

EGYPT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN STUDY

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1. INTRODUCTION

This quantitative survey of violence against women was commissioned by the National Council for Women (NCW) within the framework of the USAID-funded Combating Violence Against Women project. The study was conducted under subcontract with Social Planning, Analysis, and Administration Consultants (SPAAC), a research firm with more than 25 years of experience in studying social phenomena in Egypt. The quantitative study is part of a larger, multidimensional NCW effort to assess violence against women in Egypt and provide recommendations to decision-makers and stakeholders, both inside and outside of government. Prior to the start of field work for this study, the NCW approved the plan, locations, and survey instruments used by the research team, and official authorization was provided by the Egyptian Central Authority for Population Mobilization and Statistics.

Data collection took place between April and May 2008, followed by analysis and reporting from July through October 2008. The following report is a summary of the main findings. For the full results of the survey, please contact the NCW Combating Violence Against Women project team.

The objectives of the survey were:

1. To determine the incidence of different types of domestic and community violence against women and girls in Egypt, the causes, and differentials by geographical regions;
2. To determine the perceptions and views of females (married women and unmarried female youth) and males (married men and unmarried male youth) on gender-based violence;
3. To identify the options women and unmarried girls have or would like to have to protect them from violence; and
4. To inform recommendations as to how levels of violence can be reduced.

Initially, two other studies were carried out: a review of the available literature on violence against women in Egypt; and focus group discussions with married women and men and unmarried male and female youth. These studies were carried out in order to obtain a more in-depth understanding of the issues, as well as to assist with the details of the development of the questionnaires.

1.1. Methodology

The basic approach to violence against women utilized in this report is based on the definition in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women of 1993, namely, “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.” Consequently, the study focused on domestic violence faced by married women and unmarried female youth, as well as on community violence faced by both, which is defined as violence encountered as they went about their daily activities outside the home — i.e., mostly sexual harassment encountered in the streets and in transportation.

Interview schedules were developed for four types of respondents: married women of reproductive age (15-49 years of age), men married to women of reproductive age, and unmarried female and male youth 15-24 years of age. In addition to extensive socioeconomic data, the respondent married women and female youth were asked detailed questions regarding their exposure to different types of domestic violence, both from their spouses and from other family members, such as in-laws, and in the case of female and male youth, from male siblings and parents. They were also asked detailed questions on exposure to community violence in the street, while riding transportation, at work, at school, and elsewhere. In turn, respondent married men and male youth were asked the counterpart questions about perpetrating violence, i.e., whether they had inflicted different forms of violence on women in their families (wives and sisters), or on females in the street in the form of sexual harassment.

The sample selection was based on a multi-stage cluster sample. Initially, seven governorates were selected to represent the regional and geographic variations in Egypt; namely, the urban governorates (Cairo and Alexandria were selected), Lower Egypt, both urban and rural (Sharqia and Gharbia were selected), as well as Upper Egypt, both urban and rural (Beni Suef, Sohag, and Qena were selected). Within these governorates, the number of households to be sampled was estimated proportionate to the size of the governorates with the number of primary sampling units (PSUs) assigned accordingly and randomly selected within the governorates. In total, 58 PSUs were selected with the number of households to be sampled within each PSU determined. The following table presents the sample size per respondent type per governorate based on the number of selected PSUs.

SAMPLE SIZES PER RESPONDENT TYPE PER GOVERNORATE

	N PSUs	MARRIED		MALE YOUTH	FEMALE YOUTH	TOTAL	
		Females	Males			Females	Males
Cairo	15	330	270	270	270	600	540
Alexandria	8	176	144	144	144	320	288
Sharkia (Urban)	3	66	54	54	54	120	108
Sharkia (Rural)	7	154	126	126	126	280	252
Gharbia (Urban)	3	66	54	54	54	120	108
Gharbia (Rural)	5	110	90	90	90	200	180
Beni Suef (Urban)	1	22	18	18	18	40	36
Beni Suef (Rural)	3	66	54	54	54	120	108
Sohag (Urban)	2	44	36	36	36	80	72
Sohag (Rural)	5	110	90	90	90	200	180
Qena (Urban)	1	22	18	18	18	40	36
Qena (Rural)	5	110	90	90	90	200	180
TOTAL	58	1,276	1,044	1,044	1,044	2,320	2,088
Total Urban	33	726	594	594	594	1,320	1,188
Total Rural	25	550	450	450	450	1,000	900

Based on PSU schematic geographical maps, each PSU was divided into four quadrants and only one type of respondent was interviewed in each of the quadrants to ensure that males and females from the same household or even the same extended family or neighbors would not be interviewed. Within each quadrant, respondents were selected by a process of systematic random sampling.

Data collection was carried out by three teams who worked in parallel in different governorates. Each team was led by a field organizer who mapped the areas covered by each team to ensure systematic random sampling. A female supervisor was responsible for ensuring the quality of data collection of the sub-team of six female data collectors for

data collection from the married women and female youth. A male supervisor had the same responsibilities for a sub-team of four male data collectors for data collection from the married men and male youth.

It should be noted that caution should be exercised in making inferences about the total population of Egypt or even the group of seven governorates from which the survey sample is drawn based on the results presented in this report. While the sampling procedures were designed to produce unbiased estimates about men and women in the group of seven governorates surveyed, the estimates presented here, as in all surveys based on a probability sample, are subject to sampling error, as well as non-sampling error, such as measurement error, non-response error, data processing error, and coverage error.

With a random sample of 1,000 individuals, the margin of error due to sampling for a question in which responses are split evenly between two choices is approximately plus or minus 3 percent with a confidence level of 95 percent. Because this survey used a clustered sample design, the margin of error will vary by question and is likely to be greater than the margin of error for a simple random sample due to design effects. Moreover, sampling error increases as sample size decreases. It should be, therefore, noted that the sample selection procedure resulted in a relatively smaller number of cases in urban areas outside of the Urban Governorates, most particularly in urban Upper Egypt. Thus, where the results are presented regionally, extra caution should be used in the interpretation of findings in these locations.

Finally, for ease of presentation and to highlight the main issues, this report does not contain all the data collected. However, in a number of areas, interpretation of findings is based on an overall analysis of the data beyond the selected data presented in this report.

1.2. Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

As previously mentioned, extensive socioeconomic data were collected from all of the respondents including age, age at marriage, education, education of spouse (education of parents in the case of the female and male youth), place of origin, family size, employment, etc. Extensive data were also collected regarding housing characteristics (number of rooms and bedrooms), access to infrastructure services, such as potable water and sewerage, and type of latrine, flooring, wall painting, ownership of household durable consumer goods, total household income, whether the household had additional sources of income, etc.

All of the socioeconomic data collected confirm existing regional differences in Egypt as highlighted in other studies and assessments, such as the yearly UNDP Egypt Human Development Report, World Bank poverty assessments, and the national census conducted in Egypt every 10 years (last one was conducted 2006). Although the magnitude of the gaps vary from assessment to assessment, or year to year, all of these studies illustrate the same trends exhibited in this data set, namely: (i) the Urban Governorates have higher levels of education and income and greater access to infrastructure services in comparison to the other governorates; (ii) within the other governorates, urban areas have higher levels of education and income and greater access to infrastructure and services in comparison to rural areas; and (iii) Lower Egypt has higher levels than Upper Egypt — i.e., rural Upper Egypt is the most disadvantaged

region in terms of the education and income levels of respondents, as well as access to infrastructure services.

The respondent married women were slightly younger on average than the respondent married men (average age of 35 years for respondent married women compared to average age of 42 years for respondent married men). The age of the spouses of the respondent married women and men showed the same differential — i.e., there was a 6-8 year gap on average between the ages of the spouses. As would be expected, the average age at first marriage was lower for the respondent married women than for the respondent married men — 20 years compared to 26 years, respectively, with respondents from the Urban Governorates tending to have been married at slightly above the average age at first marriage, while those from Upper Egypt, particularly rural Upper Egypt, tending to be slightly below the average. When asked about their place of origin, the responses reflected the lack of mobility of the Egyptian population as a whole. Over three-quarters (76 percent) of respondent married women were from the same location where they were interviewed and an additional 8 percent were from another village within the same district — i.e., less than one in five (16 percent) of the respondent married women were far from their original families.

Table 1.1 presents the educational attainment of the respondent married men and women by geographic region. As can be seen from the table, there is a clear gender gap in educational attainment, as well as a regional gap. Much higher proportions of married women in comparison to married men either did not go to school at all or could only read and write — i.e., they had either taken literacy classes or went to school, but did not complete their primary education. As would be expected, these proportions were higher for respondents (both married men and women) in rural areas compared to urban areas.

Table 1.1: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN AND MEN BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
Total Number of Married Women	506	132	264	88	286	1,276
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	%	%	%	%	%	%
No schooling/some primary	20.8	25.0	44.7	30.7	68.2	37.5
Completed primary/preparatory	21.1	10.6	13.3	20.5	13.6	16.7
Completed secondary/vocational sec.	29.4	37.9	30.3	22.7	15.0	26.8
Above secondary/university	28.7	26.5	11.7	26.1	3.1	19.0
Total Number of Married Men	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
LEVEL OF EDUCATION	%	%	%	%	%	%
No schooling/some primary	16.5	16.6	30.6	16.7	52.1	27.4
Completed primary/preparatory	24.4	13.0	13.4	16.6	12.4	17.7
Completed secondary/vocational sec.	32.6	37.9	38.9	45.8	25.6	33.8
Above secondary/university	26.5	32.4	17.2	20.8	9.8	21.0

For rural Upper Egypt, a staggering 68 percent of respondent married women either did not go to school at all (52 percent) or could only read and write (i.e., attended literacy classes or learned to read and write somewhere) or started school but did not complete their primary education (16 percent). Although more than half (52 percent) of married male respondents in rural Upper Egypt also either did not go to school (41 percent) or else could only read and write/did not complete their primary education (11 percent), it is clear from the data presented that the gender gap in education is highest in rural Upper Egypt and lowest in the Urban Governorates. It should be noted that only 14 percent of respondent married men had lower levels of education than their wives, with 43 percent

having higher levels of education than their wives, indicating that men tended to marry women who were of lower or at least equal levels of education than themselves.

When respondent married women and men who did not enter school or did not complete their secondary education were asked the reasons for this and who took the decision, their responses reflected the patriarchal family norms in Egypt which are strongest in the rural areas and weakest in the Urban Governorates. For respondent married women, the predominant reason given was that they were needed to help in the domestic chores (42 percent of those who did not enter school or complete secondary school), followed by conserving education costs (36 percent), and that they were not willing because they had difficulty in school and/or bad treatment (32 percent, with higher proportions in the urban areas). The predominant person to decide this was the father (72 percent), particularly in the rural areas with only about one-third (37 percent) of respondent married women stating that they were the ones to decide or were involved in the decision. However, in the Urban Governorates, the proportions were about equal between the respondent married women in terms of who decided — i.e., 58 percent stated that their fathers decided and 57 percent stated that they were the ones to decide or were involved in the decision.

As for respondent married men who did not enter school or did not complete their secondary education, the most common reasons given by them were that the family wanted to save the costs of education (52 percent), that the family needed the income from work (44 percent), and that they were not interested in continuing their education (35 percent). However, the greater freedom allowed to males is clear in their responses regarding who made the decision. Although almost two-thirds of them (66 percent) stated the father made the decision, more than half (55 percent) also stated that they made the decision or were involved in the decision. The weaker patriarchal family structure in the Urban Governorates is also clear: 75 percent of respondent married men who did not enter school or did not complete their secondary education in these areas stated that they decided themselves or were involved in the decision, whereas only 47 percent of them stated that their fathers decided.

TABLE 1.2: RESPONDENT FEMALE AND MALE YOUTH EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT GAPS BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
Total Number of Female Youth	<u>414</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>234</u>	<u>1,044</u>
Percent no schooling	0.7	0.9	0.9	4.2	14.5	4.1
Percent entered but did not complete Secondary	11.1	12.0	13.0	4.2	13.7	11.7
Total number of Male Youth	<u>414</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>216</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>234</u>	<u>1,044</u>
Percent no schooling	1.2	0.0	4.2	2.8	3.4	2.3
Percent entered but did not complete Secondary	16.2	7.4	14.8	4.2	11.1	13.0

From the educational attainment data for female and male youth, as presented in Table 1.2, it is clear that the gender and regional gap in education is declining overall in the younger age group when compared to the older group of married respondents in the same location, although rural Upper Egypt still has the largest gap. Almost 15 percent of respondent female youth in rural Upper Egypt never went to school, compared to only 4 percent of all respondent female youth, and 3 percent of respondent male youth in rural Upper Egypt. However, when they did enter school, respondent female youth in rural

Upper Egypt were as likely to complete their secondary education as the respondent male youth.

The data on housing and family size characteristics of all the respondent categories also confirm the norms of urban/rural differentials in family size and household structure. Families in rural areas have a greater number of individuals per household due to both having more children and living with extended families. Although houses in rural areas tended to be larger, with a higher number of rooms on average than in urban areas, this did not offset the larger family sizes in rural areas, and therefore, resulted in a slightly higher per room density in rural areas compared to urban areas. As an example, the average number of children for respondent married women was 4 for those in rural Upper Egypt, compared to 3 children for those in the Urban governorates, and there was an average of 5 individuals per household for those in the Urban Governorates compared to 8 individuals per household in rural Upper Egypt. Thus, although the houses were larger in rural Upper Egypt, the average number of individuals per room was slightly higher for respondent married women in this rural Upper Egypt (1.7 people per room) compared to those in the Urban Governorates (1.4 people per room). Similarly, the average number of people per bedroom was 2.9 people compared to 2.3 people, respectively. In general, the data from the other types of respondents showed the same levels and differentials — Urban Governorates and Urban Lower Egypt had smaller households in terms of both number of individuals and number of rooms, compared to rural areas, and rural Upper Egypt consistently had the highest average family size, average number of rooms and bedrooms, and average number of individuals per room and per bedroom.

In order to assess economic status, extensive data were collected on access to infrastructure services, such as electricity, potable water, and sewerage systems; on observations of house floor covering and type of furniture; on household income levels and additional sources of income; and on ownership of a list of durable consumer goods, such as a water heater, refrigerator, washing machine, color TV, computer, etc. Analysis of this data confirmed the findings of other socioeconomic and poverty assessments and reports that indicate that economic status of all categories of respondents are higher in the Urban Governorates and urban areas compared to the rural areas, and higher in Lower Egypt compared to Upper Egypt.

Table 1.3: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Total Number of Married Women	506	132	264	88	286
ECONOMIC STATUS	%	%	%	%	%
Lower level income	9.9	9.8	29.5	35.2	54.2
Lower middle level income	15.0	16.7	34.8	30.7	33.2
Upper middle level income	27.7	39.4	25.0	14.8	8.4
Upper level income	47.4	34.1	10.6	19.3	4.2

Table 1.3 presents a summary analysis of the economic status of respondent married women. As the data on the other respondents showed similar proportions and regional differentials, they were not included for simplicity. The analysis of economic status presented is based on a weighted average of ownership of a total of 16 household durable goods where luxury goods were given higher weights or scores than goods which were

considered standard goods.¹ The data presented confirm that respondent married women in the Urban Governorates had the highest standards of living overall, with almost half of them (47 percent) being in the upper level income category relative to the total sample, while those in rural Upper Egypt had the lowest standards of living with over half (54 percent) being in the lowest income level category relative to the total sample. Respondents in urban Upper Egypt had standards of living that were only slightly above those in rural Lower Egypt, and the Urban Governorates were followed by urban Lower Egypt in standards of living.

As can be seen from the presentation of the data, substantial regional socioeconomic variations exist in Egypt. Consequently, in the analysis of data on violence in the following chapters, the regional differentials can be used as a proxy for socioeconomic variables — i.e., the breakdown into regions in the presentation of the data will capture a large part of the variation in the data due to socioeconomic variables, such as education and economic status.

2. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

2.1. Introduction

Respondent married women and unmarried female youth were asked a series of detailed questions regarding their experience of domestic violence — i.e., violence within the family. Married women were asked about their experience of spousal violence — i.e., violence inflicted by their husbands and violence inflicted by their in-laws. Unmarried female youth were asked about violence inflicted by their fathers and/or brothers. As a counterpart to the respondent married women and unmarried female youths' experience of domestic violence, respondent married men and unmarried male youth were also asked if they had inflicted violence on their wives and sisters, respectively. Both female and male respondents of both categories were also asked a series of questions concerning the reasons for domestic violence, responses and reactions to domestic violence, and attitudes towards domestic violence.

The types of domestic violence the respondents were asked about were as follows:

1. **Psychological violence** in the form of: (i) *emotional/verbal* violence, including being insulted, humiliated, addressed by the name of an animal, being threatened with harm, and being threatened with divorce; and (ii) *controlling/isolating* violence including money being taken by force and being prevented from seeking health care, going out of the house, visiting family, or going to work.

¹ The listed household items were assigned a score from 1 to 4, where 4 was for goods that were clearly luxury items (i.e., deep freezers, dishwashers, automatic washing machines, computers, air conditioners, and private cars) and 1 represented items that were fairly standard in the Egyptian context (i.e., radios, manual washing machines, black and white TVs, and sewing machines). The remaining items were assigned a score of 2 or 3 depending on how common it was to own or whether it was somewhat of a luxury (i.e., a color TV was assigned a score of 2, because it was owned by a very large proportion of respondents in all regions, however, a black and white TV was assigned a score of 1 because those who did not have a color TV had a black and white one). Satellite TV was assigned a score of 3, while video players were assigned a score of 2 because they were considered outdated, and satellite TV has taken the place of video players for entertainment. If respondents did not report owning an asset then zero was assigned. The total sample of each category of respondent was then divided into quartiles based on the average score with the break points defined by the quartiles for the total sample.

2. **Physical violence** in the form of being kicked or dragged, being wounded or injured, an attempt made to choke or burn, being attacked with a weapon, and/or having broken bones.
3. **Sexual violence** in the form of being forced into sexual relations, whether by the husband or by the father.

It should be noted that for unmarried female youth, not all the specific actions of psychological and physical violence outlined above were discussed.

To keep the following data in context, in the 2005 Demographic and Health Survey, 47 percent of the respondent women (ever married women of reproductive age, 15-49 years of age) had experienced any sort of physical violence since 15 years of age. Of these women, 72 percent said that they had experienced violence perpetuated by husbands (i.e., spousal domestic violence), 45 percent said that they had experienced violence perpetrated by males other than the husband, mostly the fathers or brothers, and 36 percent said that they had experienced violence perpetrated by a female, mostly the mother.

2.2. SPOUSAL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

2.2.1. Prevalence of Spousal Violence

Sampled married women were asked whether they had ever been subjected to specific acts of violence by their husbands and if they had experienced such violence in the past 12 months. Similarly, respondent married men were asked whether they had ever inflicted these same specific violent acts on their wives and if they had done so in the past 12 months. The responses were categorized as types of psychological, physical, or sexual spousal violence. It is interesting to note that the data indicate that a higher proportion of respondent married men acknowledged that they had been perpetrators of violence than the respondent married women acknowledged that they were victims of violence. However, this was largely due to the fact that higher proportions of respondent married men acknowledged that they had inflicted emotional/verbal violence, in particular, on their wives. Regarding the other more severe forms of spousal violence — controlling/isolating violence, physical violence, and sexual violence — a slightly higher proportion of respondent married women stated that they were victims of these practices than respondent married men stated that they were perpetrators. As can be seen from Table 2.1, more than three out of five (63 percent) respondent married women stated that they had ever been victims of any type of violence, while almost four out of five (78 percent) respondent married men acknowledged that they had ever inflicted any type of violence. When only the last 12 months are taken into account, these proportions were reduced to half (50 percent) and almost two-thirds (64 percent) for respondent married women and men, respectively.

However, as previously mentioned, these very high reports of any type of violence are largely the result of very high proportions of respondent married women reporting and married men acknowledging, that they had, respectively, suffered or inflicted emotional/verbal violence, specifically insults. Although other forms of emotional/verbal violence were prevalent, they were not as prevalent as insults. When the more severe

forms of psychological violence are specified, particularly controlling/isolating acts, the proportions that reported these acts declined — 29 percent of respondent married women reported that they were ever subjected to at least one of these acts and 20 percent reported that they had been subjected to at least one of these acts in the past year. For the respondent married men, the corresponding proportions were 25 percent and 15 percent, respectively. The controlling/isolating practices that were most prevalent were preventing wives from going out of the house and preventing them from visiting family. Much smaller proportions reported practices, such as money being taken by force, being prevented from obtaining health care, and being prevented from going to work. (It should be noted that only 13 percent of the female respondents worked outside the house.)

Table 2.1: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE AND MARRIED MEN PERPETUATORS OF VIOLENCE BY TYPE OF VIOLENCE

	MARRIED WOMEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE		MARRIED MEN PERPETUATORS OF VIOLENCE	
	Ever Experienced	Experienced in Last 12 Months	Ever Inflicted	Inflicted in Last 12 Months
Total N	<u>1,276</u>	<u>1,276</u>	<u>1,044</u>	<u>1,044</u>
Percent Experienced/Inflicted Any Violence	63.2	50.2	78.1	63.7
PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE	%	%	%	%
EMOTIONAL/VERBAL				
Insulted	60.3	46.1	68.4	53.2
Humiliated	22.5	18.2	7.8	5.7
Called name of animal, etc.	34.4	28.0	30.3	24.5
Threatened to harm	14.5	10.2	15.7	11.3
Threatened to divorce	22.6	11.1	27.3	14.9
<i>At least one type emotional/verbal</i>	61.3	47.7	75.2	60.9
<i>Two - three types emotional/verbal</i>	27.6	23.5	55.0	31.0
CONTROLLING/ISOLATING				
Money taken by force	6.4	4.1	0.8	0.3
Prevented from health care	4.8	3.1	2.3	1.8
Prevented from going out of house	16.0	10.5	11.3	6.2
Prevented from visiting family	20.9	14.0	12.4	7.5
Prevented from going to work	3.8	2.4	5.6	2.7
<i>At least one type controlling/isolating</i>	29.2	19.7	25.2	14.9
<i>Two - three types controlling/isolating</i>	12.7	8.7	24.2	2.9
<i>At least one type of Psychological</i>	62.6	49.5	77.7	63.4
<i>Five or more types of Psychological</i>	15.0	9.1	6.5	2.3
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	%	%	%	%
Kicked or dragged	24.8	13.7	27.9	11.1
Wounded/Injured	13.8	8.0	4.9	2.3
Attempt to choke or burn	3.5	1.7	0.2	0.1
Attacked with a weapon	2.4	1.3	0.2	0.0
Broke bones	4.5	2.5	0.8	0.6
<i>At least one type of physical</i>	28.3	16.1	28.6	11.5
<i>Two - three types of physical</i>	10.1	6.1	4.4	2.2
SEXUAL VIOLENCE	%	%	%	%
Forced into sexual relations	17.3	13.8	0.4	0.3

In terms of the progression of violence to the even more severe physical spousal violence, similar proportions to the psychological controlling/isolating violence were reported for physical violence. Among respondent married women, 28 percent reported that they had ever suffered from at least one type of physical violence by their husbands and 16 percent said that they had suffered from at least one type in the past year. Approximately the same proportion of respondent married men stated that they had ever inflicted at least one type of physical violence (29 percent) or inflicted such violence in the past year (12

percent). The predominant type of physical violence reported by married women was being kicked or dragged, with equal or higher proportions of respondent married men acknowledging that they had inflicted this type of violence. The other types of physical violence, which represent increases in the severity of physical violence, were not as prevalent, although consistently higher proportions of the married women respondents reported them compared to the men. This would seem to indicate that the men were less willing to acknowledge that their actions were severe or resulted in injury.

In terms of sexual violence, the question was clearly posed as to whether the woman had been coerced by force to have marital/conjugal relations with her husband. Only four of the respondent married men acknowledged that they had done this (three in the past year). This could be an indication that men either considered this normal, and therefore, did not perceive it as force or that they did not want to admit that they had forced their wives. In contrast, 17 percent of respondent married women stated that this had ever happened to them and 14 percent said that it had happened in the past year. Of those married women who stated that they had ever been forced to have marital relations with their husband, half (50 percent) stated that it happened sometimes, while almost one-quarter (24 percent) stated that it happened most of the time.

It should be noted that for all of the married women respondents who had suffered at least one act of spousal violence in the past 12 months, over half (51 percent) only suffered psychological violence, while the remainder suffered physical and/or sexual violence in addition to psychological violence. When only psychological violence was suffered, these respondent married women suffered from two acts of psychological violence, on average.² However when physical or sexual violence was suffered, these women also suffered about from an average of four acts of psychological violence, in addition to at least one act of physical and/or sexual violence. Thus, as would be expected, the severity of spousal psychological violence was greater when spousal physical or sexual violence was also involved. The severity (in terms of average number of acts) was highest in the Urban Governorates. These findings are also confirmed by the responses of the respondent married men who had inflicted violence in the past 12 months, even though, as previously mentioned, lower proportions of them reported inflicting severe physical and/or sexual violence.

Table 2.2 presents the prevalence of spousal violence in the past 12 months by type of violence, region, and various socioeconomic variables. As can be seen from the table, there is substantial regional variation in violence. With respect to those respondent married women and men who had suffered/inflicted at least one type of psychological violence, a higher proportion of married male respondents reported inflicting psychological violence. Interestingly, in rural Upper Egypt, only 36 percent of married women respondents stated that they had suffered psychological violence in the past 12 months, compared to 71 percent of respondent married men who stated that they had inflicted at least one such act on their wives. This huge differential could be due to women in this region being more accepting of psychological violence, considering it normal and a man's right that they would not undermine by complaining about it to strangers, in combination with the fact that the men were more likely to see this as a sign of manliness, and therefore, were not ashamed to acknowledge it. However, this

² This analysis is based on the average scores of psychological and physical/sexual violence which was calculated by summing the number of violent acts suffered by each respondent in each category and averaging it over the sample.

differential between respondent married women and men in rural and urban Upper Egypt did not exist for physical violence — about the same proportions of both respondents mentioned physical violence.

Table 2.2: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN SUBJECTED TO VIOLENCE AND MARRIED MEN PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS BY TYPE OF VIOLENCE, REGION, AND SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

	MARRIED WOMEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE IN THE PAST YEAR					MARRIED MEN PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE IN THE PAST YEAR			
	N	Psycho-logical	Physical	Sexual	Any	N	Psycho-logical	Physical	Any
Total N	1,276	631	206	176	640	1044	662	120	665
REGIONS		%	%	%	%		%	%	%
Urban Governorates	506	53.8	16.6	17.2	54.5	414	58.9	9.9	58.9
Urban Lower Egypt	132	52.3	15.2	23.5	53.8	108	59.3	18.5	60.2
Rural Lower Egypt	264	56.4	24.2	18.9	56.8	216	66.2	14.8	66.2
Urban Upper Egypt	88	42.0	13.6	3.4	42.0	72	63.9	8.3	65.3
Rural Upper Egypt	286	36.4	9.1	1.7	37.1	234	70.5	9.0	70.9
EDUCATION		%	%	%	%		%	%	%
Illiterate/read & write	478	49.4	17.4	10.9	50.0	286	67.1	12.2	67.5
Primary or preparatory certificate	213	55.9	18.3	13.1	55.9	185	68.1	16.8	68.6
Secondary general/vocational	342	48.5	17.5	17.0	50.0	353	64.9	11.0	65.2
Above secondary	243	45.3	9.9	15.6	45.7	220	52.3	6.8	52.3
AGE		%	%	%	%		%	%	%
25 years or less	222	53.2	22.5	13.1	54.1	34	55.9	2.9	55.9
26-30 years	241	53.5	21.2	10.8	54.4	134	61.9	12.7	62.7
31-35 years	212	49.5	13.2	16.5	50.0	150	72.7	17.3	73.3
36-40 years	213	51.2	16.4	17.4	51.6	159	67.3	15.7	67.3
41 years or more	388	43.8	10.8	12.6	44.6	567	60.7	9.0	60.8
ECONOMIC STATUS		%	%	%	%		%	%	%
Lower level income	327	50.8	17.4	12.5	50.8	303	70.6	13.9	70.6
Lower middle level Income	312	49.7	14.4	9.6	50.3	252	65.1	12.3	65.5
Upper middle level Income	295	48.5	19.7	13.9	49.2	207	64.7	8.7	65.7
Upper level income	342	48.8	13.5	18.7	50.3	282	53.2	10.3	53.2
NO. OF CHILDREN		%	%	%	%		%	%	%
No children	82	32.9	19.5	12.2	32.9	73	50.7	11.0	52.1
1 child	165	45.5	17.6	13.9	46.7	149	62.4	8.7	62.4
2-3 children	632	53.5	16.6	15.0	54.4	475	66.1	12.6	66.5
4-5 children	283	50.5	12.7	12.0	50.5	239	63.6	12.6	63.6
6 or more children	114	42.1	17.5	12.3	43.0	108	61.1	8.3	61.1

In terms of physical violence — i.e., respondent married women who had experienced at least one type of physical violence in the past 12 months — the highest proportions who mentioned this type of violence were in rural Lower Egypt, where almost one in four (24 percent) of married female respondents stated that they had suffered at least one act of physical violence in the past 12 months. The lowest proportions were in rural Upper Egypt, where less than one in 10 (9 percent) of women stated that they had suffered at least one type of physical violence. For respondent married men, the highest proportions who mentioned inflicting it were in urban Lower Egypt (19 percent), followed by rural Lower Egypt (15 percent). The lower proportions in Upper Egypt reporting physical and/or sexual violence in the past 12 months could be due to stronger traditions of keeping quiet about what happens between a husband and wife, or women being more accepting of violence. However, it could also be due to the fact that the same cohesive

social norms in Upper Egypt that ensure adherence to traditional, conservative values also do not condone men hitting women, which is more consistent with other findings presented in this report.

Regarding sexual violence, as previously mentioned, only three respondent married men acknowledged that they had forced their wife to have marital relations in the past year. As for the respondent married women, there was a clear regional differential with almost one in four (24 percent) and almost one in five (19 percent) of respondent married women in urban and rural Lower Egypt, respectively, stating that they had been forced to have marital relations with their husband. In contrast, in urban and rural Upper Egypt, the proportions mentioning this were very small. There was no clear trend in terms of age, education, or number of children with respect to sexual violence. However, interestingly, those with economic status of upper income were slightly more likely to report they had suffered sexual violence in the past year, which could be due to the fact that they were more willing to acknowledge that it happened.

Looking at other variables, for respondent married women who stated that they had suffered at least one form of psychological violence in the past 12 months, there were no clear trends by education, age, economic status, or number of children. In contrast for respondent married men who had inflicted psychological violence, there were no clear trends by age or number of children, although, there were clear trends by education and economic status. Those who were more educated and with a higher economic status were less likely to state that they had inflicted psychological violence compared to those with a lower economic status or educational attainment. (It should be noted that education and economic status are likely to be highly correlated.) This could mean that either of these categories of men was more unwilling to acknowledge inflicting psychological violence or were less likely to inflict it. With respect to physical violence, those respondent married women who had an education above secondary or who were above 40 years of age were least likely to report that they had suffered physical violence in the past 12 months compared to the other age groups. There were no clear trends with respect to economic status or number of children. As for the respondent married men who inflicted physical violence in the past 12 months, there were no clear trends with respect to age and number of children, although there was a very small trend that those who had an education above secondary were less likely to report that they had inflicted at least one form of physical violence in the past 12 months compared to those with a lower educational attainment.

When asked where these acts of spousal violence took place, it was clear that it takes place predominantly in the home, and therefore, in front of the children or other family members, most often the husband's family. The majority of married women and men respondents who had suffered from violence/inflicted violence reported that it took place at home (88 percent and 90 percent of respondent married women and men, respectively), followed by in the husband's home (24 percent and 12 percent, respectively). As would be expected, in rural areas, higher proportions (35 percent) stated that violence took place in the husband's family home, since married women live with the husband's family more often there. When the violence took place at home, less than one-third (30 percent) of the respondent women who said that it took place at home stated that it took place when the couple were alone, while more than two-thirds (69 percent) stated that it took place in front of the children. In contrast, more than half (56 percent) of the respondent men who said that the violent treatment took place in the home reported that it took place while the

couple were alone, and more than two out of five (42 percent) stated that it took place in front of the children.

Respondent married women and men who had suffered/inflicted violence on their spouses were asked to state the reasons for this spousal violence. The results are presented in Table 2.3. Although only a very small proportion explicitly stated that it is the husband's right to inflict violence (4.5 percent and 1.6 percent of married women and men who ever suffered/inflicted violence, respectively), this is implied from other responses, particularly those of married men, which justified the violence. More than half of the respondent married men (55 percent) stated that the reason was that the wife does not do as he wants, while almost one in ten (9 percent) stated that he has to teach his wife order and discipline. However, it is interesting to note that lower proportions of respondent men in both rural and urban Upper Egypt mentioned these responses. In rural Lower Egypt, almost three-quarters of the respondent married men who had ever inflicted violence stated that the reason for the violence was that the women did not do what they wanted, in comparison to less than half of the respondent married men who had ever inflicted violence in rural Upper Egypt who gave this response. This would appear to indicate that lesser proportions of these men view the wife's discipline as his right, giving credence to the view previously expressed that violence against women is less of an accepted social norm in this region.

Table 2.3. MAIN REASONS GIVEN FOR VIOLENCE BY RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN AND MEN WHO EVER EXPERIENCED/INFLECTED VIOLENCE BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
Never-married Women Who Experienced Violence	<u>329</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>806</u>
REASONS FOR VIOLENCE GIVEN BY WOMEN	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bad character of husband	43.5	36.4	32.3	37.5	25.9	36.5
He is tense because of high living cost	76.3	68.2	81.3	68.8	66.4	74.4
He has problems with his family	9.4	11.4	15.2	4.2	5.6	10.0
He has problems at work	52.0	54.5	46.0	31.3	23.1	44.4
N Married Men Who Inflicted Violence	<u>313</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>172</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>190</u>	<u>815</u>
REASONS FOR VIOLENCE GIVEN BY MEN	%	%	%	%	%	%
Wife does not do what he wants	52.7	59.5	72.7	28.6	48.4	55.0
He has to teach wife order & discipline	12.1	8.2	7.6	7.1	6.3	9.1
He is tense because of high living cost	69.3	84.5	76.7	71.4	66.3	71.9
He has problems with his Family	5.8	4.8	7.6	12.5	8.9	7.2
He has problems at work	33.2	58.3	56.4	35.7	27.4	39.5

* More than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

However, the predominant reason for violence, mentioned by almost three-quarters of women (74 percent) who were ever subjected to violence was that the husband was tense because of the high cost of living. A similar proportion of respondent married men mentioned this reason and a smaller, though a still substantial, proportion mentioned problems at work or with family as reasons. Thus, stress as a justification for violence condones and excuses the use of violence against women in stressful circumstances in the sense that this appears to be viewed as a normal reaction.

2.2.2. Responses to Spousal Violence and Help Seeking Behavior

As would be expected, the majority of respondent married women who were subjected to violence in the past 12 months stated that their response was to get upset and cry (88 percent), with very little difference between respondents who only suffered psychological violence and those who suffered physical and/or sexual violence in addition to psychological violence. However, higher proportions of those who suffered physical and/or sexual violence reported that they silently cursed their husband (33 percent) or cursed him aloud.

Table 2.4: RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE OF RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN WHO SUFFERED VIOLENCE IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS BY TYPE OF VIOLENCE

	Any	Psychological Only	Physical/ Sexual
N Women Who Suffered Violence in Past Year	640	328	312
RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE*	%	%	%
Do nothing	5.0	8.2	1.6
Get upset and cry	87.8	85.4	90.4
Silently curse him	26.6	20.7	32.7
Curse him aloud	19.8	14.9	25.0
Complain to his relatives	7.5	5.8	9.3
Complain to her relatives	11.6	8.5	14.7
Deprive him of marital relations	11.1	7.6	14.7
Leaves the house & goes to her family	19.4	13.7	25.3
Hit the children	5.0	5.2	4.8

*More than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

Moreover, it is clear from the data that women who suffered physical and/or sexual violence, in addition to psychological violence, were more likely than those who only suffered psychological violence to take concrete actions, such as leaving the house to go to their families (25 percent), complaining to family or relatives (15 percent), or depriving the husband of marital/conjugal relations (15 percent). As these women also suffered a greater severity of spousal psychological violence, this indicates that women take more concrete action when the violence is more severe.

Table 2.5: AVERAGE VIOLENCE SCORES* OF RESPONDENT WOMEN WHO EVER EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE AND SOUGHT/DID NOT SEEK ASSISTANCE

N MARRIED WOMEN WHO EVER EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE	<u>806</u>
Percent Sought Assistance	25.1
Percent Did Not Seek Assistance	74.9
N WOMEN WHO SOUGHT ASSISTANCE	<u>202</u>
Average Psychological Violence Score	3.2
Average Physical/Sexual Violence Score	1.1
N WOMEN WHO DID NOT SEEK ASSISTANCE	<u>604</u>
Average Psychological Violence Score	2.0
Average Physical/Sexual Violence Score	0.5

*Refer to Footnote 2 for calculation.

Only one in four (25 percent) respondent women who had ever suffered any form of spousal violence reported that they had ever sought assistance, and 28 percent of respondent married men who had ever inflicted violence reported that their wives sought assistance. On average, as shown in Table 2.5, those who sought assistance suffered slightly more intense psychological violence and marginally more intense physical violence as indicated by the average violence scores.

Table 2.6: SOCIOECONOMIC AND REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MARRIED WOMEN WHO EVER EXPERIENCED VIOLENCE AND SOUGHT ASSISTANCE

	N	PERCENT WHO SOUGHT ASSISTANCE
Married Women Who Ever Experienced Violence	806	25.1
REGIONS		
Urban Governorates	329	32.2
Urban Lower Egypt	88	20.5
Rural Lower Egypt	198	19.7
Urban Upper Egypt	48	29.2
Rural Upper Egypt	143	17.5
EDUCATION		
Illiterate/read and write	323	23.5
Primary or preparatory certificate	141	25.5
Secondary general/vocational	204	24.0
Above secondary	138	29.7
AGE		
25 years or less	131	28.2
26-30 years	150	23.3
31-35 years	127	22.8
36-40 years	140	35.0
41 years or more	258	20.2
ECONOMIC STATUS		
Lower level income	204	26.5
Lower middle level income	206	21.8
Upper middle level income	187	26.2
Upper level income	209	25.8

As indicated in Table 2.6, for married women respondents, the lowest proportions of women who sought assistance were in the rural areas, both Upper and Lower Egypt, and the highest proportion of women was in the Urban Governorates (32 percent), possibly due to the fact that spousal violence faced by these respondent married women was slightly more severe than in the other locations, in combination with the possibility that social norms in rural areas were more likely to keep women silent about domestic violence. Those that sought support were slightly more likely to have an education above secondary — 30 percent of respondent married women with an education above secondary who had ever suffered violence sought support, compared to 24 percent of those who were illiterate or could only read and write. However, there was no clear differential in terms of age or economic status — i.e., these were not factors, which clearly affected the decision to seek help.

The responses in seeking support clearly indicate that the primary recourse available to women suffering from acts of violence is the family, and that the family mostly just mediates to restore some sort of harmony to the relationship. Very few respondent married women who suffered from acts of violence sought support from outside the family — a few respondents (about 8) sought support from friends, neighbors, and/or community leaders, and only 4 respondents sought support from a lawyer. Three-quarters of respondent married women who suffered from a violent act and requested support primarily requested support from their families (75 percent) and more than one-third (37 percent) requested support from their husbands' families. The support requested was predominantly to talk to the husband to change his character, requested by four out of five (80 percent) of these women. Only 16 percent requested support to be divorced or separated — i.e., only 33 respondents, of which 24 were located in the Urban Governorates, most because the severity of violence was slightly higher in this region.

For those that sought support, almost one-third (32 percent) stated that the support they got was not sufficient, largely because there was no change in their husband's behavior.

For those married women respondents who had ever suffered from a violent act but did not request support, the reason given was primarily fear of the husband's anger, noted by nearly three-quarters (71 percent) of those who did not request support, with a higher proportion in Upper Egypt giving this response. More than one-quarter (26 percent) stated that they did not request support because they got used to this treatment, while more than one in five (21 percent) stated that they did not request support because they feared divorce or desertion. The highest proportions of women who mentioned this reason were in the Urban Governorates (29 percent) and rural Lower Egypt (23 percent), while in Upper Egypt less than one in ten (less than 10 percent) reported that they feared this.

The responses of the sampled married men who ever inflicted an act of violence on their wives confirm this pattern of support seeking where those who seek support do so primarily from the wife's family, particularly a father or eldest brother (63 percent of those who ever inflicted an act of violence on their wives and whose wives sought support), followed to a much lesser extent by requesting support from the husband's family (21 percent). Again the support sought was primarily mediation of the relationship between the husband and wife, either to solve the problems (70 percent of respondent married men who inflicted acts of violence whose wives sought support) or to talk to the husband and wife (23 percent). Also, in confirmation of women's fear of their husbands as a factor in not seeking support, the majority (87 percent) of married men who had inflicted acts of violence on their wives but whose wives did not seek support stated that the reason for not seeking support was that it is improper to let anybody know what happens between a husband and wife. Thus, clearly, in terms of help-seeking behavior, women are not likely to seek support from outside of the family, except possibly when suffering from the more extreme cases of violence.

2.2.3. Attitudes to Spousal Violence

Respondent married women and men were asked what they thought would happen if a woman went to her family if she suffers from violence from her husband with the responses presented in Table 2.7. Although a high proportion of the respondents from both categories clearly expected the families to intervene by talking to the husband or helping the woman and talking to her to calm her down, it is clear that the primary expectation is that, in the end, the women will return to her marital home, even though the married female respondents had greater expectations of family support than the male respondents.

Interestingly, there was a fairly large differential in Upper Egypt between the married women and men's responses — over four out of five of respondent married women in this region thought that the woman would eventually return to her marital home, compared to only about half of respondent married men in this region who thought so. The reason for this is unclear, although, as respondent married men in this region also had the highest expectation that the family would welcome the wife and her children (15 percent and 16 percent for urban and rural areas, respectively) compared to men in the other regions, it might be due to the fact that they relied on the stronger family bonds in Upper Egypt to judge when the severity of the violence needed the more drastic intervention of the woman leaving the marital home.

Table 2.7: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN AND MEN'S MAIN EXPECTATIONS FROM FAMILIES OF WIVES WITH VIOLENT HUSBANDS

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
N Married Women	506	132	264	88	286	1,276
FAMILY REACTIONS TO VIOLENT HUSBANDS*	%	%	%	%	%	%
They will help her	35.4	35.6	40.5	38.6	37.4	37.2
They will talk to the husband	55.4	52.3	50.4	50.0	49.0	52.2
They will threaten her husband	11.7	4.5	5.3	12.5	6.6	8.5
They will beat her husband	6.9	1.5	5.7	2.3	0.7	4.4
They will welcome her and her children	20.6	25.0	22.3	26.1	21.3	22.0
They will return her to her marital home	56.8	75.0	75.4	81.8	83.9	70.0
N Married Men	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
FAMILY REACTIONS TO VIOLENT HUSBANDS*	%	%	%	%	%	%
They will help her calm down	50.4	75.9	60.2	59.7	60.3	58.0
They will talk to her husband	69.6	76.9	68.5	52.8	56.8	66.1
They will threaten her husband	12.6	2.8	2.3	5.6	2.1	6.6
They will beat her husband	2.4	-	-	2.8	0.4	1.2
They will welcome her and her children	7.5	9.3	6.0	15.3	15.8	9.8
They will return her to her marital home	59.9	75.9	80.6	51.4	50.4	63.1

* More than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

Respondents were asked a series of questions about what needs to be done to protect women, who could protect women, and whether women should go to the police if they were treated violently. The responses showed clear differentials between the attitudes of respondent married women and men, as well as regional differentials as presented in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: COMPARISON BETWEEN RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN AND MEN VIEWS ON HOW WOMEN SHOULD BE PROTECTED AND WHO SHOULD PROTECT THEM BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
N Married Women	506	132	264	88	286	1,276
REQUIREMENTS FOR PROTECTION *	%	%	%	%	%	%
Religious awareness	41.8	72.7	75.8	48.9	50.7	54.7
A law other than Kholae	45.7	29.5	20.8	14.8	8.7	28.5
Improve family's economic status	10.5	13.6	9.1	20.4	16.8	12.6
WHO SHOULD PROTECT WOMEN *	%	%	%	%	%	%
Woman protects herself	28.1	65.2	64.0	31.8	40.2	42.4
Religious leaders	25.5	8.3	9.8	12.5	7.0	15.5
Wife's family	16.4	12.1	11.1	9.1	7.7	12.4
Law and government	54.9	39.4	30.7	37.5	25.5	40.5
Never Married Men	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
REQUIREMENTS FOR PROTECTION *	%	%	%	%	%	%
Government improves family economic conditions	26.8	50.9	51.4	44.4	43.6	39.4
Issue strict laws to solve family problems	3.9	0.9	0.0	1.4	1.7	2.1
Religious programs/raise awareness of female rights	44.0	34.3	39.4	38.9	38.9	33.3
Families teach daughters about marital relationship	16.9	13.0	6	12.5	18.8	14.4
More understanding between couple before marriage	12.3	8.3	10.6	12.5	10.3	11.1
WHO SHOULD PROTECT WOMEN *	%	%	%	%	%	%
Woman protects herself	37.0	25.9	23.6	18.1	20.1	28.0
Wife's family protects her	53.6	70.4	69.4	70.8	77.4	65.1
Husband's family	15.2	20.4	12.5	15.3	28.2	18.1

* More than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

The respondent married women's main views on what should be done to protect women were fairly straightforward: more than half (55 percent) thought that there should be more

religious awareness through mosques/churches and the media, and 29 percent were dissatisfied with the current *Kholae* law and felt that another divorce law was needed, while 13 percent felt that improvement in the economic situation of the family would help to protect women. Respondents in Lower Egypt were much more likely to state that more religious awareness was needed, compared to those in other regions. Respondents in the Urban Governorates were much more likely to state that another law was needed, and respondents in Upper Egypt were more likely to state that an improvement in the family's economic situation was needed in comparison to those in other regions.

In contrast, the respondent married men's views were more detailed and extensive. Only 2 percent felt that a law was needed to solve family problems, but almost two out of five (39 percent) felt that the government needed to improve family economic conditions, reinforcing the idea that stress was viewed as a valid justification for violence against women — i.e., easing stress would lower the violence. Respondents in Lower Egypt had a greater tendency to cite improvements in economic conditions, while those in the Urban Governorates had the least tendency to do so. Religious programs to raise awareness of the rights of females was cited by one-third (33 percent) of respondents, and significant proportions also mentioned families teaching their daughters about marital relations and/or promoting greater understanding between a couple before marriage.

In response to the question of who protects women, over two of five of respondent married women stated she protects herself (42 percent) and/or the government protects her (41 percent). The recourse to the government was again higher for the Urban Governorates and lowest in rural Upper Egypt. Interestingly, relatively small proportions mentioned religious leaders (16 percent) or the woman's family (12 percent) as sources of protection — respondents in rural Upper Egypt were least likely to mention the family. In contrast, almost two-thirds of respondent married men (65 percent) felt that it is the wife's family who protects her, with the highest proportion of men citing this in rural Upper Egypt and the lowest in the Urban Governorates.

Community associations, NGOs, the NCW, and other organizations were only mentioned as a source of protection for women by 42 respondent married women (3 percent), mostly in the Urban Governorates. Of these, only 7 mentioned the NCW. In general, the views of respondent married women and men coincided regarding the idea that in certain circumstances it was valid for the women to make a police complaint about her husband, although there was less agreement on what these circumstances were and there were substantial regional variations (see Table 2.9). Over one in four of both respondent married women and men (27 percent and 28 percent, respectively) felt that a wife should never complain to the police, whatever the circumstances. Again, respondent men in rural Upper Egypt were the least likely to say this (13 percent) compared to the respondent women in rural Upper Egypt, who were most likely to say this (30 percent). However, there was also agreement by about one-third of respondent women and men (31 percent and 32 percent, respectively) that a woman has a right to go to the police if the husband stops supporting her financially. Again, in both urban and rural Upper Egypt this was the reason mentioned by men most often for when a woman may resort to the police, followed by a husband breaking an arm or a leg, beating her, or kicking her out of the house.

Table 2.9: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN AND MEN’S VIEWS ON WHEN WOMEN SHOULD COMPLAIN TO THE POLICE BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN		LOWER EGYPT				UPPER EGYPT				TOTAL	
	F	M	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		F	M
			F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M		
Total N	506	414	132	108	264	216	88	72	286	234	1,276	1,044
WHEN TO COMPLAIN TO POLICE*	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Wife should never do so	21.3	30.0	28.8	25.9	36.7	39.4	14.8	30.6	30.1	13.2	26.8	27.8
If husband beats her	53.2	26.1	43.2	31.5	39.8	26.9	53.4	23.6	40.9	30.8	46.6	27.7
If husband breaks her arm or leg	43.5	18.6	25.0	15.7	24.2	19.9	23.9	31.9	18.2	36.8	30.6	23.6
If husband humiliates her	26.1	8.5	26.5	14.8	24.2	13.0	28.4	2.8	21.0	9.4	24.8	9.9
If husband stops financial support	29.4	24.6	32.6	41.7	31.1	26.4	33.0	38.9	33.2	42.7	31.2	31.8
If she asks for divorce & he refuses	20.0	25.8	26.5	28.7	22.0	26.4	21.6	5.6	17.5	18.8	20.6	23.3
Violent treatment and behavior	7.1	0.0	12.9	0.0	11.4	0.0	5.7	0.0	5.9	0.0	8.2	0.0
If husband kicks her out of the house	NA	11.1	NA	13.0	NA	16.2	NA	23.6	NA	29.1	NA	17.2

* More than one answer so sum of percentages more than 100 percent. NA: Not Applicable

As for the respondent women in both urban and rural Upper Egypt, the reason given most often for a woman to resort to the police was if her husband beats her, followed closely in descending order by if her husband stops financial support, if a husband humiliates her, and breaking an arm or a leg. It should be noted that, compared to respondent men, a lower proportion of respondent women in Upper Egypt said that breaking an arm or leg was an excuse to go to the police. For Lower Egypt, there was no such consistent ranking of reasons, although the highest proportion of married male respondents who said that wives should never go to the police was in the rural areas of Lower Egypt (39 percent). In the urban areas, similar to Upper Egypt, a husband stopping financial support was mentioned most frequently as a reason for a woman to go to the police (42 percent).

In general, both respondent married women and men had positive expectations of police treatment — 48 percent of respondent married women stated that police would treat her well and 17 percent did not know what would happen, while 65 percent of men said the police would calm the woman down in the police station and 15 percent said that they would treat her well. In particular, the majority of men in both rural and urban Upper Egypt stated that the police would calm the woman down. However, respondents in the Urban Governorates had the greatest expectations of negative treatment, particularly women. Almost one-quarter said that the police would doubt her and/or ignore her (24 percent and 23 percent, respectively) and almost one in ten said that they would insult her (9 percent). Respondent married women in both urban and rural Lower Egypt had similar negative expectations to those in Cairo, and these responses were mirrored by respondent married men in the Urban Governorates, although in lesser proportions (19 percent, 12 percent, and 9 percent, respectively). However, the expectations of the respondent married men in both urban and rural Lower Egypt were not as negative, and overall, they had similar expectations to the men of Upper Egypt, with the possible exception of nearly two in ten (19 percent) of respondent married men in urban Lower Egypt who said that the police would ignore the woman.

As for opinions on what actions would be taken by the police if a woman made a complaint, more than one in five (21 percent) of married women respondents did not know what would happen (with higher proportions in both urban and rural Upper Egypt, as would be expected since they have a very high proportion of uneducated women),

while almost three out of five (59 percent) said that the police would file a report and more than two out of five (43 percent) said that they would call the husband to the station. Respondent women in Upper Egypt were more likely to state that the police would call the husband to the station. However, almost one in five (18 percent) of respondent women stated that the police would refuse to file a report, with the highest proportions stating this in both urban and rural Lower Egypt (more than one in four respondents). As for respondent married men, the majority (85 percent) stated that the police would file a report, with higher proportions of the men in both urban and rural Upper Egypt stating this. However, more than one in ten (12 percent) stated that the police would refuse to file a report, with the highest proportions stating this in urban Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates (19 percent and 17 percent, respectively). One-third (33 percent) of respondent married men also said that the police would send out for her husband and/or transfer the woman to the prosecutor’s office (18 percent) — i.e., for instigation of criminal proceedings.

All of this indicates that the majority felt that it was acceptable for a woman to complain to the police about her husband if she was suffering from specific harm and that if she did resort to the police, she would be treated positively and the police would file a report. However, a minority was of the opinion that the wife should not resort to the police under any circumstances and that if she did resort to the police, that they would be likely to treat her negatively and not do anything. This minority was largest in the Urban Governorates and urban Lower Egypt and smallest in both urban and rural Upper Egypt.

2.3. IN-LAW DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

2.3.1. Prevalence of In-Law Violence

Table 2.10: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN’S REPORTS OF VIOLENCE INFLICTED BY IN-LAWS BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
N Married Women	506	132	264	88	286	1276
Suffered Violence From In-Laws	26.9	20.5	26.9	18.2	22.0	24.5
VIOLENCE SUFFERED FROM IN-LAWS	%	%	%	%	%	%
Incited husband to withhold money	7.5	3.8	4.5	3.4	4.5	5.6
Insulted and humiliated her	21.9	18.2	25.8	18.2	20.3	21.7
Incited husband to beat her	10.3	6.1	9.8	4.5	5.6	8.3
Incited husband to divorce her	6.5	3.8	6.1	4.5	3.8	5.4
Incited husband to remarry	3.4	1.5	5.3	5.7	2.4	3.5

To determine the prevalence of violence inflicted by in-laws, respondent married women were asked whether they thought that in-laws could treat a wife badly and what, if any, violence she herself had suffered from in-laws (responses were open-ended). Respondent married men were asked whether they were of the view that in-laws could treat wives violently and whether their family specifically had treated their wives violently. Although almost three-quarters (73 percent) of the respondent wives thought that in-laws could treat wives violently, with lower proportions in urban and rural Lower Egypt, only one-quarter (25 percent) stated that they had actually suffered violence from their in-laws. A large majority of those that suffered violence from their in-laws (22 percent of all respondent married women) had been insulted and humiliated by their in-laws; the main perpetrators of this were the husband’s parents, largely the mother.

Other forms of violence were not as prevalent, although 8 percent reported that in-laws had incited her husband to beat her. Interestingly, although about the same proportion of respondent married men (7 percent) reported that their families incited them to beat their wives, the lowest proportion of women who reported this were in urban and rural Upper Egypt, while the highest proportion of married men who reported this were in urban and rural Upper Egypt. Similar to the respondent married women, 69 percent of the respondent married men were of the view that in-laws, specifically the mother-in-law, could be violent towards the wife, but only 13 percent of them actually reported that their families had incited them to inflict any type of violence on their wives and when they did, it was largely to beat them or curse them (7 percent and 4 percent, respectively). Thus, it is clear that although in-law violence exists, it is not as pervasive as spousal violence and it is largely contained to verbal hostility between the in-laws and the wife.

2.3.2. Attitudes Towards In-Law Violence

Table 2.11: ALL RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON WHETHER IN-LAWS HAVE A RIGHT TO DISCIPLINE WIFE BY REGION

	MARRIED WOMEN		N	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH	MALE YOUTH
	N	%				
Total Sample	1,276	25.3	1,044	19.7	13.1	21.7
AGREE THAT IN-LAWS HAVE A RIGHT TO DISCIPLINE WIFE				%	%	%
Urban Governorates	506	10.1	414	11.6	3.6	18.6
Urban Lower Egypt	132	12.1	108	14.8	11.1	13.0
Rural Lower Egypt	264	28.4	216	27.8	11.1	26.9
Urban Upper Egypt	88	36.4	72	13.9	16.7	20.8
Rural Upper Egypt	286	52.1	234	30.8	31.6	26.9

In order to determine attitudes towards in-law violence, all categories of respondents were asked if they agreed that in-laws have a right to discipline the wife, with the responses presented in Table 2.11. It is interesting to note that although almost one in four (25 percent) of the respondent married women gave unconditional agreement to the statement, a lower proportion of the respondent men, only one in five (20 percent), agreed with the statement. This was largely because, again, in Upper Egypt, there was a discrepancy between the views of the respondent men and women with a substantially higher proportion of the women than men agreeing. This could be due to the women's desire not to undermine their husband, and by extension, the husband's family. However, the highest proportions of respondent men who agreed that it was the right of the in-laws to discipline a wife were in the rural areas of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

As would be expected, respondent female youth had the lowest proportion who agreed that in-laws have a right to discipline a wife (13 percent), compared to 22 percent of respondent male youth who were of this opinion, indicating that there is a gap in the attitudes of the male and female youth. This youth gender gap in attitudes was particularly prominent in the Urban Governorates and rural Lower Egypt. In fact, in the Urban Governorates, the respondent male youth had the highest proportion agreeing that the in-laws have a right to discipline a wife, even higher than the respondent married men, indicating that not only was there a gender gap, but there was an age gap as well with the younger males in this region having more conservative views than the older males.

2.4. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AMONG UNMARRIED FEMALE YOUTH

2.4.1. Prevalence of Domestic Family Violence

In order to determine the prevalence of domestic violence among unmarried female youth, respondent female and male youth were asked a series of questions about their experiences with violence. Female youth were asked if they had ever suffered any one of several specific acts of violence from male members of their family — i.e., the father or the brother, if they had a brother. Male youth that had sisters were asked if specific acts of violence were inflicted on their sister by any members of the family. Similar to the spousal domestic violence questions, specific acts of domestic family violence were categorized into psychological, physical, and sexual violence. Psychological violence includes the girl being insulted, threatened, locked-in or having her money taken away. Physical violence includes having something thrown at her, being slapped on the face, having her arm twisted, being wounded, or an attempt to choke her. Sexual violence includes being sexually abused (stated in Arabic as being “attacked” sexually) or being molested (having her body touched inappropriately). It should be noted that only respondent female youth were asked about domestic sexual violence and only one respondent stated that she had been sexually abused by her father.

Table 2.12 presents the data on the prevalence of psychological and physical violence inflicted on unmarried young females, as reported by the respondent female and male youth. As the table shows, the levels of violence directed towards unmarried female youth are somewhat startling. The majority (87 percent) of respondent male youth that had a sister reported that they had inflicted at least one act of psychological violence on her and more than half (54 percent) stated that they had inflicted at least one act of physical violence. Similarly, the majority (90 percent) of respondent male youth reported that their fathers had inflicted at least one act of psychological violence against their sisters and more than two-thirds (66.9 percent) reported that their fathers had inflicted at least one act of physical violence on their sisters. What is worthy of note, however, is that while the levels of violence by the brothers was fairly consistent across all the regions, the levels of physical violence the respondent youth reported inflicted by the fathers were substantially higher in both urban and rural Lower Egypt; more than four out of five (88 percent and 81 percent, respectively) of respondent male youth in this region reported that their fathers had inflicted at least one act of physical violence on their sisters and psychological violence was almost universal. Although the level of physical violence inflicted by fathers as reported by the respondent male youth in the Urban Governorates was substantially less than that reported for Lower Egypt, it was still above that reported in Upper Egypt.

The respondent unmarried female youth’s reports of violence broadly corresponded with those of the male youth, although overall, a slightly lower proportion reported suffering from psychological violence from their brother and slightly higher proportion reported suffering physical violence. These discrepancies were highest in rural and urban Lower Egypt. As for the respondent unmarried female’s reports of violence from their fathers, they clearly reported lower levels of both psychological and physical violence from the fathers than reported by the brothers, although it was still extremely high. Again, in Lower Egypt, in particular, reported psychological violence from fathers was nearly universal and more than one in four respondent female youth reported being subjected to at least one act of physical violence from her father. The discrepancies between the unmarried male and female youth’s reports of physical violence from the fathers could be

due to the male youth's desire to justify their own behavior — i.e., the fathers are violent towards the girls and they see themselves as standing in the same position as their fathers as guardians of their sister's behavior.

Table 2.12: RESPONDENT UNMARRIED MALE AND FEMALE YOUTH REPORTS OF DOMESTIC FAMILY VIOLENCE AGAINST UNMARRIED FEMALE YOUTH BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
N Male Youth Who Have a Sister	343	91	188	65	217	904
SUBJECTED SISTER TO AT LEAST 1 TYPE OF:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Psychological Violence	84.5	85.7	94.1	86.2	83.4	86.5
Physical Violence	55.7	44.0	55.9	50.8	54.8	54.0
FATHER SUBJECTED SISTER TO AT LEAST 1 TYPE:						
Psychological Violence	88.2	98.1	97.7	90.3	83.8	90.3
Physical Violence	63.3	88.0	80.6	55.6	54.3	66.9
N Female Youth Who Have a Brother	350	91	202	71	221	935
SUBJECTED BY BROTHERS TO AT LEAST 1 TYPE OF:						
Psychological Violence	72.0	75.8	92.1	90.1	81.4	80.3
Physical Violence	47.7	61.5	72.3	64.8	53.8	57.1
N Female Youth	414	108	216	72	234	1044
SUBJECTED BY FATHERS TO AT LEAST 1 TYPE OF:						
Psychological Violence	64.5	93.5	95.8	79.2	78.2	78.1
Physical Violence	47.3	75.0	77.8	55.6	44.9	56.5

Table 2.13 presents the details of the specific acts of psychological and physical violence inflicted on unmarried female youth. As can be seen, similar to the data on spousal violence, the high levels of psychological violence are largely due to the high levels of emotional/verbal violence — i.e., insulting her and threatening her. The levels of controlling/isolating violence, such as locking her in and taking her money, were much less. However, it should be noted that higher proportions of the respondent male youth mostly in the Urban Governorates and Lower Egypt reported that their sisters had been locked-in compared to the reports of the respondent female youth. This is most likely due

Table 2.13: RESPONDENT UNMARRIED MALE AND FEMALE YOUTH REPORTS OF DOMESTIC FAMILY VIOLENCE AGAINST UNMARRIED FEMALE YOUTH BY PERPETRATORS BY TYPE OF VIOLENCE

	PERPETRATORS REPORTED BY FEMALE YOUTH		PERPETRATORS REPORTED BY MALE YOUTH		
	Brothers	Fathers	Them-selves	Fathers	Mothers
N Who Have a Brother/Sister	935	1,044	904	904	904
EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE	%	%	%	%	%
Insulted Her	80.0	77.4	84.0	87.8	85.1
Threatened Her	54.3	55.5	35.1	45.1	41.3
Locked Her In	5.7	6.2	11.9	16.4	17.6
Took Her Money	1.2	0.6	2.7	0.9	1.7
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	%	%	%	%	%
Threw Something at Her	45.3	43.1	31.7	31.5	30.1
Slapped Her on Face	37.8	47.9	36.2	54.2	46.5
Twisted Her Arm	27.0	21.6	11.1	8.2	8.3
Wounded Her	8.8	5.6	4.9	3.8	2.7
Tried to Choke Her	0.9	-	0.7	0.6	0.4

to the male youth's desire to stress that their sisters do not have complete freedom in order to imply that they are guaranteeing the virtue and a good reputation of their sisters — i.e., respondent male youth report that their sisters do not move about freely, even though the reality of the control might not be that extensive. It should also be noted that negligible proportions of respondents in urban and rural Upper Egypt reported that they had been locked-in (female youth) or that their sisters had been locked-in. This is most likely due to the fact that the constrained mobility for females is a fact of life included in the cultural norms in Upper Egypt, and therefore, there was no need to lock girls in. With respect to the physical violence, it is clear that, while the married women might suffer more intense or severe forms of physical violence, the unmarried female youth suffer low grade, chronic physical violence from all members of the family.

Respondent unmarried female youth who had been victims of violence from their brothers and respondent male youth who had inflicted violence on their sisters were asked what the reasons for this violence was, with the results presented in Table 2.14.

Table 2.14: MAIN REASONS GIVEN FOR VIOLENCE FROM BROTHERS BY RESPONDENT MALE AND FEMALE YOUTH BY REGION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
N Female Youth Who Suffered Violence from Brother	279	101	207	57	184	828
REASONS FOR VIOLENCE *	%	%	%	%	%	
Nervousness and anger	61.3	55.4	62.3	31.6	24.5	50.6
Answering back	30.5	27.7	33.3	7.0	12.5	25.2
Mother complaining from daughter	37.3	45.5	44.0	45.6	37.0	40.5
Going out without permission	11.8	19.8	23.7	5.3	8.7	14.6
Not being obedient	54.5	43.4	56.5	84.2	84.2	62.3
N Male Youth Who Inflicted Violence on Sister	295	79	200	67	195	836
REASONS FOR VIOLENCE *	%	%	%	%	%	
Nervousness and anger	66.4	67.1	68.5	61.2	43.6	61.2
Answering back	65.1	77.2	71.0	38.8	42.6	60.3
Mother complaining from daughter	12.2	8.9	14.0	4.5	16.4	12.7
Going out without permission	11.9	16.5	13.5	-	6.7	10.5
Not obeying father	49.8	48.1	52.5	40.3	59.0	51.6

* More than one answer so percentages do not add up to 100 percent.

The main reasons given by respondent female youth were not being obedient with more than four out of five respondent female youth in Upper Egypt mentioning this reason (62 percent), followed by nervousness and anger from the brother (51 percent). Nervousness and anger was also the reason mentioned most frequently by the respondent male youth (61 percent), which indicates that, like their fathers, stress was viewed as a valid justification for violence against their sisters, particularly in Lower Egypt. However, similar to the respondent married men, this was mentioned least frequently in rural Upper Egypt. Nervousness and anger was closely followed by answering back as a reason for violence against the sister (60 percent). However, for both respondent male and female youth, this was mentioned as a reason least frequently in urban and rural Upper Egypt.

Although the mother complaining about the daughter was only mentioned by 13 percent of respondent male youth as a reason for violence, it was mentioned by 41 percent of respondent female youth, which confirms that the relationship with the mother was sometimes hostile, as previously indicated by respondent male youth's reports of violence

from the mother towards their sister. However, when respondent female youth were asked who could support her if she suffered from violence from her father or brother, two-thirds (68 percent) stated that her mother would support her. Almost half (46 percent) said that a senior family member would help her, while more than one in five (22 percent) said only God could help her because she has to bear it.

Overall, the data indicate that families are defined by verbally abusive and angry interactions and relationships, which, while not desirable, do not necessarily translate into concrete actions. However, the data also indicate that they are more likely to translate into concrete actions in the case of the unmarried female youth with the result that they suffer low grade, chronic violence from all members of the family.

2.4.2. Attitudes Towards Differential Treatment

Respondent married women and men were asked if they believed that girls should be brought up and treated differently than boys, while respondent male and female youth were asked if there was a difference in treatment between girls and boys. Results are presented in Table 2.15.

It is clear that the belief that girls should be treated differently than boys is firmly entrenched in the Egyptian culture, and slightly more so in Upper Egypt.

However, interestingly, a lower proportion of respondent married men were of the view that girls should be

treated differently than boys, compared to the responses of the married women, though, very large proportions still thought that they should be treated differently (66 percent and 79 percent, respectively). Similarly, high proportions of respondent male and female youth felt that girls *are* treated differently than boys. Although, as would be expected, higher proportions of respondent female youth said so, compared to respondent male youth (86 percent and 70 percent, respectively).

Those who were of the view that there was a difference were then asked the reason for this difference and how it manifested itself — i.e., how the girl was treated differently than the boy. As would be expected, the majority of the responses revolved around the issues that the girl's reputation needed to be protected and that they were weaker than boys, though, the ordering of the reasons mentioned most frequently differed a bit by category of respondent. For the respondent married women, the reasons mentioned most frequently were that girls were weaker than boys (63 percent), closely followed by girls getting into trouble more easily — most likely a reference to their reputation (56 percent) — and that nothing could affect boys (45 percent). Similarly, the reasons mentioned most frequently by the respondent female youth were that a girl has to be protected because of her reputation (83 percent), the fact that a girl is a girl and not like a boy (77 percent), and that girls need to be protected until they are married (34 percent). For the respondent

Table 2.15: ALL RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT BETWEEN GIRLS AND BOYS BY REGION

	MARRIED WOMEN		N	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH	MALE YOUTH
	N	%				
Total Sample	1276	78.6	1044	66.3	86.4	69.9
GIRLS SHOULD BE/ARE TREATED DIFFERENTLY THAN BOYS				%	%	%
Urban Governorates	506	75.9	414	61.1	79.2	77.1
Urban Lower Egypt	132	74.2	108	55.6	92.6	63.0
Rural Lower Egypt	264	70.1	216	66.2	90.3	63.9
Urban Upper Egypt	88	93.1	72	75.0	90.3	77.8
Rural Upper Egypt	286	88.8	234	77.8	91.5	63.7

married men, the reasons mentioned most frequently were that a girl's reputation needed to be protected (76 percent) and that boys are stronger than girls (54 percent) or that girls can more easily get into trouble or are weaker than boys (37 percent and 35 percent, respectively). Interestingly, the respondent male youth did not mention a girl's reputation as frequently (42 percent) and the main reason mentioned by them was that a girl is not like a boy (59 percent). However, relatively large proportions also said that a girl can easily make a mistake (39 percent), girls were weak (30 percent), and that girls could not think as well as boys (25 percent), with higher proportions stating these reasons in Lower Egypt and lower proportions in Upper Egypt.

As would be expected, the main differential treatments between girls and boys mentioned by all the respondents was that girls do not go out as often or alone like boys, that girls were not as free as the boys, and that parents were more concerned about the girls. However, much lesser but still substantial proportions of respondent married women and men cited that the difference in treatment was that girls had to be more obedient than boys, which was mentioned by about two out of five respondent married women and men (41 percent and 38 percent, respectively). A lower proportion of respondent women in Upper Egypt mentioned this in comparison to those in Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates, however, this was reversed for the respondent men where a higher proportion in Upper Egypt said this in comparison to the Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates. Additionally, substantial proportions of both respondent women and men said that the different treatment was that girls have to obey men (22 percent and 35 percent, respectively). The same differential between Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates existed for this response as well — i.e., respondent women in Upper Egypt were less likely to report this, while respondent men in Upper Egypt were more likely to report this.

Respondent male and female youth were asked who had the right to discipline girls and supervise their behavior. There was a clear consensus among the majority of both types of respondents that the father has a right to discipline the daughter (92 percent and 85 percent of female and male youth, respectively). A majority of the respondent female youth also were of the view that the mother has the right to discipline the daughter (89 percent), though, only about half (55 percent) of the respondent male youth mentioned the mother. However, there was a clear dispute in opinion when it came to the older brother. Although only 28 percent of the respondent female youth mentioned the older brother, more than half (54 percent) of the respondent male youth mentioned the brother. The highest proportion to mention this was in rural Lower Egypt, where 72 percent of respondent male youth stated that an older brother has the right to discipline his sister, compared to only 45 percent of respondent male youth in rural Upper Egypt who mentioned stated this.

In response to the questions of what punishment should be given to girls when they make mistakes, there was some consistency between the opinions of the respondent male and female youth that reflected the previous data on the prevalence of psychological and physical violence against unmarried females. For respondent male youth, in order of most frequently mentioned, the punishments were harsh words/insults (67 percent), preventing her from going out (49 percent), beating her (35 percent), and not speaking to her or withholding her pocket money (34 percent and 33 percent, respectively). In both urban and rural Upper Egypt higher proportions mentioned not speaking to her as an appropriate punishment in comparison to those who mentioned beating her. However, in Lower Egypt

the opposite was true, particularly in rural Lower Egypt. For the respondent female youth, similar to the male youth, harsh words/insults as a punishment were mentioned by the majority (90 percent), but more frequently than the male youth. This was followed by not speaking to her, mentioned by over half (56 percent) and substantially more often by respondents in Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates in comparison to Upper Egypt, and preventing her from going out (37 percent). Although beating as a punishment was mentioned slightly less frequently by the respondent female youth in comparison to the male youth, it was still mentioned by 29 percent of the respondent female youth, particularly in rural Upper and Lower Egypt (50 percent and 40 percent, respectively).

When respondent female youth were asked what punishment is most effective with girls when they make mistakes, more than three out of five (62 percent) stated that making the girl understand the ramifications and consequences of her mistake was the most effective punishment and almost the same proportion (56 percent) said that not speaking to her was an effective punishment. However, surprisingly, more than half (52 percent) said that beating her was an effective punishment. As for the respondent male youth, their views were more varied, but about one-third (33 percent) said that beating her was the most effective punishment. However, it should be noted that more than one-third (37 percent) also said that beating was the most effective punishment for male youth. This indicates that physical punishment seems to be entrenched in the families, whether for girls or boys.

When respondent male youth were asked what the most important mistakes made by girls were, surprisingly, the mistake mentioned most often was smoking, noted by 45 percent of respondents. The second most frequently mentioned mistake was quitting her education (34 percent) — strangely enough, given the context — followed not very closely by going out with a “bad” girl, mentioned by 16 percent. However, when asked whether girls could be killed for certain mistakes, almost half of the respondent male youth agreed (49 percent), though, with much higher proportions in both urban and rural Upper Egypt agreeing (76 percent and 61 percent, respectively). The majority of those who agreed (91 percent) reported that the mistake that warrants killing was not protecting her chastity. As for mistakes that deserve beating or being prevented from going out, the one mentioned most often — by half the respondent male youth (50 percent) — was going out with a boy behind her parents’ backs, followed not very closely by befriending a bad girl (19 percent) and going out without permission (17 percent). Mistakes that only deserved being reprimanded were inappropriate dressing (mentioned by 35 percent of respondent male youth), going out without permission (28 percent) and not obeying parents (26 percent).

In the view of the respondent female youth, the number one mistake made by girls was to go out with a boy behind her parents’ backs, mentioned by 56 percent of respondent female youth. As would be expected, this was mentioned more frequently by respondents in Upper Egypt (mentioned by 71 percent and 64 percent in rural and urban areas, respectively), in comparison to the Urban Governorates (47 percent). The mistakes were more varied, including not obeying parents (29 percent), and going out with a bad girl or befriending a boy without her parents’ knowledge (22 percent for each, respectively).

When asked whether education and work would give respondent female youth her say in the family home before marriage, more than three out of five (63 percent) of the respondent male youth agreed, though, this was largely because high proportions of those

in the Urban Governorates and urban Lower Egypt thought so. However, the respondent female youth were more pessimistic with only about half (51 percent) agreeing. It is interesting to note that the highest proportions who agreed were in Upper Egypt (72 percent and 70 percent for urban and rural areas, respectively). For those female youth who agreed, the main reason given by the majority (91 percent) was that it would help her to understand the world better, which could be an indication that the unmarried female youth are bothered by the constraints placed on them. The other main reason given was that it would improve her status, which was mentioned by more than half (57 percent).

3. COMMUNITY VIOLENCE

3.1. Introduction

In order to determine community violence, respondents were asked questions regarding sexual harassment and/or violence experienced by females as they went about their lives outside of the home. Similar to the domestic violence questions, respondent married women were asked a comprehensive series of questions regarding their experience with community violence. The main focus of the questions was on sexual harassment experienced in the street and in transportation, as these were expected to be the predominant forms of community violence against females, with harassment in other locations touched upon. Again similar to the domestic violence questions, respondents were asked about their experience of specific acts that progressed in severity, including verbal harassment, obscene verbal harassment, attempts to photograph, stalking, attempts to rob, and attempts to rape.

3.2. Prevalence of Community Violence

Respondent married women were asked if they had ever experienced any of the forms of sexual harassment; namely, verbal harassment,³ having their body touched, or attempts to rob (and/or actual theft), photograph, or rape. Respondent unmarried female youth were asked if they had ever experienced a similar list, but specifically on the street, with the addition of stalking — i.e., someone following her. As a counterpoint, respondent unmarried male youth were asked if they had ever verbally harassed girls in the street. The results are presented in Table 3.1.

As can be seen from the data presented, verbal harassment of females is extremely prevalent with almost three out of four (72 percent) respondent married women stating that they had ever been verbally harassed anywhere, while the majority (94 percent) of respondent unmarried females stated that they had been verbally harassed on the street. There was a clear regional differential with lower proportions of respondent females, whether married or unmarried, reporting this in the rural areas, most particularly in rural Upper Egypt, which had the lowest proportions reporting verbal harassment (46 percent and 81 percent of respondent married women and unmarried female youth, respectively). There was also an age differential with a higher proportion of the younger unmarried

³ The term for verbal harassment used in Arabic was *moaaksa*, which covers everything from a pretty compliment to obscene comments. Distinctions were sometimes made in the questionnaire between the generic *moaaksa* and obscene comments, which were consistently clarified in English as a distinction between “verbal harassment” and “obscene verbal harassment.”

female youth reporting being exposed to verbal harassment in the street.⁴ This age differential is highest in the rural areas, most likely due to the fact that married women in rural areas, most particularly in rural Upper Egypt, are not very mobile — i.e., they do not go out extensively alone, and therefore, are less likely to be exposed to verbal harassment.

Table 3.1. RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN AND UNMARRIED FEMALE YOUTH REPORTS OF EXPERIENCED HARASSMENT AND MALE YOUTH REPORTS OF PRACTICE OF VERBAL HARASSMENT BY LOCATION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
Total Number of Married Women	506	132	264	88	286	1,276
EVER EXPERIENCED ANYWHERE	%	%	%	%	%	%
Verbal harassment	86.2	86.4	67.4	71.6	46.5	72.4
Body touched	34.0	25.0	18.9	12.5	5.9	22.2
Attempt to rob/robbed	39.7	22.7	16.7	13.6	3.8	23.4
Attempt to photograph	2.0	1.5	-	-	-	0.9
Attempt to rape	0.4	-	-	1.1	-	0.2
EXPOSED TO						
None of the acts	12.3	12.1	31.8	28.4	53.1	26.6
One act	35.0	51.5	41.7	48.9	39.5	40.0
Two or three acts	32.0	25	18.2	18.2	5.2	21.5
Four acts	19.8	11.4	8.3	4.5	2.1	11.5
All five acts	1.0	-	-	-	-	0.4
N Unmarried Female Youth	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
EVER EXPERIENCED IN STREETS	%	%	%	%	%	%
Verbal harassment	99.0	100.0	94.4	95.8	81.2	94.0
Body touched	37.4	19.4	16.7	6.9	4.3	21.7
Attempt to rape	15.9	4.6	9.7	-	1.3	9.1
Attempt to photograph	45.2	42.6	44.4	33.3	20.5	38.4
Stalking her	13.0	13.9	11.1	8.3	3.4	10.2
EXPOSED TO:						
None of the acts	0.7	-	5.6	4.2	18.4	5.8
One or two acts	65.5	76.9	72.2	86.1	76.5	72.0
Three or four acts	30.7	23.1	21.3	9.7	5.1	20.8
All five acts	3.1	-	0.9	-	-	1.4
N Unmarried Male Youth	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
Percent Who verbally harass girls in street	72.5	79.6	60.2	47.2	41.9	62.1

Although the more severe form of sexual harassment of having their body touched was substantially less prevalent than verbal harassment, more than one in five of respondent females (22 percent of respondent married women and unmarried female youth, respectively) reported that they had had their body touched. Substantially higher proportions of respondent females in the Urban Governorates, more than one in three (34 percent and 37 percent of respondent married women and respondent unmarried female youth, respectively) reported having their body touched. Similar to verbal harassment, there was also a regional differential with female respondents in Upper Egypt substantially less likely to report that they had had their body touched, although there was no age differential and, in fact, a slightly lower proportion of respondent unmarried female youth reported that they had ever had their body touched in the street. This is most likely due to the fact that, as presented in Table 3.2, for those respondent married women who reported that they had ever had their body touched, this was predominantly in transportation, with a lesser (although still high) proportion reporting that they had had

⁴ The average age of respondent married women was 35 years compared to an average age of 19 years for respondent female youth.

their body touched in the street. However, the unmarried female youth were specifically asked if they had had their body touched in the street, hence, the lower proportion reporting this, in comparison to the respondent married women.

A negligible proportion of respondent married women reported that they had ever experienced an attempt to photograph them or an attempt to rape them. However, these were clearly significant threats to respondent unmarried female youth on the streets with almost two out of five (38 percent) reporting an attempt to photograph them and almost one in ten (9 percent) reporting an attempt to rape them. For the attempt to rape, there was a very substantial regional differential with 16 percent of respondent unmarried female youth in the Urban Governorates reporting ever experiencing an attempt to rape them on the streets, whereas this threat was virtually non-existent as reported by the respondent female youth in Upper Egypt, both urban and rural. A substantially lower proportion of respondents in rural Upper Egypt also reported attempts to photograph them. Similarly, stalking of respondent female youth in the streets — i.e., walking behind her was only reported by about one in ten (10 percent) of respondents, again with a lower proportion in Upper Egypt reporting this.

In terms of the intensity of the harassment, it is clear that respondent unmarried females face a greater intensity of harassment than respondent married women, most likely due to their younger age and greater mobility on the streets. Only 6 percent of respondent unmarried female youth reported that they had never been harassed in the streets — i.e., they had not experienced any of the acts listed, compared to 27 percent of the respondent married women who had never been exposed to any type of harassment anywhere. Moreover, more than one in four (21 percent) of the respondent unmarried female youth reported that they had experienced three or four of the listed acts in the street, whereas about the same proportion of respondent married women (22 percent) reported that they had experienced only two or three of the listed acts anywhere. The regional differential of Upper Egypt — specifically, rural Upper Egypt having the lowest prevalence of sexual harassment — was also confirmed when the intensity of the harassment was analyzed in terms of the number of acts to which respondents were exposed.

This regional differential was again confirmed when respondent unmarried male youth were asked if they verbally harass girls in the streets. Although overall, more than three out of five (62 percent) of all the unmarried male youth respondents acknowledged that they verbally harassed girls on the streets, in Upper Egypt, only about two out of five (47 percent and 42 percent for urban and rural Upper Egypt, respectively) acknowledged that they did this, compared to almost four out of five (80 percent) in urban Lower Egypt and 73 percent in the Urban Governorates.

In order to obtain more insight into the patterns of sexual harassment outside of the home, those respondent married women who reported that they were ever verbally harassed, had their body touched, robbed, etc., were then asked where these acts took place with the results presented in Table 3.2. Almost three-quarters (72 percent) of respondent married women reported that they were verbally harassed in the street, while more than half (51 percent) reported that they were verbally harassed on transportation. Interestingly, 15 percent of respondent women also reported that they were verbally harassed in school, though, the highest proportions who reported this were in urban and rural Lower Egypt. Small, but not negligible proportions of respondent married women reported being verbally harassed in government offices (6 percent) and at work (5 percent). However, it

should be noted that for verbal harassment at work, when only those respondent married females who work are included, this proportion rises to 21 percent of those who work reporting being exposed to verbal harassment at work, with over half of them located in the Urban Governorates. For those reporting being verbally harassed in police stations the proportion was negligible, but they were all located in the Urban Governorates.

Table 3.2: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN'S REPORTS OF HARASSMENT BY LOCATION OF HARASSMENT

	VERBAL HARASS	BODY TOUCHED	ATTEMPT TO ROB
N Married Women	1,276	1,276	1,276
Percent Ever Experienced Anywhere	72.4	22.2	23.4
LOCATION OF HARASSMENT	%	%	%
Street	71.8	16.6	19.3
Transport	51.2	20.4	15.7
Government Offices	5.7	1.9	1.0
Police Station	1.1	0.3	0.0
Work	5.3	1.4	2.0
School	14.9	2.4	3.0

As previously mentioned, the more severe form of harassment, touching of the body, was predominantly reported in transportation (20 percent of all respondent married women with the 92 percent of those respondent married women who reported experiencing having their body touched reporting it in transportation). This was closely followed by having their body touched in the street, which was reported by 17 percent of all respondent married women (75 percent of those who reported having their body touched). Again, schools were a small but not completely negligible source of the harassment of having their body touched with 2 percent of respondent women reporting this. However, when it is considered that more than one-third (37.5 percent) of the respondent married women never went to school or else did not complete their primary education, and thus, are removed from the analysis, this proportion rises to 4 percent of the respondent married women who have completed at least a primary education reporting that they had their body touched at school. It should also be noted that a disproportionate number, about half, of those who reported having their body touched in school were located in Lower Egypt (52 percent of those who reported having their body touched in school were located in Lower Egypt, though, Lower Egypt was only 31 percent of the sample), particularly rural Lower Egypt.

Small and almost negligible proportions also reported that they had had their body touched in government offices or at work. Although, in the case of work, when only those who worked were taken into account, the proportion increased to 6 percent of those who worked reporting that they had had their body touched there. Similar to verbal harassment, the majority of those who reported that they had their body touched in government offices and all of those who reported this had happened to them in police stations were from the Urban Governorates. As would be expected, more than four out of five (83 percent) of those who reported that an attempt had been made to rob them or they had been robbed, reported this happened in the street, while two out of three (67 percent) reported that this happened in transportation.

Respondent married women were asked specifically if they had experienced any form of sexual harassment in transportation in the past year, while respondent married men and unmarried male youth were asked if they knew a female who had experienced the same in transportation in the past year. The results are presented in Table 3.3. As can be seen from the data presented, the same regional differential previously commented on is clear, however, there are also gender and age differentials in terms of exposure of females to harassment on transportation. With respect to obscene verbal harassment, although more than two out of five (42 percent) of the respondent married women reported that they had

been subjected to obscene verbal harassment in transportation, only 29 percent of respondent married men reported that they knew a female who had been subjected to this, and in contrast, more than three out of five (66 percent) of respondent unmarried male youth reported this. In terms of having the body touched, similar proportions of respondent married women reported that this had happened to them on transportation as respondent male youth reported that they knew a female this had happened to (14 percent each), while only 2 percent of respondent married men reported that they knew someone to which this had happened.

Table 3.3: RESPONDENT REPORTS OF HARASSMENT EXPERIENCED IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE PAST YEAR AND KNOWLEDGE OF FEMALES WHO SUFFERED HARASSMENT IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE PAST YEAR BY LOCATION

	URBAN GOVERN	LOWER EGYPT		UPPER EGYPT		TOTAL
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
N Married Women	506	132	264	88	286	1,276
EXPERIENCED HARASSMENT IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE PAST YEAR:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Obscene verbal harassment	59.5	42.4	22.7	46.6	26.6	41.8
Body touched	26.9	9.8	7.6	6.8	2.4	14.3
Attempt to rape	0.6	-	0.4	1.1	-	0.4
Attempt to photograph	1.0	1.5	0.4	-	-	0.6
Attempt to rob	22.3	6.8	3.4	4.5	1.7	11.0
NUMBER OF EXPERIENCED HARASSMENTS	%	%	%	%	%	%
Did not mention any form/act	38.5	56.8	76.5	53.4	73.1	57.1
Mentioned one or two types	47.2	39.4	21.2	43.2	26.2	36.1
Mentioned three or four types	14.2	3.8	2.3	3.4	0.7	6.9
N Married Men	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
KNOW A FEMALE WHO EXPERIENCED IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE PAST YEAR:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Obscene verbal harassment	37.4	25.0	13.9	27.8	32.1	29.4
Body touched	3.4	1.9	0.5	-	1.3	1.9
Attempt to rape	0.2	-	0.5	-	0.4	0.3
Attempt to photograph	3.1	0.9	0.9	5.6	2.6	2.5
Stalking her	7.5	11.1	12.0	6.9	6.4	8.5
Attempt to rob	17.7	19.5	12.0	18.1	6.4	18.7
N Unmarried Male Youth	414	108	216	72	234	1,044
KNOW A FEMALE WHO EXPERIENCED IN TRANSPORTATION IN THE PAST YEAR:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Obscene verbal harassment	77.3	85.2	73.1	47.2	37.2	66.2
Body touched	24.1	13.9	13.9	1.4	0.4	14.1
Attempt to rape	2.4	3.7	1.4	1.4	-	1.7
Attempt to photograph	14.0	13.0	6.9	2.8	2.6	9.1
Stalking her	31.4	38.9	21.3	20.8	13.2	25.3
Attempt to rob	32.6	36.1	20.4	12.5	6.4	23.2

These differentials could be due to married women, and particularly, unmarried female youth, being more likely to tell male youth, rather than their husbands or fathers, that such harassment had happened to them, as it is possible that the females did not tell the older men for fear of having their mobility restricted. Alternatively, it could be that male youth accompany their mothers and female relatives more often on errands, and therefore, are more aware of what happens to them. Alternatively, it could be due to the fact that the male youth are more likely to be perpetrators, and thus, are more aware of what happens in the street and on transportation. Finally, it could be a combination of all these factors. Higher proportions of respondent unmarried male youth also knew a female who had

been stalked (25 percent) or had experienced an attempt to rob her (23 percent), particularly in the Urban Governorates and in urban Lower Egypt.

In order to further explore the patterns of sexual harassment on transportation, married female respondents were asked what forms of transportation they used. More than four out of five (85 percent) of the respondent married women reported using minibuses, with higher proportions of women in rural areas in both Upper and Lower Egypt reporting using this method of transportation. Buses were predominantly used in the Urban Governorates, with 89 percent of those who reported using buses being located in the Urban Governorates, very small proportions of respondent married women in urban and rural Lower Egypt reporting using buses, and negligible proportions of those in Upper Egypt doing so. The metro was obviously only used by respondent married women in Cairo, so while only 9 percent of all respondent married women reported using the metro, one-third (33 percent) of those in Cairo reported using it as a method of transportation. As for taxis, very small proportions of those in rural areas reported using them, while 42 percent and 36 percent of those in urban Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates, respectively, reported using them.

Table 3.4: RESPONDENT MARRIED WOMEN’S REPORTS OF HARASSMENT BY MAIN TYPES OF TRANSPORTATION USED

	BUS	MICRO-BUS	METRO	TAXI
N Married Women	<u>1,276</u>	<u>1,276</u>	<u>1,276</u>	<u>1,276</u>
Percent Who Ride/Use	16.1	85.1	8.5	23.0
N Who Ride	205	1,086	109	294
EXPERIENCED IN TRANSPORTATION	%	%	%	%
Obscene verbal harassment	67.3	41.4	69.7	57.1
Body touched	36.6	14.4	29.4	20.1
Attempt to rape	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Attempt to photograph	1.0	0.6	1.8	1.7
Attempt to rob	30.2	11.0	22.9	16.7

As can be seen from the data in Table 3.4, there are only slight differentials in levels of harassment faced by females using different types of transportation with the majority of the differentials explained by regional differences. Thus, while the lowest proportion of respondent married women who reported that they had experienced obscene verbal harassment on transportation rode minibuses, this was largely due to the fact that this method of transportation was the predominant method used in the rural areas (both Upper and Lower Egypt). Only about one in five women in these areas reported experiencing obscene verbal harassment. Consequently, the proportion of respondents who experienced obscene verbal harassment in transportation and rode in minibuses is likely to be much higher in urban areas. It is clear that the methods of transportation used in the urban areas, whether the bus or the metro, are those which have the highest proportions reporting sexual harassment, with about two out of three of respondent married women who used these methods of transportation reporting obscene verbal harassment in transportation and about one out of three reporting having their body touched. While there is slightly less harassment on transportation reported by those who used the more private and expensive method of transportation of a taxi, the proportion is still substantially high, but not substantially different from the public forms of transportation.

Table 3.5: RESPONDENT REPORTS OF KNOWLEDGE OF RAPE AND/OR SEXUAL MOLESTATION BY LOCATION

	MARRIED WOMEN		N	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH
	N	%			
Total Sample	1,276	12.5	1,044	7.0	8.9
KNOW A FEMALE WHO WAS RAPED/SEXUALLY MOLESTED				%	%
Urban Governorates	506	14.2	414	8.9	8.2
Urban Lower Egypt	132	16.7	108	6.5	16.7
Rural Lower Egypt	264	13.6	216	2.8	12.0
Urban Upper Egypt	88	11.4	72	6.9	12.5
Rural Upper Egypt	286	6.6	234	7.7	2.6

As the question of community violence in the form of rape and/or serious sexual molestation/violation was a delicate one, it was addressed indirectly in the form of respondent married women and men, as well as unmarried female youth, being asked if they knew a female who had been raped and/or sexually molested/violated, with the results presented in Table 3.5. As can be seen, a slightly higher proportion of respondent married women and unmarried female youth reported knowing a female who was raped and/or sexually molested (13 percent and 9 percent, respectively), in comparison to respondent married men (7 percent). The reasons for this slight differential could be due to the same factors mentioned previously; namely, that married women and female youth were less likely to report incidents to their husbands and fathers for fear of their response. Similar to the other data on domestic violence and harassment, there were regional differentials with the highest proportions reporting knowing females to whom this had happened in urban Lower Egypt and the Urban Governorates and the lowest proportion in rural Upper Egypt. Respondent married men reports did not show such consistent regional variation, and in rural Upper Egypt in particular, a higher proportion of respondent married men reported that they knew of a female to whom this had happened. The reason for this is not clear, but it could possibly be due to the fact that stronger and more conservative family and cultural norms in Upper Egypt made these incidents more of a male domain in terms of retaliation/response.

The majority of those females who were known by respondents to have been raped and/or sexually molested were unmarried girls, and 19 percent and 15 percent of the respondent married women and men, respectively, who said that they knew a female who was raped said that the perpetrator was a group of males — i.e., a gang rape. About half of the respondent married women and unmarried female youth (49 percent and 55 percent, respectively) who knew a female who was raped said that the response was to report the rape to the police, while in comparison, only 30 percent of the respondent married men said it was reported to the police. A higher proportion (38 percent) of the respondent married men who knew a female who was raped and/or sexually molested said the response was to marry her to the perpetrator, while only 16 percent and 12 percent of the respondent married women and unmarried female youth, respectively, reported that this was the response.

3.3. Reasons for and Attitudes towards Community Violence

Respondents were asked why they thought that females get sexually harassed on the streets and on transportation, as well as why they thought males behaved the way they did, with the two questions being mirror images of each other. The predominant reasons

mentioned most often by all the respondents lay the blame on the females for the way they dressed and/or walked, their seductiveness, or the fact that they go out at night. The somewhat startling finding is that, although high proportions of respondent married women and unmarried female youth put the blame for harassment on the poor morals of male youth (63 percent and 73 percent, respectively), higher proportions also pointed to the way females dressed as the reason for their harassment.

Although it is somewhat expected that respondent male youth put the bulk of the blame for harassment on females, with only about one in five (21 percent) of them giving the poor morals of male youth as a reason for harassment of females, it is unexpected that respondent female youth assign more than equal blame to the

Table 3.6: RESPONDENT VIEWS ON THE REASONS FEMALES GET HARASSED IN THE STREETS AND/OR IN TRANSPORTATION

	MARRIED WOMEN	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH	MALE YOUTH
Total Sample	1,276	1,044	1,044	1,044
REASONS FEMALES GET HARASSED				
The way they dress	83.5	85.5	82.5	90.8
The way they walk	55.5	58.0	67.1	54.2
Going out at night	24.8	20.0	16.3	25.9
Poor morals of male youth	63.4	43.9	72.5	21.2
Male youth taking drugs	0.0	0.0	26.2	0.0

dress and behavior of females. However, it should be noted that respondent male youth in Upper Egypt, urban and rural, were more likely to report the poor morals of male youth as a reason for the harassment of females (26 percent and 34 percent, respectively). Females going out at night was a factor mentioned most often by respondents in the Urban Governorates, presumably because females were less likely to go out at night unaccompanied outside of this location.

Even when it came to cases of rape and/or sexual molestation, rather than just harassment, 73 percent and 83 percent of respondent married women and men, respectively, stated that the reason was girls wearing tight and revealing clothes, while 42 percent and 59 percent, respectively, said that it was due to the way they walk. The lack of morals of male youth as a reason was mentioned by 69 percent of respondent married women and 45 percent of respondent married men.

When respondent male youth who acknowledged that they harassed girls on the street were asked their reason for doing so, their response was fairly straightforward. More than four out of five (81 percent) of those who acknowledged harassing girls on the street gave the reason for the harassment as being the seductiveness of girls. Other reasons cited much less frequently were that they had time on their hands — i.e., to pass the time by amusing themselves, mentioned by 15 percent of respondent male youth, and that they could not get married, mentioned by 14 percent. A very small minority (4 percent) stated that they did this in the hope of getting to know a girl to get married.

In contrast to the respondent male youth's responses of why they actually did this, respondent married women and men and unmarried female youth were asked why they thought male youth did this. The views of the respondent married women and unmarried female youth coincided, with the reason mentioned most frequently being the lack of morals of the male youth (mentioned by 81 percent and 71 percent of respondent married women and unmarried female youth, respectively). This was followed by the fact that the male youth are unable to get married (61 percent and 50 percent, respectively), the influence of TV and the internet (47 percent and 37 percent, respectively), and male youth taking drugs (28 percent and 27 percent, respectively). However, it should be noted that

again, more than half (54 percent) of the respondent female youth also mentioned the seductiveness of girls as a reason for the behavior of male youth.

In contrast to the respondent females, whether married or unmarried, the respondent married men seemed to give more justification to the behavior of male youth, with the reason mentioned most frequently for harassment of females being that the male youth could not be married, which was mentioned by three out of four of them (75 percent). This was followed by taking drugs and the influence of the TV and internet (43 percent each). Only 6 percent stated that the reason male youth did so was because they were not well brought up or for religious reasons, while 28 percent stated that the reason was that they only saw females as sex objects.

When respondent unmarried male and female youth were asked what females do when exposed to harassment, the views of both coincided. About four out of five (76 percent and 81 percent of respondent female and male youth, respectively) stated that girls did nothing — i.e., they just ignored it and walked away — while more than two out of five (45 percent for each, respectively) stated that girls stopped and insulted their harasser. Additionally, about one-third (32 percent) of respondent female youth said that the girl asked for someone's help, while only 9 percent of respondent male youth said that the response of females to harassment was to contact one of her family. A small proportion of respondent male youth said that the girls' reaction was to stop and walk with him or smile and be happy because she is attractive to males (6 percent for each, respectively).

Respondent male and female youth were asked what should be done to protect females in the street from harassment and all the respondents were asked what should be done to protect females on transportation. As would be expected, the options mentioned most frequently mirrored the reasons given for harassment; namely, the method of protection mentioned most frequently was for females to wear less revealing clothes. As a method of protection in the street, 74 percent of respondent unmarried female youth and 87 percent of respondent male youth mentioned wearing less revealing clothes. As a method of protection on transportation the proportions were 57 percent and 87 percent, respectively, while 80 percent and 71 percent of respondent married women and men, respectively, mentioned this method for protection of females in transportation. For respondent female youth, the better option for protection in transportation — i.e., the one mentioned more frequently — was that there should be separate transportation for women (76 percent), which seems to indicate that harassment on transportation is such an everyday event that it has become the norm that can only be avoided if separate transportation is provided. Providing separate transportation for females was also an option mentioned by a lesser but still substantial proportion (39 percent) of respondent married women, although lesser proportions of respondent married men and male youth (30 percent and 22 percent, respectively) mentioned this as a method of protection of women on transportation.

Having a law against harassment and having police on the streets were two other options to protect females from harassment in the streets mentioned by substantial proportions (42 percent and 36 percent, respectively) of respondent female youth. A similar proportion of respondent female youth (40 percent) and 26 percent of respondent married women also mentioned a law as a method of protection on transportation. However, much smaller proportions of the respondent married men and unmarried male youth (12 percent for each, respectively) mentioned a law as a method of protection in transportation, while only 9 percent of respondent male youth mentioned it as a method of protection for

females in the street. Abiding by religious teachings was mentioned by about half of all respondents.

When it came to the option for protection in the streets of girls not going out alone, there was a clear gender gap in the responses. While only 2 percent of respondent female youth felt that this was a method of protection, 35 percent of male youth felt this was a method of protection for females on the street.

Thus, it can be seen that the general attitudes towards sexual harassment in the street is that it is viewed as the female's fault based on her dress and behavior. Although high proportions of the married and unmarried respondent females also blamed the men, higher proportions blamed women. Male youth clearly felt that their behavior was justified and their response to protect females often involved constraint of the behavior of the females — i.e., restricting what they wear and their movement alone. Interestingly, respondent married men, while they still had this attitude, were less likely to have it than the respondent male youth, which indicates that there is an age gap, where the younger men are becoming more conservative and restrictive with females than their fathers. On the other hand, for the females, both married women and unmarried female youth, their responses seemed to indicate an acceptance of the status quo and adaptation of their behavior to suit the status quo, which reinforces their perception that they have an equal or greater share of the blame for the harassment.

4. GENERAL ATTITUDES ON GENDER AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Respondents were asked whether they agreed to a series of statements concerning various issues related to attitudes to gender differentials and relationships within families between husband and wife, between male and female siblings, and between parents and children. Table 3.7 presents the attitudes of the respondents towards harassment of females in the street and unwed pregnancies. The data confirm the results previously presented — gender and age differentials with respect to harassment in the streets — where male youth tend to see their behavior as justified and they tend to have more conservative values than their fathers. While there was a general consensus among the majority of the respondents that comments on a girl's body are considered obscene, respondent male youth and married men were slightly less likely to agree compared to the respondent married women and female youth. However, there was a clear gap between the male youth's attitude towards a comment such as, "you're pretty," where more than three out of five (63 percent) considered it a compliment. Compared to the other respondents, including the married men, substantially less considered it a compliment, particularly the respondent female youth (27 percent). There was also a general consensus among the majority that girls who wear tight clothes deserve to be harassed, including the respondent female youth. However, although there was a consensus among the majority of the respondent married women and men and male youth that male youth are justified in harassment because of the behavior of the girls, the respondent female youth were more likely to object to this. Nevertheless, more than two-thirds (69 percent) of respondent female youth still agreed with the statement.

The more conservative values of the respondent male youth, in comparison to the married men, were clearly highlighted in their response to the statement that a respectable woman stays at home and does not go out alone; a startling four out of five (80 percent) of

respondent male youth agreed, compared to 69 percent of respondent married men. Unexpectedly, this age differential in male attitudes was most prominent in the Urban Governorates (a 19 percentage point gap) and rural Lower Egypt (where it is more expected). However, even in Upper Egypt where, as would be expected given the traditional values there, the majority of males of both types responded positively to the statement, respondent male youth had slightly higher (3 or 4 percentage points) proportions agreeing to the statement. In contrast to the respondent male youth, less than two out of five (38 percent) respondent female youth agreed with the statement and the age gap was opposite — i.e., the daughters were less conservative than the mothers. The gender gap between the respondent youth in the Urban Governorates with respect to this attitude was more than 50 percentage points — i.e., 20 percent of respondent female youth agreed that a respectable woman stays at home and does not go out alone, compared to 72 percent of respondent male youth who agreed. The gender gap among the respondent youth was smallest in rural Upper Egypt, but even there it was 17 percentage points.

Table 3.7: RESPONDENTS' VIEWS ON STREET HARASSMENT AND UNWED PREGNANCIES

	MARRIED WOMEN	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH	MALE YOUTH
Total N	1,276	1,044	1,044	1,044
AGREE THAT:	%	%	%	%
If a girl is told "you're pretty," it can be considered a compliment	28.8	32.8	26.6	62.6
If a girl is told "you have a nice figure," it can be considered obscene	95.1	87.2	91.9	85.0
Girls wearing tight clothes deserve to be sexually harassed	84.5	88.1	82.5	92.2
Male youths who harass girls are justified due to what girls do	84.0	81.5	68.8	92.5
A respectable woman stays at home and does not go out alone	54.9	69.1	37.5	79.5
A girl should not act on her own without consulting her father or brother if harassed on the street	64.9	70.2	46.7	58.0
Unwed girls who get pregnant from being raped should be forgiven and continue their lives	94.4	89.6	97.9	89.8
Unwed girls who get pregnant due to their behavior should be forgiven and continue their lives	4.0	4.6	1.4	3.3
Unwed girls who get pregnant from being raped should be killed	4.2	10.2	2.2	7.1
Unwed girls who get pregnant due to their behavior should be killed	70.8	53.2	39.7	70.8

In terms of the attitude of whether a girl should act independently on the street if harassed, this followed the more expected lines where, although there was a gender differential both between the married respondents and the unmarried ones, in general, parents were more conservative and protective of their daughters in comparison to the youth.

Table 3.7 also presents the attitude toward unwed pregnancies due to either rape or the girl's own behavior. Although the majority of all respondents were of the view that an unwed girl who was raped and got pregnant should be able to just go on with her life, a minority felt that she should be killed. This minority was highest urban and rural Upper Egypt, where more than one-quarter of respondent married men (28 percent in both urban and rural areas) were of the view that the girl should be killed. In this matter, though, the views of the older men were more conservative than the male youth. However, when it came to an unwed girl getting pregnant because of her behavior, only a minority of all respondents were of the view that she should be forgiven and able to go on with her life, and strangely enough, this minority was lowest among the respondent female youth. The

age gap among males was again prominent, with 71 percent of unmarried male youth of the opinion that a girl should be killed in these circumstances, whereas only 53 percent of the respondent married men were of this view. Again this age gap in values was most prominent in the Urban Governorates and urban and rural Lower Egypt, where 66 percent, 82 percent, and 77 percent of respondent male youth in these locations, respectively, felt that a girl should be killed because of an unwed pregnancy due to her behavior, whereas the comparable proportions for respondent married men were 39 percent, 48 percent, and 47 percent, respectively. Upper Egypt exhibited the more expected pattern of male youth being less conservative than their fathers.

Table 3.8 presents respondent views on various aspects of the relationship between husband and wife and family issues. The findings indicate that there is a general consensus, with the majority agreeing to the standard conservative family norms in Egypt. In general, a man should please his wife and make things comfortable for her, but a woman does not have the independent right choose her own friends without agreement from the husband, it is the woman's role to serve her husband, and children and family problems should only be discussed within the family.

Table 3.8: RESPONDENT VIEWS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HUSBAND AND THE WIFE

	MARRIED WOMEN	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH	MALE YOUTH
Total N	1,276	1,044	1,044	1,044
AGREE THAT:	%	%	%	%
A man should please his wife and make things comfortable for her	99.1	89.2	98.9	91.2
Family problems should be discussed only within the family	99.0	98.7	99.0	98.6
The man should have the first and final word at home	71.2	75.4	56.7	85.1
A woman has the right to select her female friends even if her husband does not like them	4.3	1.5	4.7	2.3
A wife should give her husband his religious/conjugal rights even if she does not want to	84.5	71.7	88.2	76.4
A woman who has her own money is more respected by her husband	41.3	20.0	36.4	39.3
A woman's role is to serve her husband and children	86.7	88.2	89.3	84.0

There was more disagreement between the respondents with respect to the issues of whether the man should have the first and final say at home, particularly among the respondent youth. Although, overall, the respondent married women and men had similar views, with about three out of four of each holding the view that the man should have the final say at home. This apparent agreement had regional differences with higher proportions of respondent women compared to the men in the rural areas agreeing with this statement, while in the urban areas, particularly in the Urban Governorates, the opposite was true. The gender gap was very clear among males, where, again, the respondent male youth exhibited more conservative values than their fathers, while the girls were less conservative than their mothers. More than four out of five (85 percent) respondent male youth were of the view that the man should have the final say at home compared to 75 percent of the respondent married men. This age difference was consistent among all the regions with the exception of rural Upper Egypt where a consistently higher proportion of respondent married men were of the view that the man should have the final word at home. This was in contrast to the respondent female youth, where only 57 percent of them agreed to the statement. Again, the gap in attitudes was highest in the Urban Governorates with a 42 percentage point differential between the views of respondent male and female youth.

Regarding the issue of whether a woman should have marital sexual relations with her husband even if she does not want to, with the common Arabic phrasing used for this of conjugal/religious rights which are viewed as mutual rights between husband and wife, there was an interesting gap between the attitudes of the male and female respondents. Higher proportions of female respondents, both married women and unmarried female youth, were of this view in comparison to the male respondents. In particular, the majority of married women respondents in rural areas agreed that this was a man's right, though, this was not the case with the men. Again, it is interesting to note that there was an age gap among the respondent males with a higher proportion of the respondent male youth holding this view in comparison to the respondent married men. Presumably, this gap is due to the respondent married men knowing better. Again, this gap was highest in Lower Egypt, both urban and rural, with a 13-15 percentage point difference between the views of younger and older males.

In terms of whether a woman with her own money is more respected by her husband, about two out of five respondent married women and unmarried female and male youth agreed to this statement, in comparison to only about one out of five men. Interestingly, respondent married women and unmarried female youth in the Urban Governorates were less likely to have this view.

Table 3.9 presents the respondents' views on various issues related to male and female youth, both within the family and regarding general issues. Again, there was general agreement between all the respondents on issues related to overall conservative family norms and relationships. Thus, only a small minority of respondents were of the view that youth, whether male or female, had the right to choose their friends irrespective of their parents' approval, though, as would be expected, one in five male youth felt that male youth had this right. Moreover, the views of all the respondents coincided with respect to agreement that a girl should serve her brother even if she does not want to, with about two out of three respondents having this view overall.

Table 3.9: RESPONDENT VIEWS ON VARIOUS MALE AND FEMALE YOUTH ISSUES

	MARRIED WOMEN	MARRIED MEN	FEMALE YOUTH	MALE YOUTH
Total Number	1,276	1,044	1,044	1,044
AGREE THAT:	%	%	%	%
Girls like strong men who shout at them	63.2	55.9	61.1	79.0
Any man is better than no man	62.5	56.7	48.0	61.0
Girls' education is not as important as boys' education	12.5	16.3	6.2	20.5
Females have a right to control their inheritance	92.0	86.8	96.4	83.8
Girls have the right to select their friends even if they are not accepted by their parents	1.7	0.3	3.3	1.1
A girl who is beaten in her father's home will be beaten in her husband's home	37.1	28.4	29.9	34.5
Girls have to be treated strictly so that they don't deviate	71.3	64.0	54.3	79.6
A girl has to serve her brother even if she does not want to	69.1	68.3	62.4	64.3
Male youth have the right to select their friends even if their families do not approve	4.7	2.3	9.2	19.1
A boy who beats his sister will beat his wife	60.2	52.2	58.3	44.2

Also, the views of the respondents broadly coincided with respect to agreement with the statement that girls who are beaten in their father's home will be beaten in their husband's home, with only about one-third of respondents agreeing with this. As for the statement

that a male youth who beats his sister will beat his wife, about three out of five respondent married women and female youth and more than half of respondent married men agreed to this statement, only about two out of five respondent male youth agreed.

With respect to the statement that girls have to be controlled strictly so that they don't deviate, again there was a gender and age gap. Almost four out of five respondent male youth agreed with this statement, in comparison to only two out of five respondent married men. Again, the largest gap was in the Urban Governorates, with a 27 percentage point difference between the views of the two. The respondent married women were also more conservative with a higher proportion having this view than the respondent married men.

In terms of attitudes towards a female's rights to an education and to control her inheritance, by and large, only small minorities were of the view that a boy's education was more important — although, again, the highest proportion who agreed were among the respondent male youth. Also, there was a general consensus that a female had a right to control her own inheritance. When it came to the idea that any man is better than no man, less than half of the respondent female youth agreed, while more than three out of five respondent married women and male youth agreed, which indicates that brothers and mothers were more likely to settle for mediocre marriages for the girls than the girls, or even their fathers, were. Interestingly, when it came to the statement that girls liked strong men who shouted, more than three out of five respondent married women and girls agreed. However, the respondent unmarried male youth seemed to have a greater misunderstanding of the preferences of girls as more than four out of five of them agreed.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The survey of violence against women attempted to determine the prevalence and intensity of domestic and community violence against women, as well as the underlying social attitudes and norms which either perpetuate the cycle of violence or would be useful in breaking it.

More than three out of five respondent married women reported that they had ever suffered any form of psychological domestic violence and almost four out of five respondent married men acknowledged that they had ever inflicted any form of psychological violence. The results for unmarried respondent female and male youth were even higher. However, the predominant form of psychological violence was insults, which indicates that, overall, that there is a fairly prevalent atmosphere of angry verbal interactions within families. Thus, insults appear to be a fairly normal characteristic of relationships between husband and wife, between children and parents, and even between siblings and wives and in-laws. However, comparisons of the prevalence of psychological verbal violence with controlling/isolating violence and physical violence indicates that this verbal anger does not necessarily translate into psychological violence that is controlling and/or isolating or into physical beating in the case of respondent married women.

Although 28 percent of married women reported that they had every suffered at least one form of physical violence from their husbands, only 16 percent reported that this had happened in the past year. Additionally, 14 percent had suffered sexual violence in the past year. However, physical violence directed toward unmarried female youth was much

higher with over half reporting that they had suffered physical violence from their brother or father, as well as reports of significant physical violence from the mothers. Thus, although the spousal violence directed toward respondent married women was more severe and intense and possibly more sporadic, the violence directed towards unmarried female youth, while more low-grade, appears to be more chronic as all members of the family are perpetrators. In-law violence was not very prevalent and was largely contained to insults.

In terms of factors which caused the greatest variation in the prevalence of domestic spousal violence, the main factor was regional, where Upper Egypt had the lowest levels of domestic spousal violence and substantially lower levels of domestic family violence against unmarried female youth compared to Lower Egypt. These regional findings were consistent for all the variables, including for community violence, and were in spite of the fact that Upper Egypt had substantially lower levels of education and was significantly more disadvantaged economically. Thus, it appears that the conservative social and cultural norms which ensured that substantial gender differentials existed in this region also may have ensured adherence to more traditional social values that reduced levels of violence against females in this region.

Education was another factor where respondent married women and men with an education above a secondary degree were slightly less likely to be victims of or inflict physical violence. Respondent married women and men above 40 years of age were also slightly less likely to be victims of or inflict physical violence.

Although, overtly, only an extremely small minority of respondents gave the reasons for domestic violence as being a husband's right to do so, over half of the respondent married men who inflicted violence stated that the reason for doing so was that the wife does not do what he wants, with the highest proportion stating this in rural Lower Egypt and the lowest proportions in urban and rural Upper Egypt. About three-quarters of both respondent married men and women also stated that the reasons for violence were the tensions from the high costs of living, in addition to a substantial proportion also mentioning problems with work and/or family. Thus, stress as a justification of the use of violence against women implies that this is a valid and acceptable response to stress and difficult circumstances.

Help-seeking behavior for domestic violence, whether spousal or otherwise, was clearly limited to the extended family. The majority of respondents agreed that family issues should be kept within the family and that outsiders, particularly the police, should not get involved, as indicated by the responses to violence. However, concessions were made, particularly in Upper Egypt, for more severe cases of physical violence. Thus, while the attitudes overall were that it was the family and extended family who intervened and mediated between a husband and a wife, in severe cases of abuse and in cases where a man was not meeting his financial obligations, a woman could be justified for seeking recourse with the police or law.

As for community violence, the survey findings clearly indicate that the majority of females are subjected to chronic and persistent sexual harassment in the streets and on transportation. Younger females appear to be subjected to higher levels of harassment, most likely just because they are younger, in addition to the fact that they most likely move outside of the home more than older women. The general attitude of all the

respondents towards sexual harassment on the street is that it is the female's fault based on her dress and behavior. Although high proportions of the respondent married and unmarried females also blamed the males, higher proportions blamed the females. Male youth felt their behavior was justified and their response to protect females often involved constraint and control of the behavior of the females — i.e., restricting her dress and movement alone. In general, respondent male youth showed a slightly alarming trend of having more conservative attitudes than the older married men in terms of allowing themselves more control over females and the restriction of females' movements and behavior. On the other hand, for both married women and unmarried female youth, their responses to harassment in the streets and on transportation seemed to indicate an acceptance of the status quo and adaptation of their behavior to suit the status quo, which reinforces their perception that they had an equal or greater share of the blame for the harassment.

The review of the respondents' general attitudes on gender and family relationships reinforces the trend indicated in the community violence data; namely, that the male youth have more conservative and controlling attitudes towards females than the older married men. This trend is most pervasive in the Urban Governorates and in Lower Egypt, while in Upper Egypt it is not as clear. Additionally, there is a very large gender gap between the attitudes of the respondent unmarried females in comparison to those of the respondent unmarried males, again, particularly in the Urban Governorates and Lower Egypt. This indicates that if attitudes do not change, society may be heading toward more domestic violence in the future as these male youth marry and have unrealistic expectations of their wives.

For both domestic and community violence, there was greater support among both respondent married women and unmarried female youth for laws and regulations that would protect women from violence. Respondent married men were substantially less likely to mention the development of laws to protect women from violence and the unmarried male youth were even less likely to do so.

It should be noted that data on societal violence in general collected from respondent unmarried male youth — but not included in this report as the focus was on violence against women — indicated that more than four out of five unmarried male youth experienced insults and humiliation and more than half of them experienced beating, while about 3 percent experienced sexual harassment, mostly in the Urban Governorates. The majority of these actions happened to them in the street, on transportation, and in school, with smaller minorities indicating that this had happened to them at work or in a police station, the latter mostly in the Urban Governorates. Additionally, as previously mentioned, unmarried male youth were as likely to mention beating as an effective form of punishment for boys as for girls. Thus, the data indicates that while levels of violence against women are fairly high, levels of violence, particularly verbal aggression, are high in society as a whole, and as would be expected, women seem to bear a disproportionate burden of this violence.

5.1. Recommendations

It is clear from the responses given for the reasons for domestic spousal violence, for domestic violence against unmarried female youth, and for community violence against women that there is a general attitude that violence is justified either due to the behavior

of women or due to stress and circumstances. Thus, implicitly, very limited blame is attached to males for violence and they are not seen as being responsible for violence, but rather *they* are the victims of circumstances or the behavior of women — i.e., their response is justified given the situation. This is an attitude that must change and it is this general attitude that must be the target of communication campaigns and awareness-raising. Females must be clearly specified as victims of violence rather than instigators of violence as a result of their behavior. It also must be clarified that *nothing* justifies a violent response on the part of men, regardless of the behavior of females or the stressful circumstances men might face. Moreover, male youth must be specifically targeted as there are indications that this tendency to blame females and circumstances, as well as viewing themselves as having the right to control and constrain the mobility and behavior of females, is increasing among the younger men.

The change required in this attitude has to be an integral component of specific policies for the protection of women from violence, whether these policies are the enactment of laws that criminalize spousal abuse or sexual harassment on the street, policies that establish shelters as refuges for abused women, or any other policies. Without a concurrent change in attitudes, the laws will not be enforced and the shelters will not be utilized except in the most extreme of cases, leaving women in less extreme cases with little recourse. This is particularly true as cultural norms clearly focus on recourse within the extended family in cases of domestic violence.

Moreover, in terms of the domestic violence faced by unmarried female youth, as the recent discussions on the Child Law in Egypt, which sought unsuccessfully to criminalize physical abuse of children by parents, demonstrated, tolerance for physical chastisement in families in Egypt is relatively high. As unmarried females are perceived to be under the family's jurisdiction until they are married, they are, therefore, more likely than the males to continue to suffer this physical chastisement beyond the legal age of adulthood.

It is unrealistic to expect that social and cultural norms, which have been evolving for decades, to be changed by a single communication campaign; however, a coherent and consistent long-term communication strategy must be developed to change these critical attitudes. The strategy must contain clear messages for dissemination, namely, that violence is never justified, as well as short-term and long-term goals. For example a short-term goal could focus on lowering the thresholds of acceptable behavior and physical chastisement of children within the family — i.e., in the sense that the measureable impact in the short term would be lowering the threshold of acceptable behavior and practices, while the longer-term goal would be the change in attitude.

Moreover, the communication strategy must contain clear target groups beyond just husbands and unmarried male youth as perpetrators of violence. Policymakers must be targeted to ensure the ability to enact laws that criminalize spousal violence, and police must also be targeted to ensure the proper enforcement of any laws enacted. Religious leaders must be targeted to disseminate messages about appropriate relationships and interactions within families and between husbands and wives, parents and children, and siblings.

Additionally, there is clearly a lack in Egypt of family counseling guidance. While the family courts have attempted dispute resolution in cases of divorce, more must be done to provide counseling and guidance to families as a whole, to resolve spousal conflicts

before they get to the stage of divorce, and to help parents to develop parenting skills that go beyond physical chastisement.

As for violence faced by females within the community — i.e., in streets and on transportation — the communication strategy should focus on the fact that this is simply not acceptable under any circumstances. This is an easier and more tangible concrete goal to focus on in a communication strategy as the pervasiveness of harassment in the streets and in transportation is a relatively recent phenomenon (anecdotal evidence suggests that it has increased dramatically within the past two decades) of which nobody really approves (although they might justify it). Therefore, the attitudes will be easier to change.