A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF USER-GENERATED CONTENT IN REACTION TO NAYERA ASHRAF'S REVENGE KILLING IN EGYPT ON TIKTOK AND FACEBOOK"

Elie Safi[1]

Tala Chahal[2]

Jad Merhi[3]

Elie El Zouki[4]

Lucina Zaki[5]

[1,2,3,4,5] American University in Dubai

*Corresponding Email: yjarrar@aud.edu

ABSTRACT

This study explores user-generated content on Facebook and TikTok related to revenge killings, focusing on the case of Nayera Ashraf, investigating whether her killing exemplifies Egyptian societal misogyny and patriarchy. The study uses a purposive sampling strategy to collect and analyze 150 TikTok and 60 Facebook videos related to the case, additionally examining five comments per video. Analysis reveals that while victim demonization and killer legitimization occur, they are infrequent. Only 2.67% of TikTok and 15% of Facebook videos blame the victim, with more excuse for the killer on Facebook. Comments largely defend the victim and blame the killer, with 88% on TikTok and 68.8% on Facebook doing so. In terms of creator gender, TikTok has more female creators (50.67%), while Facebook has more male creators (46.67%). Findings suggest male Facebook creators are more likely to blame the victim and justify the killing (8.33%) compared to TikTok male creators (0%). 2.67% of TikTok female creators blame the victim and justify the killer, compared to 0% on Facebook. Despite these differences, the overall consensus leans towards support for the victim.

Keywords: Nayera Ashraf, Egypt, Middle East, MENA, North Africa, Revenge Killing, TikTok, Facebook, Creators, Users, Patriarchy, Legitimization, Demonization, Killer, Victim.

INTRODUCTION

With the ever-changing landscape of social media, several social networking platforms have emerged and left a mark on the media industry, a notable one being Facebook,

launched in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg and considered the largest social media platform globally with almost three billion active users per month (Iqbal, 2022). With the platform's large user base and the ability to build a network of friends and communities, users can keep up to date with the latest events going on around the world thanks to the Feeds and Home tabs ("Introducing Home & Feeds on Facebook," 2022). Furthermore, it is essential to note that social media is a tool that enables users to express their thoughts and opinions freely and voice with each other, making access to the internet and to social media as a whole a global human right (Tiwari & Ghosh, 2017, p.5). Thus, Facebook as a platform is also actively involved in ensuring its users' rights and freedom of expression and speech. However, Facebook as a platform aims to allow its users to express their opinions, it also tends to detect content and videos that include hate speech and extremism. Some of the videos studied have the possibility of being taken down, meaning there are some limitations to how free users can be on the platform (Klonick, 2020, p.2429).

On the other hand, TikTok is an application for mobile video sharing and creation, previously known as Musical.ly. The application has successfully been able to catch the attention of young viewers internationally. The app provides a unique way for users to share creative videos of themselves and their environment or compile external audiovisual content. The platform has grown into the most well-known Android and iOS video app due to its design, technology, and cultural factors, comprising a portion of the 800 million monthly users (Daryus et al., 2022). Furthermore, TikTok's policy on hate speech allows for hateful content and videos to be banned and deleted from the platform (Hern, 2020). As a matter of fact, videos promoting hate towards certain minorities are part of the platform's policy on banning hate speech (Hern, 2020). In addition, bullying and harassment that is directed towards any individual is detected and deleted from the platform as well as comments that may be promoting hate (Han, 2021). Nevertheless, social media also has adverse implications in circulating controversial narratives as platforms are a source of not only consuming content and exchanging and communicating information but also a place for debate (Smith et al., 2013, p.237).

As controversial topics can be diffused through social media, there is no doubt that the latter plays a crucial role in spreading misogynistic narratives worldwide. As a result, social media has become one of the tools of modern patriarchy. It impacts people by creating misogynistic patterns and patriarchal stereotypes. Therefore, the evolution of technology enhances the widespread patriarchal attitudes and identities on a more extensive scope (Arias-Rodriguez & Sánchez-Bello, 2022). However, there is a discrete

difference between the patriarchy as a kind of society and those who participate in it because the patriarchy as a system is a collection of ideas, thoughts, and social relationships, and some individuals tend to participate in it. Paradoxically, these individuals can be affected by it or perpetuate it. However, it is essential to note that these individuals are not the system itself. This system can exist regardless of if some men are considered "oppressive" or actively protecting each other's male dominance. Gender oppression exists, but it is embedded firmly in societies that accept such narratives, and as a result, people would tend to accept it, identify with it, participate in it, and normalize it. (Johnson, 2014, p. 28-30). Hence, this is the case with Nayera Ashraf's murder. Despite prevalent support aiding her case, it remains a matter of fact that Nayera existed in a society that embraces scrutiny, injustice, and judgment in its very foundation.

On June 20, 2022, Nayera Ashraf, a student of the Mansoura University in Egypt, was murdered by a man after having stabbed her multiple times. The reason for her killing is that Nayera Ashraf had refused the man's proposal to marry her, leading to an incident of "revenge killing" (Shawkat, 2022). Additionally, reports show that the killer had already threatened Ashraf to "cut her throat" in a series of messages sent from his phone to hers (Shawkat, 2022). The killer, Mohamed Adel, was eventually sentenced to death as per the ruling of the Mansoura Criminal Court ("Nayera Ashraf's murder case: Evidences behind death penalty, expected legal scenarios," 2022). However, Nayera Ashraf's case is not the only incident in Egypt regarding gender-based violence in the last few months, as a pattern seems to recur. On August 9, 2022, Salma Bahgat, a university student aged twenty years old, was violently murdered by a man after turning down his marriage proposal, an almost identical situation to that of Nayera Ashraf (Tabikha, 2022). Shaimaa Gamal, an Egyptian TV presenter, was also found dead and buried in a garden after her husband killed her in June 2022 (Tabikha, 2022).

Moreover, Amani Abdul-Karim Al Gazzar is another victim of gender-based violence in Egypt after being killed by Ahmad Fathi Ameira on September 3, 2022, for turning down his engagement proposal (Lynch, 2022). However, cases of revenge killing have also become recurrent in the Arab World and not just in Egypt. For instance, another killing perpetrated in Jordan's capital city of Amman found Iman Rashid, a Jordanian woman, shot by a man on the university campus she enrolled in just a few days after Nayera Ashraf's murder (Hamad, 2022). Likewise, Lubna Mansour is yet another victim of gender-based violence as she was stabbed multiple times and murdered by her husband in the city of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates in June of 2022 as a result of "family disputes" (Issa, 2022). With Nayera Ashraf's case being the first of several "revenge

killing" cases to follow rapidly in Egypt, an uproar is recognized on social media platforms as millions of users have seen the graphic video of her murder (Tabikha, 2022). Reports have also suggested that Ashraf's killer, Adel, had been stalking her and had even created fake social media accounts with her face edited over explicit and pornographic content and images (Saafan & Shams El-Din, 2022). The main reason behind this surge in gender-based violence in Egypt is the nature of society and the patriarchal system that exists (Tabikha, 2022). When Ashraf's killer made a public statement justifying his actions, he received sympathy on social media from many male Egyptians who reportedly could relate to his anger following Ashraf's rejection of his proposal (Tabikha, 2022).

Thus, this study aims to specifically take a closer look at Nayera Ashraf's killing and analyze and compare user-generated content created on Facebook and TikTok to observe how users react to the incident and whether this reaction is a reflection of the patriarchal system that is, to a certain extent, still present among Egyptian society.

Purpose Of the Study

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the similarities and differences between user-generated content on social media platforms, i.e., TikTok and Facebook, regarding the death of Nayera Ashraf and the reactions imposed on the incident. Therefore, the study also aims to conclude whether Nayera Ashraf's death represents the misogyny and patriarchy in Egyptian society.

Research Questions

Main Research Question:

How do users on Facebook and TikTok react to Nayera Ashraf's revenge killing incident in Egypt?

Sub-questions:

1- How does user reaction differ between Facebook and TikTok?
2- Does the public's reaction reflect on the concept of demonizing the victim and legitimizing the killer?
3- Is user reaction somehow reflective of the patriarchal system?
4- Are particular technical elements used in the videos on TikTok and Facebook to convey a certain message?

Significance Of the Study

The significance of the study stems from the lack of prior research on the subject. Although revenge killings have been previously discussed to a certain extent, this study thoroughly investigates Nayera Ashraf's case and the similarities and differences between TikTok and Facebook's representations as they have not been analyzed in depth. This study aims to shed light on the user-generated content produced in response to videos of the Egypt revenge killing that are shared on both platforms. It dives into comparing the various reactions presented on the two distinct platforms and the reasons behind that. TikTok is primarily explored due to its recent popularity, introducing an eye-opening field into the conversation. Meanwhile, Facebook is the second medium selected due to freedom of expression and diversity in perspectives to provide a fair comparison. Nevertheless, it aims to examine the recent recurring pattern of revenge killings present in the Arab world.

Limitations

This content analysis study encounters a few limitations. One major issue is the scarcity of existing research and content on revenge killings considering all the studies found and analyzed focused on honor killings. Although the topic is discussed when these killings are reaching a peak, time constraints had to limit the sample to a one-year frame. However, only Nayera Ashraf's case is studied in this research rather than the five recent examples that have occurred and mentioned above. As opposed to other studies that may have used softwares to evaluate a large number of samples, the usage of manual content analysis yields the possibility of obtaining a significant number of results in this study. Due to time restrictions and the need to examine different videos to avoid content overlap, the purposeful sampling method is employed. Another barrier encountered is the inability to assess the feedback and determine whether it is relayed in a positive or negative light. Lastly, the paper and the literature do not discuss political implications regarding revenge killings.

Theoretical Framework

The framing theory serves as the theoretical foundation for this content analysis study. As the media holds power and influence, it manages to capture the audience's attention and shape their judgment on certain topics and ideas. This process of shedding light on a specific event and setting it within a field of meaning is the basis of the framing theory (Framing Theory, 2014). The coverage of Nayera Ashraf's case and the patterns are framed in a way that assists in the analysis of the user-generated content produced in response to the killings.

This study also uses the Muted Group Theory as a theoretical framework. The theory suggests that some social groups are dominated and controlled by other social groups, thus establishing power relations between a dominant, a sub-dominant or a marginalized group (Lee Smith Barkman, 2018, p.3). Interestingly, the theory primarily focuses on power relations between men and women, denoting how women tend to be marginalized in contrast to men, who are considered the dominant group. Frequently, women's voices and views are often considered to be "muted" as opposed to men's voices and views (Lee Smith Barkman, 2018, p.3). In this study, the theory helps us examine and analyze how the case of Nayera Ashraf could reflect the patriarchal system and how men are represented as the dominant group as opposed to women.

Numerous theories address the reasons behind ongoing violence, but not many explain why the incidence of violence is rising rapidly and has started to be accepted as "normal" in society (Nussio et al., 2016). The normalization theory helps explicate why some actions appear to lead to practice becoming normalized while others do not by focusing on the effort of embedding and sustaining practices inside interaction chains (May et al., 2009). Therefore, hegemonic masculinity refers to the practice that encourages male dominance in social positions and sets women to be subordinated in society, thus portraying that men function in groups. They are driven by what other men do, which creates an interconnection with normalizing violence and killing. Moreover, another aspect is that violence, both lethal and non-lethal, is interlinked with the ideology that it is what makes a man attain his complete manhood. Thus, committing violence forms a lens that tends to normalize such actions because they are coherent with male dominance, falling under the patriarchal system (Martin, 2021).

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to identify the literature gap regarding this subject, the study examines numerous academic resources to facilitate TikTok and Facebook content analysis. The existing pertinent literature is studied in this literature review to pinpoint the multiple concepts further and the content patterns examined in this study.

The article "Honor Killings in the Middle East and North Africa: A Systematic Review of the Literature" by Kulczycki and Windle published in 2012 aims to review and assess previous literature on honor killings occurring in the Middle East and North Africa and identify the main reasons behind such a surge in violent gender-based crimes, but also proposes viable measures that could make a change. It is important to note that the study mentions that the term "honor killing" refers to the murder of a female by any male relative motivated by honor, meaning that these acts of violence also occur within the family and not solely between a wife and her husband or her significant other. The study uses a critical synthesis of previous literature by observing, summarizing, and

interpreting research and findings to understand the context and the reason behind the growing amount of gender-based violence in the region. The study reviews and assesses forty articles covering honor killings in the Middle East and North Africa in countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, and Palestine. The findings and the results of this study suggest that the main reason behind the recurrence of honor killings in the region is the deeply rooted existence of the patriarchal system among societies. In addition, the study further elaborates on the previous statement, stating that honor killings are a way to centralize power and control women. Moreover, this study highlights multiple actions that must be taken for change, such as increasing legal penalties for gender-based violence and honor crimes, appointing more women in judicial positions, and raising public awareness over the issue.

In the 2020 book "Women and Violence: Global Lives in Focus: Ch. 4 North Africa and the Middle East," Kevin E. Grisham deploys a study on honor killings, what they are, and the reasons why this practice is exercised in the MENA region. Grisham's quantitative approaches towards the study help in the understanding of the seriousness and spread of honor killings in the MENA region by the usage of a survey conducted by Araji and Carlson and administered to nine hundred and twenty-three university students in Jordan in which 13% of males and 11% of females have experienced a sighting of an honor killing revolving around a female. To further back his claim, Grisham supports his study by expanding furthermore into Jordanian society, where he concludes that 33% of the study subjects have encountered victims that have received honor killing threats, 28% of the subjects had known victims that have fallen due to honor killings, and 27% knew offenders who participated in honor killings. Furthermore, Grisham states that the motives behind these killings are the need to assert men's power over women and establish regulations in the household. In support of this assertion, Grisham cites a 2010 study that examines two hundred and fourteen female victims and finds that 56% of deaths in the MENA region are connected to "sexual impropriety," compared to 27% in Europe and 11% in America. This study adds to Grisham's point about men wanting control of women and having their regulations followed.

The 2016 article "The Escalation of Gender-Based Violence Against Women And Girls in the Mena Region" by Fatima Sadiqi and Helmut Reifield establishes a study on the severe spread of honor killings that are perpetrated by the victims' family members, the hideous effects of the patriarchy foisted in the MENA region, and how women are being silenced and not speaking up. The article applied the quantitative method to support the study by conducting surveys and studies in various countries in the MENA region to highlight the significance of the violence and widespread killings. Sadiqi and Reifield argue that homes in Jordan are considered brutal towards women since their offenders are usually always related to the victims. Honor killings are on the rise and are proven by statistics showing that 61.9% of honor killings are by brothers, fathers commit 14.3%, and nephews perpetrate the remaining 10%. To further support these statistics and portray the silence that women in the MENA region are suffering from, a 2010 study experimented in Tunisia displays that 55% of the victims keep silent due to fear of

further escalating and enhancing the problem, and 73% prefer not to seek assistance from anybody. Furthermore, another study displayed in Morocco in 2011 highlights the commonality of these killings and violence as 9.5 million women aged between eighteen and sixty four concluded that 62.8% of the women questioned were victims of abuse and brutality and that only 3% of the abused and victimized women uncovered their story.

"Interpreting Honor Crimes: The Institutional Disregard Towards Female Victims of Family Violence in the Middle East" by Devers and Bacon, published in 2010, is an institutional discourse that examines how prevailing ideas and policies that are supported by social norms and current penal statutes are at the basis of the institutional indifference for those who commit honor crimes. The paper studies honor crimes as a lethal kind of social control whereby offenders frequently receive mild punishment from criminal justice professionals. They demonstrate this by first outlining honor crimes and looking at their prevalence and range. They outline the same laws and regulations that Jordan, Egypt, and other nations have regarding those who commit honor crimes. The article then highlights how other criminal justice system players influence the tolerance shown to male offenders. The findings show that statistics on honor crimes vary significantly between countries. Nevertheless, even when crimes are reported and brought before the courts, offenders frequently get light and mild sentences. Finally, they conclude by "framing" these phenomena in the context of broader sociological and international studies on social control and gender threat.

The article "A descriptive medico-legal study of female deaths in Cairo governorate, Egypt" by Zaghloul and Megahed is a 2019 article that aims to highlight the violence women are subjected to nowadays. They shed light on some instances in Egypt's capital Cairo and the possible reasons behind such tragic deaths. Moreover, the study categorizes female fatalities according to age, cause, mode of passing, place of death, and perpetrator. In addition, the paper discusses the frequency of female killings and the patterns of related injuries. They use a two-year national retrospective descriptive mortuary-based study to recognize the potential dangers and forms of violence from a victimological perspective. The research population consists of adult females eighteen or older whose deaths are deemed suspicious enough to warrant a medical-legal examination. To gather some crucial information about the fatalities, they conduct numerous investigations. They gather information from autopsy reports, medical records, and law enforcement files. It is revealed that homicide is the primary cause of death. The most frequent reason for death is due to sharp traumatic injuries. The findings of the study conclude that homicide is the most common way for women to die, following domestic disputes caused by a mate, a family member, a possible spouse, or a former partner. The study's conclusion emphasizes the importance of increasing public knowledge of the extent of female violence in our society. The findings of this study suggest that men and, more importantly, women themselves can reduce or even prevent such deaths by having access to possibilities for economic independence, critical education and knowledge, alternative housing, and a change in society's

attitudes and mindset.

The 2021 article "Honour Crimes in Egypt. An analysis of how value is created through language" by Hend Mohamed Wahdan aims to demonstrate the importance of language use in the ongoing honor killing crimes in Egypt. The method used to demonstrate this aim is done by studying the culturally based understandings of honor given meaning, and thus semiotic value in a particular social context. The use of gender, space, and social interactions where men are viewed to be associated with power and honor and women are viewed to be associated with powerlessness and shame could result in the start of the honor killings phenomenon. The case used as an example is that of "Dalia Sadiq," who was killed after three men physically assaulted her at her home after discovering her with a man alone. Wahdan refers to this as an "honor killing," She commits suicide to preserve her dignity and prevent the spread of shame. Wahdan believes that this type of killing was "justifiable" given the violence committed by the men and the results. In the case of Dalia Sadiq, if the intended meaning of honor crime was the former, one cannot help but ask: whose honor is being protected? Indeed, whose honor is being protected when men murder women in its name? According to a paper published by the UN Division for the Advancement of Women in 2005, 75% of honor killing committers in Egypt are males. In fact, according to Wahdan, women are considered a part of the family and one of their actions can jeopardize the latter's honor. In other words, a family is what a man defines it to be, and the dignity of the family (men) depends on how women act, especially in terms of their sexual conformity, where they either transmit honor or shame. In Arab countries, it has become the norm for men to employ violence against women who either break these norms or are suspected of breaking them. This is done for the sake of reputation and honor.

The 2017 article "The Martyr of Dawn: Femicide in Jordanian Media" by Mahadeen aims to highlight and analyze the role of the media in representing and covering honor-based crimes and gender-based violence. The study uses a comparative approach and method to contrast the media representation of Noor Al Awadat's murder and several other honor killings in Jordan. A total of twenty-six texts covering Al Awadat's murder from multiple Jordanian news websites are chosen, whereas a total of sixteen texts covering honor killings from 2008 until 2014 from Jordanian news websites constitute the sample for the comparative analysis. The study's findings reveal that victims of honor crimes are represented in a more or less harmful light by Jordanian media, which demonizes them in a way, treating the incidents as "routine cases" and taking away from their importance and urgency. However, Noor Al Awadat's murder is heavily covered by Jordanian media, and the latter shows signs of sympathy towards the victim by condemning the killing. Furthermore, Al Awadat is painted as an "ideal" victim by the media to ignite further national and global sympathy. On the other hand, victims of other honor killings are demonized, and the media would use their "provocative actions" as justifications for the murders. The main takeaway from the article, which makes it relevant and eye-opening to this study, is that not all crimes are represented equally, and not all victims are "spared" from being demonized by the media and the

public.

"Honor Killing Attitudes amongst Adolescents in Amman, Jordan" by Eisner & Ghuneim is a 2013 study examining attitudes towards honor killings in Amman among a sample of eight-hundred and fifty-six students in the ninth grade. This study uses a quantitative approach by giving out questionnaires to all eight-hundred and fifty-six students from multiple schools. The schools are selected based on inclusion criteria designed to represent diverse perceptions and beliefs of students from different religions, socio-economic statuses, and upbringings. As a result, this article addresses a variety of descriptive data, demonstrating that 20% of girls and 40% of boys who participated in the study believe that killing a female is permissible if she has dishonored a particular family, regardless of whether she is a sister, wife, or daughter. Also, findings suggest that adolescents who believe in the value of female chastity or virginity, morally normalize violent behaviors, and support honor killings are the same people who have collectivist and patriarchal worldviews. As for parental disciplinary actions for the father's harsh discipline, honor killings are expected, but not with the mother. Therefore, attitudes toward honor killings are prevalent among male adolescents. Other characteristics, such as religion and the degree of one's religious convictions, are taken into account, and it is discovered that they do not correlate with honor killings. Finally, Eisner and Ghuneim conclude the research with the result that these attitudes in favor of honor killings are rooted in the structure of patriarchal dominance and accusations of female chastity.

Adak's 2022 study, "The Representation of Honor Killings in Turkish Media," explores how honor killings are framed in news reports and if patriarchal terminology is used to describe the crimes. Nevertheless, it examines how the perpetrators and victims are portrayed and how these murders are justified and normalized by the media. The scope of this study is within the time frame of 2012-2014. The method used is critical discourse analysis in two newspapers, i.e., Posta and Radikal, which investigates how honor killings are reflected throughout news outlets. The demographic of these victims range between fifteen and thirty nine years old, and most of the women murdered fall victim to their honor guards— official or unofficial husbands and fiancés. According to the article, the usage of the terms "her husband" or "her fiancé" justifies the whole act of killing because they create a perception that these people have the right to do so because they have authority over them. Moreover, using "honor" and "customs" in headlines leads to a gender hierarchy and discriminatory worldview on honor-based killings. These killings in the news are presented as individual problems, not societal ones. Thus, one of the significant results of this study is that the news texts include the killer's wishes to regain their social status by justifying their crimes. To conclude, highlighting the injustice entailed by such brutal killings, media outlets have oversaturated the content to foster further interaction through their sensationalism. Therefore, these outlets legitimize the killer's actions because the victims are partaking in domestic disobedience, which is why they are killed.

Lina Alkowatly's 2020 paper "No Honor in Honor Killings'' aims to study four hundred and sixty tweets regarding the 2019 honor killing of Israa Gharyeb through critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis. Gharyeb's death has occurred as a result of not complying to a "code of honor" as a woman and due to aggressive behavior imposed by a man. After her death, activists on social media spread the tweet on Twitter using "#كلنا_اسراء_غريب'' which translates to "we are all Israa," and protestors in the streets were protesting that women's killings would no longer be hidden and would be known globally like what happened in Israa Gharyeb's case, where not only Palestine knew about the incident, but the whole MENA region. After collecting the four hundred and sixty tweets, the findings show that those tweets are distributed into six categories where ninety-seven are grieving tweets and sending condolences, eighty three are blaming society, fifty five are describing the crime event, eighty five are calling for justice, eight two are attacking the killer, and fifty eight believe that there is no honor in killing. Those findings are categorized using qualitative content analysis that shows the different perspectives of people about the subject. With the help of critical discourse analysis, the overall message understood through those tweets is that the killer is mainly described as inhuman and brutal and the victim as innocent and credible. As those cases of honor killings in the MENA region continue to rise, women will continue to ask for their rights until official governmental laws take place.

Although the reviewed studies provide insightful information deemed helpful for this study, a gap remains as most articles discuss the issue of honor killings rather than revenge killings, which is what this paper tackles. Thus, this highlights the lack of in-depth research regarding the issue of revenge killings in the Middle East. This study is distinctive as it addresses a relatively new area of study and carries out a comparative content analysis of user-generated content in reaction to Nayera Ashraf's revenge killing on the social media platforms TikTok and Facebook.

METHODOLOGY

The sample used in this quantitative comparative content analysis is based entirely on primary data collected through the two social media platforms: TikTok and Facebook. The sampling methods, the techniques used to analyze data, and the frames constituting this study will be further explained and elaborated on in this section.

Sampling Method and Data Collection

This study uses a purposive sampling method to collect primary and relevant videos on both TikTok and Facebook. On TikTok, a total of 150 videos undergoes content analysis based on the eight frames that are (a) TikTok context, (b) demonization of the victim, (c) legitimizing the killer, (d) music and audio, (e) idealization, (f) storytelling analysis, (g) questioning religious beliefs, and (h) comments. The data and the videos are collected under specific hashtags relevant to the study, including #nayeraashraf,

On نيره_اشرف_ضحية_جامعة_المنصورة#, نيرة_أشرف,#ذبح_فتاة_المنصورة#, #nairaashraf, and
Facebook, 60 videos also undergo content analysis considering the previously mentioned
frames. The data and the videos collected are found under specific hashtags, including
#nayeraashraf, #نيرة_أشرف, and #نيرة_أشرف_محمد_عادل. As shown in Table (1), a total of 251
videos are found under the hashtags mentioned above on TikTok. On Facebook, a total
of 83 videos are found under the previously mentioned hashtags as shown in Table (2).
On the other hand, this study purposefully chooses 25 videos on TikTok and 25 videos on
Facebook to analyse 5 comments using a systematic random sampling method, as shown
in Table (3). Thus, 50 videos, and 250 comments are chosen in total, with 125 from each
platform. However, some comments are out of topic, and the following comment is
subsequently chosen instead.

Table (1): TikTok Sampling Methods

Population	TikTok videos under the hashtags #nayeraashraf, #nairaashraf, #ذبح_فتاة_المنصورة, نيرة_أشرف, and #نيره_اشرف_ضحية_جامعة_المنصورة
Population #	251
Sample Population	Videos relevant to the study under the same hashtags
Sample Population #	150

Table (2): Facebook Sampling Methods

Population	Facebook videos under the hashtags #nayeraashraf, #نيرة_أشرف, and #نيرة_أشرف_محمد_عادل
Population #	82
Sample Population	Videos relevant to the study under the same hashtags
Sample Population #	60

Table (3): Comments Sampling Methods on TikTok and Facebook

Population	Comments present in the 25 videos on each platform
Population #	168,229
Sample Population	Five comments present in the 25 videos chosen on each platform
Sample Population #	250

Methods Of Data Analysis

This study employs quantitative content analysis procedures that focus on a set of thematic codes that are derived from gender studies literature. The analysis in the frames labeled "TikTok Context'' as well as "Facebook Context" is based on the identity of the published videos. Analysis of the music, language, and diction employed is the main subject of the frame label "Music and Audio." The key objective of the "Demonizing the victim" frame is to make the victim accountable for their acts by accusing, blaming, and demonizing them. "Legitimization of the killer" exalts and defends the murderer. The "Idealization frame" discusses whether the victim is idealized or not. The seventh frame label "Storytelling Analysis" discusses if the videos are instructive or convincing. The frame "Questioning the Religious Beliefs" suggests that the killer and the victim's faith may have been questioned. The final frame "Comments" discusses whether the comments posted by other users on TikTok and Facebook demonize the victim and legitimize the killer or not, as seen in table (4) below.

Table (4): Frames and Indicators

Frame Labels	Attributes and Specifications
TikTok Context	- Link accessed - User account - Date released - Duration of the video - Category - TiktTok caption - Views - Likes - Comments - Shares - Was it a duet/stitch? - Gender
Facebook Context	- Link accessed - User account - Category - Date released - Duration of the video - Facebook caption - Likes - Comments - Gender
Demonization of the victim	- Was the victim being blamed? - Was the victim accused of deserving the murder? - Was the victim accused of seduction?
Legitimization of the killer	- Was the murder justified? - Was the killer glorified?
Music and Audio	- Is profanity language being used? - Is a hostile tone being used? - Is a sympathetic tone being used?
Idealization	- Is the victim idealized?

Storytelling Analysis	- Was the video informative? - Was the video persuasive?
Questioning the Religious Beliefs	- Were the killer's religious beliefs questioned? - Were the victim's religious beliefs questioned?
Comments	- Does the comment blame the victim/support the killer? - Does the comment support the victim/blame the killer?

FINDINGS

User-generated content and videos in reaction to Nayera Ashraf's revenge killing have been analyzed in-depth, and the findings are listed in fourteen different tables. Table (5) shows the amount of male, female, and unspecified users on TikTok and Facebook based on the sample analyzed. Findings reveal that on TikTok, there is a higher prevalence of female users than males and that male users are much more prevalent than females on Facebook. Tables (6) through (11) show how many males, females, or unspecified users demonize the victim and legitimize the killer on each platform. Findings indicate that male users tend to blame the victim and justify the killer's actions more than females on Facebook, but with low prevalence. On TikTok, there is an extremely low prevalence of female users blaming the victim and justifying the murder. Table (12) shows whether creators demonized the victim on TikTok and Facebook. Findings reveal that creators on Facebook tend to demonize the victim more than creators on TikTok. However, it is essential to note that there is a low prevalence of victim demonization. Table (13) indicates whether creators on TikTok and Facebook legitimize and justify the killer's actions. Findings also reveal that the killer's actions and the murder are justified and legitimized more on Facebook than on TikTok, but with low prevalence. Table (14) exhibits and reflects the tonality and form of language used by TikTok and Facebook creators. Results show that the use of profane language, hostile tone, and sympathetic tone is more prevalent on TikTok than on Facebook. Table (15) reveals whether the victim was idealized and represented in a perfect image by content creators on both social media platforms. Findings suggest that the victim's idealization is more prevailing on Facebook than on TikTok. In the table (16), the prevalent method of storytelling is revealed. Findings show that both informative and persuasive techniques are more prevalently used on TikTok than on Facebook. When it comes to table (17), it expresses whether creators questioned the victim's or the killer's faith in religion on TikTok and Facebook. Findings reveal that both the killer's faith in religion and the victim's faith in religion is more questioned by Facebook users than TikTok users. Lastly, table (18) portrays whether the victim or the killer is supported or blamed by the public, per the

comments. Findings reveal that most of the comments on TikTok and Facebook support the victim and blame the killer. Although comments on Facebook blame the victim more than on Tiktok, overall, both platforms support the victim more.

Table 5: Gender

Platform	# of Males	% of Males	# of Females	% of Females	# of Unspecified	% Of Unspecified
Tiktok	70/150	46.67%	76/150	50.67%	7/150	4.67%
Facebook	28/60	46.67%	11/60	18.33%	22/60	36.37%

Table 6: Gender Approaches on Tiktok for Male Gender

# of Males Blaming	Percentage of Blaming	# of Males Justifying	Percentage of Justifying
0/150	0%	0/150	0%

Table 7: Gender Approaches on Tiktok for Female Gender

# of Females Blaming	Percentage of Blaming	# of Females Justifying	Percentage of Justifying
4/150	2.67%	4/150	2.67%

Table 8: Gender Approaches on Tiktok for Unspecified

# of Unspecified Blaming	Percentage of Blaming	# of Unspecified Justifying	Percentage of Justifying
0/150	0%	0/150	0%

Table 9: Gender Approaches on Facebook for Male Gender

# of Males Blaming	Percentage of Blaming	# of Males Justifying	Percentage of Justifying
5/60	8.33%	6/60	10%

Table 10: Gender Approaches on Facebook for Female Gender

# of Females Blaming	Percentage of Blaming	# of Females Justifying	Percentage of Justifying
0/60	0%	0/60	0%

Table 11: Gender Approaches on Facebook for Unspecified

# of Unspecified Blaming	Percentage of Blaming	# of Unspecified Justifying	Percentage of Justifying
3/60	5%	1/60	1.67%

Table 12: Approaches Used in Videos

Demonization of the victim	# Of TikTok Videos	# Of Facebook Videos	Percentages for TikTok	Percentages for Facebook
Videos that blame the victim	4/150	9/60	2.67%	15%
Videos accusing the victim of deserving murder	0/150	0/60	0%	0%
Videos accusing the victim of seduction	0/150	3/60	0%	5%

Table 13: Approaches Used in Videos

Legitimization of the killer	# Of TikTok Videos	# Of Facebook Videos	Percentages for TikTok	Percentages for Facebook
Videos justifying the murder	4/150	7/60	2.67%	11.67%
Videos glorifying the killer	4/150	2/60	2.67%	3.33%

Table 14: Audio usage in Videos

Music and Audio	# Of TikTok Videos	# Of Facebook Videos	Percentages for TikTok	Percentages for Facebook
Videos that use profanity language	45/150	4/60	30%	6.67%
Videos that use a hostile tone	76/150	21/60	50.67%	35%
Videos that use a sympathetic tone	59/150	16/60	39.33%	26.67%

Table 15: Idealization in Videos

Idealization	# Of TikTok Videos	# Of Facebook Videos	Percentages for TikTok	Percentages for Facebook
Videos that idealize the victim	6/150	8/60	4%	13.33%

Table 16: Storytelling in Videos

Storytelling Analysis	# Of TikTok Videos	# Of Facebook Videos	Percentages for TikTok	Percentages for Facebook
Videos that use an informative method	110/150	42/60	73.33%	70%
Videos that use a persuasive method	65/150	23/60	43.33%	38.33%

Table 17: Religious aspects in Videos

Questioning the religious beliefs	# Of TikTok Videos	# Of Facebook Videos	Percentages for TikTok	Percentages for Facebook
Videos that question the killer's religious beliefs	8/150	4/60	5.33%	6.67%
Videos that question the victim's religious beliefs	0/150	3/60	0%	5%

Table 18: Comments

Comments	# Of TikTok Comments	# Of Facebook Comments	% for TikTok	% for Facebook
Comments that blame the victim/support the killer	15/125	39/125	12%	31.2%
Comments that support the victim/blame the killer	110/125	86/125	88%	68.8%

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This study scrutinizes user-generated content on social media platforms, i.e., TikTok and Facebook, emphasizing the differences and correlations between Nayera Ashraf's death and the creators' reactions to the incident. Hence, the literature analyzed in this paper plays a pivotal part in unraveling connections with this paper's findings and linking the results to the theoretical framework discussed above. Therefore, honor and revenge killings are interconnected because some men kill women for not conforming to their demands and standards. The majority of the research papers analyzed the above-explored honor killings and the motives behind them.

To begin with, multiple articles reviewed in section 2.1 analyze instances of honor killings, and their findings are related, in one way or another, to this study's findings. The 2020 research article "No Honor in Honor Killings" reflects on the idea of idealization and relates to the findings of this study. As Israa Ghrayeb appears to have been idealized and presented in a faultless image to arouse sympathy, numerous tweets cover various parts of the incident and different frames. The murderer is also harshly criticized and insulted by Twitter users for his actions. In comparison, the findings of this

study reveal some similarities with the article to a certain extent. Nayera Ashraf is also idealized by creators on Facebook and TikTok, as 13.33% and 4% of creators did so, respectively. However, it is crucial to note that there is a low prevalence of victim idealization, indicating that most videos do not idealize Nayera Ashraf.

Furthermore, the 2012 article "Honor Killings in the Middle East and North Africa: A Systematic Review of the Literature" by Kulczycki and Windle finds that most honor killings in the region mainly occur due to the vivid presence of the patriarchal system in those societies. The 2013 study "Honor Killing Attitudes amongst Adolescents in Amman, Jordan" by Eisner and Ghuneim also reveals how 40% of male students support the concept of honor killings due to the patriarchal system. Lastly, Adak's 2022 study, "The Representation of Honor Killings in Turkish Media," reveals that media outlets legitimize the killer's actions due to patriarchy. Compared to this study, 15% of the creators on Facebook blame the victim, and 2.67% on TikTok, thus demonizing her. Additionally, 11.67% of the creators on Facebook justify the killer's action, and 2.67% on TikTok. Through victim demonization and killer legitimization, the patriarchal system is reflected as the actions of the killer, who happens to be a part of the male gender, are justified.

Moreover, a significant number of similarities are found with the 2017 article "The Martyr of Dawn: Femicide in Jordanian Media" by Mahadeen. The article mentions how some honor killings covered by the media in Jordan would tend to demonize the victim. In light of this study, findings reveal that creators demonized Nayera Ashraf on TikTok and, more prevalently, on Facebook. For instance, 15% of creators on Facebook blame Nayera Ashraf for the killing, as opposed to 2.67% on TikTok. However, it is necessary to note that the rest of the videos that do not demonize the victim and legitimize the killer include reactions in defense and support of Nayera Ashraf, thus posing as the majority. The article also mentions that Noor Al Awadat's case, in particular, is framed differently as the media rather idealized the victim. Compared to this content analysis paper, findings also reveal some cases of victim idealization, as 13.33% of Facebook videos represent Nayera Ashraf in a perfect image and as an ideal person, with 4% of videos on TikTok doing so as well.

In relation to the theoretical framework discussed in section 1.6, the findings of our study correlate with the theories tackled above. Regarding the framing theory, the findings reveal a higher prevalence of users on Facebook demonizing the victim and legitimizing the killer than on TikTok. By doing so, users thus frame the incident and set it within a given and particular meaning by condemning Nayera Ashraf. In fact, according to the findings, 15% of creators on Facebook blame Nayera Ashraf for the murder by holding her accountable for her actions, stating that the killing was a consequence of those actions. Moreover, legitimizing the killer reinforces Nayera Ashraf's representation as a dishonorable figure. For instance, 11.67% of the videos on Facebook justify the killer's murder, and 3.33% glorify and frame him as a hero. On the other hand, framing the incident on TikTok differs from Facebook. The higher majority

of the creators on TikTok reprobate the killer. For example, only 2.67% of the videos on the platform blame the victim. Out of the 150 videos, none of them accuse the victim of seduction nor of deserving the murder. Therefore, most videos are instead defending the victim and attacking the killer. Furthermore, victim idealization is also seen on both platforms, with 4% of creators on TikTok portraying the victim in a perfect image and 13.33% of creators on Facebook doing so.

In terms of the muted group theory, the findings of this study are an extension of the theory, but only to a certain extent. Whenever the victim is demonized and thus blamed for the murder, she is silenced and put in a place of marginalization. Additionally, some creators criticize her for not conforming to social norms as a woman, as her being a model and partying with friends in the Sahel is seen as an act of misconduct within the context of those Egyptian societal norms. However, there is a low prevalence of victim demonization and killer legitimization, showing that the muted group theory is moderately applied. Intriguingly, all the videos on TikTok that blame the victim and justify the murder (4/150) are made by female creators. Therefore, 2.67% of those videos are made by females. It is entrancing to note that these findings show that, in some instances, some women also tend to blame victims of the same gender rather than supporting them and fighting for their rights. In addition, findings reveal that 8.33% of male creators blame the victim, and 10% justify the murder. As a result, the muted group theory is being applied to a certain extent as the victim's voice is silent and muted, and the killer is put in a more dominant position in one way or another. However, these findings are also of low prevalence, highlighting that the muted group theory is not applied on a large scale. Furthermore, this highlights how the findings are also a reflection of the patriarchal system to a limited extent. With the killer being a man and legitimizing him, he is put in a much more dominant position, and these users do not consider that he is at fault, only blaming the victim herself.

Regarding comments, 12% blame the victim and support the killer on TikTok, and 88% support the victim and blame the killer on TikTok. On Facebook, 31.2% of the comments blame the victim and support the killer, whereas 68.8% support the victim and blame the killer. This comment analysis indicates that, to a certain extent, the public tends to demonize the victim more on Facebook than on TikTok. It also reveals that, subsequently, the public supports the victim more on TikTok than on Facebook. These findings can be applied to the muted group theory up to a point, as they show that the public also plays a role in silencing and muting the victim's voice by placing the killer in a more dominant position and justifying his actions. Nevertheless, the findings suggest that the muted group theory's application is limited and constrained as the percentages reveal significant users supporting the victim, notably on TikTok.

In terms of social implications, the frameworks address, to some extent, the patriarchal social system which is disseminated through user-generated material, notably when it comes to victim demonization from male creators and killer legitimization. However, percentages reveal that, for instance, only 8.33% of male creators on Facebook blame

the victim, and 10% justify the murder. Therefore, there is a minimal presence of these frames, suggesting that the reflection of the patriarchal system is portrayed on a smaller scale. Nonetheless, these frames suggest that the patriarchal system still exists within society and some individuals partake in it. Additionally, male glorification is a crucial key aspect of the patriarchal system. As suggested in the findings above, 3.33% of the videos glorify the killer on Facebook and 2.67% on TikTok, which is evidence by itself that despite the killer's moral conduct, he is glorified because he is a man. Regardless, these percentages are low, once again suggesting that the presence of the patriarchal system is minimal, with a few individuals participating in it. It is contradictory that these individuals who partake in misogynistic activities do not represent an entire society, although these cases exist because of patriarchy. In Ashraf's case, she was a victim of a man who participated in such a system. According to Johnson, "the system" exists regardless of whether some people engage in it (Johnson, 2014, p. 28-30). In contrast, according to the findings, male creators support the victim more than they blame her on both TikTok and Facebook platforms. However, there is a tendency to support the killer; even though these individuals are a minority, they still exist.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study aims to examine Nayera Ashraf's case by comparing user-generated content published on TikTok and Facebook in reaction to her murder. In addition, the study's significance and importance derive from the limited research conducted on the issue of revenge killings and content analysis on both social media platforms about the topic. The study uses purposive sampling to extract the relevant videos in light of the subject. In addition, the videos are then analyzed following the frames mentioned above in section 3.2. Concluding the findings and discussion, the study primarily finds that the videos and creators on TikTok and Facebook do not demonize the victim and legitimize the killer as much.

Subsequently, although these platforms heavily rely on entertaining users, many videos are found to be informative and persuasive to spread awareness about the killing and call audiences to action. Additionally, this study finds that male creators on Facebook have a higher tendency to blame the victim and justify the killer as opposed to male creators on TikTok based on the sample studied. On the contrary, female creators on TikTok tend to blame the victim and justify the murder more than female creators on Facebook. However, it is critical to note that the percentages are low, indicating that these frames and their specifications are not as prominent. Therefore, user-generated content in reaction to Nayera Ashraf's revenge killing is a mere and trivial representation of misogyny and the patriarchal system, as the majority of the videos studied and the gender identity of the creators, in addition to the comments, reveal to be supporting the victim on a larger scale rather than demonizing her.

When investigating user-generated content in reaction to Nayera Ashraf's revenge killing on TikTok and Facebook, it is recommended to conduct further research within a timeframe that extends the one-year limit. With a longer timeframe, it is feasible to analyze a more extensive and substantial sample from both platforms and thus obtain much more statistically significant findings. In addition, it is suggested to use a software to analyze content from a larger sample more effectively, as opposed to the manual content analysis conducted in this research which serves as a limitation to the study. A gap in the literature is also identified concerning the coverage of revenge killings as the papers previously reviewed only cover honor killings. As such, with an extension of the study's timeframe, it is recommended to gather and construe literature within the context of revenge killings. Furthermore, it is recommended to use a different sampling method when conducting future research and content analysis. This study uses a purposive sampling method due to time constraints and thus, it presents a lack of an actual number of relevant videos to the research. As such, within a longer timeframe, more relevant videos can be collected from TikTok and Facebook, allowing for a distinct sampling method to be utilized. Additionally, it is suggested in future research to assess and evaluate the feedback in order to determine whether it is disseminated in a positive or negative light. It is also recommended in future research to assess the political and legal implications of revenge killings. Lastly, this research only studies one revenge killing case, Nayera Ashraf's. However, there are a multitude of different cases of revenge killings that have occurred as well, and five of them are listed in section 1.1. Thus, it is advised to study multiple cases of revenge killings and draw similarities and differences to enrich the nature of the research.

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