The representation of Muslim women in the Portuguese press: From the perspective of Islamic feminist movements

La representación de las mujeres musulmanas en la prensa portuguesa: desde la perspectiva de los movimientos feministas

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Abstract

Feminist movements assume a social, cultural, and political position, characterized by their heterogeneity, representing the diversity present in humanity. Within this plurality, Islamic feminisms are movements that aim to find in the Muslim community a space that can be shared between men and women in an ideal of equality, both in the public and private spheres. On the other hand, within the concerns of feminisms, the media took on one of the central issues. At the confluence between feminisms and the representation of women in the media, this study aimed to investigate the representation of Muslim women in the Portuguese press. To this end, informative pieces were collected from the Portuguese newspapers *Observador* and *Público*, methodologically using Critical Thematic Analysis, as stated by Brandi Lawless and Yea-Wen Chen (2019). The results showed that five critical themes stood out in the analysis: clothing, sport, fashion, migration, and gender issues. The critical theme that stood out most from the data analyzed was that relating to Muslim clothing, with this issue still being seen in the Western world as a form of oppression of women. Finally, it should be noted thatnews content focused mainly on the international context, meaning the media continues to perpetuate ignorance regarding the reality of Muslim women residing in Portugal.

Keywords

Feminisms, Muslim women, Online Journalism, Islamic feminism, Representation

Resumen

Los movimientos feministas asumen una posición social, cultural y política, caracterizada por su heterogeneidad, representando la diversidad presente en la humanidad. Dentro de esta pluralidad, los feminismos islámicos son movimientos que pretenden encontrar en la comunidad musulmana un espacio que pueda compartirse entre hombres y mujeres en un ideal de igualdad, tanto en el ámbito público como en el privado. Por otro lado, dentro de las preocupaciones de los feminismos, los medios de comunicación asumieron uno de los temas centrales. En la confluencia entre feminismos y representación de las mujeres en los medios de comunicación, este estudio tuvo como objetivo investigar la representación de las mujeres musulmanas en la prensa portuguesa. Para ello, se recogieron piezas informativas de los diarios portugueses Observador y Público, utilizando metodológicamente el Análisis Temático Crítico, tal y como proponen Brandi Lawless y Yea-Wen Chen (2019). Los resultados mostraron que cinco temas críticos se destacaron en el análisis: vestimenta, deporte, moda, migración y cuestiones de género. El tema crítico que más destacó de los datos analizados fue el relacionado con la vestimenta musulmana, que todavía se considera en el mundo occidental como una forma de opresión de las mujeres. Por último, cabe destacar que el contenido de las noticias se centra principalmente en el contexto internacional, lo que significa que los medios continúan perpetuando la ignorancia sobre la realidad de las mujeres musulmanas que residen en Portugal.

Palabras clave

Feminismos, Mujeres musulmanas, Pediodismo online, Feminismo islámico, Representación

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1. Introduction

Since it emerged as a field of research in the 1970s, Feminist Media Studies have been busy investigating how gender relations are represented, how the public understands them and how professionals can contribute to perpetuating gender inequalities (Elspeth Probyn, 2001). Feminist communication research is closely linked to a political movement that aims social change (Kaitlynn Mendes and Cynthia Carter, 2008). Currently, this field is breaking new ground to reach understandings that go beyond gender identity and experience (Margaret Gallagher, 2014).

Throughout the history of humanity, feminisms have emerged as social, cultural, and political movements, characterized by their heterogeneity, representing the diversity present in humanity. Within this plurality, Islamic feminisms are movements that aim to find a space in the Muslim community that can be shared between men and women in an ideal of equality, both in the public and private spheres. Islamic feminisms, as organized and independent movements, began in the 1920s and have since gone through some phases and ideological changes (Cila Lima, 2014). Thus, the term emerges as a way of describing feminist discourse within the Islamic reality.

Within the concerns of feminist movements, the media took on one of the central issues. First of all, because, historically, it is considered that journalism must assume an ethical and deontological commitment, bearing in mind the quality of information, striving for objectivity, truth, and accuracy of information (Carlos Camponez, 2014).

At the confluence between Muslim women and Portuguese media, we mainly talk about the representation of the "Other", which brings to the fore the need to address several issues. From the outset, Islamic feminism seems to clash with what Western values are believed to be. Through the binomial modernity/tradition, Western women are seen as modern and free, and non-Western women as traditional and oppressed (Lisa Wade, 2009).

We also talk about intersectionality here, taking into account that the term was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1991), in the 80s, stating that there are several forms of oppression that intersect with each other. Looking at Islamic feminism through the representation of Portuguese media forces us to determine identities and forms of oppression that are related and intersect with each other.

Furthermore, feminisms have become a popular movement. Therefore, it is not surprising that the media, as means that reproduce reality, have sought to include gender issues in their agenda. If there has been a warning over time about the lack of representation or erroneous representation of women, on the other hand, there is also a growing concern in journalistic activity in creating representations that focus more on the integration of women than on stereotyping. The media not only has the potential to promote the role of women in society and eliminate prejudices and stereotypes but also to stop the past in which the representation of women's image in journalism was done in a degrading way.

Thus, the media can be a catalytic force to instigate social change. Due to its ability to influence issues that concern humanity, its role must be exercised responsibly and constructively for society. If they fail to achieve this goal, their influence can have an antipodean impact on the public and make the media part of the problem.

By approaching the growth and scope of Feminist Media Studies, the plurality of feminist movements (in which Islamic feminisms are included), the representation of the media about gender issues, and the importance they assume in society, we arrived at the investigation that holds us here. Therefore, bearing in mind this theme of the relationship between media and feminism, this investigation aims to understand the representation of Muslim women in the Portuguese press, starting from a framework centered on Islamic feminist movements. In this way, we intend to answer the research question that will guide this study: what is the representation of Muslim women in the Portuguese press?

2.   Brief contextualization of Islamic feminist movements

In the words of Carmen Vidal Valiña (2017), "Islamic feminisms take as their starting point an element that makes them break with hegemonic white feminism, secular in its conception: Islam" (p. 104). Often, feminisms look at religion as a form of subordination of women, considering the way in which women are subordinately represented in religious texts and how religions serve as justification to maintain the privileged position of men in society (Iman Hashim, 1998). However, as Iman Hashim (1998) tells us, "many Muslim women and men disagree with such a view, arguing that the Qur'an provides significant rights for women, which are often far more wide-reaching than the rights which secular legal systems provide for a state's female citizens" (p. 7).

Historically, although the first appearances of Islamic feminist movements emerged in Egypt and Turkey, around 1890, the main catalytic moment, as an organized and independent movement, dates to the 1920s with the founding of the Union of Egyptian Feminists, by Huda Sha'rawi (Cila Lima, 2014).

According to Cila Lima (2014), like all feminist movements, Egyptian feminism went through several phases with their respective ideological changes: 1 - *Radical liberal feminism* (1920-1940): Muslim feminists educated in France or French schools; 2 - *Populist feminism* (1940-1950): feminists with a Marxist background; 3 - *Sexual feminism* (1950-1970): represented mainly by the Egyptian doctor Nawal el Saadawi; 4 - *Resurgent feminism* (1980); 5- *Islamic feminism* (post-1990): meeting between secular feminism and women's movements for re-Islamization.

One of the characteristics present in these movements (mainly in the years 1970 to 1990) is the consideration of feminism as a Western instrument. In fact, as Cila Lima (2014) states, at the confluence between feminism and Islam,

> […] in which feminists accused Islamists of reactionary and conservative activism and support for fundamentalist conceptions of women's subordination, while Islamists accused feminism of associating itself with the West, dominant colonialism and the Judeo-Christian religion, in addition to accusing it of immoral. (p. 677)

In Turkey, the waves of the struggle for women's rights fell mainly in four periods: 1 - *Ottoman modernizing reform* (Tanzimat period-1923): with influence on French and American ideals; 2 - *"State Feminism"* (1923-1960): nationalist and westernist interventions by the Kemalist Republic; 3 - *Kemalist secular feminism and secular feminism critical of Kemalism* (1960-1990); 4- *Secular feminism questioned by Islamist women* (post-1990) (Cila Lima, 2014).

Islamic feminisms are movements that aim to find in the Muslim community a space that can be shared between men and women in an ideal of equality, both in the public and private spheres. To this end,

> […] it uses the methodology of re-reading the scriptures of Islam through the practices of ijtihad (free interpretation of religious sources) and the discursive analytical formulation of the search for justice and the emancipation of women, which would be exposed in the re-readings of sacred texts from a perspective feminist. (Cila Lima, 2014, p. 681)

The methodology is not only based on commentaries on the Quran (the practice of tafsir), but also on reinterpretations of the sayings and actions of the Prophet Muhammad (the ahadith) and Islamic jurisprudence (the fiqh) (Cila Lima, 2014).

It is also necessary to take into consideration that subscribing to a Western notion of feminism on the part of Muslim women would mean abandoning the beliefs to which they are committed (Iman Hashim, 1998). From the perspective of Iman Hashim (1998), "it is only from a position of knowledge that women can claim their rights and contest patriarchal interpretations of Islam" (p. 12).

Still, as Ibtesam Al Atiyat (2020) highlights, "Arab feminists are often accused of promoting corrupt western agendas with the help of foreign funds – prominently to destroy the highly 'moral' Arab and Muslim society" (p. 1). On the other hand, it is also necessary to take into consideration that current Islamic feminist movements are supported by "middle-class, educated, cis-hetero and urban women" (Ibtesam Al Atiyat, 2020, p.1). On the margins is the fight for "queer, rural, poor, refugee and working-class interests" (Ibtesam Al Atiyat, 2020, p.1), which is why Ibtesam Al Atiyat (2020) considers that its agenda is rarely intersectional.

As Eduardo Antunes and Rita Basílio Simões (2023) tell us, the Arab Spring was a landmark moment in the most recent history of the Middle East. It is worth noting, as the authors highlight and as we have seen so far, Arab feminist theory has already developed since the beginning of the 19th century, although "such movements are simplistically portrayed in Western narratives as completely new" (Eduardo Antunes and Rita Basílio Simões, 2023, p. 48).

Currently, it was young women who gave the impetus (risking being arrested or killed) for the events that marked the Arab Spring: "They built cross-regional solidarity, graffitied, tweeted, blogged, facebooked and instagramed" (Ibtesam Al Atiyat, 2020, p.1). As Ibtesam Al Atiyat (2020) reports, during the Arab Spring, women had to deal with different realities:

> […] from failed states torn by civil wars and conflict (Syria, Yemen and Libya) to states promoting state-feminist agendas in order to cloak their narcissistic and oppressive patriarchal authority with a veneer of modernity (Saudi Arabia) and states that shrink from serious and just reforms (Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco). (p. 1)

This leads to the identification of two characteristics in post-Arab-Spring feminist waves: a first referring to young women with technological experience who combined these skills with artistic forms of resistance and a second that protests against social prejudices associated with the body and sexuality of women (honor killings, rape, domestic violence, sexual harassment and child marriage) (Ibtesam Al Atiyat, 2020).

Nowadays, Islamic feminism's forms of activism have been marked by dramatic spectacles and artistic displays, social media campaigns and individual protests termed "micro-rebellions" (Ibtesam Al Atiyat, 2020). Thus, Ibtesam Al Atiyat (2020) denotes that current Islamic feminist struggles are maintaining the pattern of their predecessors and their agendas reflect the views of

educated and middle-class women on law, society and women's rights, standing out for the fact that they are technologically experienced.

In Ibtesam Al Atiyat's (2020) understanding, there are still two fronts that Islamic feminists must fight: firstly, protect the critical cyberspace they have carved out since the Arab Spring and give priority to the fight against authoritarianism, but also encourage "an intersectional feminist critique of Arab societies and states to include neoliberalism, occupation, war and displacement along with cultural patriarchy as key Arab feminist issues" (p. 4).

Finally, we cannot fail to consider that the concept of "Islamic feminism" raises some questions, and for Fatima Seedat (2013) some of them relate to: what is at stake when Muslim women's equality analysis is considered in this concept; what intellectual traditions are called upon or centered and which are marginalized in this naming; what other ways there are of viewing the intersection between Islam and feminism.

In this context, for the author, "the feminism of an Islam taken for granted allows for feminism to be located in an alternate history of reason; it may argue equally for a historically located Muslim gender consciousness or an androcentric Muslim past" (Fatima Seedat, 2013, p. 44).

3.   Representation of Muslim women in the media

Although not recent, migratory phenomena are increasingly visible in contemporary societies. According to the last demographic census carried out in 2021 (INE – National Institute of Statistics, 2022), the Muslim population residing in Portugal, aged 15 and over, is 36,480 people. In the Portuguese context, the Islamic Community of Lisbon is the main Muslim organization, created as an administrative and not an ecclesiastical organization (Marta Araújo, 2019).

The European Islamophobia Report[1] (EIR) (2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021 and 2022) has the media as one of its main areas of interest. These reports reinforce the importance of the media, as they have an important role in investigating and discovering problematic structures (EIR, 2022). Alongside politics, it is recognized that the media "are the most influential spaces where Islamophobia can be either challenged or disseminated and further strengthened" (2020 and 2019, p. 19).

It should be noted that, in these annual reports, there was only a specific analysis of the Portuguese scenario from 2016 to 2018. According to the most recent EIR from 2018, "compared to other Western European states, Portugal presents a unique case regarding Islamophobia since official anti-racist bodies have received only a few cases of complaints about anti-Muslim incidents" (p. 684). In this sense, the report sought to explore the reasons for this lack of racial attacks or the lack of complaints about them. The report concluded that, because Portugal is not a country that attracts economic migrants, "the public might not consider Islam and Muslims as relevant to their individual lives." (p. 694). On the contrary, the report also points out that "if the small number of Muslims do not excessively exhibit themselves in the public space, the discourse repeats itself: the Muslim minority is well-integrated into Portuguese society and they stand as proof that Muslims are compatible with the European identity" (p. 694). It was considered that, although "the Muslim community - whether third-generation immigrants from former colonies or recent refugees fleeing the monstrous warfare in the Middle East or economic difficulties in developing

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[1] https://islamophobiareport.com/en/

countries of Asia and Africa - has relatively better living conditions in Portugal" (p. 694), there is a need to empirically investigate everyday experiences of Islamophobia.

Also, in 2004, Maria Abranches explained that the debate on Islam in Portugal would not have the same visibility as in other European countries for two reasons:

> […] firstly, the fact that the numbers of Muslim immigration are less significant in our country and, secondly, to the particularities of the groups with greater representation in Portugal, which are socially and culturally different from the characteristics of immigration from Arab countries that are strongly represented in other parts of Europe. (p. 111).

For Marta Araújo, it is important to bear in mind the lack of media visibility of the Muslim population in Portugal, noting that "the explanation for this lack of media visibility has been attributed to the characteristics of the Muslim population itself – and this has been the official position on the topic in question. Portugal" (Marta Araújo, 2019, p. 10). As Araújo states, "Islamophobic imaginaries are reproduced even when the media tries to contradict these same stereotypes" (p. 12). Furthermore, as we have already had the opportunity to mention, in the convergence between Muslim women and Portuguese media, we talk mainly about the representation of the "Other". In the words of Eduardo Antunes and Rita Basílio Simões (2023), "Orientalism starts from a critical view of the world's division into two imaginary parts: the West and the East, corresponding to an 'us and them' dichotomy" (p. 47), considering that "the West never lost the hegemonic position established by centuries of colonialism" (p. 47).

In this path, Islamic feminism seems to come into conflict with what Western values are believed to be. Through the binomial modernity/tradition, Western women are seen as modern and free, and non-Western women as traditional and oppressed (Lisa Wade, 2009). In fact, "Western media representations of Arab women tend to present them as domestic, isolated, totally covered or attached to a sexually driven imaginary of harems" (Eduardo Antunes and Rita Basílio Simões, 2022, p. 48), maintaining the old question that public space is for men and private space for women.

In Nur Latifah Umi Salili's (2017) reflection, there is a tendency to generalize non-Western women, considering them as a homogeneous group that shares the same values and problems. Therefore, depriving them of individuality is equivalent to ignoring the situation of women, assuming that they are all victims in the same way. Thus, "the representation of Muslim women in media blurs the fact that Muslim women either in Western countries or in other countries are struggling in different battles" (Nur Latifah Umi Salili, 2017, p. 200).

On the other hand, a study carried out by Alia Imtoual (2005) showed that the group of young Muslim women who participated in the research recognized that "ongoing and persistent negative representations of Muslims in the media" directly affect their daily lives. This group also highlighted that these media representations lead to inaccurate concepts of what it means to be a Muslim woman, which in turn leads to racist stereotypes, abuse and discrimination (Alia Imtoual, 2005).

In this sense, and as we mentioned previously, it is considered that journalism must assume an ethical and deontological commitment, bearing in mind the quality of information, striving for objectivity, truth, and accuracy of information (Carlos Camponez, 2014). However, Carlos Camponez (2014) focuses on an alternative ethics for journalism: without neglecting the principle of objectivity, he considers that "the ethics of care may allow us to epistemologically reconfigure objectivity in journalism which, although devalued on a deontological level, continues to position itself as an ideal value, based on rationality, autonomy, detachment" (p.120). As a result, the ethics

of care seeks to embrace a dimension of respect for all information stakeholders: journalists, sources, subjects of information, the public, and journalism itself (Carlos Camponez, 2014).

Faced with the binomial "journalistic objectivity" and "feminist perspective", Bibiana Garcez and Maria João Silveirinha (2020) tell us about the need to discuss new ethical possibilities: "The current model of objectivity, criticized practically since its adoption in journalism, is an idealization without correspondence practice. For women and other oppressed groups, the way it is exercised is also not beneficial" (p. 127). As the authors explain, routines, values, practices, and the production of knowledge can be done to undo oppression.

For Bibiana Garcez and Maria João Silveirinha (2020), "so-called objective journalism is not observing the world from the point of view of its own inequalities" (p. 127). A solution may then involve reflecting on new ethical possibilities, bearing in mind a gender perspective: "A democracy is not and will not be strong if different groups, namely male, heterosexual and white, continue to produce and/or define the knowledge considered as common sense" (Garcez and Silveirinha, 2020, p. 127).

4. Methodology

Starting from the research question that aims to analyze the representation of Muslim women in the Portuguese press, we methodologically resort to critical thematic analysis, as stated by Brandi Lawless and Yea-Wen Chen (2019). For Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006), thematic analysis allows us to follow an accessible and theoretically flexible approach, taking into account the objects of study we propose, as a qualitative method that makes it possible to identify, analyze and interpret patterns/themes, within the data collected (Gabriela Reses and Inês Mendes, 2021). According to the perspective of Brandi Lawless and Yea-Wen Chen (2019), this method allows the integration of "critical perspectives, especially as an analytical approach for qualitative research that aims at social justice objectives" (p. 96). We chose to use this method once we allowed us to use William Foster Owen's criteria of recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness, as indicated by Brandi Lawless and Yea-Wen Chen (2019), taking into account the question of who said it and what its importance was, combined with a historical and social context.

As for the corpus, 63 informative pieces were analyzed, including the terms "Women" + "Muslim/Islamic", published in the online editions of the Portuguese newspapers *Público* (32 articles) and *Observador* (31 articles), from January 7, 2015, to January 7, 2023. Both published daily, *Público* is a reference newspaper in the Portuguese context, while *Observador* is a generalist Portuguese newspaper, being the only one entirely digital. Both emerged after the 25th April Revolution in Portugal (a historic milestone in the country, especially in terms of press freedom). However, *Público* appeared in 1990 and *Observador* in 2014, so this investigation wanted to analyze two newspapers that appeared in different periods of time. Furthermore, since this study focuses on online press, *Público* was the second newspaper site to make the print edition available in HTML in Portugal, with the daily digital edition currently being made available before the distribution of the print edition and *Observador*, as mentioned, it is the only newspaper in Portugal that is entirely digital. The choice of time period (from January 7, 2015, to January 7, 2023) was motivated to analyze representation during the eight years since the Charlie Hebdo Massacre. As Nur Latifah Umi Satiti (2017) notes, "After the momentum of 9/11, Islam is clearly portrayed as terrorist. The portrayal of Islam as terrorist was emphasized by the Bush's politics that promoted the 'War on Terror'." (p. 192). In this sense, the choice of the beginning of this time frame also attempted to understand whether a terrorist attack on European territory influenced the representation of the Portuguese news media. The corpus list is attached.

5.   Results and discussion[2]

Regarding the representations of Muslim women in Portuguese press, the following critical themes were identified, which we will discuss below.

5.1. Islamic clothing: "Hands off my hijab"

From the outset, it is important to clarify the concepts surrounding Muslim women's clothing. These pieces that cover the bodies of Muslim women vary depending on customs and locations. Based on the article written by O. Gondchmidt and David Alameda (17 August 2016), in the newspaper *El País: by Burqa*, we mean "the bluish piece required by the Taliban is used mainly among the Pashtuns of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and covers the entire guy, with a net over his eyes"; *Niqab* corresponds to "the veil that covers the entire face of women, except for an opening at eye level"; *Chador* is "a semi-circular screen, which wraps itself from the head, covers the entire body and is supported without hooks, just with two folds at the neck; the front part of the face is exposed"; *Al-Amira* allows you to cover "the entire head and neck and is made up of two pieces: a cylindrical one, which adjusts to the contour of the face, and a scarf that covers it"; *Hijab* is "the scarf that covers the hair and neck, with the face exposed"; *Shayla* is "a large, rectangular scarf popular in the Gulf region". *Burkini* is a swimsuit that covers the entire body except the face, hands and feet.

Bearing this brief conceptualization in mind, most of the news content analyzed here was related to the clothing of Islamic women (28 articles). In this sense, most of the news had as its main theme the countries where the Islamic veil would be or was banned (16 articles). There was also news content that exclusively reported the protests due to this ban (4 articles), moments in which Muslim women were forced by the police to remove their clothing (3 articles), the approval of the use of the veil in some public sectors (2 articles), the burkini from the creator's perspective (2 articles) and public opinion (1 article).

Let's first look at the news content that focuses on the ban. 2016 was a year marked by the attempt of some European countries to ban some Muslim clothing in their territories. The motivation for this was justified by issues of "defending secularism and security". In France, the Burkini was banned on the beach in some cities in 2016, as reported in *Público* and *Observador* (N3 and N40). This prohibition is also associated with sanctions that are applied upon non-compliance, through fines, and with the growth of tension on the part of the Muslim community regarding these measures. However, as the *Público* newspaper reported "Burkini ban divides French government" (N5), these decisions did not have a unanimous position in the country.

In the same year, *Observador* also reported on other countries where bans were being considered, with Germany not being in favor of a total rejection of the burqa, but rather a partial ban (N42). The debate in the United Kingdom also arose in 2016, with Prime Minister David Cameron proposing measures that ranged from an English teaching plan for Muslim women and a possible expulsion from the country if they are unable to acquire sufficient knowledge to a ban on hijab, or Islamic veil, in schools, courts and other institutions in the country (N37).

The bans continued to be reported in 2017 with the British party UKIP positioning itself in favor of preventing the use of burqas or niqabs on the grounds that it is about integration and is a risk to national security (N51).

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[2] The quotes taken from the Portuguese newspapers analyzed are the author's own translations from Portuguese to English.

Also in 2017, *Público* published the article "The Veil for Europe" (N8) looking back at the prohibitive measures taken on the European continent in recent years:

> The public debate about the right or not to wear the Islamic veil has already taken place in Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Italy or Spain, and the arguments invoked – for or against – have usually been the same: they are the principles of secularism, secularism or religious neutrality versus the rights to freedom of expression or religion.

There was also news content that reported that the European Court of Human Rights was in favor of Belgium's ban on the wearing of any female veil that covers the rest in public (N52), as well as its ban in workplaces (N9 and N28). Regarding the latter, an article in *Público* (N29) reported that Turkey took a stance against this decision by the European Court of Human Rights, warning of "a clear violation of religious freedom", adding that the measure will only worsen prejudices against Muslim women in Europe" and another article in the same newspaper reported that this measure would "ban Muslim women from the job market" (N10).

On the other hand, an article from *Público* and two articles from *Observador* focused on the UN's position: one of them where the organization took a stand in condemning France for having sentenced in 2012 two women who wore the full Islamic veil, asking that the complainants were compensated and that the law was re-examined (N57) and another where the organization warned Switzerland that banning searches would only lead to greater marginalization and exclusion from public life (N24 and N61)

In 2019, two articles (N20 and N60) also focused on the ban in Sri Lanka on the use of clothing that covers the face with the argument that "a covered face makes it difficult to identify the person, being a "national and public threat"" (N60). In 2021, Sri Lanka was once again reported in *Público* (N25) due to the fact that it intended to ban the use of the burqa and close more than a thousand Islamic schools.

Regarding resistance, *Observador* article "Burkini. Women protest in England with a beach party" (N45) reports on the protests by women at the French embassy, due to decisions taken in 2016, in London under the motto "wear what you want". The article quotes one of the organizers of the demonstration who stated "It is not okay to tell a woman what she can wear or to take her clothes off. This decision is not to be made by a man."

In 2018*, Público* (N14) reported on the demonstration in Denmark, which was attended by 1,300 people, demonstrating their stance against the law that banned the veil. This article cites the perspective of three Muslim women: Sabina (who considers that "I will not take off my niqab. If I have to take it off, I want to do so because it is a reflection of my choice"), Meryem (who, in her opinion, "I believe that if you are integrated into society, if you are educated and so on, wearing a niqab does not mean that you do not have Danish values") and Ayah (who warned that "I will be a prisoner in my house, but I prefer it to taking off the niqab."). It was also reported that in Denmark a group was created that dialogues with the community through exhibitions, lectures and street stalls where anyone can try on the niqab, having as a motto "you cannot free someone who is already free" (N17).

In 2021, *Público* reported that, in Europe, several women started an online protest with selfies writing messages such as "hands off my veil" on their hands (N26).

Due to the bans, there were measures taken by the police when they witnessed a violation of the approved measures. In 2016, *Público* reported that the police forced a Muslim woman, who was not wearing a burkini, to remove the tunic she was wearing (N4). In 2018, *Observador* reported that in New York two Muslim women were forced to take off their hijab for police photography (N55) and *Público* published that in Denmark a woman was fined for wearing a full veil in public (N15).

As for the news content that reported the approval of the use of the veil in some public sectors, *Observador* article "Scottish and Canadian police approve optional hijab in uniform to attract Muslim women" (N46) and *Público* article "Scotland and Canada add the hijab in their police uniforms" (N6) highlight that countries such as Scotland and Canada sought to adopt the hijab in the police as a way of encouraging Muslim women into the profession.

Of the news analyzed here, only 2 focused entirely on the burkini from the perspective of a Muslim woman. The article "Burkini is a symbol of inclusion in Australia, defends its creator" (N43) focused on Aheda Zanetti's motivations for creating the burkini and its importance for Muslim women. On the other hand, another *Observador* article "Burkini ban in France causes orders to soar" (N45) gave voice again to designer Aheda Zanetti, who highlighted the increase in sales after this ban. In this article, the designer clarifies that the purchases were made by non-Muslim people, highlighting that the burkini has a fabric that dries quickly and can be used as sun protection, especially for people who are survivors of skin cancer.

On the other hand, public opinion seems to support these prohibitive measures. One of the *Observador'*s articles "Regulator refuses to investigate Channel 4 for having a presenter wearing a hijab talking about Nice" (N44) reported that there were complaints about the choice of journalist Fatima Manji to present news about the attack in Nice, wearing a hijab.

Islamic feminism strongly undermines the foundations on which Eurocentric views are based: the hijab can be used not only for reasons of modesty but also as a symbol of empowerment for Muslim women, just as the burkini is an important symbol of identity gender with various motivations (Eduardo Antunes and Rita Basílio Simões, 2023). In the face of Western protests and prohibitions against the use of the veil, considering it a form of repression of Muslim women and that its prohibition will contribute to their freedom, we cannot fail to emphasize the possibility of an imposition of cultural superiority.

As Nur Latifah Umi Satiti Salili (2017) identifies, Muslim women are represented in two ways that seem antagonistic: either as an object of patriarchal tradition or as a resistant community that is unable to integrate into Western culture. According to the author, speeches about Muslim women and the use of veils only provoked violence and racism against these women in Western countries.

Nur Latifah Umi Satiti Salili (2017) reflects how, for many Western feminists, the veil continues to be seen as a way of controlling and segregating women's bodies without their consent. For the author, "there is an irony where some feminist speak for women's liberty and state that the personal is political, while on the other side, they exclude Muslim women by assuming them as an apolitical by wearing the veil" (p. 196), hence, in his opinion, "if the personal is really political, it should be considered how Muslim women use the veil as their political movement to count" (p. 196).

Finally, we emphasize that, of the news content analyzed that fell under the theme of Muslim female clothing, 9 of the articles directly cited Muslim women. We cannot fail to emphasize the importance of including the meaning and axiological burden that the use of the veil carries for Muslim women based on their own voices. It is important to listen to the perspective of Islamic feminisms and look at the historical context of these movements, also addressing this context in current debates around Muslim clothing, as well as the multiplicity of motivations that lead women to decide to cover themselves in Europe, so as not to fall into harmful simplifications of stating that it symbolizes the submission of women (Natalia Andújar, 2012).

Thus, as Natalia Andújar (2012) points out, measures prohibiting the veil in the European context are harmful for several reasons:

- It creates a major fracture between different feminisms.

- Neutralizes feminist demands by granting them a tiny part of their demands.

- It distracts attention from the failure of social policies.

- Pleases an increasingly conservative sector on typically far-right issues.

- Restore a positive image as liberators of women in the face of shame due to the complicity of Western countries with Arab tyrannies (p. 47).

Although some articles analyzed here sought to bring the voice of Muslim women through their quotes, there is also an urgent need to bring to Portuguese journalism this vision of the harmful consequences that bans on veils can entail in the form of an intersectional feminist perspective. Bearing in mind that it is "an issue that is used against Islam, but also against women, who see how their bodies are the object of legal regulation, inside and outside their countries of origin" (Laura Mijares and Ángeles Ramírez, 2008, p. 133), it is important to look at Islamic feminisms as solidified movements that demand the rights of Muslim women.

5.2. Muslim women and sports

There are already several studies that link women with sport. However, studies involving Muslim women and sports remain scarce (Mohibullah Khan Marwat *et al.,* 2014).

In Portugal, the news content that associated Muslim women and sport always had as a point of convergence the use or not of the veil. In 2016, *Público* and *Observador* (N2 and N38) reported that Ibtihaj Muhammad was the first US athlete to compete in the Olympic Games wearing a hijab. *Observador* quotes the fencing athlete as saying "For me, my hijab is very liberating. It's part of who I am, and I believe it makes people listen to me more. I hope it changes a lot of misunderstandings about Muslim women" (N38). In the same sense, another article collected from *Observador* (N39) reported that Ibtihaj Muhammad had chosen fencing to hide the hijab but now he intended to inspire other women. A report from *Público* in 2022 reported that Sarasadat Khademalsharieh, an Iranian chess player, attended a competition without a hijab, the gesture being interpreted as a form of protest, even though the player did not comment on this (N32).

Still within this theme, the news information that also stood out was the fact that Decathlon in France was forced to remove the sports hijab from its stores, due to the pressure it suffered (N19 and N58). Both in *Público* and in *Observador*, only the criticisms made about the possibility of selling this product were reported, without stating the meaning that its presence in stores could have for Muslim women.

5.3. Muslim women's fashion

Of the articles analyzed, *Observador* (N35) reported on the collection promoted by the brand Dolce & Gabanna of abayas and hijabs. In this article, Muslim women were touted as the next big consumers in the global luxury market. Likewise, the same newspaper, following the fact that the Youth Museum launched an exhibition with the title "The Fashion of Islam", developed a long article on the connection between Islamic culture and fashion (N50).

On the other hand, in this context, *Observador* (N63) also reported the revolt of Muslim women over a photo on Vogue France's Instagram social network of actress-model Julia Fox wearing a headscarf, accompanied by the description "Yes to the headscarf in the head!". The wave of indignation was due to the fact that we considered a photo offensive in a country where wearing the Islamic veil in public is prohibited. In the words of Chaïma Benaicha contained in the article, "They make fun of us, insult us, and protect us from objects, but when it's a white, non-Muslim woman wearing a veil it's already trendy".

This article (N63) sought, through the voice of Chaïma Benaicha, to show the Muslim perspective, highlighting the inconsistency, as Ángeles Ramírez and Laura Mijares (2021) say, that feminisms socialized in a European environment often face: a behavior that is allowed to a white woman, seen in the West as emancipated and capable of making her own decisions, is already censored in a Muslim woman, considered traditional and conservative and incapable of exercising her free will over her body.

5.4. Muslim women in a migration context

As Marie-Luisa Frick (2014) finds, "over the past few decades, migration due to colonial heritage, labor mobility, and asylum regimes has transformed almost all European societies into substantial multicultural conditions" (pp. 1-2). The author describes how "the expectation that immigrants would soon rid themselves of their cultural imprint as soon as they came into contact with the supposedly superior European civilization experienced empirical refutation" (p. 2).

As we saw when the critical issue of Muslim women's clothing was developed, some measures were taken to coerce Muslim women from adapting to Western culture. In one of them, it was reported by *Observador* (N36) about the fact that the English Prime Minister, David Cameron, proposed a plan where Muslim women should learn English, running the risk of being deported if they did not have sufficient knowledge.

Furthermore, *Observador* (N48) also reported an example of the multiple discrimination that Muslim women would experience: a French restaurant refused to serve two Muslim women with the argument "All Muslims are terrorists".

On the other hand, social media can be an integrative force to instigate social change. Not only do they have the power to preserve human rights, but they can uncover the causes of violations, provide means to prevent abuses, and raise awareness among the general public. Philip Lee (2020) illustrates that communication can build and shape the community, increase participation, promote freedom and demand responsibility, celebrate cultural diversity, create connectivity, and affirm justice, and challenge injustice. Therefore, we intend to reinforce the point that, with regard to migratory movements in European territory, the media can play an important role in this "celebration of cultural diversity".

In this sense, *Observador* reported on the initiatives that Zaineb Abdulla creates "to escape hate crimes against women who wear hijab", including some self-defense techniques (N49). *Público* (N21) reported on the project "The Sisters Project" by Alia Youssef, which through the art of photography seeks to show that

> Muslim women are an extremely diverse group of people. That we come from different parts of the world, that we contribute to society in a plethora of ways, that our aspirations and fears are universal, and that our points of life can vary greatly.

In the reflection of Natalia Andújar (2012),

> It is not possible to be European and Muslim. There is "us" and there is "them", there is "our" culture, and "their" culture, there is "our" (non) religion and "their" religion, there is "our" values and "their" values, there is "our" freedom and "its" veils" (p. 42).

Thus, according to the author, the majority society requires Muslim women to break with their group and their culture, considering that this is the cause of all the inequalities they suffer). In this sense, in a migratory context, Muslim women face obstacles outside but also within their community. This Western attempt to universalize women's rights, not taking into account the multiple existing diversities of this identity (as mentioned in the quote by Alia Youssef), also led to a "frontal rejection of feminism by a certain Muslim sector both in Europe and in Muslim-majority countries and has in turn reinforced patriarchal fundamentalism" (Natalia Andújar, 2012, p. 44). Given this, Muslim women's ability to resist obstacles within and outside their community is devalued by Western thought and their fights are not seen as feminist.

5.5. Equality and gender issues

As we have already mentioned, Western women are seen as modern and free, and non-Western women as traditional and oppressed who need to be saved. Furthermore, given the historical and systemic discrimination that women suffer based on their gender, Muslim women's issues fall within a single "women's problem", but mainly "a problem only for some women", culminating in a continuum of discrimination.

For Nur Latifah Umi Salili (2017), Muslim women face at least three repressive practices: racial abuse; the need to adjust their own culture to the dominant culture; and resistance as they fight against racism. The author finds that Muslim women experience racism in all areas of their public lives, including in the Western feminist movement itself. The truth is that, throughout history, it has been noticeable how the fight for certain causes serves as an excuse to denigrate other cultures, restricting their rights.

At this intersection of power relations that intersect with each other, within the theme of gender equality and issues related to this identity, an article in *Público* referenced the criticisms made of a Moroccan advertising campaign that intended to prevent Moroccan women from wearing bikinis or suits of bathing on beaches (N13).

Regarding the difference in legal rights between men and women, *Público* reported that, in 2018, Tunisia proposed giving women equal inheritance rights (N16). Both *Observador* (N53) and *Público* (N11) reported that in India there was a discussion on changing the law on 'instant' divorce — triple talaq: a practice through which Muslim men can divorce their spouses by repeating the say talaq three times, without the woman having any right to oppose this decision. In 2020, *Público* (N23) also reported that Sudan "abandoned Islamic laws that oppress women", namely, the ban on female genital mutilation, power for mothers over their children, partial

decriminalization of prostitution, and the possibility of abandoning religion. However, in the quote from Magdi el-Gizouli contained in this article, "I am not sure that legal means are the best way to combat what happens within families and are a cultural practice". As Catharine MacKinnon (2007) wrote, "Most women will say that the law has little to do with their everyday lives" (p. 32). Still on this issue, an article from *Público* (N22) looked at what Saudi women can or cannot do, making a list of concessions for the benefit of women that Saudi Arabia made in 2019 regarding family life, health and education, legal issues, work, driving, housing, clothing, activism, and sport.

Other issues related to gender issues were also highlighted, namely the fact that Muslim women reported sexual harassment during pilgrimages to Mecca (N12 and N55) and a website that was allegedly selling Muslim women through a fake online auction, being considered a way of humiliating and insulting Muslim women (N62).

The topic of menstruation appeared in an article in *Observador* (N56). In this article, it is mentioned: "with regard to menstruation, there are still many taboos, but they depend much more on the cultural context in which the practitioners are inserted than on the religion itself". The article essentially focuses on the fact that menstruating women cannot fast during Ramadan.

Finally, bearing in mind technological development and the use of social networks, *Observador* (N33) shared the opinion of a Muslim cleric regarding the use of selfies by Muslim women: "These days, many Muslim women have been taking selfies shameless. Those facial poses (…) My God, where is the purity of women?". Furthermore, *Público* (N7) revealed the story of Rayouf Alhumedhi, who proposed the inclusion of veiled women in emojis.

Regarding the fight for gender equality, feminisms socialized in the European context often fall into reflections on Muslim women that have harmful consequences not only for Muslim women, but also for the feminist movement itself (Ángeles Ramírez and Laura Mijares, 2021). From the outset, it affects the feminist movement itself because it does not truly embrace the gender equality it claims to defend and because of the inconsistencies that result from not perceiving Muslim women as feminists.

There are inconsistencies that are not perceived as such: "the condemnation of the authoritarianism of Muslim states that legislate against women - for example, the criticism of dress standards in Iran - is what leads them to support the same authoritarian practices of other states that, like France or Belgium, try the headscarf or the niqab" (Ángeles Ramírez and Laura Mijares, 2021, p. 3). In other words, while they criticize Muslim States for imposing discriminatory measures against women, in the Western context they support behaviors that discriminate against Muslim women, depriving them of their individual freedom and decision-making power.

We mentioned at the beginning of this point that Muslim women experience racism in all areas of their lives (Nur Latifah Umi Salili, 2017). Bearing in mind an intersectional perspective, as Ángeles Ramírez and Laura Mijares (2021) note, it is precisely racism that colonizes the thinking of some sectors of feminist movements, leading to Muslim women being seen as less women and also as less feminist, due to the fact of being Muslim. In this sense, Muslim women are not perceived as people who fight for women's rights and as true feminists, with the principles that guide Islamic feminist movements continuing to be unknown and devalued.

6. Conclusion

From the outset, it is important to emphasize that, like the various existing feminisms, Islamic feminisms are plural movements, with different positions depending on the social, historical, temporal, and spatial context. In this way, we tried, at first, to historically review the emergence of these movements, not intending to reduce their complexity and the different philosophies and visions that make up the convergence between feminism and Islam.

We would also like to highlight that there were 24 news contents that took care to directly mention Muslim women. In this sense, we praise the vision of Angela Davis (2020) when considering that "it is essential to resist the representation of History as the work of heroic individuals so that people today recognize their potential ability to act as part of a growing community of resisters" (p. 17). This message transmitted by Angela Davis conveys two essential questions to us. Firstly, it is necessary to give a voice to Muslim women, as a "growing community of resisters". Secondly, a greater inclusion of Muslim women's views in news content will allow us to have greater knowledge of their realities, without Western outcrops that tend to assume that they are oppressed and submissive women.

As Rita Basílio Simões (2017) warns,

> […] hence the importance of keeping alive the criticism of social scrutiny resulting from media action. Not only to understand how this is a selective and ideologically oriented process but above all to explore the important role that the media can play in combating stereotypical gender representations. (p. 33)

In this sense, this study sought to understand the representation of Muslim women in the Portuguese press, in the light of Islamic feminisms, having identified 5 critical themes.

The critical theme that stood out most from the data analyzed was that relating to Muslim clothing. This issue continues to be seen in the Western world as a form of women's oppression. On the European continent, where most of countries declare themselves to be Secular States, the argument of secularism that was frequently presented to us in the news content analyzed cannot contribute to violating the right to religious freedom enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Although the news content that focused on the topic of Muslim clothing sought to highlight the two antagonistic sides on this topic, explanations of the importance of Muslim clothing for women and the harmful consequences of its ban by European countries were rarely highlighted. In the words of Muslim women themselves, as we have seen. Again, we reinforce this point and the need to include a "female perspective", as Bibiana Garcez and Maria João Silveirinha (2020) tell us. And, most importantly, we strengthen the vision of including a "female perspective" that does not fit into a prism that is only for Western women. If the Western perspective perpetuates that the use of veils is a form of oppression of women, the view that it corresponds to an intrinsic part of the cultural rights, religious freedom, freedom of choice, and self-determination that each woman has over her own body cannot be ignored.

The veil was also the central issue even when the main theme was related to sport and Muslim women. Of the 5 articles collected on this critical topic, all contained this reference. It is also worth mentioning the issue of the differential treatment given to a Western woman wearing a veil compared to a Muslim woman, an example of which is the case we mentioned previously regarding Vogue in France.

Regarding the migratory context of Muslim women, it is relevant to highlight the importance that the media can have in preserving human rights, discovering the causes of violations, providing means to prevent abuse and raising awareness among the general public, seeking to promote an environment where cultural diversity be accepted, tolerated and promoted (Philip Lee, 2020).

In the context of gender issues, it is important to highlight that, with regard to Muslim women, several power relations intersect, culminating in various discriminatory factors. The cultural shock continues to perpetuate the idea that Muslim women are conservative and traditional, although they are trying to prove that "they are not 'sad veiled women', nor do they need 'to be saved'" (N21).

It should also be noted that it was not possible to determine in this study whether there is a causal link between the event that began the time period of this study and the representation that Muslim women had in the two newspapers analyzed.

It is also important to emphasize that the news content collected from the period under analysis mostly relates to the international context. We believe that this fact is due to the reasons explained above regarding the fact that Portugal, compared to the rest of Europe, presents a different reality regarding the Muslim community. We can therefore hypothesize that if Muslim reality in the Portuguese context is not reproduced in the Portuguese media, then it remains unknown. This lack of knowledge leads to the invisibility of Muslim women in this country and the construction of stereotypes and prejudices derived from the lack of knowledge about their experiences. Although the Portuguese media have explored some issues, always referring to the international scope, and it was possible to understand the representation that Muslim women have in them, the Portuguese reality continues to be unknown.

In this scenario of lack of media visibility of the Muslim community in Portugal, with this study we sought to look at the representation of Muslim women in Portuguese online journalism. This phenomenon of invisibility prompted us to carry out this investigation, and there is still a long way to go regarding this topic in the Portuguese context. With this study we intend to pave the way for new issues to be addressed and deepened in the future, bringing to the fore the need to combine other areas of Social Sciences for a better understanding of the reality of Muslim women in Portugal and the presence of the Islamic feminisms in this country.

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List of collected articles

Designation	Newspaper	Date	Title	Link
N1	Público	29/03/2015	Raiva e introspecção em Cabul depois da morte brutal de uma afegã	https://www.publico.pt/2015/03/29/mundo/noticia/raiva-e-introspeccao-em-cabul-depois-da-morte-brutal-de-uma-afega-1690775
N2	Público	08/08/2016	Ibtihaj Muhammad é a primeira norte-americana a disputar os Jogos Olímpicos de hijab	https://www.publico.pt/2016/08/08/desporto/noticia/ibtihaj-muhammad-e-a-primeiranorte-americana-a-disputar-os-jogos-olimpicos-de-hijab-1740640
N3	Público	16/08/2016	Polémica da proibição dos burkinis na praia cresce em França	https://www.publico.pt/2016/08/16/mundo/noticia/polemica-da-proibicao-dos-burkinis-na-praia-cresce-em-franca-1741499
N4	Público	24/08/2016	Polícia obrigou muçulmana a tirar peças de roupa numa praia de Nice	https://www.publico.pt/2016/08/24/mundo/noticia/policia-obrigou-muculmana-a-tirar-pecas-de-roupa-numa-praia-de-nice-1742228
N5	Público	25/08/2016	Proibição do burkini divide Governo francês	https://www.publico.pt/2016/08/25/mundo/noticia/conselho-de-estado-frances-adia-decisao-sobre-polemica-da-proibicao-dos-burkinis-1742334
N6	Público	25/08/2016	Escócia e Canadá acrescentam o hijab ao uniforme das suas polícias	https://www.publico.pt/2016/08/25/mundo/noticia/escocia-e-canada-acrescentam-o-hijab-ao-uniforme-das-suas-policia-1742333
N7	Público	21/09/2016	Ela tem 15 anos e um sonho: um emoji de uma mulher com véu	https://www.publico.pt/2016/09/21/p3/noticia/ela-tem-15-anos-e-um-sonho-um-emoji-de-uma-mulher-com-veu-1826590
N8	Público	14/03/2017	O véu pela Europa	https://www.publico.pt/2017/03/14/mundo/noticia/varios-paises-europeus-ja-proibiram-o-uso-do-veu-integral-1765195

N9	Público	14/03/2017	Justiça europeia aceita que as empresas proíbam o véu islâmico no trabalho	https://www.publico.pt/2017/03/14/mundo/noticia/justica-europeia-aceita-que-as-empresas-proibam-o-veu-no-trabalho-1765104
N10	Público	14/03/2017	Decisão da Justiça sobre o véu vai "banir muçulmanas do mercado de trabalho"	https://www.publico.pt/2017/03/14/mundo/noticia/decisao-da-justica-europeia-sobre-o-veu-abre-porta-a-discriminacoes-1765207
N11	Público	22/08/2017	Supremo Tribunal da Índia declara inconstitucional o "divórcio instantâneo"	https://www.publico.pt/2017/08/22/mundo/noticia/lei-muculmana-do-divorcio-e-inconstitucional-declara-tribunal-da-india-1782981
N12	Público	14/02/2018	Muçulmanas denunciam assédio sexual nas peregrinações a Meca	https://www.publico.pt/2018/02/14/mundo/noticia/muculmanas-denunciam-assedio-sexual-nas-peregrinacoes-a-meca-1803073
N13	Público	30/07/2018	Marrocos: se és homem, cobre as tuas mulheres na praia e fora dela	https://www.publico.pt/2018/07/30/mundo/noticia/marrocos-se-es-homem-cobre-as-tuas-mulheres-na-praia-e-fora-dela-1839541
N14	Público	02/08/2018	Na Dinamarca marchou-se contra e a favor do uso do véu	https://www.publico.pt/2018/08/02/impar/reportagem/dinamarca-marchou-contra-uso-veu-1839918
N15	Público	04/08/2018	Primeira mulher multada na Dinamarca por usar véu integral em público	https://www.publico.pt/2018/08/04/mundo/noticia/primeira-mulher-multada-na-dinamarca-por-usar-veu-integral-em-publico-1840110
N16	Público	13/08/2018	Tunísia: Presidente propõe igualdade na herança para as mulheres	https://www.publico.pt/2018/08/13/mundo/noticia/presidente-propoe-igualdade-na-heranca-para-as-mulheres-mas-com-excepcoes-1840989
N17	Público	21/08/2018	Estas mulheres dinamarquesas gritam que "não se pode libertar alguém que já é livre"	https://www.publico.pt/2018/08/21/p3/noticia/estas-mulheres-dinamarquesas-gritam-que-nao-se-pode-libertar-alguem-que-ja-e-livre-1841390

N18	Público	03/09/2018	Duas mulheres foram vergastadas pelo Tribunal da Malásia por terem relações homossexuais	https://www.publico.pt/2018/09/03/mundo/noticia/tribunal-da-malasia-chicoteou-duas-mulheres-por-terem-relacoes-homossexuais-1842851
N19	Público	27/02/2019	Depois de chuva de críticas, a Decathlon não vai vender o hijab em França	https://www.publico.pt/2019/02/27/impar/noticia/decathlon-retira-hijab-lojas-franca-1863610
N20	Público	28/04/2019	Presidente do Sri Lanka proíbe uso de roupa que tape o rosto	https://www.publico.pt/2019/04/28/mundo/noticia/presidente-sri-lanka-proibe-uso-roupa-tape-rosto-1870799
N21	Público	29/05/2019	Alia quer mostrar que as muçulmanas não são "tristes mulheres de véu", nem precisam "de ser salvas"	https://www.publico.pt/2019/05/29/p3/fotogaleria/alia-quer-mostrar-que-as-muculmanas-nao-sao-tristes-mulheres-de-veu-nem-precisam-de-ser-salvas-395322
N22	Público	02/08/2019	O que podem e não podem fazer as mulheres sauditas?	https://www.publico.pt/2019/08/02/impar/noticia/podem-nao-podem-mulheres-sauditas-1882199
N23	Público	16/07/2020	Sudão abandona leis islâmicas que oprimiam as mulheres	https://www.publico.pt/2020/07/16/mundo/noticia/sudao-abandona-leis-islamicas-oprimiam-mulheres-1924668
N24	Público	09/03/2021	ONU avisa que proibir véu integral vai aumentar marginalização das muçulmanas na Suíça	https://www.publico.pt/2021/03/09/mundo/noticia/onu-avisa-proibir-veu-integral-vai-aumentar-marginalizacao-muculmanas-suica-1953659
N25	Público	13/03/2021	Sri Lanka vai banir a burqa e encerrar mais de mil escolas islâmicas	https://www.publico.pt/2021/03/13/mundo/noticia/sri-lanka-vai-banir-burqa-encerrar-mil-escolas-islamicas-1954319

N26	Público	01/05/2021	Mãos fora do meu hijab: o protesto contra a proposta da proibição do véu em França	https://www.publico.pt/2021/05/01/p3/fotogaleria/maos-fora-hijab-protesto-contra-proposta-proibicao-veu-franca-406008
N27	Público	24/05/2021	Perdidas para o Estado Islâmico. As mães não desistem de procurá-las e trazê-las para casa	https://www.publico.pt/2021/05/24/p3/fotogaleria/perdidas-para-o-estado-islamico-as-maes-nao-desistem-de-procura-las-e-traze-las-para-casa-406136
N28	Público	15/07/2021	Tribunal europeu diz que os véus islâmicos podem ser proibidos no local de trabalho	https://www.publico.pt/2021/07/15/mundo/noticia/tribunal-europeu-veus-islamicos-podem-proibidos-local-trabalho-1970492
N29	Público	18/07/2021	Turquia condena decisão de tribunal europeu que proíbe uso do véu islâmico no local de trabalho	https://www.publico.pt/2021/07/18/mundo/noticia/turquia-condena-decisao-tribunal-europeu-proibe-uso-veu-islamico-local-trabalho-1970846
N30	Público	25/11/2021	"Babuchas e as Mulheres": os sapatos que continuam a espezinhar o feminino árabe	https://www.publico.pt/2021/11/25/impar/noticia/babuchas-mulheres-sapatos-continuam-espezinhar-feminino-arabe-1986028
N31	Público	10/10/2022	Corta-se o cabelo com as iranianas porque "a fúria é mais forte que o poder do opressor"	https://www.publico.pt/2022/10/10/impar/noticia/cortase-cabelo-iranianas-furia-forte-opressor-2023446
N32	Público	27/12/2022	Jogadora de xadrez iraniana compete sem o hijab no Cazaquistão	https://www.publico.pt/2022/12/27/desporto/noticia/jogadora-xadrez-iraniana-compete-hijab-cazaquistao-2032891
N33	Observador	27/01/2015	Arrogante e impura - esta é a mulher que tira selfies	https://observador.pt/2015/01/27/arrogante-e-impura-esta-e-mulher-que-tira-selfies/

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N35	Observador	07/01/2016	Dolce & Gabbana lança coleção a pensar nas mulheres muçulmanas	https://observador.pt/2016/01/07/dolce-gabbana-lanca-coleccao-pensar-nas-mulheres-muculmanas/
N36	Observador	18/01/2016	Mulheres muçulmanas devem aprender inglês ou serão deportadas, diz David Cameron	https://observador.pt/2016/01/18/mulheres-muculmanas-devem-aprender-ingles-serao-deportadas-diz-david-cameron/
N37	Observador	19/01/2016	Reino Unido. Véu islâmico pode ser proibido em edifícios públicos	https://observador.pt/2016/01/19/reino-unido-veu-islamico-pode-proibido-edificios-publicos/
N38	Observador	03/08/2016	Ibtihaj, a primeira muçulmana com véu a competir pelos EUA	https://observador.pt/2016/08/03/ibtihaj-a-primeira-muculmana-com-veu-a-competir-pelos-eua/
N39	Observador	08/08/2016	Ibtihaj Muhammad. Escolheu esgrima para esconder o hijab, mas agora quer inspirar as muçulmanas	https://observador.pt/2016/08/08/ibtihaj-muhammad-escolheu-esgrima-para-esconder-o-hijab-mas-agora-quer-inspirar-as-muculmanas/
N40	Observador	15/08/2016	Burkini, a peça de roupa que está a aumentar ainda mais a tensão em torno dos muçulmanos franceses	https://observador.pt/2016/08/15/burkini-a-peca-de-roupa-que-esta-a-aumentar-ainda-mais-a-tensao-em-torno-dos-muculmanos-franceses/

N41	Observador	16/08/2016	Pelo menos três mulheres multadas por usarem "burkini" nas praias francesas	https://observador.pt/2016/08/16/pelo-menos-tres-mulheres-multadas-por-usarem-burkini-nas-praias-francesas/
N42	Observador	19/08/2016	Ministro do Interior alemão defende interdição parcial da burca	https://observador.pt/2016/08/19/ministro-do-interior-alemao-defende-interdicao-parcial-da-burca/
N43	Observador	19/08/2016	Burkini é um símbolo de inclusão na Austrália, defende a sua criadora	https://observador.pt/2016/08/19/burkini-e-um-simbolo-de-inclusao-na-australia-defende-a-sua-criadora/
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N45	Observador	23/08/2016	Proibição do burkini em França faz disparar as encomendas	https://observador.pt/2016/08/23/proibicao-do-burkini-em-franca-faz-disparar-as-encomendas/
N46	Observador	25/08/2016	Polícia escocesa e canadiana aprovam hijab opcional no uniforme para atrair mulheres muçulmanas	https://observador.pt/2016/08/25/policia-escocesa-aprova-hijab-opcional-no-uniforme-para-atrair-mulheres-muculmanas/
N47	Observador	25/08/2016	Burkini. Mulheres protestam em Inglaterra com festa na praia	https://observador.pt/2016/08/25/burkini-mulheres-protestam-em-inglaterra-com-festa-na-praia/

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N49	Observador	23/11/2016	Guião para "escapar" a crimes de ódio contra mulheres que usam hijab	https://observador.pt/2016/11/23/guiao-para-escapar-a-crimes-de-odio-contra-mulheres-que-usam-hijab/
N50	Observador	01/01/2017	O Islão e a moda estão numa relação	https://observador.pt/especiais/o-islao-e-a-moda-estao-numa-relacao/
N51	Observador	23/04/2017	UKIP quer proibir o uso de burcas e niqabs no Reino Unido	https://observador.pt/2017/04/23/ukip-quer-proibir-o-uso-de-burcas-e-niqabs-no-reino-unido/
N52	Observador	11/07/2017	Tribunal dos Direitos Humanos valida proibição belga de cobrir o rosto em público	https://observador.pt/2017/07/11/tribunal-dos-direitos-humanos-valida-proibicao-belga-de-cobrir-o-rosto-em-publico/
N53	Observador	02/01/2018	Projeto de lei contra o triplo 'talaq' pode ser aprovado na Índia	https://observador.pt/2018/01/02/projeto-de-lei-contra-o-triplo-talaq-pode-ser-aprovado-na-india/
N54	Observador	13/02/2018	Mulheres muçulmanas denunciam assédio sexual na peregrinação a Meca	https://observador.pt/2018/02/13/mulheres-muculmanas-denunciam-assedio-sexual-na-peregrinacao-a-meca/
N55	Observador	17/03/2018	Muçulmanas obrigadas a tirar hijab para fotografia na polícia e processam cidade de Nova Iorque	https://observador.pt/2018/03/17/muculmanas-obrigadas-a-tirar-hijab-para-fotografia-na-policia-e-processam-cidade-de-nova-iorque/

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N57	Observador	23/10/2018	ONU condena França por ter sentenciado duas mulheres que usavam véu integral	https://observador.pt/2018/10/23/onu-condena-franca-por-ter-sentenciado-duas-mulheres-que-usavam-veu-integral/
N58	Observador	27/02/2019	França. Decathlon retira hijab desportivo das suas lojas por causa de pressões e apelos ao boicote	https://observador.pt/2019/02/27/decathlon-retira-hijab-desportivo-das-suas-lojas-por-causa-de-pressoes-e-apelos-ao-boicote/
N59	Observador	14/04/2019	Ilhan Omar, a congressista muçulmana que está no centro de uma polémica com Trump e o 11 de setembro	https://observador.pt/2019/04/14/ilhan-omar-a-congressista-muculmana-que-esta-no-centro-de-uma-polemica-com-trump-e-o-11-de-setembro/
N60	Observador	28/04/2019	Presidente do Sri Lanka proíbe uso de roupa que tape o rosto	https://observador.pt/2019/04/28/presidente-do-sri-lanka-proibe-uso-de-roupa-que-tape-o-rosto/
N61	Observador	09/03/2021	Proibir burca na Suíça aumentará marginalização de muçulmanas, diz ONU	https://observador.pt/2021/03/09/proibir-burca-na-suica-aumentara-marginalizacao-de-muculmanas-diz-onu/
N62	Observador	04/01/2022	Governo indiano investiga site que promovia falso leilão de mulheres muçulmanas	https://observador.pt/2022/01/04/governo-indiano-investiga-site-que-alegava-leiloar-mulheres-muculmanas/

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