at least delivering certain messages that can promote the protection of girls against violence. The study shed the light on the effect of drama in that concern which is critical; since one of the author's hypotheses is that the drama could be a tool that has an effect on highlighting social hidden sufferings related to women, including the physical and sexual violence women might be exposed to.

Furthermore, drama is hypothesized to be a tool for encouraging women - who are suffering any kind of violence- to speak up, offering women variety of ways by which they can protect themselves of any kind of male violence against them. For examining this hypothesis, the author selects a documentary film named as *Honor diaries* for examining its effect on the studied women of the current study. This effect will be discussed clearly in the analysis of both the in-depth interviews and the ethnographic observational analyses to the selected three women. (The author selects to test the hypothesis related to the drama role within the analysis of the ethnographic and not separated as it will be highlighted during the interviews with the examined girls)

The philosopher “Hans Hardt” stressed that the culture of TV has taken the place of words as a substantial factor in social and political communication. In that sense, the different drama works, as films and serials, turned to be one of the paramount means in determination and dissemination of the defining characteristics of different religions and

cultures among people across different countries.

Thus, the author assumes that drama could be useful in presenting clearly the sufferings of Muslim women, and proposing as well solutions that could be undertaken by them to stop their sufferings of sexual and physical kind of violence, related to male dominance and the phenomenon of forced marriages.⁷⁰

In Egypt – as in the most of Muslim countries- there is a male domination over the female in several personal aspects for the women's life. This domination is represented in several exploitative attitudes –whether mental, physical or sexual abuse attitudes- of Muslim men toward Muslim women. Egyptian Muslim men portray women as weak, inferior while men are strong, superior, which resulted in creating a woman to fit only her sexual demands and biological role⁷¹, by getting children, which the author considers as a portray that serves sexual abuse against the women, especially when is implemented through a marriage against her will, taking several religious or cultural arguments to be bases for such violation against the women.

Accordingly, beside the analysis of the drama tool, the current study discusses the phenomenon of forced marriage -and specific correlated cultural and religious arguments - in the Muslim society of Egypt through using new way of reaching out data and analyses, the ethnographic analyses as mentioned, since it is based on living with four Egyptian Muslim women for a certain period starting from June 2022 till June 2024⁷² in two cities in Egypt -where these women are living- Cairo and Bani-Soueif.

جيهان يسرى، الاتجاهات الحديثة في دراسات الصورة الذهنية لشعوب العالم الثالث في الدراما المرئية⁷⁰

“Modern Trends in the Studies of the Mental Image of Third World Peoples in Visual Drama”

مجلة عالم الفكر، المجلد 33، العدد اول يوليو –سبتمبر، الكويت، 2004، ص 31.)

⁷¹ Amina Wadud, "Qur'an and Woman" (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn phd, 1993), p.7.

⁷² The data collection and verification is continued till end of the year of 2025, specially there was some papers and agreements of the Egyptian concerned authority to indicate the results.

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The author elicited narrative life histories of them as possible, to reach out a comprehensive picture for their lives. The author has observed the life of these four women that have been under physical or sexual violence related to forced marriages. The aim of the study was in the beginning to apply the ethnographic observation to the selected seven women; to examine the religious and cultural effect on this phenomenon in the selected cities.

However, three out of the seven selected women refused to meet on regular basis or coexist as possible with the author for good observational analyses of the problem. However, these three women – as well as the other four women- have accepted to watch the documentary film of honor diaries on one day and then conduct the in- depth interview –one by one- with the author. The selected seven women have faced a forced marriage phenomenon. The author discusses the women's sufferings –through the observational analyses of their life in specific period, and through the conducted in depth interviews with all of them.

Accordingly, the author adopts a unique approach in the current study; she does not study the phenomenon only through the analyses of the previous bibliography, whether Islamic or non-Islamic sources. The author follows the phenomenon, discussing only the themes that are detected through the lens of observation of the selected women's life and their told stories.

The author seeks -as mentioned earlier in this chapter- to examine a tool that could be beneficial in delivering help to women victims of similar physical or sexual violence through a forced marriage. This tool is one selected *drama* work which has been examined to discuss its effect on the women who are suffering related problem presented through it.

The author tries to see how some scenes that present this phenomenon in dramas works could have a positive effect in reaching out women, and encouraging them to follow other Muslim women models that were able to combat the violence against them. The selected documentary film is unique; the film was produced in 2013 by Paula Kweskin.

The author selects this specific documentary for its relevancy to the phenomenon of the current study since it discusses selected experiences of some women cases that have been under sexual or physical violence and their experience to defeat that violence they have been through. Thus, the documentary is watched by the 7 selected Egyptian Muslim women – not together for some refusal of some to be identified to each other- that have been under similar experience of forced marriage and other related forms of physical or sexual violence. Knowing that, the selected women in the study will not be identified through the research upon their demand for privacy reasons.

So, the inclusion of the analyses of the selected drama work, is assumed to have an effect on making positive changes in stopping the violence against women since the author assumes that all forms of dramas can be directed to make a positive impact on solving women's problems related to the violence they may be exposed to in certain moments in their life. Accordingly, this drama tool could offer solutions to the seven selected Egyptian Muslim women of the current study, and other women facing same kind of problems.

The current study is important due to the scarcity of the Egyptian studies that dealt with the subject of the current study using the same methodology the author applies here. Accordingly, the current study -beside other literature of the phenomenon- creates a full comprehension of the problem of forced marriage. Although that there is no previous Egyptian study that discusses the phenomenon of the forced marriage with the dimension of the physical and sexual abuse using the current methodology of ethnographic observation within the Egyptian society, there are Arabic and international studies that have discussed connected themes to the current study.

The Egyptian Muslim women that have been selected are seven. It has been so difficult to reach other respondents in the selected cities- for the safety for the author and the respondents as well". Three of them are interviewed directly by the author and they have seen the selected film of Honor diaries to reflect their opinions about it and connect it with their personal stories. The unique tool is that the study will be provided with a documentary that includes these women –hided faces- that they show some of what they have been through.

Moreover, as a part of the Ethnographic analysis, the author has lived and observed directly several life events of the other 4 women (one of them refused later to share her story however she accepts to share her opinions). The author has benefited in the analysis by the discussion of the Qualitative research methods in Riessman, C. in 1993.⁷³

⁷³ Cathy, Riessman,, "Narrative analysis: Qualitative research methods series". (Thou- sand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1993).

The Ethnographic observation has taken place during 6 months in Egypt. However, the participated four women in this observational analysis refused since beginning to be interviewed with a video camera due to privacy reasons.

So, the study is ethnographic and uses in- depth interview tools and examine the effect of scenes of the selected documentary film in encouraging the selected women to speak about their personal stories. The importance of ethnography as a methodology in media and cultural researches lies in its core principle that acknowledges audiences as active consumers of media texts.

The seven selected Egyptian Muslim women in total that have been interviewed have these features:

- First, all of them have experienced physical, sexual or other kind of abuse during the forced marriages they were subjected to.
- Second, they represent two cities in Egypt (Cairo and Beni Suef): the author selects the cities according to the acceptance of the women to speak about such violent experience against them; there were attempts to conduct interviews with other women, but the successful attempts were in Cairo and Beni Suef cities.
- Third, their ages range from 20 till 53 years old. Other details are not allowed to be published according to their opinions when they are asked about publishing such data. Generally, the fear from their families was the basic reason of that. Up on their request the interviews are used only for academic use, conducted interviews are kept in safe location for the use of official publication in journals and not through any other online forms.

The selected women include four girls from rural areas while the other three are from urban areas. Their level of education is classified into illiterate/ secondary school/ and university education. Three selected women are educated till their bachelor-degree; they are the three women who the author conducts the in-depth interview with. One of the four observed women is secondary level educated and the other three are illiterate.

- Fourth, the living experience is with only four women of them, but one out of the four women refused at the end of the study to publish her words about her personal life, but she accepted to share her ideas about the documentary film.

The interviews have been conducted in Arabic language and then the author has translated their words in English. The participants were free to select the sequence of details and the style they prefer in telling their own story. Consistent with the ethnographic approach, the author includes the data of premarital life including childhood experiences for all women. The women are encouraged to speak about any kind of violence they were subjected to prior the forced marriages. All women have reflected their opinions on the documentary film, provided to them.

All interviews were initiated with an open-ended question: would you like to talk about your personal suffering from any violence you are/were subjected to including forced marriage if you were/are subjected to?

Accordingly, in this part, the author quotes several sentences from the conducted in- depth interviews of the current study that will be classified to several phases and indications, as follows:

1) Physical Violence in their premarital life:

All women have witnessed physically and psychologically abused actions and violence from their fathers against their mothers. Some have been subjected while they were just children to violent beat from their fathers or their male family members- brothers/uncles.

The following statements are characteristic of the women's comments:

"My mother has been beaten hardly from my father and my father's family members. My mother is well educated but my father has prevented her from working. My father always threats us -me and my mother- to not give us any money for access food or other home stuff..". said the 34-years old girl that was forced to a marriage in the city of Beni Soueif . The girl is still married to the one she was forced to be married. She is still suffering domestic sexual and physical violence. The woman continued "I beat myself many times last year when I knew that I was pregnant, I killed my son since I could not allow him to come to live with me in this miserable life... I do not know what I will do later, but I need help..."

Other women emphasize the patriarchal culture that is saturated in some Egyptian Muslim family; the second woman- the 27 years-old- said: "My older brother always beat me very hard with his shoes; he put out cigarettes on my body in front of my mum and father and no one said anything. I always hoped to get married to run away from this hard life, but when they enforce me to marry rich old man of Gulf states, I realized another type of suffering"..

The third woman that has been interviewed said "My father and the three of my male brothers controlled all my childhood, when I reached 22 years old my mom and my dad have died. Since that time, my brothers became *Wali'* upon me, although I was old enough, further they did not give me any money from my parents' money or assets although we have a big agricultural land. They treated me as a servant for them and their wives and usually beat me with their shoes and one day my old brother has slapped me and I bled and I fainted". She continued: "one day, one of my brothers told me, tomorrow you will be married to Al Hag Mohamed who is older than me by 20 years and has already married another woman, when I said no, all of my brothers beat me till I was about to death, next day I was in the room with that man who I did not know"

The three interviewed women did not speak in details until they saw the documentary film honor diaries; all of them said many explicit sentences after watching it. Furthermore, they asked if the characters and their stories are really real or not, and when they figured out that all women in the documentary are real, they said that they want to run away from this violence as the characters of the film. One of them uttered "I would like to do a film for my suffering, if the world sees what I am going through, they will understand me...words will never make you feel what I am going through every day in this marriage. It is the worst nightmare, I beg Allah every day to wake up from".

That childhood/ pre-marital historic violence helps the ethnographic approach, especially with adding the analyses of the living observational experience of the other four women –knowing that the author will not talk about one of them who refused to share her story in the end. The first woman that the author has met regular during the past six months from writing this article, is really a particular case of a woman –only 20 years-old woman. The author has figured out an unusual kind of violence against this case; this case was under sexual violence as other selected women but this girl received such violence from her father and not her husband, as will be discussed in the coming lines.

It is an Arabic Islamic term used in Islam and it has been stated in the Quraan , it is referred to the male guardian of the young girls. Some Muslims make the term include all women who are not married yet. Here the author will discuss specific scenes from her participant observation for the 20 years-old woman and the other two women that she lived with for the period of the study.

Concerning the 20 years old girl, one day, I –the author- was in a café with the victim, we usually met there. The father of the victim came to the café where we seated and he made some signs by which the victim told me that she had to leave, and after just 10 minutes, the victim returned back to me and she discussed what her father asked her to do. The father told her that one of the rich men will come to marry her today and so she had to be at home this night to go with this man.

According to what I was going through with this victim since her talking about the physical violence she was experiencing every day from her father, I was expecting that this kind of marriages will be done soon, considering that the first time I met the victim was in a metro station while she started to talk to me and she told me that she was threatened to be married by someone against her will, but that marriage was not conducted. Recently on the day I mentioned earlier,

the father wanted the victim to come to the house in 2 hours maximum, and in case if she will not accept or resist, the father threatened her that he will sexually assault her harshly that night and he will accuse her that she loses her virginity in front of all her other family members and so in this case she will be killed from them and she will lose her honor based on the honor argument, which means the girl has to be virgin throughout her premarital life otherwise she has to be married who raped her or to be killed. The threat from the father is classified as sexual violence and crime in itself even if it was only a threat".

The other two women have experienced physical violence from their fathers and brothers mostly in daily basis during their childhood/premarital life as they told the author. According to the recent period that is included in the study, they were already married against their will. One of them – the 41 years old victim- was married using the same argument of honor, she was in love with a man before her marriage, and her family accused her that she lost her virginity- although she did not conduct any sexual relation as she said to the author- so her father gave her two options; either to marry an old man that he knew or she would be killed upon her brother's hand.

All three women the author coexisted with for a period of time said that the documentary honor diaries has to be seen by all families, one of them said "families should see this, not me...go to my father and show him that I will choose one day to run away and no one will find me again..". One of the three, the 20 years old girl has escaped and up till now the author does not know where she is, the author assumes and really hopes that she is safe even more so since the girl has told the author that she failed to travel out the country because she is under 21 years old.

2) The Sexual-Physical violence after the forced marriages:

All women have witnessed physical violence and sexual abused actions from their husbands they were forced to marry during their lifetime. The following statements are characteristic of the women's comments during that period from their life:

The 34- years old girl that was forced to a marriage in the city of Beni soueif; the victim is still married to the one she was forced to be married. She is still suffering domestic sexual and physical violence. The woman said "For me, he is not a husband, he is a man who beats me up as if I am not a human being, he beats me up till I bleed if I do not obey any order for him, he is the man that rapes me violently everyday... he is not a human being, he is like a predator, only thinking about sexually harming me or severely beating me"

Other women emphasize the violent actions they were/are exposed to, all women said that their men beat them and rape them. Women said that their men said that beating or raping their women is their religious right since they are their wives, considering that the woman is an object that has no rights. The oldest woman -53 years old and who is still married - has mentioned "my husband has used to tell me regularly that the Qur'an itself gives him the right to own the woman as he desires. I am now old to change this anyway, my life ended anyway, I lost all my dreams, I lost everything".

Another woman- the 27 years-old- said: "I always hoped to get married to run away from this hard life, but when they forced me to marry a rich old man of Gulf states, I realized another type of suffering".. The man that I was forced to marry was Muslim and not Egyptian, he was very violent against me and everyday he forced me to do very painful sexual activities. When I resorted to my mom one day because I was bleeding, my mom said that I have to obey my husband, and if I disobey him, it is Haram⁷⁴. I could not even go to the doctor but I fainted several times and no one cares. The marriage finished when I was 24 and it started when I was 23 and several months, it lasts only for 5 months.

My family took lots of money, and I returned back home and they are searching for me another marriage of the same kind, I am really thinking to run away, but I do not where I can go?.., I am educated till secondary school but my father refused to allow me to continue my studies and my brother has stopped me from a work in super market, saying that men in the street talk about me, and this is shameful, although I am wearing the Islamic veil. I lost my job, and so I had no money at that time that could have helped me to save my body from such kind of marriages, I hate myself".

⁷⁴ It refers to any kind of misconduct activities that makes Allah- God to Muslims- angry with the Muslim.

From the ethnographic observational stories of the three other victims; the 41 years old woman has been forced to marry while she was 26 years old, she said "I am still in this forced marriage since I was 26, I am now 41", she continues "I was in love with someone before being forced to marry this man I am with now. I have never allowed the one I love to have sex with me, but once my brother saw me hugging my love before I let him go, I remember he was travelling to another city... I did not do anything more than hugging him, I did not know that my brother was watching. On that day, I remember, I have been beaten very hard, all my family accused me that I have done a sin and I am not virgin.

At first, they wanted to kill me, but later, they forced me to marry a man whom my father got for me to marry me, the marriage has been done one week later that time my brother saw me with my love". She cried, and then she continued "I am now just like an animal, I am living to obey that man for years, I have never loved him, I have always take pills to stop the pregnancy, and he always beats me so hard". She continues "now I have one girl, the only hope I have in my life is to never allow the world to do the same with my girl".

Regarding the 20 years-old woman, the author realized that later she ran away from the house of that man she was forced to marry. Till April 2022, the author has tried to reach her, but she never responds or shows up.

Eventually the last woman -whom the author has conducted the ethnographic analyses with- has mentioned similar kinds of physical and sexual violence during her forced marriage.

Difficulties the author faces while conducting this ethnographic analysis:

The most problematic issue while conducting this study is that the author faces rejection of the women to talk explicitly about their opinions regarding their personal life that may have similarities with the film that they watched on purpose- Honor diaries film. So, they abstained at the first to talk in explicit way because they believe that it is a private matter.

The author has tried to be more involved in their daily life since October 2021; the author has met them usually or even calls them regularly on daily basis to listen up their daily sufferings and to be more involved in their personal stories in a quiet friendly way. The author has been close to the selected women until end of April 2022. This way of being closer on personal bases with these women during that mentioned period make it more easy for the women to speak up about their sufferings in their life stories of being under a forced marriage and other forms of physical and sexual abuse, and to reflect well on their opinions about the film of Honor diaries that discuss this phenomenon and shed light on several factors that have led to such exploitation of women in Muslim countries.

Later in time, women have accepted to express their opinions regarding the film and to connect it to their personal stories, however there was another problem while interviewing the women using camera. Most of the women under study have refused to be filmed in any way and only three of them accepted to be filmed but without their faces, they explicitly express their fear from their families that this video could be a reason for further violence against them.

Thus, only three women have appeared in the interview, while the rest of the studied cases of the women have been given the film to be watched in their houses in the time they can do – knowing that they express that it was not easy for them to watch the movie in their houses while their husbands or any members of their families are within the house; this is due to the fear to be punished by them if they know they are telling their stories to someone who may offer them a help in their daily sufferings. Accordingly, the author has to wait a bit longer time for those women till they express their opinions about the movie, as compared to the other three women who watched the film and conducted the interview directly with the author.

Another problem comes while conducting the interview with the 41- years old woman is when she has been asked about the accusation from her family if she was virgin before the forced marriage. The author wanted to know the circumstances of the accusation of her family against her; this accusation is well related to the honor killings' stories presented in the selected documentary. The 41- years old woman does not feel comfortable while reflecting about this part of her own personal story and to connect it to the movie she watched.

This lack of comfortable in talking about this issue is because the Egyptian Islamic cultures that bid women to freely talk about her love stories without an official marriage. There is a basic commonality between different Egyptian Islamic cultures. Although the slight differences regarding women's rights in the culture of al-Azhar, the culture of Muslim Brotherhood, the culture of urban Muslim elites, that of rural communities, the Islamic culture of Bedouins.

All types of cultures agreed up on the honor argument, which means the girl has to be virgin throughout her premarital life otherwise she has to be married who raped her or to be killed. Accordingly, women cannot confess that they have been in a love story before an official marriage this causes shame to them in their community.

-Chapter 4: Result of the analysis & Conclusions.

1) Discussion of the Results.

There are several types of violence that the women all over the world can be exposed to just because they are women, not because of religion or cultures. The current study examines certain types of violence against women, in a trial to understand the real reasons behind such violence but also with a big trial to give solutions.

After analyzing the theoretical discussion in the current study in chapter one, chapter two and the first two sections in chapter three, and based on analyzing the interviews that are conducted with the cases of women victims of the current study and the living experience with some of them that have been forced into marriage, and have suffered different physical and sexual violence, the violence they describe is based on both specific kind of cultural and religious basis of the Egyptian Muslim society. the current study has proven that misinterpretation of several texts and terms in Quran the holy book in Islam and the prevailed culture of patriarchy in Egypt are both the main factors of most types of violence that Egyptian women can experience.

The masculinity of Islam occurs through the misinterpretation of the Islamic religious texts that favors men against women, this is mixed with the patriarchal Arab culture that puts men above women in every sphere within the society.

The male domination has been examined in several domains of women's life resulted in creating a woman that is used as a property. The author delivers the effect of the Masculinity feature of the Qur'an within its texts that refers indirectly that women is for the use of man, and the misuse of other Islamic texts by the influence of the patriarchal culture on creating a veil over the women's life and on her ability to live as a full human being.

The author delivers those effects through the interview she has conducted with the three Egyptian Muslim women; the author has filmed specific scenes using a veil on their faces during the interview. This is not a reference to a piece of cloth on the head of the Muslim women. Because even though most nomadic women are not veiled, many of them are controlled in the same way⁷⁵. Accordingly, it is referring to something metaphorical as a hypothetical veil imposed by Muslim men on the ability of the Muslim woman to fend for herself, and on defending her own mind and body.

The interviews of the study have shown that the women suffer from lacking the ability to defend their body, and their dreams- in the case the brother has banned the victim from working and depending financially on herself as reported by the interviewed women- under the use of physical violence against the woman, thus creating a psychologically deformed woman.

⁷⁵ Nikki R. Keddie, "The past and present of women in the Muslim world.", (Journal of World History 1 (1): 77-108, 1990). p.81.

"Our Muslim men worry about the honor of their girls, so they force them to marry without consent which literally should be named as forced sex which lacks any honor, the girl can be forced to be married several times, the marriage lasts only for weeks, or till the man who marries her says he does not want her anymore" woman in the conducted interview has commented about the argument of honor in Islam and how it is misused by her Muslim family. The girl is returned after the end of the marriage— as commodity- to her family and in most of cases, she faces the same process- to be enforced to marry another- again and again.⁷⁶

Moreover, Egyptian Muslim women face difficulty to end this miserable marriage after sufferings of physical, and sexual abuse; since the Egyptian Muslim woman cannot easily dissolve a marriage equally as men, she has to go through discriminatory and burdensome process. In case of having children, it is even worse; since she has to first submit to compulsory mediation in the name of family preservation, before thinking to finish this marriage.⁷⁷ Furthermore, even if she costly succeeds to go through the legal process for ending her marriage, she usually faces fight from her family and community as if she commits a shameful crime.

"Egyptian Muslim women in several severe cases in which they find themselves under severe sexual and physical abuse of a man they never know, they face shattered choices of escaping without returning back, killing their husbands or committing suicide", said the 34-years old interviewed woman in the current study. Suicide is usually the option for several girls who could not find a help to finish such suffering related to sexual and physical violence in the forced marriage.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Op, cit; Cam McGrath, Underage Girls are Egypt's Summer Rentals.

⁷⁷ Sawma Gabriel, "Islamic Women Divorce Laws in Egypt" September 20, 2011, available at <http://gabrielsawma.blogspot.com/2011/09/islamic-women-divorce-laws-in-egypt.html>.

⁷⁸ UNICEF, "Child Marriages: 39,000 Every Day", http://www.unicef.org/media/media_68114.html.

The women have also expressed the difficulties they face in escaping; most of these girls do not have any financial sources to depend on themselves. Women could be exploited by other male actors in the society once they talk about their sufferings or their need for a work to finance their lives – knowing that most of the cases are not educated, however there are some who are educated. The 20 years old woman -that has been interviewed in the current study- expresses her sufferings in escaping; she wanted to leave the country to not be killed by her family, but she faced the obstacle that she was under the age of 21, since according to the Egyptian law, for a girl under 21, she has to obtain permission from her father to obtain passports and to travel outside the country.⁷⁹

Urfi contracts have been used to carry out informal marriage agreements in which the marriage is not recognized by the state but recognized by the community. This kind of contracts exposes the Egyptian Muslim woman to a higher risk of exploitation through depriving her from the legal rights in the marriage. According to one source, thousands of poor, rural girls between the ages of 11 and 18 are sold each year by their parents to much older, wealthy Gulf Arab men in such forced *Urfi* marriages.⁸⁰

Legally, Egyptian Muslim woman has suffered from another lack of protection from forcing her to be married; police usually consider physical violence to oblige the girl to marry by force as a family matter rather than criminal matter, adding to that there is no law that criminalize the sexual abuse during the forced marriage, so no girl can resort to the police to help her stop such suffering, "no one will believe me, no one will help this suffering that is happening everyday" said the 20-year old woman who the author has coexisted with for a period of time in the current study, in the ethnographic analyses part.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Department of State: "Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor", (Human Rights Report: Egypt, 2012), available at <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2012/nea/204357.htm>.

⁸⁰ Op, cit; Cam McGrath, Underage Girls are Egypt's Summer Rentals.

⁸¹ Op, cit; Department of State: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.

According to the in-depth interviews that have been conducted with 7 Egyptian Muslim women and the additional ethnographic study for three of them, all women forced to be married at different ages without their consent in Egypt and all the victims have experienced physical and sexual violence from their male family members since their childhood life. Physical and sexual violence and the male domination are based on patriarchal culture and misinterpretation of Qur'an texts. Watching similar experience in the selected documentary film has a positive effect on stimulating the victim women to speak up. This confirms the author hypothesis that drama, short films and other form of media should be used as tool to reach out all women who suffer such physical and sexual violence and to help them through offering ways to help them, naming different organizations that they can ask help, and encouraging them to start new life without accepting any violence based on allegations of cultural or religious bases.

However all mentioned analysis, and according to the current study and reviewing other literature, it should be known that women are not the victims of violence only because religions or cultures, on the contrary the idea is always returning back to one certain point which is that all harmful practices that women are exposed to, whether within her family, with her intimate partner, in the workplace, or in the society in general, is always due to one certain fact which is the woman is the weaker creature in humans. This is one of the tested hypotheses of this study, girls and women are not under threat of violence due to cultural or religious facts only, and they are under violence because male partner is more powerful, like exactly the idea of power in politics. For this reason, children as well are found to be also victims of violence, again because they are weaker creatures in human sect.

Conclusions:

In the current study, the examination for certain hypothesis that is basically regarding Islamic Shariaa and cultures related to the type of violence of forced marriages and all other correlated violence that women can be exposed to during this marriages, have proven that it is always the decisions of people more than a decision of God to humiliate any creatures on earth. Accordingly, it can depend on many factors and not only the religious or cultural, it depends on ethics, political views of each state, influence of mass media, and many other factors that other studied should be directed to examine to complete the full picture of the violence against women and it is recommended to be implemented with a methodology that touches the ground, and deal with real cases, more than depending on previous literature only.

So, overall recommendations can be mentioned as follows; Qur'an, many texts of the Qur'an should be revisited regards to the women rights; this would be the role of the new platform that will be created at the end of this study. Regarding the patriarchal culture that is still dominated within the Arab Egyptian society, there is should be a shifting in these cultural perceptions through legal procedures that save women.

Accordingly, community organizations and NGOs must raise awareness of the harms of sexual and physical violence that the girl is experiencing through forced marriage phenomenon. There is a must to enact a Legal protection nationally in every country to detect and prevent any kind of honor argument based violence, or killings. Religious Muslim leaders (sheikhs and Imams) have to make public speech during Friday during the Muslims prayers on women's rights in marriage and in general in the light of the main message of Islam which is Peace and equality above anything else.

Last but not least, all forms of Drama should be directed to present this issue of forced marriage, sexual and physical abuse and exploitation especially under the argument of Honor. Such work will encourage women to stop this suffering, it is a change that must start from every young Muslim woman, she has to reach her voice everywhere and she has the right to have access for helping her. Honor killings should be criminalized even on local basis.

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