

# EGYPT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN STUDY

**MEDIA PROFESSIONALS AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

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## **MEDIA PROFESSIONALS AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The media is a cultural, social, and political force capable of achieving important change in the community. It can also reinforce and support values, habits, traditions, and systems, especially those related to social roles, including relationships between men and women. Does the media reflect culture or is it the other way around? To answer this, it's important to approach the two main components of each media organization: 1) decision makers and others who execute media policies; and 2) media personnel performing their jobs within the administrative framework.

In a quest to understand how the media deals with the issue of violence against women in Egypt, the National Council for Women (NCW) asked the Combating Violence Against Women project, funded by USAID, to conduct focus groups with media professionals that resulted in this study. The NCW chose Amina Shafeek, a senior writer from Al Ahram and chairperson of the NCW Media Committee, to lead the study process, in partnership with Cairo University Professor Dr. Adel Abdel Ghaffar and noted drama writer Mahfouz Abdel Rahman. The Combating Violence project's research manager, Gihan AbuZeid, also participated in the research team. The study was conducted in the framework of the NCW's multi-dimensional study of violence against women in Egypt. A second piece of the study, conducted by the Women in Media Center at Cairo University, analyzes the articles, drama

The main goal of the study was to better understand the position of the key players in the Egyptian mass media with regard to the portrayal of violence against women (VAW). More specifically, the study is designed (i) to review and evaluate the views of media makers about the current representation of the issue of VAW, (ii) to become acquainted with their level of background knowledge regarding VAW, including professionals who deal with both real and fictional issues, (iii) to learn about the media organizations' policies related to dealing with VAW issues, and (iv) to identify the challenges hindering the production of media materials that are capable of sensitively portraying violence against women. The study also aims to understand the methods and mechanisms proposed by media professionals, to balance the artistic demands of mass media and the principles of professional and social responsibility in the publicizing of violence against women. The study came as a result of focus group discussions which encouraged open dialogue within the media community, including print journalism, radio broadcasting, and television, with both men and women as part of these groups. Also focus group discussions were organized with producers and drama writers, as they have a strong influence upon a large segment of the population.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

This report is based on a series of focus group discussions designed to uncover the views, opinions, and background knowledge of media professionals and how they, in turn, handle issues of violence against women. The seven focus group sessions included print journalists; radio and TV professionals; television drama writers; cinema and theatre professionals; and media producers.

Experts conducting the focus groups prepared the discussion guides for each group. The discussions covered the following:

1. The knowledge of the participants regarding the frequency and types of violence against women in Egyptian society.
2. The participants' evaluation of their own professions in handling the issue of violence against women.
3. Suggestions for the participants to improve media performance in the realm of violence against women.

The phrase “violence against women” as used throughout this report is defined according to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1993, as “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.” The preface of the UN’s Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women specifies ways to combating violence against women. The media and its role in public awareness are mentioned multiple times.<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1. Focus Groups**

Group	Type of Media Professional	Male Participants	Female Participants
1	Print Journalists		11
2	Print Journalists	16	
3	Radio and TV Journalists		6
4	Radio and TV Journalists	15	
5	Drama Writers – TV, cinema and theatre	7	2
6	Drama Writers – TV, cinema and theatre	2	6
7	TV Producers	9	1

## 2.1. Selection criteria

*Selecting a work team.* In preparation for the seven focus groups, a work team of five members with substantial media experience led the planning. The work team consisted of 1) Amina Shafeek, an expert in print journalism; 2) Dr. Adel Abdel Ghaffar, an expert in TV and radio; 3) Mahfouz Abdel Rahman, an expert in drama script writing; 4) a reporter to record the session, and 5) Gihan AbuZeid, research manager of the Combating Violence Against Women and Children project.

*Criteria for selecting media organizations and participants.* The most important criterion in selecting the participating media organizations was their reach. As such, they invited the most popular national, party and independent newspapers based on available circulation information. As a result, Al-Ahram, Al Akhbar, and El Gomhouriya newspapers represented the national newspapers; El Badeel and Masry El Youm represented independent newspapers; Al Ahrar represented the party newspaper. Ruz Al Yousef and Al-Ahram Weekly participated as printed periodical, and Islam On-Line, a most popular electronic newspaper, represented the on-line media.

<sup>1</sup> The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women - 26 (CEDAW), an Information Kit UNIFEM and UNICEF Regional Office in the Middle East and North Africa, 1997

Similarly, television and radio stations received invitations based on their viewing and listening popularity. The television channels included were the Egyptian channels 1, 2, and 3. Four radio stations were part of the focus groups: Al-Bernamig Al-Aam, the first Egyptian and Arab radio station; Iza'at Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, known for its pioneering social commentary; and the youth-oriented Al-Shabab Wal Riyadah station. We also included Al-Qahira Al-Kobra, which provides general programming, though in specialized programming blocks.

NCW sent invitations to the heads of media organizations, asking them to nominate two participants, one female and one male, each with 7-15 years professional experience. The invitation did not limit participants based on the nature of their reporting or thematic interests. Similar criteria helped identify participants in radio and television, dramas, and producers groups, though with a stated preference for professional experience of more than ten years.

Table 1 (see previous page) shows the summary of participants. Separating the focus groups by type of media professional ensured a basic degree of similarity of experience within each group. Additionally, the varying experience within the groups facilitated discussion and, at the analysis stage, highlighted the differences between the four types of media professionals. Print journalists, radio, and television journalists were further separated by gender to ensure comfort and encourage free and open conversation. Due to the limited number of female drama writers and producers, these groups were not separated by sex. The experience of male and female participants varied considerably in that female media professionals generally worked on the women's or family sections and programs while the men worked on the a variety of thematic topics, including crime.

## **2.2. Preparation of the Discussion Guidelines**

The work team participated in the preparation of the focus group discussion guidelines, tested them, and developed a final version. The guidelines included six topics of discussion, with each topic assigned a specific number of questions (total of 30) to be raised during the two-hour meeting.)

The topics in the discussion guidelines shifted gradually from the identification of the media professionals' perspective regarding violence in the Egyptian society in general to violence against women, specifically. The discussion shed light on their views on the media's current representation of VAW and the religious, moral, social, or legal factors associated with VAW. Moreover, the media professionals provided suggestions to improve the media's portrayal of VAW and to promote professional responsibility when the subject. Below follow the discussion topics:

- Perception of the prevalence of violence in Egyptian society
- Perception of types and frequency of violence against women in the Egyptian society.
- Portrayal of violence in the media
- Evaluation of the portrayal of violence against women
- Suggestions on improving the media's portrayal of violence against women
- Mechanisms for promoting both professional and social responsibility when addressing issues of violence against women

## 2.3. Management and Documentation of Focus Group Discussion Sessions

Each specialist used the same discussion guidelines. The sessions were recorded and transcribed at a later date. Photographs were also taken. Each specialist prepared four reports: 1) radio writers; 2) television writers; 3) drama writers; and 4) producers. After receiving the transcript, Amina Shafeek wrote this report.

## 3. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION RESULTS

### 3.1. Print Journalists

Two separate focus group discussions were held at the NCW headquarters (one for women and one for men) to survey opinions on the issue of violence against women. Eleven female journalists in national and independent newspapers (women's, news and reportage departments) participated in the first workshop. Sixteen male journalists working in national, party, independent, and electronic newspapers (reportage, news, accidents, and readers' letters departments) participated in the second workshop.

The discussion in the female print journalists' group was more sensitive to gender-based issues in general, and issues of violence against women in particular. Their support was based on their experiences as women and their comprehension of the significance of violence and its psychological impact on women. They confirmed that their most important sources for news on violence are the civil society's organizations working with women, research centers, and the women's complaint office at the NCW.

In contrast to the limited sources that women named, male print journalists' group revealed the diversity of information available to them. The participants attributed this difference to their ability to interact easily with the police department, courts, and the office of the attorney general, and to gain the trust sources within these units. They explained that the male-dominated culture poses obstacles with limit access for female journalists.

The two groups agreed that violence is a problem in Egyptian society, supported by a male-dominated culture that not only allows the domination by men over women (often escalating to violence), but also permits domination of the weaker by the stronger. It follows that those in the weakest positions are the victims of the most severe violence. Violence against women can be physical, verbal, or psychological, sometimes taking the form of contempt, scorn or objectification of women.

The participants noted that violence can occur at home, in the street, or at the workplace. They felt that groups that are most at risk are young girls, poor women, uneducated women who do not work outside the home, and physically weak women. They

#### Print Journalists' Opinions

Women magazines also run stories related to violence against women; it is important to resist the existence of a "women's page" and to address women's issues throughout the newspaper.

*A male journalist in an independent newspaper*

Publishing news about violence against women is left to newspaper publishers and editors-in-chief; it competes with print space previously assigned for the news.

*A male journalist in a national newspaper*

The whole society needs rehabilitation.

*A male journalist in a party newspaper*

We should assign larger print spaces to discuss cases of violence, and we should not limit them to the "women's page." Instead, there are other pages in the newspaper to discuss women's cases.

*A female journalist in a national newspaper*

Slum areas are the center of violence against women, but it is not limited to the slum areas, it is permeates throughout society.

*A female journalist in an independent newspaper*

acknowledged violence in all social classes and demographic sectors, though in different forms. Violence includes all of the following: hitting, cursing, harassment, insults, discrimination, threats of divorce, or deprivation of rights. The participants felt that the most insidious type of violence is incest perpetrated by a father or brother. The journalists mentioned that a woman's reaction may differ according to the social class to which she belongs. She is more likely to be capable of defending herself if she belongs to a higher social class, while she tends to be more submissive the lower her position. They pointed out that the violence may be transferred to someone weaker (e.g. a child), further ingraining the cycle of violence.

The group of female and male print journalists agreed that journalism does not reflect all forms of violence in the society nor does it address the root causes. They noted a reluctance to delve into the subject could result in the uncovering of unflattering societal ailments. They also pointed out that newspapers sometimes present violence as a provocative subject to attract readers, rather than as a social problem with wide-ranging harmful effects. Usually, the publication of such stories is connected to the occurrence of a particular incident, with no continuity or follow-through.

### 3.2. Radio and Television Professionals

Two focus group discussions were held for media personnel working in the Radio and Television Union, the official government authority. Six female media professionals participated in the first group. In the second group, fifteen male media professionals participated.

The female radio and television group expressed similar sensitivities and awareness to the female print journalists group. Also, radio and television professionals revealed the limits of their information on issues of violence against women and their need to better understand gender issues. Both male and female radio and television professionals expressed the need to join in discussions of actual problems within society, including cases of violence against women.

Both groups defined violence against women in the following ways: 1) physical violence e.g. when the female body is violated, by genital mutilation or beating and cases where women are objectified including provocative scenes in music videos; 2) moral and psychological e.g. when a woman is insulted or scrutinized; 3) economic e.g. when the woman carries an economic burden that exceeds her capability or when she is deprived of professional advancement on the basis of gender; and 4) political e.g. when she is a victim of persecution during elections.

#### Radio and TV Journalists' Opinions

Incest and parental beating are some of the cases that are hushed in the media because we are afraid to bare our societal ills, and we cannot discuss sexual issues properly because it is against our traditions; we are considered organizations responsible for protecting, rather than attacking, traditions.

*A female media figure  
in radio 6/3/2008*

Violence against women is not a phenomenon; rather it is caused by the economic or psychological difficulties or stress that befalls men in their quest for an income.

*A male media figure participating  
in session 3/4/2008*

Radio and television media respect the privacy of media sources and guests, i.e. the names are not advertised. Additionally, if the source appears—man or woman—it is with his or her back to the camera, or showing only his or her eyes. This is true regardless of the issue, whether it was addiction, harassment, or rape.

*A female media figure from  
Channel 1 in television*

All religions and the sayings of the Prophet assert that women should be well treated as per the example, the saying of the Prophet Mohammed "women are honored by honorable men and offended by ignoble men". Our religious heritage should be distilled, as Islam honored women and placed her in high stature.

*A male media figure  
in radio 3/4/2008*



Violence against women is, in their view, a result of an educational, economic, social, or cultural shortcoming and the acts of violence increase in groups with lower levels of education and lack of proper religious education—especially in light of the increase in incorrect interpretations of some religious texts. They mentioned that the media might have participated in the increase of violence by broadcasting intense, violent scenes in a drama. They felt that children in the poorer, less educated demographics are most susceptible to this influence. Interestingly, they also noted that the absence of justice is a form of violence.

The radio and television professionals contended that the economic crisis has intensified and increased violence perpetrated by men against women in rural and urban areas, at home, in the street, at the workplace, and on public transportation.

They stated that as they work for a public entity, the Radio and Television Union, their hands are tied vis-à-vis addressing sensitive issues of violence, such as incest, sexual harassment, homosexuality, parental beating, and physical and sexual abuse of prisoners.

Their sources of information include violence from the women's complaints office at the NCW, civil society organizations and research centers, supplemented by personal telephone calls or correspondence with others, including passersby on the street.

Media professionals admit that the radio and television media have not yet proven their seriousness and commitment to the issue of violence against women. Further, they mentioned that the programs related to issues of violence are aired when there are the least number of viewers.

The participants noted the effect of gender on the portrayal and reporting of violence, suggesting that female announcers bring greater sensitivity when tackling the issue. Also, the comprehension and knowledge of the host affects the perspective of the radio or television show. They noted that, in contrast to print journalists, the radio and television media respect the privacy of the victims of violence, regardless of their social position, as the official media treats all individuals equally.

### **3.3. Drama Writers**

Two focus discussion groups for female and male drama writers (television, cinema, and theater) were held. The first group consisted of seven drama and script writers and two female authors. The second group consisted of eight drama writers, six of whom were female. The participants defined violence as “using the hand,” hurtful words, or harsh language when dealing with women in order to insult or demean her. The participants attributed the existence of violence to society's perception of women as inferior. They believe that the most brutal type of violence is the violence against poor women and street children. Violence can be in the form of harassment, rape, or insults. Sometimes a working woman is a victim of violence by her male colleagues who seek to hold her back from “overachieving.” They mentioned that violence is common in all social classes and in all locations, though it has become a commonplace due to congestion and cramped living conditions.

The participants said they feel that violence in society is a result of social, political, and economic suppression. They expressed the opinion that there are times when women who are victims subsequently inflict this violence on others. The participants believed that violence is an obvious result of depression, alienation, deprivation of rights, and an incorrect interpretation of religion. Other factors include difficult economic and social conditions that cause the cycle of violence to reach all women and men. Television plays a role in inflaming violence. American movies and news reports that portray violence mixed with pictures of blood and fire all help to fuel acts of violence and bring the cycle into our daily life.

The drama writers admitted that Egyptian drama exploits women, treating them like a commodity and presenting issues of violence outside of their educational or cultural context. When asked about the reasons behind this representation, they noted that censorship offices restricting the writer's freedom. A script must successfully pass four censorship committees, which include sixteen official censors before being produced. Writers must also contend accede to the will of producers and actors, who sometimes rewrite their roles. Finally, after dealing with these constraints, the writers must engage a distributor, often from the Arabian Gulf, who in turn may impose his or her own conditions or values.

### 3.4. Producers

Similar to the other groups, the producers agreed there are acts of violence against women in rural and urban areas, at home, in the street, on public transportation, and at the workplace. They noted that the violence against women has existed throughout human history, but that it takes different forms depending on the time and place.

The producers listed the forms of violence against women, whether psychological or physical, and defined the "deprivation of a woman of her inheritance" as an act of violence. They attributed the violence to the spread of drugs and the inferior perception of women in this male-dominated society, compounded by the lack of law enforcement in addressing the increase and patterns of violence. They agreed, as the drama writers did before them,

#### Drama Writers' Opinions

The reason behind the prevalence of violence is the male upbringing; the boy knows he is the stronger one and his sister is much weaker. This is repeated between the husband and wife; therefore, this should be dealt with from the child's upbringing by strengthening the concept of equality between men and women.

*A female writer participating in the drama sessions 3/26/2008*

Women have become a commodity, presented provocatively, and only to attract viewers.

*A male drama writer participating in the drama sessions 3/26/2008*

Congestion causes extreme violence in the street, at home, and at work.

*A male drama writer in session 3/26/2008*

The government does not understand the role of drama and cinema; therefore, it is important for the government to care about cinema and drama and their role.

*A male drama writer in session 3/27/2008*

The Drama Writers' Association should support the authors to face the greed of producers and marketers and also advise them of their vital role in any drama production.

*A female drama writer in session 3/26/2008*

#### Producers' Opinions

As producers, we do not need an alarm that tells us what to produce. All social cases are important in our minds, but we no longer have the power to force it on the market. The real deciders of choosing topics are the following: the marketer, the star, the governmental authority supervising production, and the advertiser.

*An Egyptian producer participating in the producers' session 6-5-2008*

The television is capable of changing society's trends more than the cinema.

*A TV producer in the producers' session 5-6-2008*

Cases of violence against women are one of the most dramatic subjects that can be tackled from a creative artistic view and can be marketed effectively.

*A cinema producer*

that combating violence against women is the responsibility of the entire society and not only the responsibility of men or a specific sector in the society. They noted that violence is related mainly to the prevailing culture that can only be changed by the true will of the society.

Regarding the role of drama in changing a society's culture, they mentioned that television and cinema drama is capable of playing an effective role in the development of the society, but the organizations concerned with education, culture, and media should ally with others to construct visions of change.

They stated that the end project is controlled by two main factors: 1) the Gulf distribution market; and 2) the advertisers who play a large role in the drama production process. The producers have attributed the social responsibility for production and drama to the government which should support productions that are constructive, both economically and market-wise. This would ensure the cooperation of the producers.

The producers perceive the governmental production units (Media Production City, Cairo's Sound for Audio and Video Company, and the Production Sector in the Radio and Television Union) as the authorities responsible for creating a social vision for the Egyptian drama to contribute to changing the society by limiting violence and other negative social phenomena.

#### **4. CONCLUSIONS**

In conclusion, the study team made the following key findings and observations as a result of the focus groups and its own analysis of the current state of the media and issues related to violence against women:

1. There is a gap between the interests of media professionals and their knowledge of the issue of violence against women in Egypt. Print journalists are more aware of the existence of violence, its nature, and its harmful effects than were the other media professionals.
2. Female journalists indicated that their intellectual frame of reference for dealing with VAW was based on the UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Their knowledge of legal procedure seemed to be due to two factors: (1) that they are women, so they share similar experiences and interests, and (2) that many of them have participated in activities sponsored by the National Council for Women (NCW), from which they learned about CEDAW and the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.
3. Print journalists said that there is an increase in the appearance "new" acts of violence on the Egyptian society, e.g. incest, especially in poor areas. Discussion sessions showed they have a broad network of relations; sources of news collection on violence include police departments, the office of the attorney general, courts, hospitals and prisons. Print journalists were the only media group that mentioned female prisoners being subjected to violence at the hands of policemen. Additionally they noted that young girls are victims of many forms of violence, the most brutal being early marriage, genital mutilation, and rape.

Whereas the female print journalists approached the issue of violence against women from a legal perspective, the male print journalists approached it from a social and moral perspective.

4. The feelings of male media professionals working in radio and television varied between denial of the existence of VAW in Egyptian society (prevalent among television personnel) to considering it a logical result of the society's straying from religion (radio personnel). When asked where they obtain information about VAW, those in the radio and television union indicated that they do not have particular sources to obtain their information.
5. Female media professionals from radio and television noted the spread of violence against women and were aware of the issue through the NCW and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). They had vast knowledge of the types of violence and its effect on women and families.
6. Drama writers showed their awareness about VAW through the lens of social class and age. They drew a connection between the increase of rape and sexual harassment cases and the prevalence of drug addiction among youth. They contend there is a direct relation between social violence and the congested living conditions that have dominated life in Egypt.
7. Producers working in cinema and television drama asserted that they are businessmen operating according to profit-loss rules. Though they realize the importance of their role and their ability to effect change, their primary commitment is to fulfill market needs, especially in the Gulf. Producers requested that the government sponsor production of constructive social dramas consistent with the messages of organizations like the NCW. They indicated they were willing to cooperate with public production organizations if asked. Despite obvious disagreement in many areas, the seven groups of media personnel nevertheless agreed on the following opinions:
  - Norms and traditions play a role in promoting the climate of violence
  - Violence against women is not a conflict between men and women
  - Egyptian society is a patriarchal, hierarchical society: men dominate women, the strong dominate the weak; the upper class dominates the lower class
  - Violence against women is part of the general social violence, both of which have that has been increasing in Egyptian society
  - The economic recession exacerbates the situation.
  - Violence is like a cancer spreading; victims of violence usually become perpetrators
  - Violence does not differentiate between social classes; violence affects women in all classes but it differs according to each social class
  - The most brutal form of violence is incest
  - Poor, illiterate, weak women are subject to more violence than others
  - Poor and slum areas are the most common location for violence against women.

#### 4.1. Recommendations

Media professionals agreed that Egyptian society needs a more in-depth approach to handle issues of violence against women. As an institution, the media can have a profound impact on crystallizing information and influencing public opinion. As such, the media could play a strong role in dealing with the issue of violence against women by working alongside other institutions, e.g. such as schools, universities, writers, and civil society institutions that operate in the field of human rights advocacy.

To perform its role in confronting issues of violence against women, the media needs a clear policy, vision, intellectual, and social approach that is based on facts and relevant information. Only then can there be a media strategy and work plan to guide media personnel. They envision such a strategy as a community issue with economic, social, cultural, psychological, and human rights dimensions. Issues of violence against women would involve both men and women. As such, the work plan would specify that discussions of violence against women should not be limited to specific sections in the newspaper or programs which target primarily women. Violence against women should be handled on a larger scale in the print media and in specialized programs, particularly those with a large, diverse audience.

Sensitive issues such as so-called “honor” crimes should be addressed. This will require the cooperation and leadership of subject specialists. By working with experts, the media would go beyond their immediate professional roles and further into the realm of social responsibility in a scientific, progressive, and temperate manner.

Based on the focus groups and lengthy internal discussions, we offer the following specific recommendations:

- The government and civil society should adopt a clear policy toward combating violence in general and violence against women in particular, thereby creating a general anti-violence climate.
- Discuss and portray issues related to violence against women openly and without direct or implied restrictions.
- Respect the privacy of all women who have been subject to violence, rather than taking into account the social position of the victim when determining privacy controls.
- Establish a media strategy to combat violence against women, starting from the legal approach, beginning with a person’s right to live in a secure environment in her/his house, and her/his immediate and extended community. All relevant authorities should participate in drafting such a strategy. Furthermore, the strategy should reflect a balance between professional and social responsibilities of the media, taking into account the cultural context.
- Sign a cooperation protocol between the NCW and media organizations (e.g. the Radio and Television Union, the Syndicate of Journalism, the Writers’

Association, and the Producers' Association) which establishes joint policies toward combating violence against women.

- Support female media professionals in reaching decision-making positions and solicit their input in developing approaches for tackling different women's issues, including violence against women.
- Provide sources of reputable information for media professionals working on issues related to violence against women and its impact on women, their families, and society in general.
- Include in relevant information about human rights, women's rights, and violence against women in the educational curricula of Egyptian mass communication courses,
- Train media professionals, from different generations and fields, on portrayals of violence against women from the economic, social, cultural, and legal perspectives. Moreover, provide information about local, regional, and international laws related to human rights and women's rights. The NCW should participate with human rights civil society organizations and media training institutes (including university institutes) in sponsoring such training. Encourage the Syndicate of Journalism to train journalists from the national, party, and independent newspapers. The Syndicate has specific authority to adopt and implement the journalists' code of ethics and to penalize violators.
- Coordinate with public production organizations (e.g. an auxiliary of the Ministry of Information, the Media Production City and Cairo's Sound for Audio and Video Company, and the production sector in the Radio and Television Union), the producers, and television and cinema drama writers to establish a policy of combating violence against women and dealing with the issue in a sensitive manner.
- Produce public service announcements on the issue of violence against women for television stations, particularly primetime. The NCW has already funded four such messages.
- Continue the dialogue between the NCW the news media, and drama writers and producers, expanding participation to critics and academics.
- Consider the media as a key player in the educational and development process of society and an indispensable partner rather than simply entertainment.