Egyptian Press Coverage Of Sexual Violence Against Females

Aseel El Dessouky

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EGYPTIAN PRESS COVERAGE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALES

A Thesis Submitted to

Journalism and Mass Communication

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by

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Bachelor of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Despite the importance of the issue of sexual violence against females, not a single published study could be located that attempts to document quantitatively how the Egyptian press covers sexual violence against females. Thus, the present study constitutes a first effort to provide a systematic foundation for the analysis of coverage of sexual violence crimes against females in the Egyptian press. It is believed that studies of this kind will benefit all members of society.

A longitudinal content analysis of the coverage of sexual violence against females in *Al Ahram* newspaper over a 14-year period (1980-1993) is undertaken. This is to determine the amount of press coverage of sexual violence against females in Egypt; the nature, characteristics and display of coverage of sexual violence against females; the habits, policies and strategies the Egyptian print medium utilizes in its coverage of sexual violence against females; the content of the coverage by the Egyptian press of sexual violence against females in terms of direction and orientation; and the gender of reporters of sexual violence against females and their customary sources of information about the issue.

Further, the study will also explore the correlation, if any, between the coverage of sexual violence against females in *Al Ahram* and Egyptian official sex crime statistics overall the 14 years of the study (1980-1993). The idea is to test whether the Egyptian press coverage on sexual violence against females reflects reality accurately and representatively. This study also investigates whether there is a connection between the expansion or contraction of press coverage of sexual violence against females and the increase or decrease in sex crime rates in Egypt.

*Al Ahram* newspaper is chosen for the analysis because it has a high circulation rate. In addition, the decision to use the 14-year period of the study (1980-1993) is based on the occurrence of two prominent sex crime cases that are believed to have affected sex crime coverage in the Egyptian press. The two cases are the Maadi gang rape of 1985 and the Attaba sexual assault of 1992. The study begins with the year 1985, so as to give an account of coverage of sexual violence against females before the occurrence of the Maadi gang rape. It ended with 1993, because the latest available crime statistics book at the time the study commenced was for the year 1993.

Moreover, no sample is drawn for this study. All of *Al Ahram* newspaper’s articles on sexual violence against females are employed, and all sex crime cases reported in the Public Security Bureau’s sex crime statistics (generated from police files) are included.

This study revealed that sex crime articles are covered largely by males, and male sex crime news sources outnumber female sex crime news sources. Also, law personnel (lawyers, judges and law professors), Islamic scholars and police officers have better access to the press when dealing with sex crime than experts on the issue such as psychologists, sociologists and feminists. Also, while *Al Ahram* journalists give priority to the reporting of gang rapes, they give little attention to rape attempts.
In addition, the findings indicate that the issue of sexual violence against females receives significantly little attention in the Egyptian press, in terms of amount, size and display of its coverage. Besides, readers are getting very little background information, thorough explanations or in-depth analysis in the coverage of the sex crime issue. The majority of sex crime articles don’t cover reasons for sexual violence against females. However, the ones that do, highlight the economic, moral decadence and decline of religious values as reasons for sexual violence against females. On the other hand, pornography and psychological characteristics of offenders are rarely mentioned as reasons for sexual violence against females.

The data also show that the Maadi gang rape (1985) is the major turning point in the coverage of sexual violence in Al Ahram, and the Attaba sexual assault (1992) is the sex crime that had tremendous impact on the increase of sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press. Further, it is discovered that government policy and prevention methods are by far the dominant concerns of reporters on the sexual violence against females issue. Lastly, it is shown that sex crime rates in Egypt are unrelated to the amount of sex crime coverage in Al Ahram. This supports the assumption that the press filters reality rather than mirror it.

Considering the traumatic impact of sexual violence on its victims, their families and society as a whole, it is better to uncover sex crimes so as to avoid their repetition than to let them occur without any publicity. Since the media have great influence, it is necessary to use them in bringing the sexual violence against females problem into public view, and to communicate through them the realities about sexual violence against females. Further, reporters and news sources of sexual violence against females must reflect the gender diversity of the world.
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INTRODUCTION
VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALES

Unspeakable crimes against women are not new. The history of violence against women is nearly an endless one, that reaches back into man's history as far as records take us (Amir, 1971). In addition, violence against women and girls by men and boys, is very common (Lindsey, 1984). It is a widespread global problem, crossing boundaries of culture, geography, race, ethnicity, class and religion (Russell, 1975).

A vast number of women are now suffering and dying from various forms of violence worldwide, including infanticide, genital mutilation, rape, murder, wife battering, and sexual harassment (UNFPA, 1991).

From childhood through adulthood, the lives of too many women are shadowed by the threat of sexual violence (Gilbert, 1991). Documented evidence reveals that sexual violence against females starts early in life. A third of the women in Barbados, Canada, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and the United States report sexual abuse during childhood or adolescence (UNICEF, 1995).

Sexually abused children are denied the opportunity to develop normally in mind and body, and are deprived of security. They carry scars from their devastating experiences into their adult lives that will not allow them to appropriately contribute to their families and societies (Kendall-Tackett, Williams, and Finkelhor, 1993). Moreover, the findings of Kendall-Tackett et al. (1993), in a review of 45 studies dealing with sexually abused children, suggest that sexually abused children have more symptoms of fear, depression, aggressiveness, poor self-esteem, and cruelty than non-abused children.

Not only are children sexually abused, they are, also, forced into prostitution. An estimated one million children in Asia, mostly girls, are forced into prostitution annually. In addition, about a hundred million girls suffer genital mutilation (UNDP, 1995).
Using a combination of surveys and reported crime in the United States, the FBI estimates that one woman in six is raped in her lifetime (Farrell, 1994). Therefore, being attacked is something all women need to think about. Rape takes place anywhere (at work, university, home, etc.) and at any time of the day (Pocharski, 1989).

Sexual assaults at work continue to be a serious threat to women workers. Schneider’s (1991) study of 64 cases of attempted or completed workplace rape uncovered that these victims avoid public revelation of the assault and suffer in silence. They neither quit nor complain.

Sexual violence against females is a deeply terrible crime. It destroys the fundamental sense of autonomy and privacy of the victim. Her body is used as an object and her humanity is degraded (Amir, 1971; Baron and Straus, 1989; Denmark and Friedman, 1985; and Russell, 1975). Rape is a man’s way of asserting that men belong to a caste superior to women (Brownmiller, 1975; and Russell, 1975). In a few minutes a man can reduce a strong, assertive woman to a pleading, sobbing and hysterical one (Russell, 1975). Rape introduces trauma and distrust between the victims and those close to her, often destroying marriages, families and careers (Frankel, 1991; King and Webbs, 1981; Russell, 1975; and Schneider, 1991); and little do the police, the press and the public at large understand or even sympathize with these troubles (Denmark and Friedman, 1985; Feldman-Summers, 1981; Field, 1978; and Schreiber, 1990).

Rape victims become trapped in a cycle of injustice as a result of being victims of a violent crime through no fault of their own (Rogers, 1984). Rape gives a clear example of women's real place in society. When a person is robbed, the robber is put on trial; when someone is murdered, the murderer is tried; but when a woman is raped, it is the woman as well as the rapist who are put on trial (Russell, 1975). Even after two decades of feminist attempts to educate the public about rape, women are still blamed for it, stigmatized or run out of town for it, and are still commonly portrayed as unchaste liars by the press and the public (Al Saadani, 1992; Hood, 1989; Hunt, 1989; and Roger, 1984).
Moreover, viewed against other forms of crime, rape is an unusual type of crime. No other serious crime is more difficult to detect than rape. Also, victims of rape cannot count on the sympathy or at least benefit of the doubt from the public and police that is accorded victims of other violent crimes (Feldman-Summers, 1981; Field, 1978; McCorkle, 1993). Additionally, there is considerable disagreement as to what constitutes a "real" rape, this is portrayed in the controversy over acquaintance and marital rape (Gibbs, 1991; Gilbert, 1991; Jesri, 1996; Kurz, 1989; Neimark, 1991).

Furthermore, in many countries, it is illegal for a husband to physically abuse his wife. However, many still treat domestic violence as a private family matter that doesn't warrant outsiders' intrusion (Kornblum, 1993). Many victims come to accept beatings as something that inevitably accompanies women's inferior status in homes and societies. Conditioned from birth to esteem themselves only in terms of their ability to serve and satisfy others, many women respond to violence by looking first to their own faults, blaming themselves, justifying their attackers, and hiding the tears and the bruises from the outside world (Kurz, 1989).

Surveys in recent years indicated that about a quarter of the world's women are violently abused in their homes. Community-based surveys have yielded higher figures of women abused in their homes. It reaches 60 percent in the Republic of Korea, and 80 percent in Pakistan and Chile (UNICEF, 1995). Studies in Mexico proved that two-thirds or more of married women have experienced domestic violence. In Germany, approximately four million women a year suffer from domestic violence (UNDP, 1995). Further, in the United States, domestic violence is the biggest single cause of injury to women, accounting for more hospital admissions than all accidents combined (Gilbert, 1991). Such figures suggest that "a marriage license is a hitting license" (Kurz, 1989, p. 490). Aside from that, domestic violence against females may end in murder. More than half of all murders of women in Bangladesh, Brazil, Kenya, and Thailand are committed by present or ex-partners (UNDP, 1995).
Furthermore, violence against females incidence increases during wars. Women are among the worst sufferers of wars. The UN has documented the systematic rape and killing of 30,000 Bosnian and Croat women (Horvath, 1993). It has, also, been confirmed that rape camps were set up by Serbian soldiers (O'Kane, 1993).

No one should be surprised by what has happened in Bosnia. It has happened everywhere as part of war; whether it was the Roman Empire, Crusades, Korea, Vietnam, or Bosnia, men have been raping women since men went to war (O'Kane, 1993).

In other words, sexual violence pursues women’s lives in peace and in war. In “Such a Nice Young Man,” Sikes (1992) specifically addresses the sexualized serial murder of women by men. Edmund Kemper’s case is given as an example of the horror of sexual murders. He stabbed a pair of hitchhikers, shot three girls, and strangled a young female student. After having sex with his dead victims, he would dismember their bodies (Sikes, 1992). Another example of a woman killer is Ed Gein. He was a farmer who skinned women to fashion furniture and death masks (Lamar, 1989).

Caputi (1989) insists that when one considers the sexual murders of women, those killed by husbands or boyfriends, and the physical and sexual assaults on women, then one will agree that "What men call peacetime is truthfully a global war on women" (p. 453).

In sum, rape is not an equal opportunity problem, although men can be raped it is mainly a crime committed against women (Gibbs, 1991; Gilbert, 1991; UNDP, 1995). The fact that rape largely affects only one segment of the human race makes it so unfair and so significant (UNDP, 1995). Measures have to be taken to protect women against violence in everyday life, within the family, at the workplace, at university, and in any other area of social life (Finkel and Vice, 1990; and Malcom, 1989). In fulfilling this aim, all the socialization agents have to be utilized, and especially the mass media, which is a major socialization agent in our world today (Wilson, Linz, Donnerstein and Stipp, 1992).
DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Sexual violence against females represents the most extreme example of human aggression and violence aside from war (UNFPA, 1991), yet many sexual violence victims interviewed by Russell (1975) said the attack itself is only the first in a string of injustices against them. For example, rape victims are isolated and blamed by society members, and they are mistreated by the press and in courts (Denmark and Friedman, 1985). The media can be used to help in changing the status quo, since they are a socialization agent of great power (Friedlander, 1993).

To begin with, it is important to evaluate what sexual violence against females messages are being communicated by the press to its readers. Despite the issue’s importance, not a single published study could be located that attempts to document quantitatively how the Egyptian press covers sexual violence against females. Thus, the present research constitutes a first effort to provide a systematic foundation for analysis of coverage of sexual violence crimes against females in the Egyptian press. It is believed that research of this kind will benefit all members of society.

Therefore, a content analysis of Al Ahram newspaper is undertaken to determine the characteristics and nature of coverage of sexual violence against females in terms of content and display; the articles’ attitudes toward sexual violence against females; and the focus of the editorial items, whether on the issue of sexual violence against females or on a sex crime event. Al Ahram newspaper is chosen for the analysis because it has a high circulation rate of 1,228,281 (Willing, 1996) and estimates of its total readership range higher than the circulation number (the newspaper issue that is bought by one person can be read by several of his family and friends) (Donahue, 1983). Data are collected from Al Ahram over a period of fourteen years, from January 1, 1980 through
December 31, 1993, a period characterized by an increase in press coverage of sex crime.

In addition to the content analysis of Al Ahram's coverage of sexual violence against females, an analysis of the annual number of sex crime cases as a real-world indicator of Al Ahram's annual coverage of sexual violence against females is included. The annual rate of reported sex crime cases in Egypt is obtained from the Public Security Bureau's crime statistics book for the 14-year period of the study (January 1980 to December 1993).

No sample is selected for this study. It has been preferred to study all the articles dealing with sexual violence against females in Al Ahram from 1980-1993. Hence, no caution must be taken in drawing conclusions from the acquired data of the study. Nonetheless, any generalizations have to be limited to Egypt and to the time span of this study.

PURPOSE

This thesis is first and foremost an analysis of the way the Egyptian press covers sexual violence against females in Egypt. It's an effort to present a clear idea of what the Egyptian press coverage of sexual violence against females in Egypt was and is like, so as to provide the public and media personnel with a comprehensible picture of the coverage of sexual violence against females. In other words, the goal is to try to make a start toward broadening and deepening others' understanding of coverage of sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press. This is of great importance, because by knowing the method by which the media cover an issue, journalists can better grasp how to report it themselves (Snyder, 1992). Also, it may help Egyptian press personnel to avoid old mistakes, if any, in their future coverage of sexual violence against females. In addition, it can show Egyptian journalists and editors whether they have been giving the sexual violence against females issue adequate or inadequate attention. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to bring the sexual violence against females issue
into the open, and to make the media cover it in a way that will help its victims and expose its causes.

More specifically, the research is being done to draw some ideas and to reach some conclusions about the extent of press coverage of sexual violence against females in Egypt; the nature, characteristics and display of press coverage of sexual violence against females in Egypt; the habits, policies and strategies the Egyptian print medium utilizes in its coverage of sexual violence against females; and the content of the coverage by the Egyptian press of sexual violence against females in terms of direction and orientation. Moreover, this study is designed to find an answer to the question of the adequacy with which the Egyptian press fulfills its basic function of informing and educating the public, when it tackles the issue of sexual violence against females.

Furthermore, the thesis will also explore the correlation, if any, between the Egyptian print medium coverage of sexual violence against females and Egyptian official sex crime statistics. The idea is to test whether the Egyptian press coverage of sexual violence against females is distorted. Therefore, the annual quantity of Al Ahram's sexual violence against females content is compared to the Public Security Bureau's annual sex crime statistics (generated from Egyptian police files), to determine whether the Egyptian press coverage about sexual violence against females reflects reality accurately and representatively. Meaning, does the press mirror or reflect what happens in the society? This study, also investigates whether there is a connection between the expansion or contraction of press coverage of sexual violence against females and the increase or decrease in sex crime rates in Egypt.
DEFINITION OF RAPE

An important first step is to understand what rape means. In the most general sense, rape can be defined as a sexual act forced on an individual against his or her will by threat of physical force (Cann, Calhoun, Selby and King, 1981). First, both females and males are raped. In fact, about 10 percent of rape victims are men, but they rarely report the crime (Gibbs, 1991). Second, victims are often forced to fellate their attackers, or are orally or anally raped. Also, penetration of the vagina by the penis or any other object, such as a stick or bottle) is common (Amir, 1971).

Moreover, sexual relations with a mentally retarded or insane woman, providing the man knows of her condition, is considered as forcible rape. This is because she has no mental capacity to consent (Amir, 1971).

Legally, there are two kinds of rape cases. The first is a rape that definitely happened, and the question is whether the police have the right suspect. The second questions whether there was a rape at all (Baron and Straus, 1989).

An example of the first kind of rape is when the victim doesn't know any of the defendants, and it cannot be proven that she had sex with them willingly (Russell, 1975). On the other hand, if it is established that the participants in the rape were previously acquainted, the general assumption of judges, lawyers or ordinary people is that the woman consented (Johnson, Palileo, and Gray, 1992).

Furthermore, there's variation in the meaning of rape, and what sexual acts constitute it, in different cultures (Brownmiller, 1975). Some societies' definition of rape is extended to include forced homosexual acts or sexual acts forced on men by women (Gibbs, 1991). Others define forced intercourse in marriage as rape (Kurz, 1989). But the most commonly used definition of rape is, an act of sexual intercourse with a female not one's wife against her will and consent, whether her will is overcome by force or fear of force (Brownmiller, 1975).
As can be detected from the definition of rape given above, in most countries a woman gives up her legal right to refuse intercourse with her husband when she marries (Kurz, 1989). In Islam, a man has the right to have sex with his wife whenever he pleases and it's a sin if a wife rejects her husband's sexual advances (Al Jindii, 1990). Similarly, and since Egypt is an Islamic country, a man cannot be charged with raping his wife (Jesri, 1996). Actually, refusing to sleep with a husband is grounds for divorce without any rights (Hatem, 1996). In other words, a woman is expected to be always sexually available for her husband, regardless of her wishes (Russell, 1975).

On the other hand, rape within marriage exists and is now considered a crime in 20 American states. In the rest of the states, wife rape is not considered a crime unless there's gross brutality (Gibbs, 1991). Additionally, husbands can be charged with rape under Canadian laws (Kurz, 1989).
SEX CRIME IN EGYPT

In ancient Egypt a rapist was punished by castration (Ayoub, 1996). Likewise, under William the Conqueror, the penalty for raping a virgin was castration and loss of both eyes - unless the violated woman agreed to marry her attacker, which she was often pressured to do (Gibbs, 1991).

Moreover, rape in Islam goes under *Had Al Harba* crimes, which are crimes that violate the society as a whole. Criminals who carry out such crimes are to be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off, or be expelled out of the land (Al Jindii, 1990).

Rape in Egypt is defined as intercourse with a female without her consent through use of force or the threat of bodily harm (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992). Although not stated in the law, forced intercourse with one's wife is not considered rape in Egypt (Jesri, 1996).

On the other hand, sexual assault in Egyptian law is any act that violates a person's sexual freedom and embarrasses him. It doesn't have to be committed on any part of the victim's body. Nevertheless, in practice, the courts classify sexual assaults as acts committed on an intimate part of the victim's body whether a female or male (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992). Sexual assault against a female ranges from undressing the victim to inserting an object in her vagina (Ayoub, 1996).

In Egypt, rape and sexual assault laws continued unchanged from 1937 until 1992 (Ramadan, 1992). The following section is an account of the Egyptian criminal law dealing with rape and sexual assault prior to 1992.

1. The sexual assault law prior to 1992 stated that: Whoever commits a sexual assault against a human being by force or threat, or attempts this gets an imprisonment sentence of three to seven years (Ramadan, 1992).
2. The sentence increases to 15 years imprisonment if the offender is a relative, guardian, or one of the victim's employees; if the victim is under seven years old, mentally retarded or insane; if the offender was under drugs or had a weapon; if the offender intoxicated the victim; if two or more people participated in the crime; or if the crime was committed in public (Ramadan, 1992).

3. The penalty increases to life imprisonment if two of the above conditions are present in the circumstances of the crime (Ramadan, 1992).

The laws dealing with rape in Egypt prior to 1992 were:

1. Law 267 stated that whoever has intercourse with a female forcibly and against her will or with a female child under sixteen years old with or without her consent is guilty of rape. On conviction, he shall be sentenced to undergo temporary or permanent imprisonment (Baraka, 1992).

2. Law 290 covers the kidnap and rape situation. It states that execution is the penalty for kidnapping by trickery or force a female and raping her (Egyptian Research Police Institution, 1992).

These sex crime laws were supposed to defend the social structure, and protect the security of young or inexperienced women. However, the 1992 Attaba sexual assault (discussed later on in this section) proved the laws to be insufficient (Al Saadani, 1992). Under the pressure of public opinion and the outrageousness of the Attaba crime, the Egyptian government and legislators quickly toughened the sex crime laws (Ramadan, 1992).

The sex crime laws were reformed to harshen the punishment sentences for its criminals. The penalty for rape was increased to execution if the offender was an employee, a relative or a guardian of the victim; if two or more rapists were involved; or if the crime was committed in public (Ayoub, 1996).

Similarly, the penalty for sexual assault by force was increased to execution in some cases. These were if the crime was committed publicly; if the offenders were more than one or under drugs; or if the criminal had a weapon (Ayoub, 1996).
 Nonetheless, in spite of all these legal reforms, a rapist can still get off the hook. According to General Tawfik Galal Abd Allah, head of the information department of the Public Security Bureau (1995), if a man is willing to marry the woman he raped, the police officers try to convince her family to accept. If they marry, rape charges are dropped in accordance to Law no. 291 (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992).

In addition, to present a solid rape case, the victim has to go through a medical examination which indicates signs of resistance and forceful penetration by penis. Also, her character and reputation are used in court as evidence for her complaint (Wafa, 1994).

Sex crime has only recently been recognized as a widespread and serious problem in Egypt. Earlier, Egyptian government officials have either denied the problem or have failed to deal with it effectively (Al Saadani, 1992). It is an old kind of crime that attracted a new kind of attention from the government, legislators, social agencies, police, media and public (Ayoub, 1996).

The fact is that the vast majority of sex crimes are not reported to the police (Abd Allah, 1995). Egyptian society’s beliefs, customs, and values prevent most people from pressing charges. Male domination of women is seen as a natural right in this morally conservative culture; accordingly, rape is viewed as a sexually motivated crime in which the victim, in contrast to the victims of other crimes, is also responsible. Thus, rape victims and their families try to avoid the scandal. They react to it depending on the environment they live in; for example, in some rural areas, upper Egypt, and some urban slums (where lower economic classes live) the rape victim and the rapist are occasionally killed to protect the family honor and reputation. On the other hand, some rape victim families “draw the curtains to shut up any rumors and try to forget,” especially if no permanent injury was caused by the rape (Abd Allah, 1995).

Therefore, the sex crime numbers in the police files are not representative of the real size of the problem in the Egyptian society (Abd Allah, 1995). The
Public Security Bureau's annual crime statistics indicate that only 203 sex crime cases took place in Egypt in 1994 (Public Security Bureau, 1995).

In the rare case of a reported rape, the temptation is to treat it as an exceptional event, shocking and frightening (Wafa, 1994). That was the response of both society members and governmental officials when the Maadi gang rape and the Attaba sexual assault took place.

These two specific cases are the most prominent sex crime cases in Egypt in the past decade. Each case became a major event for the print medium, and was analyzed in newspapers and magazines (Ayoub, 1996). In addition, the Maadi girl's case was the basis for the Laila Alwi's film "The Rapists" (Lasheen, 1989).

It is particularly important to examine these two crimes, because of the fact that they were so widely reported and therefore, so frequently discussed. The Maadi gang rape took place on the 17th of January 1985. An 18-year-old girl was with her fiance in his car at a remote area in Maadi, when five men threatened them with knives and abducted the girl after beating her fiance. They took her to a room provided by a sixth person. There they repeatedly raped her (Mostafa, 1986).

The verdict for the Maadi case was reached in May 1986. Two of the defendants got an execution sentence, which was carried out in June 1987 (Lasheen, 1989). The four other criminals got different imprisonment terms, ranging from five years to life (Lasheen, 1989).

The Maadi gang rape, aided by the press, transformed rape from a private, largely invisible matter, to one viewed as a social problem (Ayoub, 1996). It became an important landmark in the history of Egyptian sex crimes (Lasheen, 1989). The reason for this may be because the victim was an upper class educated female and her attackers were low class illiterates.

Furthermore, in March 1992 during the holy month of Ramadan, another notorious sex crime occurred. This time in Attaba square, the most crowded square in Cairo. It involved two men who allegedly sexually assaulted a 23-year-
old secretary, who lost her virginity on the steps of a public bus (Al Kholy and Abd Rabo, 1992; and Request for Presence, 1992).

The Attaba sexual assault was shocking because of its brutality (loss of virginity by inserting a finger in the victim's vagina), in public and during Ramadan. It wasn’t carried out because of desire, since there was no intercourse involved (Baraka, 1992). Moreover, this crime aroused a public display of mourning (Al Saadani, 1992; Baraka, 1992; and Wafa, 1994) because, first, men could readily identify with the suspects. Both suspects were not drug addicts and were ordinary men, one was even an invalid who graduated from the university (Al-kholy and Abd Rabo, 1992; Baraka, 1992; Request for Presence, 1992; and others) which proved that a woman is not safe anywhere. Also, the victim was an ordinary girl who had a good reputation and was dressed respectively (she was veiled). She wasn’t in a remote area with her lover, she didn’t run away from her family and wasn’t walking alone in the street as is usually expected (Baraka, 1992; and Wafa, 1994). This meant that any girl can be raped. Above all, this crime had a shattering impact on all Egyptians. Women were afraid to go out alone and parents were concerned for their daughters safety (Wafa, 1994).

Sex crime became the issue that wouldn't go away in the press (Mohamed, 1993). People demanded that the government confront sex crime on the national level and take action (Ramadan, 1992). Therefore, the government hastily revised sex crime laws (mentioned in more details at the beginning of this section).

Nevertheless, and in spite of witnesses testimonies and medical proof, the judges acquitted the defendants in the Attaba case on the bases of contradictory witnesses' testimonies and insufficient evidence (Ramadan, 1993). The truth remains that this girl was the subject of extreme victimization (Wafa, 1994). She lost her virginity and honor, and paid a 50-pound fine imposed by the court for false accusation. Moreover, the suspects threatened to apply for a million pound compensation (Ramadan, 1993).
Additionally, the outcome of this crime makes many people believe that any rapist can rape and feel safe from punishment, either because he can escape from in front of everybody or because convictions in these cases are impossible (Wafa, 1994).
THE STATUS OF WOMEN

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE WORLD

To fully understand sexual violence against women and its coverage in the media, it was thought suitable to take a look at the status of women globally and on a localized Egyptian level. In 1979, the United Nations approved the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). This has been an important step towards eliminating legal and other forms of discrimination against women. Although 139 countries have signed it, 41 UN member states have not signed it, six have signed without officially sanctioning it, and 43 have officially approved with reservations on some of its aspects (UNDP, 1995). Also, the world conferences on women in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) have helped in raising national and international awareness of gender inequality issues (UNDP, 1995).

Moreover, equal enjoyment of human rights by women and men is a universally accepted principle, reaffirmed by the Vienna declaration adopted by 171 countries at the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993. Some of its aspects are:

- Equal access to basic social services, including education and health.
- Equal opportunities for participation in political and economic decision-making.
- Equal protection under the law

But despite this persistent effort to secure protection for individual rights and to equalize opportunities between men and women, discrimination against women still exists in most societies. There are widespread practices of bride-
payment, forced marriages, circumcision, wife battering, rape, and polygamy (Eisler, 1987).

Under the existing double standard of human rights and women’s rights, the killing of dishonorable and deviating females for the culturally approved family honor; the physical punishment of disobedient wives by their husbands; the imprisonment of women through traditions confining them to houses and restricting their movement, so as to hide them from men; and the barbarism of mutilating and torturing millions of girls and women through female circumcision are somehow not perceived as mutilations, tortures, killings, and imprisonment that violate human rights. Rather, they are considered unfortunate aspects of women’s fate in countries with different customs (Eisler, 1987).

Women still constitute 70 percent of the world’s poor and two-thirds of the world’s illiterates (Dickey, 1994). Women occupy only 14 percent of the world’s managerial and administrative jobs. Also, they often work longer hours than men, but much of their work remains unvalued, unrecognized and unappreciated (UNDP, 1995).

Moreover, political positions are monopolized by men. Although women constitute half the voting population, they hold 10 percent of the world’s parliamentary seats and 6 percent of its cabinet positions (UNDP, 1995). With women’s participation in political and legislative decision-making constrained everywhere, no society can claim that women are participating adequately in formulating the laws under which they live.

The clearest reflection of the low status accorded to women is the discrimination against them in the law. Women do not enjoy the same protection and rights as men in the laws of many countries (UNDP, 1995). In Egypt, for example, women are not treated as equal to men in rights of inheritance and laws related to marriage (Hatem, 1986). In other words, the equality of women is not yet assured in many societies by law, let alone in practice.

Another point that has to be stressed is that restricting women's lives and opportunities hinders the process of development. As the UNICEF (1995)
publication puts it, "The enormous contribution that a woman makes to family, community, and national life depends upon her knowledge and strength, her morals and personal relationships, the support of her family and community, her participation in the affairs of the wider world, and her sense of command over the forces shaping her life" (p. 26).

WOMEN'S STATUS IN EGYPT

Egyptian women's struggle for their rights goes back to the early 1920s when the Egyptian Feminist Union was formed (Hatem, 1986). All Egyptian feminists were and are still fighting to improve the general status of women (Nawal El Saadawi, 1991). They highlight female problems such as female child abuse, female circumcision, marital rape and wife beating (Mohamed, 1993). For example, El Saadawi, a feminist who had been fighting for women's rights since the 1960s, publicized that sexual exploitation of women occurs in the family, as well as in public places, and blamed society in general and men in particular for the sexual domination of women (Badran, 1993).

In 1985 Egypt witnessed a strong movement toward the feminist cause by the launching of the Arab Women's Solidarity Association (AWSA) with El Saadawi as president (Nawal El Saadawi, 1991). AWSA served Arab countries and Arab communities in the West. It declared that:

Women's active participation in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the Arab World is essential for the realization of true democracy in Arab society (Badran, 1993, p. 142).

Examples of other informal feminist organizations that were founded during President Mubarak's rule but are still operating, are the New Women Group and the Communication Group for the Enhancement of the Status of Women in Egypt (Badran, 1993).

Egypt has officially approved the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) with reservation on some of its aspects in 1981 (UNDP, 1995). In addition, the Egyptian constitution gives women equal access to education, employment and work opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and social security (Hatim, 1986).

A discussion of the laws is relevant to the analysis of the control of and the progress made by women. A few examples from the Egyptian laws illustrates how differently men and women are treated by the law. Egyptian women married to foreigners cannot transfer citizenship to their husbands or children, though men in similar situations can (Hatim, 1986). Although Egyptian law, in accordance with Islamic law, gives women the right to possess and control property, they inherit only half as much as men (Hatim, 1986). Also, a husband's consent is necessary for a wife to obtain a passport, but not vice versa. In other words, women cannot leave the country without their husbands' permission (Hatim, 1986).

Moreover, women are not given equal right to divorce; only men have that privilege under Egyptian law. Whereas the law does not specify the grounds which justify the male's exercise of his right to divorce, it specifies the grounds which a woman can use to file for divorce. Women can ask for divorce in the cases of lack of male economic support, sexual impotence, serious illness, harm (includes physical or mental) and polygamy (on the condition that the first wife suffers from material or non-material harm that makes marital relations within her particular class difficult) (Jesri, 1996). However, since Egyptian law prohibits females to be judges, a male judge determines whether harm has occurred (Hatim, 1986).
If a woman is denied divorce, she is forced by the law to go back to her husband's house. If she chooses not to comply, she's declared nashiz (disobedient). A disobedient wife will not be granted a divorce and will not be supported by her husband (Hatem, 1986). Therefore, Egyptian women are forced to stay in a marriage against their will, because of the existing laws.

Egyptian women do not only suffer from being unequally treated by the law, but they also suffer from poor living conditions. The overall literacy rate in Egypt is 49 percent, and the illiteracy rates for adults are about 38 percent for men and 64 percent for women (UNDP, 1995).

Based on the above mentioned figures, one can presume that for the foreseeable future the central event in most Egyptian girls' lives will not be the day they get their diploma or their first paycheck, but the day they get married (Dickey, 1994).

The marriage market thrives in Egyptian poor villages during the summer, when Arab grooms from the Gulf come searching for teenage brides. Most of the Arab grooms are over 60 and were married before or are still married. The marriage may end with the end of the holidays, or it may prove to be successful and the girl becomes her family's main source of income (Dickey, 1994). As the annual per capita income in Egypt is $650 (UNDP, 1995), many poor villagers take the risk.

Furthermore, increasing unemployment and rising prices have made it necessary for a growing number of women to generate income to help support their families (Lewnes, 1992). The 1995 figures from the Human Development Report indicated that women constitute 10 percent of the labor force in Egypt (UNDP, 1995). This figure fails to record the vast number of informal activities that women carry out. Today, women are opening vegetable stands, raising poultry, cleaning houses, selling old clothes, sewing, and making handicrafts all to help with their families' living expense (Lewnes, 1992).

Beyond this, an increasing number of women are finding themselves the sole supporters of their families. As many as 12 percent of all households in
Egypt are financially supported by women (UNDP, 1995). The causes of the increase in the number of women acting as the sole heads of their households are widowhood and divorce (Lewnes, 1992).

Moreover, to make women's status worse, political positions are monopolized by men. Although women potentially constitute half the voting population, they hold only 2 percent of the seats in the Egyptian parliament and have a 4 percent share of ministerial level jobs (UNDP, 1995).

Based on the above information, it is clear that gender inequality in Egypt remains significant in the law and in educational, economical and political opportunities. Although no laws in Egypt restrict women's education, and political and economical participation, discrimination against women exists due to custom and tradition, lack of awareness among women of their rights, or lack of strict implementation of the laws (Badran, 1993). Women continue to be denied equal opportunities for political and economic participation. They also do not enjoy the same protection and right as men under Egyptian laws.
THE EGYPTIAN PRESS

Obviously, we cannot analyze the press' coverage of sex crimes unless we take into consideration the characteristics of the press of the country under study. The circumstances under which the reporter has to work are reflected in his or her reports (Cerbian, 1985).

The Egyptian press has repeatedly faced censorship and oppression, first from colonial rulers and then from the national government (Fisher, 1982). It was heavily censored after the 1952 revolution, but it came under government total control when it was nationalized in 1960 (Egypt, 1996). Newspaper editors during the 1960s did nothing but receive and carry out government instructions (Fisher, 1982). The censor's job was to examine every word before it was printed. Even literature, poetry and art material were censored. As a consequence, all Egypt's newspapers looked like government bulletins and periodicals (Fisher, 1982).

After President Sadat took power, he lifted censorship and in 1975 set up the Higher Press Council to supervise the press (Ochs, 1986). In addition, President Sadat issued Press Law no. 148 for 1980 which transferred the national press establishments' ownership from the ruling party to the state represented by the Shura Council (Egypt, 1996; Fisher, 1982; Naguib, 1992; Ochs, 1986). The 1980 Press Law also stressed newspapers' freedom in handling and publishing information, and journalists' independence (Naguib, 1992). It became inadmissible to violate a journalist's security for his views or for correct information he publishes. But there were limits. Theoretically, journalists had full rights to criticize the government openly, but in practice such criticism had to be gentle and constructive (Fisher, 1982).

Then came the rule of President Mubarak in 1981. In the opening session of the 1985 International Press Institution meeting in Egypt, President Mubarak outlined his own concept of journalism. "I am with the freedom of the press, but
a responsible press" ("24th General Assembly," 1985, p.1). The question is who judges what is responsible? Is it the state or the journalist? The concept of journalistic responsibility, as the political officials usually understand it, is one that would make journalists write by dictation and turn into government public relations personnel (Cebrian, 1985). Moreover, a demand for responsible press implies that the press needs to be restrained and preferably by itself. This self-censorship method impedes the flow of information just like under-reporting and omission of news (Boccardi, 1985).

In spite of what he has declared, President Mubarak gave considerable freedom to the press. Under him, both opposition and national newspapers criticize the ruler and the government (Egypt, 1996). It is now common in Egypt to see stories and caricatures criticizing the Prime Minister with open sarcasm, or calling for the resignation of a minister (Naguib, 1992).

Although, it cannot be denied that the Egyptian press took a big step on the path toward freedom, "The Egyptian press is not by any means an independent Fourth Estate" (Fisher, 1982, p. 312). Whether the Egyptian press enjoys freedom is arguable, since the state owns the three major newspapers and journalists are controlled by licensing arrangements (Ochs, 1986). Besides, the government controls the importation of all newsprint that Egypt consumes (Fisher, 1982). The press is the only section of the Egyptian media which is free to circulate news, so long as it adheres to permitted thoughts (Ochs, 1986). According to the Egyptian Press Law, destructive criticism, defamation, libel, sensation, and invasion of personal and family affairs are forbidden. Public prosecution for such offenses is headed by the attorney general. Also, the publication of information which government has classified as secret is a crime (Fisher, 1982). Beyond that, news about unrest is handled with extreme care and self-censorship. Reports of unrest in some cases have not been covered and in others have been minimized drastically (Ochs, 1986). In addition, anything that offends Islam is taboo (Fisher, 1982).
As the illiteracy rate in Egypt is estimated to be 51 percent overall and more than 75 percent in villages (UNDP, 1995), newspaper circulation is high in urban areas and low in rural areas (Ochs, 1986). There are four daily newspapers copies per 100 people in Egypt (UNDP, 1995).

Nonetheless, the press exercise a tremendous influence on the Egyptian people (Fisher, 1982). Today, it is common for people to gather together and discuss what was written in the daily newspaper. The opinions expressed in the newspapers affect local residents in great ways. “Egyptians are newspaper readers. They follow events closely” (Ochs, 1986, p. 109).

The weekly tabloid Akhbar el Hawadis (Crime News) which started in June 1992 sold 800,000 copies of its first edition. As the first paper in Egypt devoted to crime, accidents and human interest stories, it gives a sign that the country is opening up (Harney, 1992).

According to Mahmoud Salah, the editor of Akhbar el Hawadis, the newspaper reveals what exactly happened, who was involved and why. Moreover, the newspaper attempts to play a serious role in Egyptian society. It teaches people how to take care of themselves. It also includes a missing children’s page and a question-and-answer column on legal issues (Harney, 1992).

Unlike the press, television and radio in Egypt are under the monopoly control of the government. Mass media devices like cinema films and video tapes are censored (Fisher, 1982).
AGENDA-SETTING THEORY

Information about the current situation or an issue of public concern flows through both mass media and interpersonal channels. However, it is taken for granted that much of what people know about issues outside their immediate environment is learned through the media (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982).

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1982) theorize that media dependency is associated with the structure of a society. As society grows more complex, individuals have little or no access to interpersonal sources or direct experience with issues; thus, they become more reliant upon mass media for information needed to understand and participate in the general society. In other words, the more complex the social system, the greater the proportion of information that flows through the media (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982).

Similarly, in his book *The whole World is Watching*, Gitlin (1980) states that people rely on the media for concepts, for images of their heroes, for a recognition of public values, for symbols in general, and even for language. Additionally, Ericson, Baranek and Chan (1987) believe the press is particularly effective in shaping public opinion about crime because the media are the vehicle through which the public finds out about crime and judges its own risk to it. "Most people derive their understanding of deviance and control primarily from the news and other mass media" (Ericson et al. 1987, p. 3).

Likewise, Stroman and Seltzer (1985) assume that public perceptions of crime are, to a great extent, formed on the basis of information received from media presentation. The media provide details about crimes which enable users to discuss the causes of crime and solutions to the crime problem (Stroman and Seltzer, 1985).

The media are the major source of information about any issue for most people (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982; Friedlander, 1993; Lippmann, 1971; McCombs and Shaw, 1972; and Rogers and Dearing 1988). "The more the
media dominate the life of people, the more people learn from the media, and the less they learn from each other" (Friedlander, 1993, p. 80). Moreover, Lippmann (1971) study stresses that people react to the reality created by the media because they cannot possibly experience most of the events of the world personally. In such a situation, the mass media will influence the people's priorities and beliefs, and will have important consequences for their attitudes and behaviors (Cohen, 1963; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982; Lippmann, 1971; and Shaw and Martin, 1992).

This supports the agenda-setting theory, which hypothesizes that the issues people discuss, think and worry about are influenced by what the media publicize. This theory also states that members of the public judge the significance of a topic in relation to the extent it is emphasized in the media. The concentration by mass media on certain issues and subjects over a period of time generally leads to the public regarding them as more important than others (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Rogers and Dearing, 1988; Shaw and Martin, 1992; and Smith, 1987).

Specifically focusing on the agenda-setting function of the media, Cohen (1963) noted that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13). It is the media that determines which issues make the national agenda for discussion and action and which do not (Skorlich, 1990). The media select which stories to cover, which details of a story to include and emphasize, and how much space or time to give to a story (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Shaw and Martin, 1992; Rogers and Dearing, 1988; and Skorlich, 1990).

In choosing and displaying issues, mass media play an important role in shaping reality. People learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attribute to that issue from the way and amount of media coverage (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Shaw and Martin, 1992; and Skorlich, 1990).

Overall, the agenda-setting theory stresses that the media can influence the society because they have the power to put an issue on the agenda. An agenda is
a selection of items arranged to give some items more importance than others (Shaw and Martin, 1992). The agenda-setting theory also proposes an assumption of powerful, active media that set the public agenda of issues by filtering and shaping reality rather than by simply reflecting it (Weaver and Elliot, 1985).

On the other hand, the assumption that the media set the public agenda of issues by simply reflecting reality is as crucial to the idea of media agenda setting, as the assumption that the media set the public agenda by filtering and shaping reality. The emphasis given to issues in the media can be a reflection of what people are concerned about (Smith, 1987). Pritchard and Berkowitz (1991) study proves that letters to the editors do influence some American newspapers to emphasize certain topics in the news. Moreover, some people see the role of the media as neutral gatherers and transmitters of information (Weaver and Elliot, 1985). "We don’t make the news, we report it" said Richard Salant former president of CBS news (Shoemaker and Mayfield, 1985, P. 5).

Therefore, as has been documented above, the media both reflect and shape public opinion. Sometimes, the media reinforce established opinions by merely reporting events and echoing what is said by the public (Graber, 1984). At other times, they take a more active role, suggesting new views and challenging old ones (Gitlin, 1980). Hence, when the media report a sex crime, they are also reflecting the public opinions elicited by the crime.

Researchers have investigated the ways in which mass media content portray the world's reality. According to Lippmann (1971) and Shoemaker and Mayfield (1987), the media are not capable of fully and completely describing the world. They present the public with a selection of reports about what is happening in the world. In addition, Shoemaker and Mayfield (1987) observed that the media do not and cannot cover everything, and they are not and cannot be totally unbiased.

Furthermore, early agenda-setting studies found a strong relationship between the agendas of the public and media for presidential campaign issues.
For example, McCombs and Shaw (1972) investigated the agenda-setting capacity of the mass media in Chapel Hill during the 1968 presidential campaign. They compared Chapel Hill voters’ answers to questions about the key issues of the campaign with the actual content of the mass media. The data of this study suggested a very strong relationship between the emphasis placed on different campaign issues by the media and the judgments of voters on the importance of various campaign topics (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

Most media agenda-setting research carried out since McCombs and Shaw’s (1972) study tested the assertion that media emphasis on certain issues results in increased public concern over these issues. An example of such research was Smith’s (1987) eight-year-period study of the relationship between newspaper coverage and public concern about community issues.

Unlike election campaigns, community issues often have no definite beginning or ending point. At any given time, a number of individuals exist who are concerned about a particular issue (e.g., education, unemployment, crime etc.) either because of personal experience or media coverage of it over time. Smith (1987) data indicated that the number of people concerned about an issue grows and contracts depending upon the level of media coverage of the topic; that the peak of public concern about an issue closely coincides with peak media coverage of it; and that problems ranked high on media agenda tend to be ranked high among the public.

In sum, Smith (1987) concluded that the media play a key role in identifying social problems, and bringing to public awareness that these problems need solutions. This conclusion offered support for the assumption that the media filter rather than mirror reality. This assumption was further studied by Weaver and Elliot (1985) who explored whether media in Bloomington, Indiana, set the public agenda for issues by filtering reality or merely reflecting it. They examined the relationship between issues raised by town leaders in city council meetings and subsequent coverage of them in the local newspaper.
The results of the study proved that only 59 percent of all items discussed in the meetings were reported in the local newspaper. Weaver and Elliot (1985) also discovered that the reporter in consultation with editors, consciously downplayed and emphasized some subjects covered in the city council meetings depending on their judgment of what is newsworthy. In other words, Weaver and Elliot’s (1985) study showed that the selection processes and news judgments of media personnel do play a significant role in shaping the agenda, thus, further supporting an active filtering rather than a transmitting role for the media.

Explanations for the media not mirroring reality sometimes can be found in the answer to the question of what and who affect media content? Numerous factors affect media content. Some of them are the socialization and selection of journalists; ethics of journalists; constraints on journalists such as space limitations, deadlines, and difficulty in acquiring information; and policies of editors and publishers. Also, there’s no doubt that the content may reflect the biases of those who finance the media (e.g., advertisers, audiences, or government) (Shoemaker and Mayfield, 1987).

Based on the preceding discussion, it can be predicted that one of the variables that may influence perceptions of rape and its consequences is the way such assaults are presented in mass media (Check and Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth and Check, 1981; and Tieger, 1981). Like any other problem, sexual violence against females can be recognized as a social problem through the cooperation of the media. The media can increase the general public’s awareness of rape, assure them that rape myths are fictitious, and portray rape as a terrible crime (Wilson, Linz, Donnerstein and Stipp, 1992). For instance, although crimes of sexual violence against females have long existed in Egypt and a considerable number has been reported, the social problem of rape has only come to Egyptian popular consciousness in the last half of the 1980s following the media’s intensive coverage of the issue (Ayoub, 1996).
DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH CONTENTS

In the introduction chapter, different types of violence against females and their effects on the victim's life, career, relationships, and psychological and physical well-being have been discussed. Also, rape has been defined and its penalties have been covered; sex crime against females in Egypt has been examined; women's status in the world and on an Egyptian localized level has been related; Egyptian press history and characteristics have been described; and the agenda-setting theory has been explained.

The remaining discussion, on the other hand, will be organized into four chapters. The first chapter will include an extensive review of literature on all relevant research topics to the issue under study and a review of existing studies on that same issue. While the chief concern of this thesis is on coverage of sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press and its comparison with reality, it also attempts to place the issue of sexual violence against females in a broader and more understandable perspective by covering its major dimensions. These are: the crisis and aftermath of rape; the fear of rape; the devastating physical, psychological and social effects of rape on victims and their families; the amount of rape crime reporting; the relationship between sex-role stereotyping and rape; and the people's attitudes toward rape and rape myths that facilitate this kind of aggression.

The second section of this chapter (review of literature) will tackle how the media's presentation of rape affects perceptions of meaning and consequences of rape; it will draw upon the ideas of feminist writers on the relationship between pornography and rape; will illustrate media power and its pro-social effects; will deal with the portrayal of women in the media; and will review previous research on sexual violence against females coverage in the media.
This rich and diverse research agenda on psychological, social, criminological, legal, and media studies of sexual violence against females is crucial for providing media personnel, government officials and the public with background information and a comprehensive understanding of the issue under study. This could raise people's consciousness to the problem, lead to more informed coverage of sexual violence against females in the media, and make social change efforts more effective. Egyptian and Western research on the subject are discussed to develop an accurate, thorough and representative theoretical review of literature on sexual violence against females and its coverage in the media. The goal is to analyze ideas and societal practices and conditions that create an abusive social context for women and rape victims, which consequently will lead to abusive media coverage of sexual violence against females.

After reviewing previous research on sexual violence against females and its coverage in the media, there will be a chapter in which the study's design and methodology is presented. To start with, the importance of conducting this research will be specified. Then, the study's two research used methods: the content analysis of Al Ahram's coverage of sexual violence against females, and the correlation study of that coverage and the Public Security Bureau's sex crime statistics will be discussed. In addition, the reasons for selecting Al Ahram newspaper, the press and the time period of the research will be explained. Also, the sample and unit of analysis utilized in this research will be covered. Moreover, the research hypotheses will be stated, the research questions will be asked, and the research objectives will be emphasized in this chapter. Lastly, the designed categories of analysis of this research will be portrayed, and the concepts used in the research will be defined.

The subsequent chapter will review the findings of this research, illustrating tables and figures and discussing their implications. Beyond numbers, an analytical perspective is going to be presented.
Furthermore, the proceeding chapter will report the study’s recommendations, and refer to its limitations. After this chapter, the libraries consulted to gather the research's references and sources of information will be stated. Then, the research's appendixes will be added. At the end of the study, the utilized material (e.g., periodicals, books, interviews, and speeches) on the subject under study will be listed in the bibliography.
CHAPTER ONE

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT RAPE

INTRODUCTION

Thus far this paper has included information about rape, but more still needs to be known. Rape is an outrageous offense. According to the FBI's Uniform Crime Report, the number of attempted and completed rape cases in the United States is 92,490 for 1989 (Gilbert, 1991). The situation conveyed by the figure and unknown number of unreported rapes is deeply disturbing, since just the numbers represent an enormous amount of human suffering (Gilbert, 1991).

Koss, Gidycz, and Wisniewski (1987) completed a national survey of university students which provided alternative rape victimization estimates for data available from either the Uniform Crime Reports or the National Crime Survey. The subject of their 1984 to 1985 survey were 6,159 male and female undergraduates at 32 American universities. These researchers tried to overcome the inadequacies of government figures on rape by devising survey questions about sexual experiences that meet the legal definition of rape without using the word rape (Koss et al., 1987).

The principal finding of Koss et al.'s (1987) study was that rape occurred with greater frequency than was previously estimated. The survey revealed that 15 percent of the female students had been raped at some time in their lives, and another 12 percent had been victims of attempted rape. The saddest result of the survey was that 41 percent of the victims expected to be raped again (Koss et al., 1987). Another major finding of Koss et al.'s (1987) was that most women are raped by men they know, and that assault by strangers accounts for only one in five rapes.

According to Koss et al. (1987), 41 percent of the women raped were virgins at the time of the attack. Also, cited was the finding that the vast majority (75 to 91 percent) of rape victims cannot be differentiated from non-victims in
terms of personalities and circumstances of the rape—meaning that there is no such thing as a typical rape victim (Koss et al., 1987).

Moreover, one out of four male students surveyed by Koss et al. (1987) indicated that they had engaged in some form of forced sex, and one out of 12 admitted committing acts legally defined as rape or attempted rape; yet only one percent of these men identified their aggression as rape or attempted rape. Of the 131 men who had committed acts that met the legal definition of rape, 84 percent argued that what they did was definitely not rape (Koss et al., 1987).

Furthermore, Johnson, Palileo and Gray (1992) carried out a study to test the validity of the findings of Koss et al.'s (1987) concerning rape prevalence. They used a 1991 sample of students at a particular southern university (the university's name was not mentioned in the study).

In this replication, Johnson et al. (1992) used the same questions that were used by Koss et al. (1987). The sample size totaled 1,177 males and females. The findings showed that the prevalence of sexual victimization on a particular southern university campus was similar to that found in the national study conducted six years earlier by Koss et al. (Johnson et al., 1992).

FEAR OF RAPE

Fear of rape is a problem of considerable magnitude and consequences (Brownmiller, 1975; Riger and Gordon, 1981; Russell, 1975; and Warr, 1985). All women (those who fear rape and those who are raped) suffer as a result of the threat of rape (Rogers, 1984).

Through the centuries, women have been advised to be aware of their vulnerability and to avoid dangerous situations. "Don't travel alone, don't go to wild parties, don't go out alone at night, don't talk to strangers, or don't dress seductively" (Pocharski, 1989, p. 280). Being on guard is both emotionally and physically draining (Neimark, 1989).
Feminists argue that the threat of rape acts as an effective form of social control over women, keeping them in a state of anxiety, and encouraging them to restrict their behavior and movement (Brownmiller, 1975; and Russell, 1975). On the other hand, Ned Beatty, an actor who has played the role of a victim of rape in a movie, has discussed the effects of fear of rape on men. He says that if men "feel they can truly be rape victims, they will be discouraged to rape because fear of rape would be a better deterrent than the death penalty" (Beatty, 1989, p. E4).

Riger and Gordon (1981) carried out a study on the impact of sexual assault on the lives of men and women. Their data indicated that women fear crime more than men, and that nearly all women fear sexual assault at least some of the time, and about a third are very afraid most of the time. These women take so many precautions and impose restrictions on their behavior to the extent that they become prisoners in their homes (Riger and Gordon, 1981).

Similarly, Warr (1985) examined the impact of the fear of rape on women who have not been victimized. The study revealed that the fear of being raped is a genuine fear in the lives of a large proportion of women, particularly younger ones. Younger women fear rape more than any other crime (including murder) (Warr, 1985). The high fear attached to rape stems from the fact that it is perceived to be both extremely serious and relatively likely (Pocharski, 1989). Although the majority of rape attempts are directed toward women of childbearing age, women of all ages have been raped, from four-year-old girls to 90-year-old women (Harding, 1985).

Fear of rape significantly limits the freedom of women, and their opportunities and participation in public life, which in turn reduces the overall quality of their lives and personalities (Amir, 1971; Brownmiller, 1975; and Russell, 1975).
EFFECTS OF RAPE

Rape is a substantial problem since it affects the family, friends, and "significant others" of a victim, as well as the victim herself (Denmark and Friedman, 1985; King and Webbs, 1981; and Russell, 1975). Young raped females have to confront their parents; married raped women have to confront their husbands and children (Russell, 1975); raped women who press charges have to confront not only the police and court, but also the public (Rogers, 1984); and all raped women have to deal with their feelings about themselves (Gross, 1991).

Victims experience numerous painful post-rape physical, psychological and social problems. In most rape cases the use of force goes beyond what is necessary to compel the victim to act in accordance to the rapist's demands. Assault seems to be the important factor, not sex. This point is reinforced by the fact that group assaults tend to be more violent than individual assaults (Denmark and Friedman, 1985).

Among reported rapes, use of a weapon occurs in about 50 percent of the cases, 25 percent involve slapping the victim around, and 12 percent involve choking the victim. In addition, in 10 percent of the reported cases where the victim and rapist are strangers, the rape results in a battered victim suffering broken bones, internal injuries or knife and gun wounds (Neimark, 1989).

In addition, over 50 percent of reported sexual assaults involve behaviors other than vaginal intercourse. The most frequent behaviors are anal and oral intercourse, and insertion of objects (e.g., sticks, bottles and knives) in the victim's vagina (Harding, 1985).

King and Webbs' (1981) review of literature on the crisis and aftermath of rape suggests that the reactions most victims exhibit fall into three major categories: emotional responses, disturbances in functioning, and changes in lifestyle. Immediately following a rape and for many months after the incident has occurred rape victims exhibit fear of being home alone, fear of the occurrence
of another rape, fear of men they know and don't know, and fear of being killed or severely injured (Kilpatrick, Resick and Veronen, 1981; King and Webbs, 1981; and Russell, 1975). Kilpatrick et al. (1981) interviewed 20 adult victims of rape one month, six months and one year after the rape, and 20 non-victims at similar time intervals, to find out the psychological effects of a rape experience and how much effects change over time. Their data revealed that most rape victims are more anxious, fearful, suspicious, and confused than non-victims for at least a year after the assault.

Other feelings experienced by rape victims after a rape are feelings of depression, rage, guilt, shame and powerlessness (King and Webbs, 1981; and Russell, 1975). Feelings of guilt and shame appear to be experienced regardless of the circumstances surrounding the rape. Many victims believe that they did not resist strongly enough or that they should not have been in the situation in which the rape occurred. This feeling of self-blame is intensified when the women knows the rapist (Gross, 1991).

For some rape victims, the emotional pain may be unbearable and circumstances so daunting that they choose suicide. According to Lucy Friedman, the executive director of the Victim Services Agency in New York City, 16 percent of rape victims have nervous breakdowns and 20 percent attempt suicide as a result of being raped (Neimark, 1989).

In other words, some rape victims may take decades to recover of the emotional scars; others may never recover at all (Neimark, 1989; Rogers, 1984; and Russell, 1975). The women who don't commit suicide may have to live with phobias, suspicion, fear and instability for years. This is due to the fact that rape leaves a woman with feelings of guilt, anger, helplessness, worthlessness, uncleanness, mistrust, depression, and isolation (Denmark and Friedman, 1985; Frankel, 1991; Rogers, 1984; and Russell, 1975).

The above mentioned feelings and fears of rape victims following the rape will restrict their lives and freedom. Some rape victims may drop out of school, leave their homes or resign from work. They are more likely to go through life
as underachievers, unable to focus or concentrate on any job or career (Schneider, 1991; and Schreiber, 1990). Rape also alters victims' relationship with husbands, lovers and children (Russell, 1975). Rape victims may also voluntarily imprison themselves in their homes because they are afraid to go out alone (Frankel, 1991; and Malcolm, 1989). Additionally, there is a chance that these victims contact a fatal disease (e.g., AIDS), which will definitely change their lifestyle and make them feel doubly stressed and helpless (Frankel, 1991).

Moreover, women who have been raped frequently experience disturbances in function ranging from loss of appetite, excessive use of drugs and alcohol, nightmares and inability to trust, to sexual avoidance or dysfunction, social withdrawal and low self-esteem (King and Webbs, 1981; and Russell, 1975).

Unfortunately, rape not only affects the victims but many of the people close to and around her. For example, in the old days and in rural Egypt today, if a girl is raped, all her family would rise as one man to avenge and wipe out their shame. Many drastic blood feuds have started because of the raping of a single female (Abd Allah, 1995).

Moreover, if a child is conceived as a result of rape, chances that the mother will rear it to adulthood are slim. The mother may abandon it because she doesn't want anything to remind her of the incident when she was injured and humiliated. "Women don't raise with love children they got through hate" (Horvath, 1993, p. 12). Also, the mother may have been seriously injured by the attack or contracted a venereal disease which will affect her or her child's health (Horvath, 1993). These children are victims themselves.

Overall, a lot of women believe rape to be a fate worse than death (Abd Allah, 1995; and Russell, 1975). Psychologists have likened "rape trauma syndrome" (the long process of reaction and recovery from rape) to the post-war traumas men experience after living through combat (Kilpatrick et al., 1981).

The trauma of rape for victims comes not so much from the physical unpleasantness of the experience as from the fear or terror that often accompanies rape, the humiliation and outrage at being used as a mere object, or the
transformation of an intimate act into a completely impersonal one, used for the expression of hate, conquest, or contempt (Brownmiller, 1975; and Russell, 1975).

RAPE REPORTING

It is generally agreed that most of the rape victims do not report their victimization to the police or to other public authorities (Amir, 1971; Baron and Straus, 1989; Feldman-Summers, 1981; Gibbs, 1991; Johnson, Palileo, and Gray, 1992; and Schneider, 1991; among others). According to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, rape is the most seriously underreported of all the major crimes (Baron and Straus, 1989).

Since many incidents of rape are not officially reported, it is impossible to know exactly how many rape crimes are committed (Amir, 1971). However, estimates of unreported crime can be acquired from the U.S. annual National Crime Survey of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, which uses a probability sample of 59,000 households. Findings from these household interviews generally disclose that actual rape rates are between 50 to 140 percent higher than those reported to the local authorities (Gilbert, 1991). It is also believed that the estimate of underreporting is itself an underestimation, particularly in cases of date and acquaintance rape (Johnson et al., 1992).

Moreover, it is difficult to know if the increase in the recorded number of rapes is due to occurrence of more rapes or merely an increase in the reported rapes. Differences of rape numbers from country to country could be due to differences in the extent of women's unwillingness to report rather than actual differences among countries in rape numbers. Thus, countries with high rape rates might not have more rapes than countries with low rates, only more reported rapes (Baron and Straus, 1989).

Furthermore, the degree of the accuracy of police recordings of rape crimes is unknown. Police officers may purposely record less sex crimes than the ones
actually reported to them (Amir, 1971). This is because by under-recording the police can accomplish statistically a reputation of their cities being secure, which they can't fulfill otherwise (Amir, 1971). For example, an internal investigation of the Oakland police department found that officers ignore a quarter of all reports of sexual assaults or attempts (Gibbs, 1991).

Therefore, it is impossible to know from official statistics whether the number of rapes given represents changes in the occurrence of rape, changes in reporting rape, or changes in police recording practices. "The number of actual rapes remains a dark figure" (Amir, 1971, p. 29).

Feldman-Summers (1981) carried out a study to identify factors that influence a potential rape victim's intention to report or not report her sexual victimization to various agencies and individuals (e.g., police, husband, rape crisis center). A multiethnic sample of Black, Hispanic, Asian, and White was used in the study.

The findings showed that each racial group differed in its degree of willingness to report rape. White women portrayed a greater likelihood of reporting a rape than the other groups, especially when reporting to the police. Also, the study indicated that societal norms and values influence women's decision to report rape (Feldman-Summers, 1981).

Moreover, many victims may decide not to report because they fear offenders' retaliation, want to prevent publicity, are ashamed, or want to protect their reputation. In addition, the low reporting rate of rape crimes is due to the widespread belief in rape myths (e.g., victims cause their own rape by being provocative, careless or irresponsible) (Russell, 1975). Also, some rape victims are overwhelmed with guilt. They respond to their rape by blaming themselves, rather than the offender. Thus, they don't report the rape (Gross, 1991).

Another reason for the enormous lack of reported rapes is that police officers have an inclination to disbelieve rape victims and often treat them as if they were the offenders (Feldman-Summers, 1981). Police tend to be more suspicious of a rape victim than a victim of any other crime, since rape is often a
private crime with few, if any, witnesses (Field, 1978). Humiliating procedures at police stations that rape victims are frequently subjected to, offer few encouragement to report and pursue a legal complaint (Schneider, 1991).

Furthermore, victims are discouraged from reporting rape because of its legal proceedings. A rape victim starts by undergoing a physical examination, including a pelvic exam. This is helpful to find out the extent of physical injuries, to test for the possibility of venereal disease, and to collect evidence of the presence of semen or penetration by force in case of prosecution (King and Webbs, 1981). Although such corroborative evidence is not required by law, it is impossible to bring a charge and obtain a conviction without it (Rogers, 1984). A pelvic exam may impose further humiliation on the victim, and may contribute to the reluctance of victims to report the offense (King and Webbs, 1981).

Additionally, by not reporting victims try to avoid further ordeal and emotional injury caused by police questioning and court appearance. Testifying in court is the most traumatic experience for a rape victim after the rape itself. This is because she has to face her assailant(s) and endure cross-examination, which often makes her relive the assault and questions her reputation (Rogers, 1984). As a rule, prior unchastity of the female is no defense against the charge of rape. But, the assumption is that an unchaste female is more likely than not to consent to sexual intercourse in any given instance (Amir, 1971).

Women who press charges can expect to go on trial along with their attackers, in the courtroom and outside (Harding, 1985). "Throughout the ordeal, the victim feels as if she is being raped again, only this time by the legal system" (Wilson, Linz, Donnerstein, and Stipp, 1992, p. 192). Women face a heavy burden of proof. Attention within the legal process is focused on the victim's possible role in inducing the rape, whereas much sympathy is given to the rapist (Amir, 1971).

If a rape victim wants to put her attacker in jail, she has to be beaten as well as raped, since cuts, bruises and scars give credibility to the occurrence of the crime. Hence, a victim can get herself killed while struggling with her attacker to
prove she didn’t consent. There’s no other crime for which the victim is expected to report resistance to prove that the crime occurred (Amir, 1971). Absence of eyewitnesses or broken bones makes a case come down to her word against his, and the rape myths rarely give her the benefit of the doubt (Baron and Straus, 1989).

According to an attorney who had practiced for ten years, a rape case will have a little chance of reaching court unless the circumstances are particularly horrifying, or the man is witnessed or caught doing the act (Rogers, 1984). Thus, it is not surprising that most of the defendants in rape cases get acquitted. Rape has the highest acquittal rate of the four major violent crimes in the United States (rape, murder, aggravated assault, and armed robbery) (Deitz, Blackwell, Daley and Bentley, 1982). Rape has less than a 10 percent national conviction rate in the United States (Gibbs, 1991). Therefore, legal action seems hardly worth it.

Even if the victim, consciously or unconsciously, set up the situation which ended in rape, the fact remains that she is still the victim (Russell, 1975). The law must be, above all, concerned with the offender’s responsibility and not with that of the victim. Its task is to prevent victimization, whatever the responsibility one may attribute to the victim (Harding, 1985).

If it had not been for all the above mentioned factors that contribute to the low reporting rate of rape crimes, rape would have been the most reported crime. This is because of the injury inflicted upon the victims, the high social value placed on the protection of females, and the defense of sexual morality (Cann et al., 1981).

A female rape victim who doesn’t report will have to deal with the feeling of isolation and fear, and the risks of venereal disease and pregnancy. Experts believe that victims who don’t press charges will never heal. "They go from one victim position to another" (Frankel, 1991, p. 244). Most of them drop out of schools, colleges, jobs, and sometimes out of life (commit suicide) (Frankel, 1991).
Not only does the victim suffer in silence, but the public and political, medical, psychological, and sociological professionals are less likely to become committed to rape prevention or victim assistance if they are not confronted with the gravity and facts about rape (Baron and Straus, 1989).

Similarly, it is hard to dispel rape myths if the crime is so rarely exposed (Gibbs, 1991). Also, underreporting helps increase the number of rape crimes (Roger, 1984).
SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPING AND RAPE

A number of researchers has suggested that rape is a logical extension of male-female sex-role stereotypical socialization in which males are taught to be aggressive and dominant while females are taught to be passive and submissive (Baron and Straus, 1989; Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Check and Malamuth, 1983; Denmark and Friedman, 1985; Hood, 1989; Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988; Russell, 1975; and Sanday, 1981). In other words, they have proposed that normal sex-role socialization is responsible for shaping men into assailants and women into victims.

Hood (1989) has emphasized that rape is one way for men to prove their masculinity to themselves, and to others in societies that equate masculinity with dominance and sex with violence. Similarly, Russell (1975), based on interviews with 90 rape victims and a few rapists, has postulated that rape is an act conforming to common cultural qualities of masculinity, which emphasize power, dominance, strength, toughness, competitiveness, and aggression, and of femininity, which stress weakness, dependence, passivity and submission. According to Russell (1975), rape can be blamed on inappropriate socialization of males and females. For further elaboration, women are taught and encouraged not to trust men so as to insure their safety. But to be considered normal, women are socialized to entrust their lives to men (Sikes, 1992).

In another study, Burt (1980) interviewed a representative sample of 598 Minnesota adults, the purpose of which was to see if there is a correlation between people's attitudes about sexual behavior and their attitudes about rape. Several scales were used in this study: the Sex Role Stereotyping scale, which measures attitudes toward women's family; work, and social roles; the Adversarial Sexual Beliefs scale, which measures the belief that male-female relationships are exploitative and that men and women must not trust each other; and the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence scale which measures the belief...
that it is acceptable for men to use physical force against women in intimate and sexual relationships. The results of this study indicated that the endorsement of rape myths is correlated to strong stereotypical attitudes about the sexes, the belief that male-female relationships are deceptive, manipulative and exploitative, and the acceptance of violence against women (Burt, 1980).

Moreover, to understand social characteristics that allow rape to occur, Sanday (1981) examined the incidence, meaning and function of rape in 95 tribal societies. Information about these societies were found in the Human Relations Area Files. Comparing the characteristics of these societies with the incidence of rape crime, Sanday has discovered that rape-prone societies (where incidence of rape is high, rape is a ceremonial act, or rape is an accepted act by which men punish or threaten women) are characterized by a notable degree of gender inequality, greater tolerance of violence, glorification of aggression by men, separation of sexes, and competitiveness. Conversely, the study revealed that women in rape-free societies (where rape is either infrequent or doesn't occur) are respected influential members who are encouraged to participate in the economy and political system, and men are gentle, cooperative and involved in childrearing. In general, leadership in these societies is minimal and there is no attempt to control. Therefore, Sanday (1981) concluded that the incidence of rape varies according to the degree of power and status attributed to women in different societies; also, that rape is bred in an atmosphere of violence and that it is not determined by the biological nature of human beings. Rape, other forms of violence and gender inequality are expressions of cultural norms that develop under certain social conditions (Sanday, 1981).

Consistent with the foregoing studies, Martin and Hummer (1989) have carried out an analysis of the norms and practices of fraternity groups and their members. Their study showed that members of fraternity groups have a stereotypical conception of masculinity (e.g., it is dominance, willingness to drink alcohol, sexual power over women, athleticism, etc.), pervasiveness of violence and physical force, and an obsession with competition, superiority and
dominance. Thus, Martin and Hummer (1989) deduced that fraternities undermine perceptions and treatment of women as persons who deserve consideration and care and create an abusive social context for women.

Going back to this thesis’ main issue (sexual violence against females), the traditional sexual script with which men and women are frequently raised has to be discussed. Women are traditionally socialized to integrate sex, affection and love, and to be sensitive to what their partners want. Men, on the other hand, are socialized to look merely for sex and to be sexually aggressive (Russell, 1975). There are many double standards in male-female sexual relationships. For example, fidelity is expected from women but not men, and sex without affection is accepted from men but not from women. Also, it is considered socially desirable for a woman to appear sexy and yet if she appears to be too sexy, she’s labeled loose, promiscuous, or easy to get (Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988). In addition, a high number of sexual relationships has high status for males and low status for females (she is considered a whore). However, a male-dominated society has most women convinced that there is something wrong with a woman who doesn’t want to relate to or attract men. With these basic contradictions on socialized needs and expected behavior, it is not surprising that sexual violence against females exists (Russell, 1975). But it doesn’t necessarily have to because rape is not an inevitable occurrence. If a group of people’s cultural standards consider it masculine to be gentle and sensitive, to be responsive to the needs of others, to hate violence, domination and exploitation, to want sex only within a meaningful relationship, to be attracted by personality and character rather than by physical appearance, to value lasting rather than casual relationship, then rape will be a deviant act and much less frequent (Russell, 1975; and Sanday, 1981).

Furthermore, there’s a common belief that many women offer token resistance to sex (they say no to sex even when they mean yes) and that their protests are not to be taken seriously. This belief is based on the standard sexual conduct which indicates that women’s role is to act resistant to sex, not to take the sexual initiative, and not to appear too eager, and that men’s role is to
disregard women's token protests, to take the initiative, and to persist in their sexual advances (Check and Malamuth, 1983).

Thus, Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) have surveyed 610 females at Texas A&M university to find out if and why women engage in token resistance to sex. The study's findings have uncovered that a substantial number of women engage in token resistance to sex, but that most women (60.7 percent) have never engaged in token resistance. The study also showed that women who have engaged in token resistance acted within the restricted set of sexual scripts that are approved for women in their culture. Therefore, Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) concluded that although token resistance may be a rational response to double standards of society, it has negative consequences. It encourages men to ignore women's sexual refusals, which may lead to rape; it discourages honest communication between the sexes; and it makes women appear manipulative. In addition, the study has emphasized that when a woman says no, chances are that she means it (Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988).

Overall, the information that has been covered in this section proposes that the male-female socialization process which promotes sex-role stereotyping is one of the main reasons for the continuation and encouragement of rape (Baron and Straus, 1989; Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988; Sanday; and others). Several researchers have suggested that a fruitful strategy of deterring rape is to fight sex-role stereotyping at very young ages (Burt, 1980; Check and Malamuth, 1983; and others). Also, they argue that only by promoting the idea of sex being a mutually undertaken, freely chosen and fully conscious interaction can a society create an atmosphere free of the threat of rape (Sanday, 1981).
Rape Myths

Rape myths are defined as prejudicial, stereotyped or false beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists (Burt, 1980). Examples of rape myths are: "Any healthy women can resist a rapist if she really wants to," "Women want to be raped," "Women provoke rape by the way they dress, act and behave" (Burt, 1980, p. 217).

Amir (1971) conducted a study to analyze forcible rape. Data were collected on all cases of forcible rape listed by the police in Philadelphia for two years, 1958 and 1960. He challenged some rape myths with the findings of his study. For instance, the idea that rape usually occurs between total strangers was refuted by his study's findings, which illustrate that victim and offender, in more than one-third of the rape cases, are neighbors or acquaintances. Also, the assumption that rape is predominantly an unplanned act was confirmed by the study's evidence, which showed that almost three-quarter of the rape cases were planned. In addition, the idea that rape takes place in a dead-end street or dark alley was refuted by Amir's (1971) findings, which showed rape often takes place in crowded areas.

Since rape myths are widespread (Burt, 1980; Check and Malamuth, 1983; and Field 1978), and because they lie at the root of the topic under study (sexual violence against females), they must be examined thoroughly. One common myth is that the victim gets what she deserves. Victims of rape are usually described as runaways, prostitutes or drug addicts who deserve to be raped because of how they lived (Caputi, 1989). Over and over again, the victim of rape is accused of having brought on the crime, if not because of her actions at the time of the assault, then because of her bad behavior or lifestyle before it (Gibbs, 1991). This myth gives some women a feeling of safety: if they stay good, they will never be attacked. But the truth is almost all crimes and incidents
happen entirely at random and have nothing whatsoever to do with the past behavior, personality, or beliefs of the victim (Gibbs, 1991).

Another prevalent myth is that rape is a sexual rather than an aggressive act. The idea that is proposed is that the motivation to rape stems from restrained sexual desire. The male assailant is assumed to be driven beyond self-control by lust. This myth encourages people not to take rape seriously as a crime, ignores the fact that rape is a physical attack, and leads to the mistaken belief that rape does not hurt the victim any more than does sex (Rogers, 1984).

Since rape is confused with sex, victims are believed to have lured their assailants by their actions or appearance. Consequently, the victim is expected to have asked for it. Thus, the victim is seen as the guilty seducer and the rapist is only fulfilling his natural biological drives (Denmark and Friedman, 1985, and Russell, 1975). Every time a women has knowingly or carelessly taken a risk before she is attacked, such as going home with a man, going to a party alone, or taking a walk at night, this myth has been utilized to blame her. The fact that everyone takes such risks at times and that acting foolishly does not mean one wanted to be attacked, are often forgotten (Denmark and Friedman, 1985).

The myth that women invite sexual assault naturally leads to the belief that only loose women are raped. This belief denies sex crime victims their innocence, forgetting that they committed no crime, and ignores the fact that babies, children, and elderly women are assaulted, that most rapes are committed by people known to the victim, and that rape victims are also boys and men (Rogers, 1984). Another idea that is widely accepted is that rapists are ugly or insane. People see rape as an extremely sadistic and deviant act, which can be performed only by crazy or psychopathic males. Also, females and rape victims share the need to see rapists as crazy. It is, after all, more threatening if females have to fear the same men on the street than if they can restrict their fears to the crazy ones (Russell, 1975). Yet, repeated studies have found that rapists usually have normal psychological profiles compared to other criminals (Coleman, 1991; and Scully and Marolla, 1985). “Men who rape are quite normal,” says a
spokesman for the London Rape Crisis Center (Rogers, 1984, p. 57). They belong to all races and come from all classes. Rapists can be colleagues, policeman, bosses, doctors, or teachers; they don’t have to be maniacs (Rogers, 1984). Consistently, Martin and Hummer (1989) show in “Fraternities and Rape on Campus,” that fraternity groups members commit a high number of rapes—again showing that rapists are not necessarily sick or deviant. This point is further supported by Scully and Marolla (1985) who have argued that some rapes are committed by psychopaths; but this doesn’t account for all rape crimes. Some rapists deliberately rape for revenge or punishment and others rape to gain access to unwilling or unavailable women (Scully and Marolla, 1985). Another study of rapists by Coleman (1991) also acknowledged that the image of rape as an act committed by few sick men is a very limited view of sexual violence against females and that normal men can and do rape.

Not only do normal men rape, but attractive, famous and desired men too. According to Hood (1989), people are biased in favor of attractive rapists. The idea is that an attractive man does not need to rape because he can get all the women he wants. This myth is contradicted by Neimark’s (1991) observation that the most famous athletes, the ones most sought after by women are often involved in rape crimes. Mike Tyson, world heavyweight boxing champion is an example of athletes who rape. Another example of normal and attractive men who rape is Ted Bundy (convicted for raping and killing three women and confessed to being responsible for the raping and killing of 47 more). He was handsome, intelligent and charming. He served as an assistant director of the Seattle Crime Prevention Advisory Committee, and wrote a pamphlet instructing women on rape prevention. That such a fine citizen will rape and kill is unbelievable to many people (Lamar, 1989).

Moreover, for thousands of years rape victims have suffered from having no credibility. The idea that women like to use accusations of rape as a tactic for revenge, or simply to get attention has been popular (Russell, 1975). The story of the prophet Joseph and the Egyptian lord’s wife was one of the prominent
stories that contributed to a long history of women being suspected of falsely claiming rape (Al Jindii, 1990). In *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, Brownmiller (1975) pointed out that the most bitter irony of rape is the male’s fear of being falsely accused of rape. Thus, a set of evidence (consent, resistance, chastity and corroborating evidence) have been designed with one collective purpose in mind: to protect the male against a scheming, lying, vindictive female (Rogers, 1984).

The tendency of women to lie about rape has been vastly exaggerated in popular opinion. The reality is that the usual reaction of a woman to her rape is not to report it at all, because she is afraid of not being believed and because it brings upon her injustice and insensitivity from the police, her friends, the judicial system, and the press (Feldman-Summers, 1981; King and Webbs, 1981; Harding, 1985; Schreiber, 1990; and others). “A woman willing to risk such humiliations and trauma for a lie is rare indeed” (Schreiber, 1990, p. 295).

The last rape myth that will be discussed, is the belief that a woman cannot be raped against her will. In a society dominated by men, men and women accept the myth that there is no such thing as rape (Schreiber, 1990). It is remarkable that so many people retain that myth in spite of the increasing incidence of reported rape (Gilbert, 1991) and despite the bloody cases of rape that make headlines (Caputi, 1989; and Neimark, 1989). Egypt's ex-minister of interior, Abd Al Halim Mousa, supported his belief of the impossibility of the commission of forceful rape without the victim’s consent by relating the events of a rape trial he had attended. He said that during the trial, the defense attorney instructed the prosecutors to try to insert a sewing needle in a female's body. He added that upon the prosecutor’s failure, the suspect was proven not guilty and freed (Al Saadani, 1992). Of course, various psychological and social conditions may make rape possible. Some of these are the disproportion in physical strength between victim and attacker; the victim's being unconscious due to drunkenness or sleep; the element of surprise, which overcomes a victim's resistance; the threat of bodily harm; and the fear of death (Amir, 1971).
From the examination of the preceding list of rape myths, it is clear that most myths tend to blame the victim (Burt, 1980). Blaming the victim is often based on such characteristics as the women’s provocativeness, flirtatiousness or her presupposed, innate need and desire to be raped (Russell, 1975).

All in all, the acceptance of rape myths serves both to psychologically and socially blame the victim. Women almost always take responsibility for rape. A woman never escape blame; the victim is blamed for being desirable and provocative, the rapist’s wife is blamed for being sexually unresponsive, the rapist’s mother is blamed for being abusive (Caputi, 1989). Not only is the woman responsible for her own actions, but she is also responsible for the man’s actions, his interpretation of her actions and in essence, all the things that may give him an excuse for losing control and committing a deviant act (Denmark and Friedman, 1985).

In sum, rape myths have the effect of facilitating the commission of rape crimes, minimizing the seriousness of its consequences, easing the severity of the crime, releasing the rapist of his responsibility, and blaming the victim for her victimization (Burt, 1980; Denmark and Friedman, 1985; and Russell, 1975).

Additionally, a very important function of rape myths and perhaps the reason why they persist to this day, is to protect non-victims from feeling vulnerable. If people can blame a crime on the victim, then they can find reasons why that crime will not happen to them (Schreiber, 1990).

More distressing is the fact that rape myths are widely held by members of the general population. Burt (1980) has discovered that over half of her representative sample of 598 Minnesota adults agreed that in the majority of rapes, the victim was loose or had a bad reputation. Similarly, over half the sample thought that 50 percent of reported rapes are reported because the woman was trying to get back at a man she was angry with or was trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy (Burt, 1980).

Moreover, Field (1978), after surveying 1,448 male and female subjects, inferred that rape myths are accepted to a certain degree by different groups of
people (police, crisis counselors, rapists and citizens) but that rapists comprise the group that most believes in rape myths. He also showed that more men than women indicate that it is the woman's responsibility to prevent rape.

Furthermore, Deitz, Blackwell, Daley, and Bentley (1982) have designed a rape empathy scale to investigate jurors and college students' likelihood to identify with rapists and rape victims. Much support has been disclosed for the assumption that the likelihood to rape is strongly related to attitudes toward rape and beliefs in rape myths. Besides, subjects who have shown high levels of empathy with rape victims have attributed less responsibility for the crime to the victim and greater responsibility to the rapist, than did subjects who have expressed less empathy toward the victim. Also, Deitz et al. (1982) revealed that participants who have indicated a high degree of empathy for the rape victim have sentenced the defendant in a hypothetical rape case to long prison terms.

Overall, the literature covered up till now in this section highlights the notion that men and women do have preconceived and often erroneous beliefs about rape, rape victims and rapists. These false beliefs can affect one's attribution of responsibility (Deitz et al. 1982) and consequently the lives of both the victim and the rapist. All too often the victim is blamed and the rapist is free to rape again (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Caputi, 1989; Denmark and Friedman, 1985; and others).
EFFECTS OF MEDIA'S PRESENTATION OF RAPE

Just as people's attitudes and myths of rape may affect the way they apprehend meanings and consequences of rape, so may the way such assaults are presented in the mass media. Brownmiller (1975), Caputi (1989), Russell (1975) and others have argued that the mass media, play an important role in shaping people's perceptions of and attitudes toward rape. In a study carried out by Tieger (1981) to determine if men's perceptions of their own likelihood to rape may be influenced by the nature of sexual violence portrayed in the mass media, 80 male students from a community college were given simulated newspaper accounts of rape. Half the subjects were randomly assigned to read a description of rape that did not contain explicit mention of its violent consequences, whereas the other half read an explicit description of its violent consequences. Subjects were then asked to rate their own likelihood of committing a rape if they could be certain of not being caught and punished. It was found that the explicit mention of violent consequences did significantly affect the male's response to his likelihood to rape. Thirty-five percent of the subjects indicated some likelihood of raping after reading the non-violent consequences version, whereas 10 percent similarly responded after reading the violent consequences account. The violent consequences rape story led subjects to perceive rape as a horrible act that they are incapable of committing (Tieger, 1981).

Similarly, a study by Check and Malamuth (1983) tested the hypothesis that the situation in which rape is portrayed taking place and individual differences in sex role stereotyping affect reactions to rape. The 289 male and female subjects of the study were classified as either high or low in sex role stereotyping after being surveyed. They were then randomly assigned to read one of three sexual depiction (mutually consenting intercourse, stranger rape, or acquaintance rape), and were asked to indicate their sexual arousal and their perceptions of the depiction. Male students were also asked to indicate their likelihood of committing rape if they could be assured that no one would know. The results of
this study indicated that high sex role stereotyping individuals showed greater arousal to rape, and perceived a rape victim as reacting favorably to the assault (especially in the acquaintance rape condition) than low sex role stereotyping subjects. An important finding was that high sex role stereotyping individuals showed the same patterns of sexual arousal to rape and consenting-sex depiction as those of convicted rapists. Also, 44 percent of the males of this group indicated some likelihood of raping (Check and Malamuth, 1983).

On the whole, Check and Malamuth (1983) study subjects showed lower levels of arousal to stranger rape relative to a mutually consenting intercourse depiction, thus lending further support to the idea that nonrapists become aroused by certain types of rape depiction (e.g., when the victim is portrayed as becoming sexually stimulated by an attack). Moreover, an experiment conducted outside the laboratory on how mass media have an effect on the acceptance of violence against women yielded similar results (Malamuth and Check, 1981). Two hundred and seventy male and female undergraduates were tested to determine their reactions to the effects of exposure to violent sexual or control films. Participants in the experimental condition were given free tickets to view films at the cinema (naturalistic setting) that portrayed women as victims of aggression in sexual scenes. These films suggested that the aggression was justified or had positive endings. Subjects in the control group were given tickets to films that didn’t contain violence, and there was an untreated control group that didn’t see any of the films. A few days later, the subjects were surveyed on their sexual attitudes. The results showed that exposure to films portraying the positive effects of aggressive sexuality significantly increased male but not female subjects' acceptance of interpersonal violence and rape myths. This experiment supported the idea that sexually violent films have effects on males’ acceptance of violence against females.

Furthermore, repeated exposure to sexually violent films desensitizes viewers to sexual violence. In an experiment by Linz, Donnerstein and Penrod (1984), the reactions of male college students at the University of Wisconsin who
viewed a film portraying violence against females (often in a sexual context),
every day for a 5-day period, were measured. The sample was composed of 12
males assigned to view R-rated violent films and another 12 recruited to be
control subjects. Comparisons of first and last day reactions to the films showed
that, with repeated exposure, initial levels of self-reported anxiety decreased
substantially. Also, material previously judged to be violent and degrading to
women was seen as significantly less so by the end of the exposure period.
Subjects indicated that they were less depressed and enjoyed the material more
after repeated exposure. Moreover, after watching the last film, all the subjects
of the study (the ones who watched the films and the control group) were told
that they would watch a video tape of a rape trial documentary. They then
completed a questionnaire which provided evidence that males exposed to large
doses of filmed violence showed less emotional reaction to the plight of the rape
victim, attributed more responsibility to the victim for her own sexual assault
than to the defendant and judged her as less severely injured than the control
group (Linz et al., 1984).

Linz Donnerstein and Penrod's (1988) study was an extension of their 1984
study mentioned above. In this study Linz et al. (1988) investigated the effects on
156 college-age male viewers of prolonged exposure to three types of filmed
depiction of women (overtly violent, nonviolent sexually explicit, and sexually
degrading films). In addition, they examined the effects of viewing such films on
males' beliefs about rape and the sexual objectification of women. After
exposure to the films, males who viewed the different types of films and control
group were asked to give judgments about women in general, and about a female
victim of sexual assault and the accused assailant in a video taped raped trial.

Many of the original findings of Linz et al. (1984) were replicated. For
example, sexually violent material that was originally anxiety provoking and
depressing became less so with prolonged exposure. These changes were not
limited to the violent films only. Subjects exposed to the sexually degrading and
nonviolent sexually explicit films reported seeing less violence with continued
exposure. Moreover, subjects who viewed the overtly violent films were less able to sympathize with rape victims in general when compared with no-exposure control subjects and subjects exposed to other types of films. The present study, also, indicated that violent films undermine emotional reactivity to victims portrayed in more realistic context (video taped rape trial), even if measured two days after the last exposure to violent films and not immediately. In addition, this study indicated that it was not the frequency of images of women involved in sexual activities, but the ratio of these images to other non-sexually related activities, that resulted in negative changes in attitudes about women. For example, if a woman was depicted having sex and, also participating in normal activities such as going to work, traveling in cars etc., there would be no effect, unlike if she was only portrayed engaging in sexual activities (Linz et al., 1988).

Support for this argument earlier came from Zillman and Bryant’s (1982) study of the effects of massive exposure to nonviolent but degrading pornography on attitudes toward women. The sample used for this study was made up of 80 male and 80 female undergraduates. Zillman and Bryant (1982) demonstrated that long-term exposure to sexually explicit nonviolent films that depict women in sexually submissive roles cause male and female subjects to become more tolerant of pornography, to become less supportive of statements about sexual equality, and to become more lenient in assigning punishment to a rapist whose crime was described in a newspaper account.

Furthermore, Zillman and Bryant (1982) maintained that continued exposure to explicit depictions of women engaged in sexual activity may activate thoughts about females being prostitutes. It may also lead to the belief that women tend to desire and engage in unusual and abnormal sexual activities, including rape (Zillman and Bryant, 1982).

Hence, studies reviewed so far suggest that if the media illustrate the violent consequences of rape, people will perceive it as a horrible act that they are incapable of committing (Tieger, 1989). Similarly, Check and Malamuth (1983) indicated that the situation in which rape is portrayed taking place and
individual difference in sex role stereotyping affect reactions to rape. Also, Malamuth and Check (1981) stressed that exposure to media sexual violence results in males' thought patterns that are more supportive of violence against females. Moreover, studies supported the assumption that prolonged exposure to sexually violent depiction against females makes viewers emotionally comfortable with the violent content of the films (Linz et al., 1984; 1988). Furthermore, Zillman and Bryant (1982) stated that prolonged exposure to nonviolent but sexually degrading depictions, results in greater accessibility in ideas about women as sex objects or as vamps.

If exposure to media sexual violence can result in thought patterns more supportive of violence against women, it is important to determine if such patterns can, in turn, increase actual sexual aggression. Several writers contended that thought patterns justifying sexual aggression are important causes of aggression against women (Amir, 1971; Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Russell, 1975; and others).

To further assess this assumption, Malamuth (1981) reviewed the findings of a series of studies on male self-reported likelihood to rape if they could be assured that they would not be caught. The data of these studies consistently showed that the belief in rape myths, acceptance of violence against females, and sexual arousal to rape depiction are strongly associated with self-reported likelihood of raping.

Besides, several studies revealed that certain attitudes and beliefs can predict actual aggressive behavior. For example, Malamuth's (1983) study examined the relationships between men's thought patterns condoning violence against women and aggressive behavior against a woman in a laboratory. The 42 male subjects of the study were first questioned about their attitudes toward violence against females and tested for their sexual responsiveness after reading three stories respectively depicting (a female masturbating, mutually consenting sex and rape). Then they were experimented in the laboratory for their aggression toward females. The results indicated that factors associated with
real-world aggression against women successfully predicted men's laboratory aggression against a female. Males who had attitudes facilitating violence and who were sexually aroused by rape were found to be more aggressive against women in a laboratory setting than other males (Malamuth, 1983).

Similarly, Mosher and Anderson (1986) reported significant links between thought patterns and sexual aggression in reality. This study used a sample of 175 male college sophomores to correlate macho personality patterns (insensitive sexual attitudes, violence as manly and danger as exciting) to self-reported actual sexual aggression behaviors (ranging from verbal pressure to physical force on women to gain sexual access). The subjects, also, listened through headphones to an audiotape of a male voice depicting a realistic rape to which they were supposed to imagine committing. After imagining committing the rape, they completed questionnaires about their sexual arousal. The results of the study proved that there is a significant positive correlation between macho personality patterns and aggressive sexual behavior. Also, the results revealed that many of the subjects of the study, at least sometime in their life, have employed forceful or exploitative tactics to gain sexual access. Seventy-five percent of the men admitted to using drugs or alcohol to persuade a date to have sex with them, 69 percent used verbal manipulation, more than 40 percent used anger, 20 percent used force, and 13 percent threatened it. Moreover, the study supported the hypothesis that more macho men, in comparison to less macho men, are more sexually aroused by and experience more positive affects while imagining committing a rape (Mosher and Anderson, 1986).

Furthermore, the findings of research on unconvicted men (Mosher and Anderson, 1986) are reinforced by research on convicted rapists. Scully and Marolla (1985) explored rape from the perspective of 114 convicted rapists. They found that rapists are characterized by greater acceptance of rape myths, particularly those justifying violence against women, than control groups made up of criminals of other crimes.
The data reviewed in this section are consistent with the view that there is a link between people’s attitudes supporting sexual violence and sexually aggressive behavior. Such thought patterns correlated with self-reported likelihood to rape (Malamuth, 1981), aggression toward a woman in a laboratory setting (Malamuth, 1983), self-reported actual sexual aggression (Mosher and Anderson, 1986), and status as a convicted rapist (Scully and Moralla, 1985).
EFFECTS OF EXPOSURE TO PORNGRAPHY

In this section, an investigation of the effects of pornographic material on the behavior, actions or attitudes of their consumers is presented. Some people and researchers are alarmed by the availability of pornographic depictions in films, videocassettes, satellite channels, photo-magazines, billboards and posters (Leong, 1991).

Leong (1991) has distinguished between aggressive-erotic pornography and erotic pornography. Aggressive-erotic pornography is defined as material that represents or describes degrading sexual acts (e.g., women presented as sex objects, depicted as being penetrated by objects or animals, shown in postures of sexual submission, etc.) or abusive sexual behavior (e.g., images of women being tied up, beaten up, mutilated, bruised, physically hurt, or raped, and depiction of women experiencing sexual pleasure from those types of erotic violence). On the other hand, erotic pornography includes any depiction of sexual activity without violence and with mutual pleasure (Leong, 1991).

The effects of pornography on men's treatment of, and attitudes toward, women has long been a controversial issue and still is. In 1970, the U.S. Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography concluded that there is no relationship between exposure to sexually explicit material and the incidence of sex crimes (Baron, 1987; and Gray, 1982). Contradictorily, the U.S. Meese Commission of 1986 concluded that most pornography leads to sexual violence. The commissioners agreed that depiction of violent pornography promotes rape myths; fosters sexual discrimination, harms the moral, ethical, and cultural environment of society, and may lead men to rape. Similarly, they have agreed that nonviolent but degrading pornography increases aggression against women and may lead to rape, whereas nonviolent and non-degrading pornography are harmful but don't lead to rape (Baron, 1987).

Because of the above mentioned contradiction, it is essential to review studies that focus on the relationships between exposure to pornographic material
and subsequent anti-social attitudes and behavior. First, it has to be noted that the source of much of the opposition to pornography is feminist groups. Feminists maintain that pornography symbolizes male domination and female victimization, predisposes or intensifies a predisposition in some men to rape; undermines some men's inhibitions against committing a sexually violent act; promotes a culture that accepts and condones sexual violence, and gives a license to rape (Brownmiller, 1975; Caputi 1989; and Russell, 1975). This assumption has been supported by Ted Bundy's case, Bundy, a sex murderer who was convicted for three women's deaths and was suspected of being responsible for 47 more, testified that he was obsessed with pornography since his youth. He further claimed that pornographic violence in the media inspired him to commit his crimes (Lamar, 1989).

Likewise, some officials of the Michigan state police proclaimed that the increase in multiple murders by men against women is linked partly to and may be encouraged by an increase in films that depict sexual violence uncritically. Moreover, they stressed that exposure to violent types of pornography can sexually arouse some people and can motivate a tiny but dangerous fraction of the population to attack women (Lindsey, 1984).

This has made people increasingly concerned about the sexual lessons taught by pornographic materials. Films that portray females as the victims of killers' axes, knives, even electric drills in a context that makes those situations sexual and erotic are available to young people and may constitute primary sexual lessons for them (Wolfe, 1989). According to Wolfe (1989) young people commonly deal with such films by dehumanizing the violence or by viewing the aggressive behavior as a model for their own, stopping short of actual violence—though, as has been illustrated earlier, it does not always stop short (Wolfe, 1989).

Hence, media researchers have demonstrated significant efforts to assess effects of exposure to pornography on men's treatment of and attitudes toward women. Gray (1982) reviewed a number of studies done on the effects of
pornography on men's aggression toward women. She reported that aggression levels in previously angered males are raised by exposure to hard core pornography (e.g., depiction of nudes engaged in sexual activity with a focus on genital organs), but that aggression is not raised in non-angered males. The researcher concluded that pornography facilitates the expression of anger toward women if anger already exists. In addition, the study showed that soft-core pornography (e.g., depiction of nudity or semi-nudity, or depictions of explicit sexual activity) is less likely to cause aggression in angered men.

Similarly, Donnerstein and Berkowitz (1981) conducted a study to measure the effects of exposure to different types of erotic films and to investigate if the gender of the person available for aggression afterward can affect subsequent aggression. Eighty male undergraduates were first either angered by a male or female assistant or were treated neutrally, and then were shown one of four films. Three of the films were erotic in nature but differed in their aggressive content. One was non-aggressive and the other two erotic films were aggressive but have differed in terms of the victim's reaction (one positive and the other negative). The fourth film was neutral with respect to sex and aggression. After viewing one of the four films, the subjects were given the opportunity to aggress against the male or female assistant they originally met, via electric shocks (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981).

The results of the study indicated that the subjects who were angered by male assistants and who viewed the aggressive erotic film didn't administer any more aggression toward these assistants, than do the subjects who viewed the erotic film. On the other hand, both types of aggressive erotic films substantially increased aggression toward the female assistant who angered the subjects prior to viewing the film. This finding suggested that the addition of aggression to sex in pornographic material is more dangerous in terms of possible aggressive consequences than the display of pure erotic material (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981).
Moreover, Donnerstein and Berkowitz (1981) conducted another experiment in the same study that investigated the effects of films on nonangry viewers using only female assistants. The results demonstrated that exposure to aggressive-pornographic films with positive outcomes (e.g., the victim enjoys being beaten or becomes sexually aroused while being raped) will increase subjects' aggression against the female assistant even if they were not angered earlier. On the other hand, exposure to the aggressive erotic film with negative outcomes (e.g., victim abhors the experience) by non-angered subjects didn't result in greater levels of aggression toward the female assistant although aggression toward the female assistant was demonstrated by angered male subjects (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981).

Furthermore, in a study outside the laboratory Straus and Baron (1988) examined the relationship between the consumption of pornographic material and rape rates in the United States. They collected statistics for the distribution of eight sexually oriented magazines (Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler, Oui, Club, Chic, Genesis, Forum and Gallery) in each state and have compared them to each state rape rates. The findings revealed a high correlation between the circulation rates of these magazines by state and rape rates (Straus and Baron, 1988).

Thus, there is evidence that support the feminists contention of pornography contributing to a social atmosphere conducive to rape (Brownmiller, 1975; Caputi, 1989; and Russell, 1975). This evidence included research on the effects of exposure to pornography on aggressive behavior toward women (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981; and Gray, 1982); correlation research on the relationship between the circulation rates of soft-core pornography and the incidence of rape (Straus and Baron, 1988); self-confessions of the involvement of sex offenders with pornography (Lamar, 1989); and the expert opinions of police officers which indicated that sexually violent pornography is accountable for some men's increased aggression (e.g., sexual murder, rape, etc.) against women (Lindey, 1984).
The media portrayal of female sex crime victims is not only shaped by rape myths, but also by the way the media portray of women in general. In a 1981 study of the mass media for the United Nations, Margaret Gallagher proposed several characteristics of the way women are treated by the mass media. According to Gallagher, women who constitute half the human race, rarely appear in the news at all. In addition, when women are included in the news, they are habitually defined in terms of their relation to men rather than as separate individuals. There is, also, a tendency to refer to irrelevant details about appearance, age and family status, details which are not included when men are covered. This is the case even when powerful and influential women are covered by the media (Gallagher, 1981).

Although Gallagher's study was completed more than a decade ago, more recent evidence suggests that surprisingly little has changed. Hunt (1989); Kilbourne (1989); and Thoman (1989) state that women almost exclusively were depicted as sex objects or housewives by the media. It is, also, noted that women were often described by their looks and personalities and lastly, if ever, by their professional skills and capabilities (Bridge, 1989). Furthermore, women were presented by the media as dependent, foolish, deceitful, indecisive, and incompetent. More troubling, however, is the fact that these characteristics commonly appear as desirable or funny (Kilbourne, 1989).

These images of women in the media have started a discussion on double standards in mass media. Whereas women are portrayed as insecure, weak, embarrassed and childish (can't be taken seriously), men are pictured as secure, powerful, self-confident and serious (Hunt 1989; Kilbourne, 1989; and Thomas, 1989). These are ways through which the media reinforce cultural values of domination and inequality between the sexes (Thomas, 1989).
Moreover, the 1988 Washington Conference on Media and Women in a North-South Perspective (attended by 18 countries including Egypt) released conclusions similar to Gallagher’s. These conclusions were reported in an article titled “Women and the Media” (1989). In summary, it stated that women in all media systems share certain common experiences, which include the following:

- Women are universally under-reported in the media, and are generally absent from important production policy-making positions in the communication field.
- Media coverage of women has been altogether inadequate. Women’s viewpoints and concerns on current issues (for example economic priorities and policies, social problems of all kinds) have not been sufficiently explored or represented by the media.
- With few exceptions, advertising promotes an image of the ideal woman as young and sexually alluring (“Women and the Media,” 1989, p. 25).

Furthermore, Bridge’s (1989) one-month study of women’s role as news sources and reporters in 10 major American newspapers (the Atlanta Constitution, Chicago Tribune, Houston Chronicle, Los Angeles Times, Miami Herald, the New York Times, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Seattle Times, USA Today, and the Washington Post) produced revealing statistics. The results show that female bylines on the international/national front pages averaged 27 percent during the month of the content analysis and 33 percent on the local front pages. In addition, females were represented in only 24 percent of the international/national-page pictures and appeared in only 28 percent of the local-page photos. The study results, also, showed that females appear primarily in group photos and are most often seen with their spouses and children. Further, the study revealed that there have been days when there were no female bylines, photographs or references on the front pages. Moreover, the study showed the average percentage of references to women in international/national pages was as low as 11 percent and 20 percent on local pages (Bridge, 1989). This point is further supported by Thoman (1989), who stated that only women who belong to the cultured elite or to the moneyed politician class can make it to the news.
Failing that, women can gain media’s attention either by being victims (mainly of sex crimes) or criminals (Thoman, 1989).

Besides, in a 1989 edition of *Media & Values*, Bridge reports the results of two other studies, presented at the second annual Women, Men and Media conference in Washington, DC in April 1989. The first study is a month-long (February 1989) American television news content analysis by the Communication Consortium. Its results show that CBS has the highest percentage of news stories reported by women (22 percent), and ABC has the lowest percentage of network stories by female reporters (10 percent). The study, also, provided evidence that there are no women as regular anchors at any of the three networks during weekday evening news programs. Most startling is the study’s finding that the total percentage of women correspondents reporting the news increased by only six percent over a 15-year-period. Moreover, the study’s data illustrate that the situation is worse for women as newsmakers than as news reporters. Overall, they show that one in ten of those interviewed or featured in network nightly news are women. Even articles on topics of specific and great concern to women often contain more quotes from men and few or no quotes from women (Bridge, 1989).

Additionally, Bridge (1989) gives an account of the five-year study of hiring trends and pay scales carried out by researchers at the University of Missouri. This study shows that female media employees earn only 64 cents for every dollar that males are paid. It also reveals that the media fail to promote women as often as their male counterparts, and that women are given the least powerful staff jobs (e.g., women hold only 6 percent of top media jobs) (Bridge, 1989). It is concluded that “men determine what is news” (Bridge, 1989, p. 12).
MEDIA POWER AND ITS POSITIVE-SOCIAL EFFECTS

To be able to appreciate the importance of this thesis, readers have to understand the range of media power on the people and in the world. We live in a media world. Hardly a minute goes by that any one of us is not overwhelmed by messages from television, satellites, radio, newspapers, magazines, billboards and even T-shirts. Since the media are informative and educative, they have challenged parental authority, family relationships and schools in their socialization role (Thoman, 1990/1991).

The media can affect individuals, society and culture. They can influence a group’s beliefs, values, public policies and development. For instance, media have the power to stimulate people to clean up the environment, force corrupt politicians out of office, reduce poverty and create a truly equitable society. “They can literally save the lives of millions of human beings” (Skorlich, 1990, p. 8). Additionally, as has been portrayed in the agenda-setting section (in the introduction chapter), the media can help bring about and spread social change (Cohen, 1963; DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982; and Shaw and Martin, 1992), influence people’s perceptions of reality (Gitlin, 1980; and Lippmann, 1971), specify to the public the current public issues and their importance (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Rogers and Dearing, 1988; Shaw and Martin, 1992; and Smith, 1987), as well as issues that are social problems requiring actions (Smith, 1987).

Expectedly, mass media have a major influence on teenagers’ concepts of sexuality and responsibility. In a survey of 1,400 parents living in Cleveland, television is specified as the highest ranked source, after parents, of sexual learning for their children (Lowry, 1989).

In accordance with the information discussed earlier, Friedlander (1993) assumed that when properly mobilized, the media can play a major, long-term role in alleviating the intensity and frequency of community violence. He also stressed that the mass media can play a strong and positive role in alleviating
some of the distress of victims of violence, and in redirecting the behavior of some of its perpetrators, so as to protect the community. Likewise, Thoman (1989) proposed that the mass media can provide the opportunity for dialogue, allowing people to integrate talk of sexual values and conduct everyday conversation, where questions can be explored, values communicated and misinformation corrected.

Therefore, one recent approach is to actually use the mass media to educate the public about sexual violence against females. Wilson, Linz and Donnerstein (1992) carried out a field experiment to evaluate the impact of a television movie about an acquaintance rape on subsequent attitudes about rape. A randomly chosen sample of 1,038 male and female adults has been selected to participate in the study. These participants were then assigned to view or not view the movie over a closed-circuit channel. Afterwards, the researchers surveyed the subjects to find out the potential of the movie in decreasing acceptance of rape myths and increasing awareness of the negative consequences of rape. The results of the study showed that the movie increased awareness of date rape as a social problem and decreased acceptance of rape myths among all those who watched it. Overall, the study by Wilson et al. (1992) demonstrated that media material designed to inform and alter participants perceptions about rape myths and acquaintance rape can be successful.

Moreover, several experimental researchers attempted to deal with possible negative effects of exposing subjects to sexually violent media content, through educational debriefing sessions that dispel myths about sexual violence (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981; Linz, Donnerstien and Penrod, 1984; 1988; and Mosher and Anderson, 1986). In a debriefing follow-up study by Donnerstein and Berkowitz (1981), the male subjects who viewed any of the three erotic films (nonaggressive-erotic, aggressive-erotic with negative outcome, and aggressive-erotic with positive ending) presented in the study were given a debriefing on the nature of the films. The control subjects who were exposed to the neutral film were not debriefed. Afterwards, all the subjects (the debriefed
and the ones not debriefed) were asked to complete a questionnaire about attitudes toward rape and violence. The results showed that in all cases (the subjects exposed to nonaggressive-erotic, aggressive-erotic with negative outcome, or aggressive-erotic with positive ending), the debriefed subjects indicated less acceptance of rape myths than the group that was not exposed to erotic films and not debriefed. All in all, then, the debriefing sensitized the subjects so that they became less inclined to accept the standard myths regarding rape and rape victims (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981).
MEDIA COVERAGE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALES

Several studies have examined sex crime reporting and have reached conclusions that will help in putting this thesis together. Snyder (1992), who has carried out research to investigate crime reporting in the United States, pointed out that crime reporting defines morality, shared public concern and the nature of a city’s life. He also observed that the practices, purposes and attitudes of crime reporters have remained unchanged for more than 150 years. He added that although there have been great changes in news organizations and technology, their craft has remained the same (Snyder, 1992).

Crime reporters don’t go beyond facts of the stories to the victim’s and rapist’s deeper human qualities (Snyder, 1992). The very characteristics that make a story get media attention (novelty, immediacy and drama) make it stay only for a short while on the media agenda (Smith, 1987; and Snyder, 1992). It is unusual for any issue to stay on the evening news and on the front page for very long. Once an issue receives media coverage, it usually remains on the news agenda for a fairly limited amount of time, often less than a month or so (Smith, 1987). Because crime news is structured around the basic facts that can be found under a pressing deadline, it contains little analysis or contextual information that helps put events in perspective (Snyder, 1992).

But there’s a demand from people in general and women in particular to know many facts about reported rape crimes which are usually not included. These facts may include: What precipitated the attack? Did the woman fight back? If so, were some strategies more effective than others? Where did the victim get help? Has the perpetrator been caught? What was the court’s verdict in the case? (Gordon, 1992).

The fact is that some of these questions are unanswered by the media (Gordon, 1992). They sensationalistically cover the occurrence of sexual violence and
warn of what to fear, then they leave readers and viewers ignorant of why these crimes exist, what they can do about them, and the subsequent fates of either perpetrator or victim of the crime. It leaves males scared about their female lovers’, wives’, daughters’ and relatives’ safety; and frightened and confused and unable to estimate their own chance of being attacked (if females) (Gordon, 1992; and Snyder, 1992).

Moreover, Benedict’s (1992) study findings of how the American press reported and interpreted four prominent sex crime cases, supported the above mentioned characteristics of media coverage of sex crimes. The cases that have studied were the 1979 Greta and John Rideout marital rape case; the 1983 pool table gang-rape of a woman in a bar in New Bedford, Massachusetts; the 1986 sex-related killing of Jennifer Levin by her boyfriend; and the 1989 gang rape and beating of the Central Park jogger. Benedict did not adopt a systematic methodology, it was rather her (a newswoman’s) point of view of the performance of the major press organizations in the United States. She suggested that the press performs poorly when covering rape incidents. She also concluded that biases and rape myths are often illustrated in the news articles (Benedict, 1992). Another important characteristic of sex crime coverage in the media, that has to be pointed out, is that crime reporters are mainly, although not exclusively, men (Benedict, 1992; and Snyder, 1992).

Furthermore, it is essential to know what type of rape cases are covered by the media. Of the rape cases that are on the police records, journalists pick out the more newsworthy to report (Benedict, 1992; Gordon, 1992; McCorkle, 1993; and Stephens, 1990). The traditional criteria that define events as worthy of reporting include sensation, mystery, conflict, celebrity, deviance, tragedy, proximity, novelty, timeliness etc. (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1987; Graber, 1984; and Keeble, 1994) and every one of them has a profound effect on the way sex crimes are covered.

In general, the media focus on some crimes more than others. Journalists tend to accord higher news values to violent crimes that fall outside their
stereotypes of typical crimes. In any large city typical rapes that are conceived as a stranger attacking a lone woman in a dark, deserted place, or the rape of a young, single, poor woman by someone of her own class, whom she knows, are no longer news (Benedict, 1992; and Gordon, 1992).

Media managers believe that large doses of sex, violence and sexual violence against females win the most attention from readers and viewers. Other types of news stories that likewise interest people are those involving scandal, pretty girls, and famous people doing things they are not supposed to do (Stephens, 1990). Therefore, the media cover accounts of particularly heinous offenses (McCorkle, 1993). In addition, they are affected by the spectacular rape stories that seem to come along every few years involving bizarre circumstances or famous people (Benedict, 1992; and Gordon, 1992). For example, the New Bedford case, the inspiration for the Academy Award-winning film The Accused, is unusual and bizarre because the victim is alleged to have been gang raped on a pool table while screaming for help from a roomful of people watching (none of whom aided her). The large number of bystander witnesses made this story gain media attention (Benedict, 1992). Likewise, the William Kennedy Smith case obtained large media coverage but not because it is bizarre; on the contrary, it was an alleged typical acquaintance rape. The reason for its notoriety is that the accused was a relative of the late president, Kennedy (Gordon, 1992).

By focusing on the new and original, the media give less time, attention and space to the more typical rapes, attempted rapes, batterings, and sexual harassment (Benedict, 1992), meaning that they ignore typical rapes or assaults in favor of the most bizarre, sensational, sadistic or bloody (Benedict, 1992; Gordon, 1992; and Stephens, 1990). Hence, readers and viewers are presented with the atypical and unrepresentative offenses (Benedict, 1992; Gordon, 1992; and McCorkle, 1993). The notion of rape by a lover, friend or colleague doesn’t occur to ordinary people, because it is not frequently reported to the police, and if it is, it will not be covered by the media (Rogers, 1984). In sum, the media fail to
inform the public accurately of the existing different types of sexual violence against females.

Expectedly, media portrayals paint a picture of sex crimes that is different from reality. According to Singer and Endreny (1987), the media do not report on risks, they report on harm because they have a preoccupation with bad news. In agreement, Gordon (1992) states that for every 14 news reports about rape, 13 are about completed rapes and one is about an attempted rape, often one with a bizarre aspect. On the contrary, FBI statistics (Uniform Crime Report) show that one in four victims escapes from a rape attack; and Victimization Survey data (collected by the U.S. Census) indicate that in every four attacks, three of the victims get away and one is raped. The Victimization Survey data are probably more accurate, because most women who have escaped an attack don’t bother to report the crime to the police (Gilbert, 1991). Since most people know only about the rapes the media report, they believe that most rapes are completed and that victims have very little chance of getting away (Gordon, 1992). The media’s failure to report many attempted rapes also robs women of opportunities to learn about successful strategies with which to fight attackers (Gordon, 1992).

The public’s exposure to rape is limited to those cases where force or brutality are used (Benedict, 1992; Gordon, 1992; and Rogers, 1984). People believe that about 25 percent of rape victims are murdered, and that the majority are so seriously hurt during the attacks that they have to be hospitalized (Gordon, 1992). But according to the Uniform Crime Report, only 3 percent of rape victims are murdered and those hospitalized are 8 percent (Gilbert, 1991).

Also, one of the most pervasive traditions of the media is to assume that crime against the white, wealthy or educated women is newsworthy, while crime against the black, poor or illiterate women is not. According to Hood (1989) this demonstrates that the media attention to an assault depends on the worthiness or value of the victim and the assailant.

The result of this bias is that rape by illiterate-poor men against rich-educated women receive a disproportionate amount of coverage, while the rape
of poor women is largely overlooked, although they are significantly more likely to be raped than women of any other class (Hood, 1989).

Besides, the media habitually use words to describe female crime victims, especially sex crime victims that are never used for men. For example, they are described as hysterical, pretty or flirtatious, words which portray sexual or immature characteristics. On the other hand, male crime victims are never described in terms of their sexual attractiveness (Thoman, 1989). In addition, the media often describe the raped woman as a prostitute. Thus playing upon sexism and prejudices to undermine the seriousness of the rape crimes and diverting the blame to the victim (Caputi, 1989).

Since sex crime victims’ coverage in the media is examined in this section, the rapists’ coverage must also be examined. Jack the Ripper, a sex criminal who is still unidentified, was known for murdering and mutilating five London prostitutes in 1888. He was and is believed to be a hero. He has received renewed attention in 1988, the hundredth year of his original crime. A TV movie was made and many books written on Jack the Ripper. Also, the Ripper computer games, T-shirts and buttons have been appearing (Caputi, 1989).

Ted Bundy (mentioned earlier), like Jack the Ripper, was a sex criminal who has become a legend. In the days preceding his execution, his story dominated the mass media, memorializing and further mythicizing a killer who has already been the subject of many articles, five books, and a TV movie (in which he is played by Mark Harmon, an actor whom People Weekly once described as the world’s sexiest man) (Caputi, 1989). Moreover, a student group at the University of New Mexico in 1989 offered a program showing a tape of Bundy’s final interview. The posters advertising that event displayed a likeness of him. For example, some of them have read: “A Man with Vision.” “A Man with Direction.” “A Prophet of Our Times ....” “Bundy: The Man, The Myth, The Legend” (Caputi, 1989, p. 446).

Not only do the mass media often portray rape victims as prostitutes and rapists as heroes (Caputi, 1989), they also rely heavily on law enforcement
sources for information about crimes. These sources may occasionally try to manipulate the media into publishing more or less than the actual amount of crime (Pritchard and Berkowitz, 1991).

From reviewing the literature about the media's coverage of sexual violence against females, it is noted that the media are a prominent part of the cycle of injustice that rape victims suffer from. The media tend to express the myths and misunderstandings of rape that hurt the victim's image (Benedict, 1992; Caputi, 1989; Gordon, 1992; Hood, 1989; Rogers, 1984; and Thoman, 1989). They also cover sex crimes briefly, which makes the public ignorant of the issue (Snyder, 1992).
MEDIA COVERAGE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALES IN EGYPT.

In an article about the Egyptian press' coverage of the Attaba sexual assault (discussed earlier in the thesis), Mohamed (1993) criticized the press for presenting distorted information and for doing nothing to uncover the persistent problem of sexual violence against females in Egypt. According to Mohamed (1993), the discussion of sexual violence against females is dominated by Islamic scholars and helps to reinforce the myth that rape is a sexually motivated crime. In addition, the main reasons presented for rape in Egyptian newspapers are moral decadence, decline of Islamic values and poor economic conditions (Mohamed, 1993).

Moreover, Mohamed (1993) stated that most newspapers put the victims on trial. In their investigative search for the truth, they pay more attention to what the victim is wearing at the time the crime occurred and her chastity record, than to an examination of the values that encourage such behavior from men. In addition, the newspapers entirely exclude the view of Egyptian feminists, and reporters do not go to rape experts for explanations (Mohamed, 1993). There's a tendency to treat rape cases as exceptional events, shocking and frightening (Wafa, 1994), because if it isn't unusual, it isn't news (Graber, 1984). As a whole, the Egyptian press has generally reinforced accepted standard attitudes toward women and sexual violence (Mohamed, 1993).

Like Mohamed (1993), President Mubarak (1992) criticized the Egyptian press coverage of the Attaba sexual assault, but for different reasons. In his Labour Day speech in May, President Mubarak said, "I appeal to and request Egyptian newspapers to observe accuracy when reporting incidents that might give people abroad an impression which impairs the reputation of Egypt and the Egyptian people" (Mubarak, 1992). His request has given the implication that the press reportage of the Attaba sexual assault was inaccurate and was to be
minimized or stopped, because it negatively affects the country’s image. The speech of the president of any country can influence the subsequent media agenda (Weaver and Elliot, 1985).

Similarly, Egyptian police researchers have disapproved of the way the press handles sexual violence against females. They have charged that Egyptian newspapers sensationalize rape incidents to increase circulation rates. Also, Egyptian police researchers have criticized the press for portraying rape as an epidemic crime in Egypt, which is an exaggeration that spoils Egypt’s reputation and increases the public’s feeling of insecurity (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992).

The Egyptian police researchers have recommended that the press be objective in its rape crime coverage, and relate all the facts without distortion or omission, with the goal of enlightening the public on the rape crime, its usual location, the tricks most rapists use to carry out their crime, how to avoid it, and the punishment rapists get. Also, they have emphasized the important role of the press in covering issues that strengthen religious, moral and ethical principles in Egyptian society; in urging virtuous acts; and in denouncing criminal acts of all kinds (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992).

In the same manner Ayoub (1996) investigated the Egyptian press coverage of sexual violence against females. He stressed that the Egyptian press covers rape only when a confusing and disturbing crime takes place, and not as an issue that needs to be reported on. When such crimes take place, every journalist writes about rape, but very few write about reasons that cause rape. The first inclination of journalists is to portray rape as no part of Egyptian society, because Egyptians don’t do those terrible acts (Ayoub, 1996).

According to Ayoub (1996), two main directions are apparent in newspapers’ articles about rape: The first direction is the trivialization of the issue of sexual violence against females to prove that the country is secure, and that the reported rape cases are only individual acts that can be blamed on the female victim’s irresponsible behavior, foolish actions, wrong ideas of freedom...
or generally loose morality. The second direction is the portrayal of rape as an epidemic crime in Egypt that needs to be confronted and dealt with, and the depiction of sex crime victims as not being always responsible for their attack.

Moreover, Ayoub (1996) stressed that rape is politicized in Egypt. The opposition newspapers have blamed rape on police inefficiency and have described it as a widespread crime, to shake people’s trust in the country’s security. On the contrary, the ruling party’s newspaper, *Mayo*, has referred to several cases that combine prostitution and rape to prove that rape doesn’t really occur (Ayoub, 1996).

Furthermore, a few Egyptian writers have examined how the press depicts rape victims and rapists, focusing on the Maadi’s 1985 gang rape and Attaba’s 1992 sexual assault (see introduction chapter for more details). The press portrayed the criminals in the Maadi case as animals (e.g., wolves), lunatics and drug addicts. On the other hand, the image often presented to readers about the defendants in the Attaba case is that they are normal, responsible and well-mannered men. This is because the offenders in the Maadi case fitted the stereotyped image of rapists (unemployed, drug addict, illiterate, etc.), whereas the Attaba defendants didn’t (e.g., one of them was an invalid, accountant who is married and has children) (Ayoub, 1996).

As the Egyptian press coverage of the Maadi rapists and Attaba defendants has varied, so has its coverage of these two crimes’ victims. The Maadi gang rape victim was treated with care by the press, and her name was never disclosed. Her sex life and morals were subject to minimal examination. The only defaming factor against her is that, according to the defendants, she was engaged in a disreputable behavior with her fiancé when they decided to attack her. This aspect was played down by all but the most old-fashioned writers. On the whole, she was not subject to much blame for the crime (Ayoub, 1996). This may be because the Maadi girl came from an upper class family.

In contrast, the Attaba sexual assault victim has to go down in history as the worst treated Egyptian rape victim ever (Ramadan, 1993; Sherdy, 1992; and
Wafa, 1994). She was slandered by police officers and the Egyptian minister of interior. General Zakaria Rihanna, director of Security in Cairo, in a TV program announced firmly while pounding on his desk that, “We don’t have rape crimes and it is not rape” (the latter comment refers to the Attaba case) (Request for Presence, 1992). He further assured the female interviewer that most of the rape crimes occur by earlier agreement between participants involved (Request for Presence, 1992), thus overlooking facts and police statistics about sexual violence against females. In the same manner, General Helmy Al Fiki, director of the Public Security Bureau (at the time the crime took place), accused the victim of encouraging the criminal to assault her, because she didn’t scream when the defendant first started bothering her (Sherdy, 1992). In addition, Abd Al Halim Mousa (Egyptian minister of interior at the time the crime occurred) stated that the cause for the crime had to be drugs, revenge or an affair between the victim and defendants (Al Saadani, 1992).

Overall, the anti-victim sentiment that illustrated by police officers and the minister of interior, in the press toward the Attaba victim is vengeful and deeply insensitive to women. Their hostility was unmistakable, and their quotes have discredited the victim and undermined her credibility. This may be because the Attaba victim was a member of the lower-middle class and because her case raised questions about police efficiency and Egyptian people’s morals (a girl was raped in public and in the holy month of Ramadan).

**COVERAGE/ NO COVERAGE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALES**

In this section, the difference between the two sides in the debate about coverage or no coverage of sexual violence against females in the media, is clarified. There is a controversy between those who emphasize coverage, thus seeking to confront the problem to protect and empower women, and those who
stress the need for no coverage to protect people’s privacy, the community’s reputation, and guarantee a free trial.

According to Friedlander (1993) the public has an interest in learning about crime in the community, because it affects the society and the individual. The media cannot act as intermediaries between the people and what is happening in the outside world, by avoiding coverage of crime. “This kind of protection and filtering of knowledge is virtually impossible in our media world today” (Friedlander, 1993, p. 70).

In the same manner, several other writers and researchers support the coverage of sex crimes. Caputi (1989) states that if the media don’t inform the public of rape taking place in their communities, they will be risking other females’ safety, failing to warn the public, refusing to initiate their involvement, and ignoring their input. Also, Sikes (1992) urges the media to expose rape crimes. She stresses that if the media neglect to cover rape incidents, they will help in raising new monsters for new generations. Agreeingly, Arant (1991) emphasizes that the stories of rape victims, their assaults, and subsequent experience with court procedures have to be recounted in explicit details in the mass media.

On the other hand, some people believe that crime news influences the amount of citizens’ concern about crime, as well as the extent to which people fear crime (Wolfe, 1989). According to Abd Allah (1995), the press try and convict the suspects of a crime before they are convicted by the court. The coverage of a rape case may raise public opinion against the suspects and may affect judges’ verdicts, which lead to unfair trials (Abd Allah, 1995).

Since sexual violence against females coverage is a controversial issue, it is thought important for this thesis to refer to Egyptian people’s opinion about it. Anwar, Mahmoud and Al Fatiani (1992) have interviewed Egyptian mass communication professors, journalists, judges, law professors, lawyers, and police officers (the latter opinions are excluded, because they have been covered
earlier) to document their opinions about whether sex crimes should be covered, and if so, how.

Some professionals supported unlimited coverage of sexual violence against females in the media, because they warn people of the existing dangerous situations in their community. Others went for no coverage of sex crimes, so as to protect the country’s reputation and welfare. On the other hand, most interviewees agreed to conditional coverage of sexual violence against females in the media. Some of the conditions that were mentioned are: The coverage must not propose verdicts or judgments of sex crime cases; must not label suspects as wolves, slaughterers or criminals; must avoid details of the crime that defame suspects or victims; must enlighten women on how to avoid being victims themselves; must portray criminals as losers and not as heroes, must be balanced, not giving the public, the illusion either of living in a Utopia or that a crime wave is sweeping the country; the information that is presented must be accurate and true; and the journalists have to be objective and not to exaggerate (Anwar et al., 1992).

Moreover, this section focuses on the conflict in the mass media concerning the identification of sex crime victims. Many believe that sex crime victims continue to need special protection from identification in the media. They argue that a rape victim’s reputation is permanently damaged if she’s identified in the media. According to them, the personal nature of the crime makes it more humiliating than any other kind of crime. Also, the probability that the victim will be subject to a large amount of public attention, the effect that attention will have on her and her family, and the chance that she will be intimidated, make it essential to protect the victim from further violation by hiding her identity (Arant, 1991).

The fact is that most sex crime victims do not want to be named. More than half of the respondents (54 percent) to Glamour’s July 1990 survey about the identification of rape victims in the press, say that they would be less inclined to report a rape if they know their name will be published. Almost three quarters
feel that if a victim’s name is released, her neighbors and co-workers may avoid her. In addition, 72 percent of the respondents say that rape victims whose names are published in the media have been subjected to further victimization by the people in their community. For example, the victims may be sought out by sexually abnormal males, and their families may be insulted and ridiculed by others (“Rape: Should...” 1990).

Furthermore, the huge majority of the Egyptian professionals interviewed by Anwar et al. (1992) were against naming the victims and suspects before the case goes to trial. Some even have suggested that suspects should be named after the court’s verdicts are reached and victims should not be named at all (Anwar et al., 1992).

But there’s another side to this issue, which is the freedom of the media and the public’s right to know. The press claims the right to publish the identities of sexual assault victims based on the information’s newsworthiness. A victim’s photograph and name are substantially relevant to a topic because they strengthen the impact and credibility of the article. Also, media defenders have asserted that the public has a right to know about rape, because it is a matter of public concern. The media have the constitutional right to cover truthful information, lawfully obtained from public records, even if that information reveals the identity of rape victims (Arant, 1991).

Thus, the decision to publish sex crime victim’s names or not is left to the press as a matter of policy and ethics. The press is free to pursue a policy toward more openness about reporting rape, including the identity of victims, without the threat of being sued for the invasion of privacy (Arant, 1991). This condition is also provided by Egyptian law. It doesn’t prohibit the publication of names of rape victims, but journalists most of the time don’t print them in accordance to their own code of ethics. They believe that the policy of preserving a rape victim’s anonymity is for the sake of protecting her dignity and safety (Anwar et al., 1992).
Moreover, Wolf, Thomason and LaRocque (1987) surveyed 205 daily newspaper editors or managing editors in the United States to find out how they handled the identification of crime victims. The editors were given four hypothetical cases and asked how they would identify the victim in each case. The results of the study showed that in rape cases, 90 percent of the respondents print neither names nor addresses; in murder cases, addresses are commonly used (79 percent), in abduction cases, papers tend either to print only a name (45 percent), or leave out both the name and address (22 percent); and in robbery cases, 45 percent of the respondents print only the names and 40 percent print neither names nor addresses. In general, almost half (46%) of the newspapers that were surveyed handle identification of crime victims on a case-by-case basis (Wolf et al., 1987).

Overall, the issues discussed in this part of the thesis highlight the importance of the balance between the freedom of the media and the right of the public to get information it needs or wants on the one hand; and the individual's well-being and right to have its privacy protected on the other (Brown-Wilkinson, 1988; and Gross, 1988). Özek (1988) stated that restricting the flow of information and freedom to express ideas and questions will contribute to a climate of doubt and fear. Freedom of information is a public right. However, reporters are known to invade people's privacy to get information. They often use means, that are arguably unethical. For example, reporters and television cameras surround the house of an individual who is in the news and may make constant telephone calls that irritate the subject of a news story (Brown-Wilkinson, 1988). In sum, the right of the individual has to be preserved so long as the freedom of the media is not jeopardized (Brown-Wilkinson, 1988).
MEDIA ATTENTION AND ACTUAL CRIME.

It has been documented by some studies that the media are not successful in representing events in their content in the same proportions that these events occur in the real world. A study comparing mass media content of crime with the number of actual crime using the content analysis method revealed that they are unrelated (Windhauser, Seiter, and Winfree, 1990). This result was reached after content analyzing 24 daily newspapers of 22 Louisiana cities in 1980 and 1985.

Moreover, Snyder (1992) stated that to rely on newspapers to determine changes in the volume of rapes is to rely on misconceptions and prejudices. He also revealed that newspapers can create the belief that a community is experiencing a serious increase in crime by deliberately increasing their coverage of certain types of crimes (Snyder, 1992).

However, according to Pritchard and Berkowitz (1991), the variation in the amount of press coverage of crime can be explained by the increase or decrease in the level of actual crime in the community, meaning that, when the level of crime changes, the amount of the attention the press devotes to crime changes.
CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY
STATEMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE
OF THE STUDY

In the last decade Egypt has been trying to progress in dealing with complicated problems, such as population increase environmental pollution and drug addiction. But it is still doing a poor job of protecting the physical and psychological well-being of females who constitute half of society.

All in all, sexual violence against females has long been forgotten by the Egyptian media and public. For ages it has been a taboo topic for discussion, and women have been expected to simply deal with it alone. Hence, we are left with a society that has a general lack of knowledge concerning the effects of rape. It is ignorant of rapists, rape victims, definition of rape and causes of rape. There is an absence of reliable data on the actual frequency of rape, and a failure to consider the breadth of influence rape, or fear of rape, may have on women.

In view of evidence stated in the preceding chapter (review of literature), rape rates increase in cultures that include normative support for violence, belief in male supremacy, endorsement of rape myths, and approval of sexual violence (Burt, 1980; and Sanday, 1981). "Men who rape are founded on aggression, privilege and the scapegoating of women" (Neimark, 1991, p. 198).

Moreover, according to Burt (1980) beliefs in rape myths play an important role in causing rape. She hypothesizes that such beliefs may be used by rapists to justify their behavior or blame the victim, and by society to downgrade any serious injury to the victims or create excuses for the assailants. Thus, a rape victim may feel ashamed and guilty, as if she was the one who provoked the attack (Gross, 1991).

Therefore, the public's belief in rape myths must be challenged and modified, by raising public information, opinion and sentiment about the facts of sexual violence against females, and the needs and vulnerabilities of victims. This is a domain where mass media can play an important role, since it is one of
the most effective vehicles of social change, and reaches large numbers of people quickly (Friedlander, 1993). In addition, people rely on the meaning the media give to issues that they don't have first-hand information about (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982; and Lippmann, 1971). Rape is an example of such issues; very few people personally know someone who has been raped. Thus, it is only via the media that people can understand what rape is, and what its victims go through.

A number of researches that have been reviewed propose that when properly mobilized, the media can inform the public about rape, alter notions about it, and alleviate its intensity and frequency (Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981; Friedlander, 1993; Linz, Donnerstein and Penrod, 1984, 1988; Thoman, 1989; Tieger, 1981; and Wilson, Linz, Donnerstein, and Stipp, 1992).

Further, to able to design mass media material that will educate the public about sexual violence against females, it is adequate to start by examining the existing material. Reviewing the writings of other sex crime reporters may teach journalists the need to cover rape with increasing frequency, the necessity to report sex crimes without causing extra harm to the victims, the need to change widely held rape myths, the value of looking at sex crime from the victim's point of view, and the danger of trivializing the sex crime issue.

Moreover, drawing on available literature about sexual violence against females in Egypt, it can be concluded that it is an old problem for its victims and potential victims, but a relatively new one for public concern and debate in Egypt (Ayoub, 1996). It is now relatively well publicized as a social issue that deserves public attention and intervention, thanks to the efforts of journalists and to the success of the Egyptian movie, The Rapists (Lasheen, 1989). But although we have all had our consciousness raised vis-a-vis sexual violence against females, there is yet very little research done about this topic. Also, the located material dealing with sexual violence against females in Egypt has generally focused on the Islamic perspective of rape, circumstances of the crime (when and where it
took place), personality and characteristics of convicted rapists and rape victims, and discussion of whether rape of females is an epidemic crime in Egypt.

The question that proposes itself is why does rape, a heinous crime that produces outrage when discussed openly, attract such scarce attention from Egyptian researchers? One answer is that an issue receives attention when the people affected by it have enough power to demand attention (Smith, 1987). Since rape has direct affects almost exclusively on females (the “inferior sex”) and embarrasses males (the “dominant sex”), it may not be thought worth attention.

Furthermore, the existing literature in Egypt concentrating on sexual violence against females and topics related to it indicates that the issue of media coverage of sexual violence against females has not been systematically studied before. The search that has been carried out at Cairo University's library, Higher Press Council's library, Police Research Centre's library, American University in Cairo's library, and National Centre for Social and Criminological Researches' library has proven to be fruitless.

In addition, the present study has grown out of charges leveled against the Egyptian press concerning its reportage of rape. The idea is to help dispel inaccurate notions about the nature and effects of press coverage of rape. Often, sweeping accusations are made. For example, the press has been criticized for its subjective, sensationalist publicity of rape cases that increases the public's feelings of insecurity (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992). Also, in that same study titled *Kidnapping and Raping Females* Egyptian police researchers have argued that Egyptian press sensationalize cover rape incidents to increase circulation (1992). Moreover, President Mubarak, police officials and police researchers have charged the press with exaggeration for its portrayal of rape as an epidemic crime in Egypt, which helped spoil Egypt's and the Egyptian people's reputation (Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992; Mubarak, 1992; and Request For Presence, 1992).
Based on all the above mentioned factors, a content analysis of Egyptian press coverage of sexual violence against females in Egypt is believed to be an ideal topic for study. Above all, sexual violence against females is a prominent issue that has a wide range of effects on all human beings. It involves all women directly and men indirectly by being fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons of women. Also, the study of Egyptian media's coverage of sexual violence against females hasn't been performed before.
RESEARCH METHOD

To assess the amount and nature of Al Ahram's coverage of sexual violence against females, editorial items on sexual violence against females in Al Ahram's Index during 1, 1, 1980, to 12, 31, 1993, are content analyzed. All the gathered articles are checked for the characteristics and quality of content; the display of articles; the treatment of rapists and rape victims; the attitudes toward sexual violence against females; and the identity of reporters of sexual violence against females and their customary sources of information about the issue. This strategy has been used to gain better understanding of coverage of sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press.

Moreover, to investigate the agenda-setting process of the sexual violence against females issue in the Egyptian press, this research has attempted to correlate the number of actual sex crime cases in Egypt reported by the Public Security Bureau with the number of articles on sex crimes against females in Al Ahram over the 14 years under study (1980 to 1993). Accordingly, all the editorial items related to sexual violence against females in Al Ahram have been recoded to discover the annual number of articles. Also, the Public Security Bureau's sex crime statistics have been coded to determine the annual sex crime rates in Egypt. All this has been carried out to uncover the relationship, if any, between sex crime incidents in reality and press attention to sexual violence against females and its magnitude.

This present investigation has several remarkable design features. To begin with, two studies have been performed and two sources of data have been utilized in this research. The first study, as mentioned earlier, examined sexual violence against females coverage in Al Ahram using content analysis, a formal system for drawing conclusions from observations of content trends and emphases. It is a "research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Stempel and Westley, 1989, p. 125).
Similarly, as previously discussed, the second study's data were analyzed to determine the extent to which the number of sex crimes in reality is related to coverage of sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press.

Another important feature of this investigation, is that it is a longitudinal study which uses 14-year period (1980 - 1993) for the analysis. Such studies are known to provide in-depth knowledge and large amounts of information about the issue under study. Overall, this research has included quantifiable and consistent-over-time measures of the Egyptian press agenda on sexual violence against females and of the number of sex crime cases in Egypt.

Moreover, no sample has been drawn for this research. All of Al Ahram newspaper's articles on sexual violence against females articles have been employed. This allowed for generalization of the findings to other Egyptian newspapers, during the time period under study (see why in the section on selection of newspaper).

A coding sheet consisting of the categories for the collection of the first study's data was designed (see Appendix 1). These categories of analysis were defined so precisely in a coding book (see Appendix 2).
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The analysis of sex crime editorial content in *Al Ahram* may introduce questions of significance that will help determine the nature of content presented to readers. These questions are:

1. Does the press help readers understand sexual violence against females as well as its background, implications, effects, and outcomes?
2. Are there omissions of relevant information in *Al Ahram's* sexual violence against females coverage?
3. What are the attitudes toward sexual violence against females portrayed in *Al Ahram's* content?
4. Does *Al Ahram* newspaper convey a credible picture of reality?
5. What is the degree of importance given to the sexual violence against females issue in terms of size and placement of articles featuring sex crimes?
6. To what extent does *Al Ahram* newspaper protect sex crime victims privacy?
7. What is the amount of publicity given to sex crime suspects/criminals?
8. Are the causes of sexual violence against females mentioned in *Al Ahram's* editorial content?
9. What are the sub-issues of sexual violence against females portrayed in *Al Ahram's* articles?
10. What is the gender of reporters of sexual violence against females and the identity of their sources of information about the issue?
RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

An extensive and diverse review of literature on the issue under study and its related topics has allowed for the formulation of ten hypotheses. The following list of hypotheses is accepted as highly probable in the light of the studies cited earlier in the introduction and review of literature chapters and are offered for investigation.

Based on studies documenting that women’s viewpoints and concerns on issues are not fully explored or represented by the media (Bridge, 1989; Gallagher, 1981; and “Women and the Media,” 1989), and that crime reporters are mostly males (Bridge, 1989; and Singer and Endreny, 1987), it is inferred that:

**H1:** Sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press is predominantly reported by males.

**H2:** The utilized sources of information about sexual violence against females are mainly males.

In a male-dominated, conservative society like Egypt’s, women have unequal rights under the law (Hatem, 1986) and unequal political and economical opportunities (UNDP, 1995). Also, feminist groups are not supported and some have been dissolved because they request unpopular ideas to the dominating sex and to the traditional society as a whole, challenge conservative norms and values, and encourage women’s disobedience (e.g., in 1991 AWSA was dissolved) (Badran, 1993). Thus, it is predicted that:

**H3:** Feminists’ opinions, perspectives and knowledge about sexual violence against females are not reflected in the Egyptian press coverage of the issue.
The review of literature shows that the media are not capable of fully and completely covering everything in the world (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach, 1982; Lippmann, 1971; and Shoemaker and Mayfield, 1987); one reason for that is the constraints on journalists (e.g., space limitations, deadlines, and difficulty in acquiring information) (Shoemaker and Mayfield, 1987). Also, evidence suggests that there’s no objective reporting; every reporter brings to the story his/her own biases and world views (Keeble, 1994). Thus, the assumption of an active media that filters and shapes is supported and the following hypothesis is posed:

**H4:** Sexual violence against females coverage in the Egyptian press is biased and inaccurate.

Theoretical evidence from previous studies show that reporters in consultation with editors, consciously downplay or emphasize subjects depending on their judgment of what is newsworthy (Smith, 1987; and Weaver and Elliot, 1985). Based on this assumption and the fact that sexual violence against females is an under-reported, sensitive and taboo topic that is concealed (Abd Allah, 1995) and inadequately addressed by all Egyptian society members (Al Saadani, 1992; and Ayoub, 1996), the following hypothesis is presented:

**H5:** The issue of sexual violence against females receives significantly little attention in Egyptian press, in terms of amount and display of its coverage.

Since crime news contains little analysis or contextual information, because it is structured around the basic facts that can be found under a pressing deadline (Snyder, 1992), it is logical to predict that:

**H6:** The majority of Egyptian press editorial items dealing with sexual violence against females are event-oriented and not issue-oriented.
A notable number of researchers have indicated that exposure to pornography is an important contributor to sexual violence against females (Brownmiller, 1975; Denmark and Freidman, 1985; Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981; Egyptian Police Research Institution, 1992; Linz, Donnerstein, and Penrod, 1984 and 1988, Malamuth and Check, 1981; and others). Therefore the following hypothesis is formulated:

**H7**: The most prominently expressed cause for sexual violence against females in the Egyptian press is pornography.

The criteria defining events and issues as newsworthy are important in story selection (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1987; Graber, 1984; and Keeble, 1994). Studies suggest that the media are affected by the spectacular rape stories that take place every few years involving bizarre circumstances or famous people (Benedict, 1992; and Gordon, 1992). They ignore typical rapes or sexual assaults in favor of the bizarre, sensational, or bloody (Benedict, 1992; Gordon, 1992; and Stephens, 1990). Consistent with this notion, the following outcome is predicted:

**H8**: The Maadi gang rape (1985) and the Attaba sexual assault (1992) had a tremendous impact on the increase of sexual violence against females coverage in the Egyptian Press.

Because the speech of the president of any country can influence the subsequent media agenda (Weaver and Elliot, 1985), it is hypothesized that:

**H9**: President Mubarak's request in his Labor Day speech in May 1992 influenced the Egyptian press to reduce the number of its articles about sexual violence against females.

In accordance to the assumption that the media are to a great extent neutral transmitters of information about reality to the audience (Shoemaker and Mayfield, 1987; and Weaver and Elliot, 1985); that the media mirror or reflect
what goes on in a society (Grabber, 1984; Pritchard and Berkowitz, 1991; and Smith, 1987); and that the level of crime in a community predicts the level of crime in the press (Pritchard and Berkowitz, 1991), it is hypothesized that:

**H10:** Sex crime rates in Egypt, as measured by official crime statistics, are related to the amount of sexual violence against females articles in the Egyptian press.
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

To fulfill the purposes of this study, various objectives were established.

1. To identify the characteristics, nature and display of coverage of sexual violence against females in *Al Ahram* newspaper.

2. To assess the importance and attention accorded to articles on sex crimes against females in *Al Ahram* newspaper.

3. To discover the habits, policies and strategies the Egyptian press uses in its coverage of sexual violence against females.

4. To highlight the topics the press missed that are considered important for people's understanding of sexual violence against females.

5. To reflect the attitudes toward sexual violence against females portrayed in *Al Ahram's* articles.

6. To portray the gender of reporters of sexual violence against females in *Al Ahram*, and their customary sources of information about the issue.

7. To uncover the relationship, if any, between sex crime incidents reported by the Egyptian Public Security Bureau and Egyptian press attention to sexual violence against females.
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Before proceeding, it is important to define the key concepts which are used in this research.

**Sexual Violence Against Females Editorial Items:** For the purpose of this study, editorial items on sexual violence against females are defined as articles that refer explicitly to an attempt or completed act of forcible rape, sexual assault, sexual abuse or sexual murder of females in Egypt. Also included in the definition are articles dealing with matters related to such crimes. For further elaboration, articles that qualify for this study's criteria cover sex crime laws, prevention, statistics or psychological or sociological consequences; and news about sex crime occurrence or sex offenders' arrests, trials or final verdicts. In addition, the operational definition of sexual violence against females, sex crime, rape, or sexual assault is the same in this study. Moreover, sex crime against males and rape incidents of women by their husbands are not part of this study's definition of sex crime. The reasons are that this study is concerned with sex crimes against females, and rape in marriage is not considered a crime in Egypt and is not covered in the Egyptian press.

**Females:** The term “females” in this study refers to females of all age groups: children, teen-agers and adults.

**Feminists’ Opinions:** These opinions are operationalized as portraying sex-role stereotyped socialization of men and women as a major cause for sexual violence against females; and sexual violence against females more as an expression of misogyny (hatred of women) than of restrained sexual desire.

**Biased Coverage:** This term reflects coverage of sexual violence against females which excludes some experts' opinions on the issue; relies on official authorities for information; predominantly includes male reporters, and has
undiverse and unrepresentative sources of information. Such coverage is biased because females’ opinions are not known, official authorities may provide misleading information, and experts’ views are essential for presenting a complete idea about the issue.

**Inaccurate Coverage:** Press coverage of sexual violence against females is inaccurate if journalists report sex crime cases that involve force, brutality or a bizarre aspect and ignore attempted or typical sex crime cases. The result is that readers get the atypical and unrepresentative picture of the issue. Inaccurate coverage also constitutes under-coverage and trivialization of the issue of sexual violence against females.

**Event-Oriented Items:** These editorial items simply present facts and give accounts of occurrences of sex crimes. Such articles tackle sex crime events without providing background or in-depth information about the issue of sexual violence against females. They are usually brief articles done under deadline and space constraints.

**Issue-Oriented Items:** These editorial items contain thorough investigative reporting about specific sex crimes or the issue of sexual violence against females. These articles tell readers about the essential facts of any sex crime being covered (its circumstances, why it took place, who is the criminal and victim etc.), so as to be able to understand and interpret what goes on behind the scenes and mere facts. Also, such writings provide readers with ample information about the issue of sexual violence against females and all its related aspects, giving plenty of background information, recalling examples of past sex crimes, as well as covering governmental officials and psychological, sociological or criminological experts’ opinions on the issue. In sum, these articles explain and clarify sex crime events or the issue of sexual violence against females.
Pornography: In this study pornography refers to both erotic and aggressive-erotic literature, art or photography displayed in television, video films, magazines, books, pictures etc.

Maadi Gang Rape: This label is used by the Egyptian press when referring to the gang rape of an 18-year-old female student in Maadi on 1, 17, 1985. Five poor, illiterate men abducted the victim from her fiancé's car, after beating him and stealing their money. The girl was taken to a house provided by a sixth person, where she was repeatedly raped at knife-point. The fiancé (who later became her husband) reported the incident to the police. This crime attracted the media's attention because the victim was a member of the upper class and was accompanied by a male related to her (not unattended as might be expected).

Attaba Sexual Assault: This label was given by the Egyptian press personnel to the sexual assault that took place in Attaba, Cairo's most crowded square, on March, 19, 1992. A laborer inserted his finger into the genital opening of a 23-year-old secretary, rupturing her hymen while she was climbing the steps of a public bus. The other suspect in this crime was an invalid accountant. He was accused of lustily fondling the victim's thighs when she fell on the street. The bizarre angles of this crime were that the attack was witnessed by hundreds of people and occurred during the holy month of Ramadan.

President Mubarak's Request: This refers to the request President Mubarak made to the Egyptian press in his Labor Day speech in May 1992. He said, "I appeal to and request Egyptian newspapers to observe accuracy when reporting incidents that might give people abroad an impression which impairs the reputation of Egypt and the Egyptian people" (Mubarak, 1992). This request gave the implication that the press coverage of the Attaba incident was inaccurate.
and should be minimized or stopped, because it negatively affected the country's image.

**Press Agenda:** In the present investigation “press agenda” is defined as the number of articles about sexual violence against females in *Al Ahram* newspaper.

**Reality:** This term is operationalized as the information which the Egyptian society knows about sex crimes, particularly statistical information.

**Official Crime Statistics:** This term refers to the Egyptian police statistics that are provided by the Public Security Bureau on the numbers of actual crimes committed in Egypt. These statistics are the only available records reflecting the number of sex crimes taking place in Egypt.
Al Ahram

Al Ahram (The Pyramids), is a daily Arabic newspaper published in Cairo with a daily a.m. circulation of 1,228,281 (Willing, 1996). Al Ahram typically publishes 30 to 36-page weekday editions. It also has a weekly edition on Friday titled Ahram El Gomaa with a higher circulation rate than weekday editions (Willing, 1996). This weekly edition consists of about 36 pages, plus a 14-page or so supplement (Molhaa) that has colored photographs on the front and last page. The paper costs 40 piasters in Egypt.

Al Ahram was founded in 1875 by the two Lebanese, the Takla brothers. The paper remained in private hands until 1960, when it was nationalized by President Nasser (Donahue, 1983; and Ochs, 1986).

Over 100 years old, Al Ahram has been regarded as Egypt's most authoritative and influential newspaper (Donahue, 1983; and Fisher, 1982). It is the largest and financially the most successful newspaper in Egypt. Al Ahram is widely available in the major cities of Arab countries and other capitals of the Western world. It is the most famous of Middle Eastern newspapers (Donahue, 1983).

Moreover, Al Ahram is the most widely studied and quoted newspaper in Egypt. Foreign governments, academic specialists and the Egyptian public read Al Ahram to find out what is happening in Egypt and the rest of the Arab world (Donahue, 1983).

Furthermore, the paper established a reputation for factual reporting. Its excellent coverage of foreign and national news, its attention to social issues and the arts, its insightful editorial commentary and its production quality have justified the paper's claim to be "the newspaper of the Arab world" (Fisher, 1982, p. 310).
SELECTION OF NEWSPAPER

This study is based on a content analysis of rape-related news in *Al Ahram*, a newspaper purposely selected on the basis of its long history, serious approach of tackling issues, high circulation rate (meaning widely read), and leading position in Egypt and the Arab world. *Al Ahram* is also chosen because it microfilms all issues of its papers and has a monthly index of subjects, which facilitates the process of collecting data.

Moreover, *Al Ahram* is the only newspaper included in this study, because previous studies have suggested that there's a correlation between the three major Egyptian dailies in their emphasis on different issues (Donahue, 1983; and Fisher, 1982). According to Fisher (1982), *Al Ahram, Akhbar and Gonhouriya* tend to cover about the same news, and give items similar priorities. Also, *Al Ahram’s* front page may signal directions for other Egyptian newspapers (Donahue, 1983).

Therefore, it is thought appropriate to use only *Al Ahram* newspaper because it will be less time and effort consuming. Also, because *Al Ahram* agenda on the sex crime issue may be considered an indicator of general Egyptian press emphasis on sex crime during the 14-year-period of this study.

SELECTION OF THE PRESS

As mentioned earlier in the thesis, the press is the only section of the Egyptian media which has considerable freedom to circulate news (Ochs, 1986). Television and radio in Egypt are under the monopoly control of government. Material on television is very carefully selected because it reaches a wide range of the population, and has limited time-space (Fisher, 1982). A taboo topic such as sexual violence against females is not likely to be widely discussed on
Egyptian television. Thus, Egyptians obtain most of their information about rape from the print medium.

This medium is chosen because its relatively free, analytical and in-depth coverage serves this study's purpose, which is to thoroughly investigate the media's coverage of sexual violence against females.

**SELECTION OF THE TIME PERIOD**

The decision to measure *Al Ahram*’s sex crime content from January 1980 to December 1993 is principally based on the occurrence of two prominent sex crime cases that are thought to have affected sex crime coverage in the Egyptian media. The two cases are the Maadi gang rape of 1985 and the Attaba sexual assault of 1992. The Maadi incident led to a notable increase in press coverage of rape (Ayoub, 1996). Similarly, the shocking Attaba sexual assault received extensive press coverage (Mohamed, 1993).

Since 1985 coincides with a period of increasing media coverage of sex crime, it is thought essential to find out how the press coverage was prior to that year. Thus, the study starts with the year 1980, so as to give an account of sex crime coverage in *Al Ahram* before the occurrence of that notorious gang rape.

Additionally, the study ended with December 1993, because the latest available Public Security Bureau's crime statistics book at the time the work in this thesis commenced was for the year 1993.

Another consideration that led to the choosing of a 14-year longitudinal analysis of *Al Ahram*’s sex crime coverage is that such a study would offer a great amount of knowledge of the issue under study. Also, given the contraction and expansion of sex crime coverage in the Egyptian press over different intervals of time, an extended period of time is believed to be essential for the study.
SAMPLE

No sample is drawn for any of this research's two studies, so as to guarantee the most precise and accurate results. *Al Ahram's Index* is utilized instead of examining each issue of the newspaper individually. All articles are on microfilm and have been obtained from the American University in Cairo's library.

For the first study, news items related to sex crime in Egypt from 1, 1, 1980, through 12, 31, 1993, in *Al Ahram's Index* listings are analyzed with the exception of those that report sex crimes against males or adultery cases.

In other words, to be included in the study, the editorial item has to meet the criterion of being concerned with sexual violence against females in Egypt. Of the 309 articles that are listed in *Al Ahram's Index* under the subtitle “Sexual Assault in Egypt” during the 14 years of this study, only four articles didn’t fit the above mentioned chosen selection scheme. In other words, the rate of media coverage of male rape and adultery cases is very low. This may be due to the fact that in a male-dominated and conservative society like Egypt’s, male rape is extra shameful for a victim’s manhood and adultery is scandalous to all family members, therefore, they are underreported. Overall, the total number of *Al Ahram's* articles that fit the criteria of the study and were analyzed are 305 articles.

Moreover, the data used for the second study of this research is all the 305 sex crime editorial items of *Al Ahram* selected for study no. 1, plus the sexual assault annual statistics of the Public Security Bureau for the years 1980 to 1993.
UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The research's first study unit of analysis is any editorial item in *Al Ahram* newspaper that is devoted to sexual violence against females in Egypt, during the 14-year period under study. On the other hand, the unit of analysis for the research's second study is the annual number of *Al Ahram*'s articles dealing with sex crime in Egypt for the years 1980 to 1993, and the number of sex crime cases per year from 1980 to 1993 reported in the Public Security Bureau's crime statistics book.

CATEGORIES FOR ANALYSIS

To achieve the research objectives 21 questions pertaining to sex crime coverage characteristic, nature, display, direction, and orientation were designed, and then checked with the articles. The first set of questions applied to all 305 articles of the study. These articles were coded for their demographic characteristics. The characteristics used as variables included date, location, size and type of article. The location of article was coded according to important position (premium and inside front pages). Additionally, articles' size were counted in column inches\(^2\). All items treated in the coverage were divided into five size groups: small, medium, large, half-page, and full-page. Measuring article location and size is a way to assess the amount of emphasis accorded a topic, and is assumed to correlate positively with journalists' perceived importance of a topic (Weaver and Elliott, 1985). In addition, an article was classified in one of five article type categories: editorial, personal column, feature, letter to the editor, and news.

Moreover, the gender of the article's reporter was checked to calculate the number of male versus female reporters of sexual violence against females. Also, the type of sex crime covered in an article was tested, to specify the types
emphasized and the ones ignored. Another variable measured the extent to which *Al Ahram* gave a detailed account and a background of the sex crime issue in its coverage. Articles were classified as either event-oriented or issue-oriented.

The following questions dealt with how victims and suspects/criminals were treated by the newspaper: the presence of victims’ and suspects’/criminals’ photos, and the publication of victims’ and suspects’/criminals’ identities were tested. Similarly, the last few variables in this set were used to indicate the quality of information in sex crime articles, for example, whether sex crime verdicts, penalties and statistics were covered.

To investigate how *Al Ahram* portrayed the issue of sex crime in greater details, the second set of questions was applied to the editorial items not classified as news. The first question of this set asked about the article’s attitude, opinion or inclination toward sex crime, whether it was anti-rape, pro-rape, or neutral (see appendix II for definitions). The second question was included to note the recommendation proposed by the articles for sex crime coverage. There were five options: Extensive, Limited, On conditions, No coverage, or Issue not mentioned. Next, articles were rated on how they estimated the seriousness of the sex crime problem in Egypt (understated, exaggerated, given exact weight, or not estimated).

Further, the reasons for sexual violence against females presented in the articles were examined. There were seven categories of reasons measured altogether: Economics, Moral decadence, Decline of religious values, Pornography, Sex-role stereotyped socialization, Psychological characteristics of offenders, and Others. An article might contain more than one reason for sex crime. Finally, although it was difficult to categorize sex crime sub-issues, it did seem essential for the in-depth understanding of the newspaper’s sex crime content. Articles were classified into six sub-issue categories which included: Discrimination, Rates, Government policy, Human interest, Prevention, and Others. Each article of the study could be placed in only one sub-issue category.
On the other hand, items classified as features were reanalyzed and coded separately. Each feature was checked to determine the gender and occupation of its interviewed sources of sex crime information.

Lastly, it should be recognized that the editorial items were analyzed and coded in three separate sets of questions. All the categories of this study were intended to be as exhaustive as possible.

DATA GATHERING PROCEDURE

This research began in 1994. The microfilm facility of the American University in Cairo's library was used for the collection of Al Ahram newspaper's articles on sexual violence against females. A total of 305 articles was located that fitted the criteria of the study. All the articles were read and their data coded on tabulation sheets. This process of collecting data and recording it roughly took two months, from August to October 1996.

The second study involved a correlation test between sex crime rates in Egypt and sex crime editorial content in Al Ahram newspapers. Thus, the sex crime-related articles of Al Ahram from 1, 1, 1980, to 12, 31, 1993, were recoded and correlated to sex crime rates obtained from the Public Security Bureau's annual crime reports for the years 1980-1993. There were 2,373 sex crime cases altogether recorded for the 14 years of the study. To be able to accumulate this information from the Public Security Bureau, the researcher had to provide a university certificate specifying her identity and reasons for wanting this information.
STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

The statistical analysis of this research's first study on the nature and characteristics of sexual violence against females articles in *Al Ahram* was done by utilizing percentage tables of distribution. Also, the intercoder reliability was calculated for the same study using the Holsti formula, which compares the data of the two coders in terms of their percentage of agreement. The calculations for those two statistical methods were worked out using a calculator.

On the other hand, a PC IBM was employed to produce the results for this research's second study on the correlation between sex crime rates in Egypt and sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* newspaper. The statistical analysis is undertaken by statistical software package *SAS/STAT User's Guide* produced in 1988 by SAS Inst. Cary, NC.

The Pearson product-moment correlation statistic (commonly referred to as Pearson r) is used to measure the correlation between the frequency of sex crime rates in Egypt and sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* over the 14 years being studied. This method allows the researcher to determine the strength and direction of the relationship between sex crime rates and sex crime articles. In addition, the t-test of significance was applied to calculate the statistical significance of the hypothesis of this study. Moreover, the significance level of .05 was set for this research's study, meaning that there is a 5 percent chance of making a wrong decision about accepting or rejecting the research hypothesis. Since the study's hypothesis is tested at the .05 level of significance, the hypothesis can only be accepted if the research's significance level is equal to or lower than the .05 level. Thus, the study's hypothesis is rejected if its significant level is higher than .05.

\[ p \leq .05 = \text{Study results are significant and research hypothesis is accepted} \]

\[ p > .05 = \text{Study results are non-significant and research hypothesis is rejected while the null hypothesis is accepted.} \]
CHAPTER THREE

PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS
THE RESULTS

This chapter presents the results obtained from the content analysis. Each category of the research’s first study has been analyzed on the basis of frequency and expressed in a percentage table. Some categories have been combined with others. The computed percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number, for example, 1.5 percent is stated as 2 percent. After the computation of data, it is analyzed and possible explanations and interpretations, are proposed.

Since the second study of this research tests the relationship between coverage of sexual violence against females in the press and sex crime rates in Egypt, its data will be displayed in a frequency table with the application of the Pearson product-moment correlation test and the t-test of significance.

Below are the tabulated results:

Table 1 refers to the frequency of sex crime articles published in *Al Ahram* newspaper during the 14 years under study (Jan., 1980 - Dec., 1993). *Al Ahram* had a total of 305 sex crime articles published during the 14 years of this longitudinal study, an average of 22 articles per year.

There’s variation in the amount of coverage of sex crime in *Al Ahram* over the 14 years of the study. There is no reference to the issue of sex crime on the pages of *Al Ahram* during some years (e.g., 1980 and 1983) and there is extensive coverage of the issue during other years (e.g., 1985, 1988 and 1992). The highest number of sex crime articles over the 14 years of the study is 116 in 1992 and the lowest is 0 in 1980 and 1983.

The results portrayed in table 1 show that the initial period of this study (Jan., 1980 - Dec., 1984) is marked by relatively little or no press attention to sex crime. During this first phase *Al Ahram* carried only four articles about sex
crime. This suggests that the subject of sex crime was almost totally ignored by Al Ahram's newsroom personnel in the early 1980s.

Table 1 also reveals that 1985 with its 43 sex crime articles is the major turning point in the coverage of sex crime in Al Ahram. This is because in the four years prior to 1985, the number of sex crime articles ranged from no articles to two articles a year. Actually, the four years altogether (1980 - 1984) account for only four sex crime articles (less than a handful).

Moreover, the year 1992 is characterized by a sharp increase in the number of sex crime articles published in Al Ahram. A very high proportion of all the sex crime articles of this study are published in 1992 (38 percent). It seems that the sex crime issue was not rated as a top news story by the press medium personnel until 1992, the year in which the Attaba sexual assault took place.

Figure 1 exhibits the curve representing the number of sex crime articles in Al Ahram over the 14-year period of the study. Sex crime articles increased in frequency from an average of one article per year prior to 1985, to 24 articles per year from 1985 to 1989, and to an average of 45 articles per year thereafter (1990-1993).

Before the press agenda was set for the sex crime issue in 1985, Al Ahram had rather limited coverage of sex crime. After 1985, Al Ahram accorded heavy attention to the sex crime issue, but didn’t continue to do so. The number of sex crime articles decreased from 43 in 1985 to 3 in 1986 (see Figure 1). After the 1986 drop, the number of sex crime articles rose continuously for two years (1987 and 1988), then it dropped during the period 1989-1991 and remained fairly consistent (19, 22, 18 respectively). However, the number of sex crime articles in Al Ahram escalated to 116 in 1992. This year represents the peak of sex crime coverage in Al Ahram.
Nevertheless, the intensive interest of reporters in the sex crime issue didn’t last long. A sharp decrease in the number of sex crime articles was apparent in 1993 (only 25 articles were recorded for this year). Overall, the sex crime issue seemed to follow a rise-and-fall attention pattern on *Al Ahram*’s agenda.
Table (1)
Frequency Of Sex Crime Articles in *Al Ahram* From 1980-1993

<table>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
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<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (1)
Frequency of Sex Crime Articles in *Al Ahram* From 1980 - 1993

- Average number of articles about sex crime from Jan., 1985 to Dec., 1989 is 24 articles per year.
- Average No. of articles about sex crime in the 90's is 45 articles per year.
- Attaba Sexual Assault occurred in March, 1992.
Table 2 refers to the location of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* during the 14 years of the study. The newspaper's edition is divided into premium pages (1, 2, 3, 4 and 1+), inside front pages (5, 6, 7, 8 and 9), inside back pages (10, 11, 12, 13 and 14), and back pages (15 and more).

On analyzing the sex crime content, it is found that the majority of sex crime articles were published on inside back pages (48 percent). Conversely, the lowest number of sex crime articles are published in the premium pages (11 percent).

In addition, the results indicate that 209 of the 305 (69 percent) sex crime articles are placed in inside back and back pages of the newspaper. The newspaper editors' choice of displaying sex crime articles in locations of maximum attraction to readers (premium or inside front pages) is evident for 96 of the 305 (32 percent) sex crime articles under study. Moreover, the number of articles in the inside back pages category is more than the number of articles in the premium and inside front pages categories put together.

Figure 2 clearly portrays the difference in the number of sex crime articles published in the four page categories. It is obvious from looking at the figure that the “premium pages” category has the least number of sex crime articles. On the other hand, the highest number of sex crime articles is in the “inside back pages” category. This category’s bar is more than double the size of each of the two bars, the “inside front” and the “back pages”, and it is about quadruple the size of the “premium pages” bar. Another notable factor is the “inside front” pages category and the “back pages” category have an equal number of sex crime articles (63 articles for each).
Table (2)
Location Of Sex Crime Editorial Items During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location of Article</th>
<th>Premium pages</th>
<th>Inside Infront pages</th>
<th>Inside Back pages</th>
<th>Back pages</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Article</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (2)
Location of Sex Crime Editorial Items During the 14 Years Under Study
Table 3 covers the general trends of space devoted to sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* during the 14 years of the study. The analysis reveals that sex crime articles are predominantly small in size (68 percent). Also, the results display that large, half page, and full page articles combined constitute 12 percent of all the sex crime articles under study. This means that very few sex crime articles occupy a wide proportion of *Al Ahram*’s pages. There are more articles in the “full page” category than in the “half page” category.

Figure 3 demonstrates the size of sex crime articles during the 14 years of the study. Observably, the graph’s bar representing small sex crime articles is more than twice as big as all the other size categories’ bars combined.
Table (3)
Sex Crime Articles' Size During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of Article</th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Large</th>
<th>Half Page</th>
<th>Full Page</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Article</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Small = 20 in² and less
Medium = 21 in² to 40 in²
Large = 41 in² to 80 in²
Half page = 157 in²
Full Page = 315 in² with exception of a few inches for ads

Figure (3)
Sex Crime Articles' Size During the 14 Years of the Study

Articles size is calculated in column inches²
The type of sex crime editorial content in *Al Ahram* during the 14 years of the study is illustrated in table 4. The results show that the majority of sex crime articles are news articles. This indicates that a large amount of the sex crime coverage is brief and is not concerned with the sex crime issue as much as with the occurrence of a sex crime event.

The table also reveals that 10 percent of the sex crime articles are features, suggesting that the number of articles explicitly addressing the sex crime issue is not significant. Moreover, the results point out that there are no editorials about sex crime published in *Al Ahram* during the 14 years of the study. There is not a single article that presents the opinion of the publisher or editor of *Al Ahram* on the sex crime issue. Disappointingly, there are eight sex crime-related letters to the editor, which proves that the people’s feedback about the sex crime issue is scarcely reported in *Al Ahram*.

Additionally, table 4 shows that personal column articles account for 19 percent of the sex crime coverage. This suggests that a reasonable number of journalists shared their own views about sex crime with the readers.

Figure 4 reflects the type of sex crime articles during the 14 years of the study. Noticeably, the length of the bar representing news articles outstandingly surpasses all the other bars. It is also apparent that each category considerably varies in its number of sex crime articles from any of the other four categories.
Table (4)
Type of Sex Crime Editorial Content During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Article</th>
<th>Editorial</th>
<th>Personal Column</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Letter to the Editor</th>
<th>News</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (4)
Type of Sex Crime Editorial Content During the 14 Years of the Study

![Graph showing the distribution of article types](image)
Table 5 deals with the gender of reporters covering sex crime over the 14 years of the study. Of the 305 sex crime articles of the study, 187 are written by males, whereas only 37 are written by females. The ratio is five articles by men to one article by a woman. Thus, it can be concluded that the sex crime issue is predominantly reported by males. Also, that female coverage of sex crime is low.

Table 5 shows that the sex crime articles with identified reporters (74 percent) outnumber the sex crime articles with anonymous reporters (26 percent). Also, a very low number of articles is coded under the “both” category (2 articles). The term both is given to articles written by two or more reporters of both sexes.

Figure 5 presents the gender of reporters covering sex crime during the 14 years of the study. The graph makes it clear that males dominate the reporting of sex crime in Al Ahram. Conversely, a limited number of females report on sex crime.

The bar marked “both” reveals that very few articles have two or more reporters of both sexes.
Table (5)
Gender of Reporters Covering Sex Crime During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Reporter</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Newspaper Editor</th>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ratio of males to females reporters is 5 : 1

Figure (5)
Gender of Reporters Covering Sex Crime During the 14 Years of the Study
Table 6 refers to the type of sex crime covered in Al Ahram during the 14 years of the study. The table shows that Al Ahram tended to become more active in covering gang rapes. Gang rapes are the main type of sex crime featured by Al Ahram; it accounts for 30 percent of the coverage. Sexual assault receives the second highest attention from the newspaper, with 24 percent of the coverage. A factor that has to be taken into account is that all the articles under the "sexual assault" category are about the Attaba sexual assault case. Other types of sex crimes covered in Al Ahram, but in smaller percentages, are single rapes (14 percent), rape attempts (9 percent) and pair rapes (6 percent).

The table highlights that rape as an issue not related to a certain event is covered in 53 articles out of the 305 (17 percent). Also, 83 percent of the sex crime coverage deals with certain events. This illustrates that sex crime is discussed in Al Ahram when a specific case occurs and not as an issue of great importance to the public.

From looking at figure 6, one can observe that Al Ahram newsroom personnel give priority to the reporting of gang rapes. Likewise, but to a lesser extent, there is a considerable number of articles about sexual assault (73). Remarkably, all the articles listed under this category are about the Attaba sexual assault case.

Figure 6 makes it clear that almost all types of sex crimes and the sex crime issue are covered in Al Ahram, but with assigning different degrees of attention. Single rapes have received moderate attention (43 articles out of 305). On the other hand, pair rapes (see appendix II for operational definition) are responsible for the least amount of sex crime coverage (17 articles).
Table (6)
Type of Sex Crime Covered During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Sex Crimes</th>
<th>Single Rape</th>
<th>Pair Rape</th>
<th>Gang Rape</th>
<th>Sexual Assault</th>
<th>Rape Attempt</th>
<th>Rape Issue in General</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the articles under the sexual assault category are about one specific sexual assault case, Attaba case.

Figure (6)
Type of Sex Crimes Covered During the 14 Years of the Study
Table 7 is concerned with the orientation of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram*. Based on the results reported in the table, it can be stated that the coverage of sex crime in *Al Ahram* is event-oriented. Sixty-nine percent of the articles coded are event-oriented, whereas 31 percent of the articles are issue-oriented.

The findings of this table show that more than two-thirds of the sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* are event-oriented (209 out of 305 articles). This means the coverage emphasized facts and figures at the expense of in-depth analysis and background information about sex crime.

Figure 7 exhibits the orientation of sex crime articles during the period of the study. The figure shows that the bar representing the event-oriented articles is more than twice as long as the bar representing the issue-oriented articles.
Table (7)
Orientation of Sex Crime Articles During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation of Articles</th>
<th>Event-Oriented</th>
<th>Issue-Oriented</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (7)
Orientation of Articles During the 14 Years of the Study
Table 8 refers to the presence of victims' and suspects' /criminals' photos during the 14 years under study. The overall tendency of *Al Ahram* covering of sex crime is not to present photos of sex crime victims. Only one article is found with a victim's photo. In other words, the newspaper shielded the victims of sex crimes.

Conversely, 95 percent of the articles carried photos of suspects/criminals of sex crimes. This show that *Al Ahram* overlooks the privacy concerns of sex crime suspects/criminals.

Table 9 deals with the identification of victims and suspects/criminals of sex crimes during the 14 years under study. The results of the table propose that the absolute majority of articles don’t expose sex crime victims' identities (96 percent). This shows that *Al Ahram* highly protects the privacy of sex crime victims.

As for suspects/criminals, 41 percent of the articles have publicized their identities, whereas 59 percent of the articles have guarded their identities. The difference between the number of articles that reveal the identities of sex crime suspects/criminals and the number of articles that conceal them is not very significant. Thus, *Al Ahram* doesn’t portray a specific trend in covering the identities of sex crime suspects/criminals. Perhaps each case's circumstances and participants determine whether suspects/criminals are identified.
Table (8)
Presence of Victims' and Suspects'/Criminals' Photos During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Photo of</th>
<th>Victims</th>
<th></th>
<th>Suspects/Criminals</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (9)
Identification of Victims and Suspects/Criminals During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of</th>
<th>Victims</th>
<th></th>
<th>Suspects/Criminals</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10 covers the publication of verdicts of specific sex crimes or the discussion of the issue of sex crime penalties during the 14 years of the study. The results of the table indicate that most of the articles (64 percent) don’t tackle verdicts or the issue of sex crime penalties.

Table 11 presents the number of articles that disclose official sex crime statistics during the 14 years of the study. It is apparent that the absolute majority (97 percent) of the articles under study don’t include official sex crime rates. This illustrates that Al Ahram doesn’t provide its readers with information about sex crime statistics.
Table (10)
Publication of Verdicts of Specific Sex Crimes or Discussion of Sex Crime Penalties Issue During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verdicts or Issue of Sex Crime Penalties</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (11)
Disclosure of Official Sex Crime Statistics in Articles During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Official Sex Crime Statistics</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12 contains the data dealing with the direction of sex crime articles during the 14 years of the study. The absolute majority (73 percent) of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* are anti-rape. The articles neutral toward rape account for 21 percent of the coverage, while the pro-rape articles (see appendix II for definition) have a very low number of presence to be of any value (six percent). Overall, the general attitude of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* is unfavorable to rape.

Figure 8 portrays the directionality of sex crime articles during the 14 years under study. The bar representing the “anti-rape” category is more than triple the size of the bar representing the “neutral” category. Likewise, the “neutral” category bar is more than triple the size of the “pro-rape” bar. Hence, the “anti-rape” bar is about 11 times as long as the “pro-rape” bar.
THE FOLLOWING SECTION COVERS THE 96 ARTICLES OUT OF THE 305 STUDIED THAT ARE NOT CLASSIFIED AS NEWS

Table (12)

Direction of All *Al Ahram's* Sex Crime Content During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Anti-Rape</th>
<th>Pro-Rape</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted that an article can fit in only one of the three categories

Figure (8)

Direction of *Al Ahram's* Sex Crime Content During the 14 Years Under Study
Table 13 is associated with the proposed recommendation for media coverage of sexual violence against females during the 14 years under study. The majority of the articles (61 percent) have not been concerned with the way the media cover sex crimes. However, a considerable percentage of the articles (38 percent) contain views about the form of media coverage of sex crime. The highest number of articles support limited coverage of sex crimes (13 articles) and the lowest number of articles emphasize no coverage (2 articles). Both the extensive coverage and the conditional coverage categories contain the same number of articles (11).

Figure 9 pictures the different views professed in articles on the ideal amount of media coverage of sexual violence against females. With regards to this issue, more than half of the articles don’t tackle it and most of the articles that do, stress the need for limited coverage. Very few articles favor no coverage of sex crimes.
Table (13)
Recommendation Proposed For Media Coverage of Sexual Violence Against Females During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media Coverage</th>
<th>Extensive</th>
<th>Limited</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Issue Not Mentioned</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (9)
Recommendation Proposed For Media Coverage of Sexual Violence Against Females During the 14 Years Under Study
Table 14 refers to the portrayal of the seriousness of sex crime in the articles of this study. The data reveal that the seriousness of sex crime is estimated by most of the articles (51 out of the 96 articles). Nonetheless, the seriousness of sex crime is not reflected in a considerable number of the study’s articles (45 out of the 96 articles).

The table also uncovers that a high number of the articles that estimate the seriousness of sex crime are listed under the “given exact weight” category (23 out of the 51 articles). In other words, these articles do not exaggerate or understate the sex crime problem in Egypt. The articles that understate the problem of sex crime are low in number (only 11 articles). Lastly, a reasonable number, 17 articles out of 51, exaggerate the occurrence of sex crime in Egypt.

Figure 10 is concerned with displaying the seriousness of sex crime reflected in the articles of the study. It is apparent from looking at the graph that when the seriousness of sex crime is tackled, it is most often given its exact weight (23 articles). But, the sex crime problem is sometimes exaggerated in the articles (17 articles) and at other times understated (11 articles) in the articles. Figure 10 also shows that there is a relatively large number of articles that don’t estimate the seriousness of sex crime (45 out of 96).
Table (14)
Seriousness of Sex Crime Portrayed During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seriousness of Sex Crimes</th>
<th>Understated</th>
<th>Exaggerated</th>
<th>Given Exact Weight</th>
<th>Not Estimated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure (10)
Seriousness of Sex Crime Portrayed During the 14 Years of the Study
Table 15 deals with the reasons for sexual violence against females specified in the articles during the 14 years of the study. The majority of articles do not cover reasons for sexual violence against females (58 percent). Hence, it can be concluded that reporters of *Al Ahram* cover sexual violence against females without explaining the reason for it.

Upon analyzing the data that highlight reasons for sexual violence against females, one discovers that three reasons are mainly stressed in *Al Ahram*’s sex crime content: economics, moral decadence and decline of religious values. “Moral decadence” has the highest score of all the six reason categories (19 articles). The second widely used reason for sexual violence against females is economics, which appears in 15 articles. Also, among the highly stressed reasons for sexual violence against females is the decline of religious values, which is presented in 12 articles.

In addition, the results show that pornography (five articles) and psychological characteristics of offenders (four articles) are reasons of sexual violence against females that are rarely mentioned. Also, sex-role stereotyped socialization is another reason for sexual violence against females that is scarcely discussed in the articles (only one article is included in this category).

Table 16 shows the ranking of reasons for sexual violence against females illustrated in the articles during the 14 years of the study. The higher the number of articles listed under a reason category, the most frequently utilized is the reason in *Al Ahram*’s sex crime articles. In this respect, moral decadence is the most commonly used reason and sex-role stereotyped socialization is the least used reason for sexual violence against females.
Table (15)
Reasons Illustrated For Sexual Violence Against Females During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Decadence</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline of Religious Values</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex-role stereotyped Socialization</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Characteristics of Offenders</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Not Covered</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, each editorial item can be placed in one or more of these categories.

Table (16)
The Ranking of Reasons Illustrated For Sexual Violence Against Females During the 14 Years of the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Moral Decadence</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Decline of Religious Values</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pornography</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Psych. Characteristics Of Offenders</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sex-Role Stereotyped Socialization</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "Other" and the "Issue Not Covered" Categories are excluded from this analysis.
Table 17 reveals the frequency of sub-issues of sexual violence against females during the 14 years under study. Two sub-issues, government policy and prevention, account for 62 percent of the articles in this study. The “government policy” category has 31 articles and the “prevention” category has 29 articles.

Moreover, table 17 shows that Al Ahram has 5 articles about discrimination against sex crime victims, which is about twice as many articles as in the “human interest” category (eight) or in the “rates” category (seven).

The idea that is given by table 17 is that government policy and prevention methods are by far the dominant concerns of sex crime reporters. The discrimination sub-issue gets average coverage (15 articles) compared to the other five sub-issues. But very little attention is attributed to human interest stories about participants in sex crimes and to information about sex crime rates. The newspaper’s emphasis on certain sex crime sub-issues more than others reflects its priorities when dealing with the sex crime issue.

Table 18 presents the ranking of sub-issue categories of sexual violence against females. The smaller the rank value, the more attention paid to the sex crime sub-issue in the newspaper. The sub-issue category of “government policy” ranks as the number one category sub-issue in the articles of the study. Consequently, “prevention” is ranked as the second sub-issue in this content analysis of articles. These two sub-issues are the most heavily stressed by the newspaper.

The other three sex crime sub-issue categories (“discrimination,” “human interest” and “rates”) rank less than the preceding two (“government policy” and “prevention”). According to the ranks distributed among the six sex crime sub-issue categories, “government policy,” which occupies rank one, is the highest sex crime sub-issue on the newspaper agenda and “rates,” which ranks number six, is the lowest sex crime sub-issue on the newspaper agenda.
Table (17)
Frequency of Sub-Issues of Sexual Violence Against Females During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Issue Categories</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rates</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Policy</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each article can be placed in only one sub-issue category

Table (18)
Ranking of Sub-Issue Categories of Sexual Violence Against Females in *AL Ahram* During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Sub-Issue Categories</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Government Policy</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prevention</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Human Interest</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rates</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "Other" category is excluded from this analysis
Figure 11 portrays the frequency of sub-issues of sexual violence against females during the 14 years of the study. The general picture that emerges from the analysis of this figure is: government policy for sex crime and prevention methods of sex crime are the top two issues covered in articles dealing with sex crime; discrimination against sex crime victims is accorded a moderate degree of press attention; and human interest stories about sex crime participants and sex crime rates have little amount of press coverage. The "other" category shows that there are sex crime sub-issues covered in the articles that have not been included in the categories of the study.
Figure (11)
Frequency of Sub-Issues of Sexual Violence Against Females During the 14 Years Under Study

Sub-Issues of Sexual Violence Against Females
Table 19 is concerned with the gender of interviewed sources in sex crime articles during the 14 years of the study. The data in this table show that all the information about sex crime obtained from interviewed sources is attributed. Sixty-six percent of the sources of information about sex crime are males and three percent are females. The gap between the two scores is very high. However, the percentage of articles that include interviews with both sexes on the sex crime issue suggests some balance (31 percent).

The following table (20) indicates the occupation of interviewed sources in sex crime articles of Al Ahram during the 14-year period of the study. From the variety of the occupations of interviewed sources cited in sex crime articles, two in particular emerge most frequently, law personnel (48 percent) and Islamic scholars (38 percent). Police officers are one of the three prime sources of information about sex crime (31 percent).

Other less frequently used sources of information about sex crime are psychologists (31 percent) and sociologists (24 percent). Feminists are interviewed in three percent of the sex crime articles. This means that the press has neglected to convey their opinions on sex crime to the readers.

These results illustrate that law personnel, Islamic scholars and police officers have better access to the press when dealing with sex crime, than experts on the issue such as psychologists, sociologists and feminists.
THE FOLLOWING SECTION DEALS WITH THE 29 ARTICLES THAT ARE CLASSIFIED AS FEATURES

Table (19)
Gender of Interviewed Sources in Sex Crime Articles of Al Ahram During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of News Sources</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Unattributed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (20)
Occupation of Interviewed Sources in Sex Crime Articles of Al Ahram During the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation of News Sources</th>
<th>No. of Articles</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociologists</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychologists</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Officers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminists</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Professional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamic Scholars</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law Personnel</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unattributed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An editorial item may contain the opinion of people of different occupation.
Figure 12 displays the occupation of interviewed sources in sex crime articles of *Al Ahram*. The data make it clear that a wide range of people with different occupations are interviewed in sex crime articles, only in different degrees. Law personnel are the prime sex crime news sources, while feminists are the least used news sources.

The data in the figure show that reporters depend on authorities for information about sex crime ("law personnel" category has 14 articles and "police officers" category has nine articles). Also, reporters do seek opinions of experts on sex crime but not very often (psychologists’ views are identified in nine articles, sociologists in seven and feminists in one).

In addition, the results from the figure show that Islamic scholars opinions about sex crime are commonly reflected in *Al Ahram*’s coverage. Noticeably, psychologists and police officers get an equal opportunity to express their views on sex crime in the press. Although media professionals are not highly informed on the sex crime issue, their opinions are related in four articles.
Figure (12)

Occupation of Interviewed Sources in Sex Crime Articles of
Al Ahram During the 14 Years Under Study
Table (21)  

*Al Ahram’s* Sex Crime Coverage in 1992 on a Monthly Basis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21 portrays the frequency of sex crime articles in 1992 on a monthly basis. The table reveals that there is an overall inconsistency in sex crime coverage in the twelve months of this year. The year 1992 starts with four articles in January, decreases to zero articles in February, and jumps to 47 articles in March. The number of articles recorded under “April” are 46. This consistency in number of sex crime articles didn’t last long. Coverage of sex crime sustains a sudden drop in May (one article). Sex crime articles in 1992 are concentrated in March and April (93 articles out of 116), and the remaining 23 articles are unequally distributed among the other ten months of the year.

This increase in sex crime articles in March and April can be related to the occurrence of the Attaba sexual assault in March. Similarly, the sharp decline in sex crime coverage in May may be accorded to President Mubarak’s May speech.
Table 22 contains the data collected from the longitudinal (14 years) analysis of the coverage of sex crime in *Al Ahram* and the sex crime rates reported in the Public Security Bureau. A total of 2,373 sex crime cases are reported by official statistics from 1980 to 1993, and 305 sex crime articles are published in *Al Ahram* from 1980 to 1993.

Table 22 also indicates that there is a substantial amount of selection in the newspaper's reporting of sex crime. Only 13 percent of all sex crime cases recorded by the Public Security Bureau is covered in the newspaper.

Furthermore, the results in table 22 offer no support for links between the number of sex crimes and attention attributed to sex crime in *Al Ahram*. Although there is a sharp increase in the amount of sex crime articles in 1992, there is no major increase in the number of sex crimes. The number of sex crime cases in 1990, 1991, 1992 and 1993 is 180, 164, 175 and 162 respectively.

In addition, in spite of the fact that 1990 has 180 sex crime cases and 1992 has 175, the number of sex crime articles in 1992 (116) is much larger than the number of sex crime articles in 1990 (22). Therefore, the number of sex crime rates and sex crime articles are uncorrelated since a high score of sex crimes is not associated with a high or low score of sex crime articles.

Table 22 also shows that three sex crime articles are published in *Al Ahram* in 1986, while 164 sex crime cases are reported by official statistics in the same year. This illustrates that the number of sex crime articles are entirely out of proportion with the number of sex crime rates.

Table 23 demonstrates the results of the correlation analysis between sex crime coverage in *Al Ahram* and sex crime rates in Egypt overall the 14 years of the study. The calculated correlation between the number of sex crime cases and sex crime articles is +.318. This correlation illustrates that there is a weak positive relationship between the frequency of sex crime articles and sex crimes.
Correlation measures how two variables change in relation to one another and not how one causes the occurrence of the other. If \( r = +.318 \) then the coefficient of determination is: \( r^2 = .10 \). This indicates that 10 percent of the total variation in the number of sex crime articles is accounted for by sex crime rates. The other 90 percent of the variation is unexplained, except to the extent that it is not accounted for by the sex crime rates.

Table 23 also reveals the results of calculating the significance of the correlation between sex crime articles and sex crime rates using the t-test statistical method. A .05 level of significance has been set by the researcher for accepting or rejecting the research hypothesis.

The result is \( 0.3 > .05 \), which means that the correlation between sex crime rates and sex crime articles is non-significant. Therefore, the research hypothesis no. 9 is rejected and the alternative or null hypothesis is accepted. Translating this in words, sex crime rates in Egypt and sex crime articles in the Egyptian press are unrelated. This finding supports the assumption that the press filters reality and doesn’t mirror it. Consequently, it can be inferred that the Egyptian press plays an active filtering or agenda-setting role with regards to the sex crime issue.
THE FOLLOWING SECTION IS FOR STUDY NO. 2 OF THIS CONTENT ANALYSIS

Table (22)

*Al Ahram's* Sex Crime Coverage and Sex Crime Rates in Egypt on a Yearly Basis, From 1980-1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Sex Crime Articles</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Sex Crimes</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>2373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (23)

Correlation Between *Al Ahram's* Sex Crime Coverage and Sex Crime Rates in Egypt Overall the 14 Years Under Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>No. of Sex Crime Articles</th>
<th>No. of Sex Crimes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>2373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sex Crime Articles/ Sex Crimes: $r = +.318$  
$t^2 = 0.10$

t: value = 3.9  at df = 12

$P < .05$ 0.3 > 0.5 $H_1$ rejected and $H_0$ accepted
Figure 13 shows the yearly distribution of *Al Ahram*’s agenda of sex crime and the Public Security Bureau’s sex crime rates for 1980 until 1993 (inclusive). In the 14-year period of the study, the Public Security Bureau listed 2,373 sex crime cases, an annual average of 170 cases. Conversely, *Al Ahram* published 305 articles about sex crime during the 14-year period under study, an average of 22 articles per year. This difference in amount between sex crime rates and sex crime articles may be considered proof for lack of press attention to the sex crime issue.

The analysis of the results in figure 13 indicates that there is a marked lack of association between the number of sex crimes in Egypt and the number of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram*. By observation, one can see the wide gap between the curves of the two sets of data. The height of the sex crime rates’ curve is much higher along the y-axis than the height of the sex crime articles’ curve. Thus, the real-world indicator of the severity of sex crime in Egypt (Public Security Bureau’s sex crime statistics) is far from a complete explanation of the press coverage of sex crime.
Figure (13)

Annual Sex Crime Official Statistics and *Al Ahram* Sex Crime Coverage For 1980-1993

Average annual number of Sex Crime Cases in Egypt for the 14-year-period Under Study : 170  
Average annual number of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* for the 14-year-period Under Study : 22

Source of Sex Crime Articles : *Al Ahram* Newspaper's Index for 1980-1993
THE MAJOR FINDINGS

1. There’s variation in the amount of coverage of sex crime in *Al Ahram* over the 14 years of the study. Sex crime articles increased in frequency from an average of one article per year prior to 1985, to 24 articles per year from 1985 to 1989 and to an average of 45 articles per year from 1990 to 1993.

2. The year 1985 is the major turning point in the coverage of sex crime in *Al Ahram*. The Maadi gang rape, which took place in that year, marks a critical point in the evolution of sex crime reporting. During the initial period of the study (1980-1984), *Al Ahram* published four sex crime articles; then, in 1985, the number increased to 43.

3. The year 1992 (116 articles) represents the peak of sex crime coverage in *Al Ahram*. The sex crime issue was not rated as a top news story by the press personnel until 1992. The Attaba sexual assault of 1992 can be considered responsible for the extensive press attention to the sex crime issue.

4. Sex crime articles are tucked away in the inside back and back pages of the newspaper (48 percent), rather than being placed in front pages that attract maximum attention from readers.

5. Sex crime articles are predominantly small in size (68 percent), meaning that very few sex crime articles occupy a wide proportion of *Al Ahram’s* pages.

6. The absolute majority of sex crime articles are news articles (69 percent), indicating that a large amount of sex crime coverage is brief and concerned with sex crime events.

7. Sex crime articles are covered largely by males (61 percent). The ratio is one article by a female to five articles by a male.
8. Only when a sex crime takes place does sex crime constitute a topic of high news value. Eighty-three percent of the sex crime coverage deals with certain events and not with the issue in general.

9. *Al Ahram* newsroom personnel give priority to the reporting of gang rape (30 percent of coverage). Sexual assaults are also given considerable amount of attention (24 percent of coverage). However, all the articles listed under this category are about the Attaba sexual assault. Also, rape attempts receive little attention from sex crime reporters (9 percent).

10. More than two-thirds of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* are event-oriented. Hence, readers are getting very little background information, thorough explanations or in-depth analysis in the coverage of the sex crime issue.

11. The newspaper has a tendency of not publishing photos of sex crime victims. Only one article of the 305 is found with a victim’s photo. Conversely, 95 percent of the articles presented photos of suspects/criminals of sex crimes.

12. It is the newspaper’s policy to withhold sex crime victims’ identities (96 percent of the articles conceal victims’ identities). On the other hand, identities of sex crime suspects/criminals are revealed in 41 percent of the articles and are concealed in 59 percent of the articles.

13. The majority of sex crime articles (64 percent) don’t tackle verdicts or sex crime penalties.

14. Almost all the articles in this study (97 percent) don’t include official sex crime rates. This illustrates that *Al Ahram* doesn’t provide its readers with information about sex crime statistics.

15. The absolute majority (73 percent) of the sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* are anti-rape. In other words, the general attitude of sex crime articles in *Al Ahram* is unfavorable to rape.
16. More than half of the articles (61 percent) don't express a view on the ideal amount of media coverage of sexual violence against females. But a large number of the articles that do, stress the need for limited coverage of sex crime, and a small number of articles recommend no coverage of sex crime.

17. The seriousness of sex crime is estimated by most of the articles (51 out of the 96 articles), and is most often given its exact weight (23 articles).

18. The majority of articles do not cover reasons for sexual violence against females (58 percent). Reporters of Al Ahran cover sexual violence against females without explaining reasons for it.

19. Economics, moral decadence and decline of religious values are the three main reasons for sexual violence against females highlighted in Al Ahran's content. On the other hand, pornography and psychological characteristics of offenders are reasons for sexual violence against females that are rarely mentioned in the articles.

20. Only one article proposes sex-role stereotyped socialization as a reason for sexual violence against females. This means that reporters fail to address sexual violence in terms of gender.

21. Government policy and prevention methods are by far the dominant concerns of sex crime reporters. These two sub-issues of sexual violence against females account for 62 percent of the coverage. Conversely, reporters attribute very little attention to human interest stories about participants in sex crimes and to information about sex crime rates. Both sex crime sub-issues are responsible for 15 percent of the coverage.

22. Male sex crime news sources (66 percent) outnumber female sex crime news sources (3 percent).
23. Law personnel, Islamic scholars and police officers have better access to the press when dealing with sex crime than experts on the issue such as psychologists, sociologists and feminists. Reporters depend on authorities for information about sex crime expressed in 79 percent of the articles. *Al Ahram* neglects to convey feminists’ point of views on sex crime to its readers. Only one article that reflects opinions of feminists on sex crime was published in the newspaper.

24. There’s a substantial amount of selection in the newspaper’s reporting of sex crime. Only 13 percent of sex crime cases recorded by Public Security Bureau is covered in the newspapers.

25. The issue of sex crime is not very high on *Al Ahram*’s agenda. A total of 305 articles are published in *Al Ahram* during the 14-year period of the study.

26. Sex crime rates in Egypt are unrelated to sex crime coverage in *Al Ahram*. This further supports the assumption that the press filters reality and doesn’t mirror it.
RELIABILITY

The intercoder reliability method was used to measure the reliability of the results of this study. Two weeks after the coding was completed, a systematic randomly chosen sample representing 25 percent of the total studied sex crime articles was reexamined. Seventy-six articles out of the 305 that were studied were included in the sample. The numbers of these articles were:

4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28, 32, 36, 40
44, 48, 52, 56, 60, 64, 68, 72, 76, 80
84, 88, 92, 96, 100, 104, 108, 112, 116, 120
164, 168, 172, 176, 180, 184, 188, 192, 196, 200
204, 208, 212, 216, 220, 224, 228, 232, 236, 240
244, 248, 252, 256, 260, 264, 268, 272, 276, 280
284, 288, 292, 296, 300, 304

The coder who assisted me with the reliability check has a master's degree in mass communication from the American University in Cairo. Hence, she has a similar academic background as I and is experienced in coding.

The first step taken was going over the definitions and the coding procedure with the coder before we began. Then an initial coding exercise was carried out to resolve any coding differences between us. This was done to ensure a high level of reliability agreement and a smooth process of coding.

After that, each of the 76 articles was read and coded for the 21 variables of the study, by both of the coders independently. The results were compared to find out the extent of agreement between the coders or the intercoder reliability coefficient:

\[
\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}
\]

The highest level of calculated agreement coefficient reached by the two coders was 1, which was evident for many categories of the study, and the lowest was .86 for the category on the sub-issues of sexual violence against females. Notably, there was a slight disagreement between the coders on five variables of the 21 variables of the study, which gave an overall average intercoder reliability
coefficient for sex crime articles of .98. This high level of agreement reflects the validity of the categories developed for this study. Also, the high level of agreement may be due to the utilized coding process; the adequate definition of categories; and/or the achievement of a common frame of reference between the other coder and I.

The computations yielded the following coefficients of reliability:

1. Calculated agreement coefficient for editorial item number was:
   \[
   \frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
   \]

2. Calculated agreement coefficient for date article published on was:
   \[
   \frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
   \]

3. Calculated agreement coefficient for location of the article was:
   \[
   \frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
   \]

4. Calculated agreement coefficient for size of article was:
   \[
   \frac{2(75)}{76 + 76} = \frac{150}{152} = .99
   \]

5. Calculated agreement coefficient for type of article was:
   \[
   \frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
   \]
6. Calculated agreement coefficient for gender of reporter was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

7. Calculated agreement coefficient for sex crime type was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

8. Calculated agreement coefficient for orientation of article was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

9. Calculated agreement coefficient for presence of victims' photos was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

10. Calculated agreement coefficient for presence of suspects'/criminals' photos was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

11. Calculated agreement coefficient for publication of victims' identities was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

12. Calculated agreement coefficient for publication of suspects'/criminals' identities was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]

13. Calculated agreement coefficient for presence of verdicts or discussion of sex crime penalties was:

\[
\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1
\]
14. Calculated agreement coefficient for sex crime official statistics was:

\[\frac{2(76)}{76 + 76} = \frac{152}{152} = 1\]

OUT OF THE SAMPLE OF 76 EDITORIAL ITEMS ONLY 22 WERE NOT NEWS ARTICLES

15. Calculated agreement coefficient for article’s directionality was:

\[\frac{2(21)}{22 + 22} = \frac{42}{44} = .95\]

16. Calculated agreement coefficient for article’s recommendation for media coverage was:

\[\frac{2(20)}{22 + 22} = \frac{40}{44} = .90\]

17. Calculated agreement coefficient for seriousness of sex crimes was:

\[\frac{2(20)}{22 + 22} = \frac{40}{44} = .90\]

18. Calculated agreement coefficient for reasons of sexual violence against females was:

\[\frac{2(22)}{22 + 22} = \frac{44}{44} = 1\]

19. Calculated agreement coefficient for sexual violence against females subissues was:

\[\frac{2(19)}{22 + 22} = \frac{38}{44} = .86\]
OUT OF THE SAMPLE OF 76 EDITORIAL ITEMS ONLY 7 WERE FEATURES

20. Calculated agreement coefficient for gender of interviewed sources of information in sex crime articles was:

\[
\frac{2(7)}{7 + 7} = \frac{14}{14} = 1
\]

21. Calculated agreement coefficient for occupation of interviewed sources of information in sex crime articles was:

\[
\frac{2(7)}{7 + 7} = \frac{14}{14} = 1
\]
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION
RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many unpleasant truths that the Egyptian people must face, the incidence and nature of sex crime are among them. Portraying these crimes begins the task of coping with the realities of Egypt. Of course, it is better to uncover sex crimes to avoid their repetition than to let them occur without any publicity and encourage criminals to continue with their crimes. It is also important to cover sex crimes to help people form an opinion about them, and to demonstrate the enormity of the problem.

Since the media have great influence, it is necessary to use them in bringing the sex crime problem into public view. The public has the right to know what happens around them and in the world because without this knowledge they won't be able to reform the status quo. Thus, if the media channels keep ignoring sex crimes, they will continue doing victims and the public irreparable harm.

Further, if Egyptians don’t become aware of the problem in their society, the number of sex crimes against females will increase every day. Everybody, whether a citizen, journalist, scholar, or policy-maker must agree that a first step for the assessment of the problem of sexual violence against females is the knowledge of its occurrence and circumstances. One way to overcome the problem is to encourage public discussion and media coverage of sex crimes. All the different media channels (e.g., newspapers, magazines, TV, radio etc.) have to cover sexual violence against females more often and in more details, so as to enlighten the public on this crucial issue.

Moreover, the media, which play the role of educators and entertainers, should teach people that rape is not only the victim’s problem, but that it is a social problem that affects society as a whole. Media channels have to be utilized in exposing sex crime victims’ experiences, fears and thoughts. If there are growing numbers of sex crime victims who are willing to speak out, it will
become impossible for people to ignore the problem and continue pretending that rapists are the crazy few or rape victims the provocative few who deserve what they get. In addition, media personnel have to find ways to communicate the realities about sex crimes to so many people who exist in a world filled with erroneous beliefs about sex crime and the behavior of both men and women. There's an overwhelming need for the media to reach the minds of children before they grow up to be the expressors and believers of sex-role stereotypes and rape myths. Consequently, the media have to portray the equality between men and women, and illustrate that true equality between the sexes can rid the world of the fears and existence of sex crimes. Also, media personnel have a responsibility to challenge sex-role stereotypes, victim-blaming myths, sexual violence toward women, and sexual harassment of women in the society.

Equally important for satisfactorily covering sexual violence against females is to take care of the accuracy and depth of the coverage. Accuracy is very important in this subject's coverage, because people's lives are drastically affected by sexual violence against females. Some researchers argue that the solution to the problem of sexual violence against females lay in the dissemination of honest and accurate information (Benedict, 1992; Gilbert, 1991; Gordon, 1992). Certainly this is true, but facts alone seldom change people's thoughts or actions, or answer people's fears or questions. Beyond facts, what is needed is to provide more in-depth information, hard truths and critical opinions, to show how cruel and destructive sexual violence against females crimes are; and to dispel erroneous beliefs about sex. In sum, the press must cover sex crimes analytically and in-depth, and not in a sensational way.

Reporters must not go for impersonal reporting. They have to provide their readers with sufficient and useful information about sex crime, so that they know enough to share in the responsibility for changing the status quo. Reporters should record the facts of a sex crime case, whether it is typical or unusual. They have to follow-up sex crime stories to let the public know what eventually happened to the victim and the accused. Some of the materials that must be
provided in the press are information on methods of recognizing and avoiding sex crimes; causes of sexual violence against females; outcomes of sex crimes; national statistics on sex crimes; and penalties for committing sex crimes. By publicizing a crime and its punishment a reporter holds up the crime to public view, warning others and adding public shame to the punishment of the convicted.

Mainly, newspapers must cover sexual violence against females with understanding and insight. Sex crime articles that inform the public about this crime and ways to protect themselves from it, should be encouraged over those that merely disturb, frighten and sensationalize. Also, the press must not exaggerate the extent of sex crime in the community, since this may terrorize the citizens (Wolfe, 1989). On the other hand, it must not understate this crime to the extent that depicts its nonexistence or infrequency. Both directions are not for the welfare of Egypt or the Egyptians.

Furthermore, consciousness raising toward sexual violence against females in Egypt requires changes in the ways this issue is reported. Taken as a whole, there has to be a new age of sex crime reporting in Egypt. The following section will present suggestions for solving or alleviating the problem of inappropriate sex crime coverage.

Ignorance about sex crime constantly displayed in newspapers is not acceptable especially when one considers how this crime affects its victims lives. Although sex crimes have been going on for hundreds of years (O'Kane, 1993), there are a lot of people who know nothing about the real meaning of sex crime and its causes. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that reporters who cover sex crime understand the subject, learn about what sex crime actually is, and why it happens. Explanations of why such crimes happen should be collected from offenders, victims, studies on the issue, and experts in the related fields (e.g., sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, physicians and feminists). Journalists are urged to stop relying on police officers and prosecutors for information and to search for the truth. On the other hand, reporters must be more willing to consult
feminist sources, since they can enlighten them on the causes of sex crime and the prevailing attitudes toward women in a society. Also, organization of workshops for journalists on how to cover sexual violence against females is recommended.

In this discussion of recommendations for coverage of sexual violence against females, one has to emphasize the journalists’ duty to report court proceedings. Readers must be reminded that a trial is an attempt by both sides to play with the facts to put their clients in the best light (Keeble, 1992). Likewise, the press must avoid the tendency to present a defense attorney’s allegations against the victim as fact or vice versa. Moreover, the sex crime related content in newspapers should be focused on the treatment of sex crime victims by the police and court system, and examine their effects on the personal and social life of the victims. Although the law is the basis of all civilized societies, it can still be used to oppress minorities and commit injustice (Hunt, 1989). Thus, journalists must never fail in their duty to criticize the law’s faults and suggest improvements (this was done in the coverage of Attaba girl’s sexual assault case).

In the above context, injustices against both the victims and the accused in sex crimes are unacceptable. The press must put in consideration the victim’s safety, privacy and reputation as well as that of the defendants and their right to fair trials. A humane and favorable action from journalists would be to not name the victim of sex crimes at all and to not name the accused until he’s convicted. Likewise, the press must not put the victims and defendants on trial, or smear their reputations.

Although this thesis stresses the need to protect the victims of sex crimes from further victimization, the intention is not to suggest that victims are always truthful and accused defendants are always guilty. The reporters should be aware that their role is neither to prefer the defendant’s case, nor the victim’s. Additionally, reporters and editors should be balanced in their coverage of sex crimes.
Furthermore, reporters and news sources should reflect the gender diversity of the world. The press organizations need to consider the benefits to be gained from having women reporters and editors. When there are more women covering sex crime stories, there will be more women being interviewed. Also, women who are at risk of being sexually assaulted or raped will cover sex crimes with more interest, insight and understanding of a victim’s feelings than men who don't experience that risk. Thus, both genders have to work side by side in the newsroom as editors and reporters, adding their unique access and understanding to the news about sex crime.

In general, the earlier discussed changes in the press' sex crime editorial content are worth implementing. The commitment to solving the problem of sex crime in Egypt has got to come from government officials, media personnel, and society members. Of course, there is an impulse in all of us to hope that sex crime will just go away, but that impulse must not make us conceal these crimes. Certainly, if the problem of sex crime is publicized and frankly addressed, it will eventually be resolved.

Lastly, research is needed to understand how the Egyptian people make use of press messages about sexual violence against females. This is, so as to clarify how and in what way exposure to media messages on sex crime affect the readers' perception of the issue and preconceived ideas. This highlights the need for public surveys and field studies about media coverage of sex crime and their effect. Another type of research recommended is of the press agenda-setting process for the sex crime issue. Who or what influenced the media coverage of sex crime? Journalists and editors must be interviewed to get their opinion on their sex crime coverage and reasons behind it. Furthermore, it is essential to measure the public opinion about coverage of sex crime.
LIMITATIONS

The present investigation has a number of shortcomings. First of all, it has to be stated that there are problems and limitations in research using only one newspaper. Although *Al Ahram* is known to be representative of government owned newspapers, it may not be representative of the opposition press. Despite this knowledge, the other newspapers were left out for practical reasons. The years spent to read and analyze background sources and *Al Ahram*’s editorial content about sexual violence against females may have doubled if other newspapers were studied.

Clearly, the use of both content analysis and correlation methods will not provide all the answers required when studying such a complicated issue as coverage of sex crime in the media. A complete picture of the existing situation will come from the use of multimethod triangulation (or more than one method of study).

Another limitation of this research is the use of close-ended questions in the coding sheet. The defined multiple-choice answers are not likely to be inclusive enough to include all salient or possible answers to the question presented. On the other hand, the use of open-ended questions would have provided in-depth information from the articles studied, rather than selecting an imposed answer from the list defined by the researcher.

In light of the foregoing discussion of this study's limitations, one has to recognize the shortcomings, incompleteness, correctness, and adequacy of using the Public Security Bureau's crime statistics to determine the real volume of sex crime in Egypt. Various studies have shown the intentional under-recording of sex crimes by the police, so as to protect the reputation of their cities or countries (Amir, 1971; and Denmark, 1985). In addition, the most frequently cited limitation of police sex crime data is that most sex crimes are not reported to the
police (Abu Allah, 1995). Therefore, the police sex crime rates represent only a proportion of the crimes actually committed.

Nevertheless, the Public Security Bureau's statistics are used since there is no other alternative for measuring the incidence of sex crimes in Egypt. Unlike the United States, Egypt doesn't have National Crime Survey data. Moreover, the police statistics proved to be appropriate for this research in spite of their expected misrepresentation of the real number of sex crimes. The fact is, this study is not concerned with the closest estimate to the real volume of sex crimes but with the correlation, if any, between available sex crime statistics and press coverage of sex crime.

Considering the pros and cons summarized up to this point, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Moreover, the shortcomings tackled can be pardoned, especially because this study is enriched by detailed and through quantitative analysis of the coverage of sex crime in the press.
LIBRARIES CONSULTED

1. American Cultural Centre
2. American University in Cairo library
3. Cairo American College library
4. Cairo University's Central library
5. Cairo University's Faculty of Mass Communication library
6. Higher Press Council library
7. National Centre for Social and Criminological Researches library
8. Police Research Institution library
9. United Nations Development Programme library
10. United Nations Information Centre library
11. World Health Organization library
## APPENDIX I

### CODING SHEET

1. Editorial item number
2. Date of article
3. Location of the article
   a. Premium pages
   b. Inside front pages
   c. Inside back pages
   d. Back pages
4. Size of the article
   a. Small
   b. Medium
   c. Large
   d. Half-page
   e. Full-page
5. Type of the article
   a. Editorial
   b. Personal column
   c. Feature
   d. Letter to editor
   e. News
6. Gender of reporter
   a. Female
   b. Male
   c. Both
   d. Newspaper editor
   e. Anonymous
7. Type of sex crime covered
   a. Single rape
   b. Pair rape
   c. Gang rape
   d. Sexual assault
   e. Rape attempt
   f. Rape issue in general
8. Orientation of the article
   a. Event-oriented
   b. Issue-oriented
9. Presence of victims’ photos
   a. Yes
   b. No
10. Presence of suspects’/criminals’ photos
    a. Yes
    b. No
11. Publication of victims’ identities
    a. Yes
    b. No
12. Publication of suspects’/criminals’ identities
    a. Yes
    b. No
13. Presence of sex crime verdicts or discussion of sex crime penalties
    a. Yes
    b. No
14. Official sex crime statistics
    a. Yes
    b. No
ALL THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL BE APPLIED TO EDITORIAL ITEMS THAT ARE NOT CLASSIFIED AS NEWS

15. Direction of the article
   a. Anti-rape
   b. Pro-rape
   c. Neutral

16. Recommendation for media coverage
   a. Extensive coverage
   b. Limited coverage
   c. Conditional coverage
   d. No coverage
   e. Issue not mentioned

17. Seriousness of sex crime
   a. Understated
   b. Exaggerated
   c. Given exact weight
   d. Not estimated
18. Reasons for sexual violence against females
   a. Economics
   b. Moral decadence
   c. Decline of religious values
   d. Pornography
   e. Sex-role stereotyped socialization
   f. Psychological characteristics of offenders
   g. Other
   h. Issue not covered

19. Sub-issue category of sexual violence against females
   a. Discrimination
   b. Rates
   c. Government policy
   e. Prevention
   f. Other

ALL THE FOLLOWINGS QUESTIONS WILL BE APPLIED
TO THE ARTICLES THAT ARE CLASSIFIED AS FEATURES

20. Gender of interviewed sources
   a. Females
   b. Males
   c. Both
   d. Unattributed
21. Occupation of interviewed sources

a. Sociologists
b. Psychologists
c. Police officers
d. Feminists
e. Media professionals
f. Islamic scholars
g. Law personnel
h. Others
i. Unattributed
APPENDIX II

CODING BOOK

1. Editorial item number: Each article will be handled individually, and will be given a serial number starting with 1 and ending with 305.

2. Date: The date each article is published on will be coded in terms of date, month and year.

3. Location of editorial item is coded to determine the extent of attention given to the issue under study. For example, if the article is placed on page eleven it will be considered insignificant, and therefore buried in an inner page of the newspaper.

   a) Premium pages, are the most important pages in the newspaper that attract the greatest readers’ attention. This category includes articles on pages 1, 2, 3, 4 and 1+ (an article that appears on page 1 and is continued on another page of the newspaper).

   b) Inside front, are pages that attract readers attention but in a lesser extent than the few front pages. This category refers to articles on pages in the inner section of the newspaper but toward the front. It includes pages 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.

   c) Inside back, are pages located farther within the newspaper near the back section. These pages attract relatively little attention from readers. This category refers to articles on pages 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

   d) Back, refers to articles on pages 15 and more. These pages are of little importance to readers. They usually include trivial information or issues that are being covered up.
4. Size of editorial item is calculated in column inch$^2$. It is classified into five groups:
   a) Small, articles that are 20 in$^2$ and less in size.
   b) Medium, articles that are ranging from 21 in$^2$ to 40 in$^2$.
   c) Large, articles that are ranging from 41 in$^2$ to 80 in$^2$.
   d) Half-page, articles that cover the space of 157 in$^2$.
   e) Full-page, articles that cover the space of 315 in$^2$ with the exception of a few inches left aside for ads.

5. The editorial content type is categorized into five categories:
   a) Editorial, an article presenting the opinion of the publisher or editor (in other words the newspaper).
   b) Personal column, an article written by a professional journalist in which he/she will express his/her personal opinion about an issue. These columns are subjective, and the "I" of the reporter is openly expressed.
   c) Feature, a distinctive article in the newspaper that has a more detailed coverage of an issue (emotional, and personal aspects are covered). It tends to contain eye-witness accounts, background information, a diversity of sources, a range of views on a subject, and a colorful description of what, where, when and why something happened.
   d) Letter to the editor, an article written by a nonprofessional in which he/she will reflect his/her point of views. Also, such an article will reflect feedback from readers on a topic covered earlier by the newspaper.
   e) News, an article reporting facts about a current event but excluding a lot of details.

6. Gender of reporter: The gender of the reporter is examined for the purpose of knowing who wrote the article and for the breaking down of reporter's gender.
   a) Female: Articles whose reporter is a female will be included under this category.
b) Male: Articles whose reporter is a male will be put under this category.

c) Both: Articles written by two or more reporters of both sexes will be included in this category.

d) Newspaper editors: This category is for articles reflecting the newspaper's ideas (editorials).

e) Anonymous: Articles written by one whose name is withheld, is listed under this category.

7. Type of sex crime: The type of sex crimes covered in the newspaper are studied to determine which type received the most press attention. Every item was classified into one of the following six sex crime categories:

a) Single rape, articles that are to be listed under this category are about rape encounters between one offender and one victim.

b) Pair rape, articles included in this category are about two offenders raping one victim.

c) Gang rape, this category contains articles about rape committed by three or more males against one female.

d) Sexual assault, articles included in this section will be about sexual assault committed on intimate parts of a female's body, ranging from undressing the victim to inserting an object in her vagina.

e) Rape attempt, articles included in this section cover attacks when the victims escaped or at least avoided being raped.

f) Rape issue in general, this category contains articles that cover the rape issue in general and not a specific rape type or incident.

8. Orientation: Two categories are developed to measure the orientation of the articles.

a) Event-oriented: News items are considered event-oriented when they focus on presenting facts and giving accounts of occurrences of sex crimes. Such articles tackle sex crime events without providing background or in-depth information about the issue of sexual violence
against females. They are usually brief articles done under deadline and space constraints.

b) Issue-Oriented: Editorial items are issue-oriented when they contain thorough and investigative reporting about specific sex crimes or the issue of sexual violence against females. These articles tell readers about the essential facts of any sex crime being covered (its circumstances, why it took place, who is the criminal and victim etc.), so as to be able to understand and interpret what goes on behind the scenes and mere facts. Also, such writings provide readers with ample information about the issue of sexual violence against females and all its related aspects; giving plenty of background information, recalling examples of past sex crimes; as well as, covering governmental officials and psychological, sociological or criminological experts' opinions on the issue under consideration. In sum, these articles explain and clarify sex crime events or the issue of sexual violence against females.

9. Presence of victims' photo: The articles are checked for the presence of victims' photos to determine the amount of press invasion of the victims' privacy. This category will be coded based on yes/no.

10. Presence of suspects'/criminals' photos: This category is used to explore the extent reporters put in consideration privacy concerns of sex crime suspects or criminals. It will be divided into a group of articles that have photos and a group that don't have photos.

11. Publishing victims' identities: The editorial items are reviewed for the extent of their protection of sex crime victims' privacy. There are two possible conditions for this category:
   a) Yes, articles that belong to this group uncover victims identities.
   b) No, this category includes articles that do not state victims identities.

12. Publishing suspects'/criminals' identities: This category is devoted to finding out the amount of publicity given to sex crime suspects or criminals. There are two available options, yes or no.
13. Presence of verdicts or discussion of sex crime penalties: Reference here is to news stories reporting verdicts for certain sex crime or discussing sex crimes penalties. These articles will be coded according to:
   a) yes, which affirms the tackling of verdicts or sex crime penalties by the editorial item.
   b) No, which negates the presence of verdicts or sex crime penalties in the editorial content.

14. Official sex crime statistics: This section is studied to determine if the Egyptian Public Security Bureau's sex crime rates are reported in the articles or not. It has two responses, yes or no.

ALL THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL BE APPLIED TO THE EDITORIAL ITEMS THAT ARE NOT CLASSIFIED AS NEWS

15. Articles directionality: The editorial items are examined in terms of their attitudes toward sex crimes to determine their direction. Three categories are developed to measure the directionality of the articles.
   a) Anti-rape: An article is considered anti-rape if it describes or portrays rapists in a negative way, displaying their hostility and outrageousness. Also, if it displays rape as an inhumane, brutal or cruel act; portrays the sufferings of rape victims; and describes discriminatory practices against rape victims.
   b) Pro-rape: An article is considered pro-rape if its general attitude is positive toward rapists, rape and rape myths. These are articles that highlight female victims' responsibility in rape incidents (women dress sexually provocatively, go out alone at night, are disreputable, etc.), and stress the males' inability to control their sexual desires.
   c) Neutral: An item is considered neutral if it displays a balance of positive and negative arguments toward rape. This category
encompasses articles that present both sides of the story or the event avoiding stereotypes and prejudices.

16. Media coverage recommendation: The editorial content is studied for views on the ideal amount of media coverage of sexual violence against females:

a) Extensive coverage: Articles listed under this group profess that the media must give great attention to sex crimes, so as to inform and warn the public. This allows for the confrontation of the problem which will protect and empower women.

b) Limited coverage: Articles forming this category express views proposing that coverage of sex crimes is to be within limits. This is based on the belief that exaggerated publicity of sex crimes scares people and may affect judges’ decision, leading to unfair trials.

c) Conditional coverage: Articles put under this category support coverage of sex crimes but suggest specific formats for it. For example, reporters are urged to cover verdicts; to be objective; to avoid sensationalist coverage; to cover rape prevention methods; and to portray rapists as inhuman, outlaws not innocent, heroes.

d) No coverage: This category will include articles that emphasize the need for not covering sex crimes to protect people’s privacy and the country’s reputation, and to guarantee a fair trial. Such articles may suggest that relating sex crimes only increase their occurrences.

e) Issue not mentioned: Articles included in this category are not concerned with the media’s coverage of sex crimes.

17. Seriousness of sex crimes: The articles are studied to identify their portrayal of the seriousness of the rape problem in Egypt.

a) Understated: Articles that make up this category assert that sex crimes are not widespread in Egypt, there are only a few exceptional cases that female victims are responsible for. These articles trivialize the rape problem, risks are either played down or are presented as less great than is supposed.
b) Exaggerated: This category contains articles emphasizing the possible dangers associated with rape, and either the risks are presented as alarming or it is suggested that the risks are greater than supposed. In other words, these articles portray rape as being commonplace and an epidemic crime in Egypt.

c) Given exact weight: Articles under this category reflect the true volume of sex crimes in Egypt, illustrating that a considerable number of rapes occur but that they are not extensively spread. Also, that rape is a social problem.

d) Not estimated: The seriousness of sex crimes is not estimated by the articles included in this category.

18. Reasons for sexual violence against females: The editorial items are examined to specify the reasons used to describe why sex crimes occur.

a) Economics: This category is composed of articles emphasizing that sexual violence against females is related to stress resulting from increasing unemployment, rising prices, inadequate housing or income, or economic barriers to marriage.

b) Moral decadence: This category includes editorial content presenting sexual violence against females as a sign of people's incapability of distinguishing between what's right and wrong. These articles also state that rape in a community proves that its members don't behave in accordance with the principles or standards of right conduct.

c) Decline of religious values: Articles forming this group give the decline of Islamic values as the reason for the occurrence of rape crimes. These articles argue that women are raped because they don't observe the Islamic rules of dress and conduct. On the other hand, rapists are pictured as irreligious men who don't perform religious rituals.

d) Pornography: Articles of this category relate that exposure to erotic materials contributes to sexual violence against females. In addition,
that pornography is accountable for the increase in sexual violence against females.

e) Sex-role stereotyped socialization: This group consists of editorial items indicating that sex-role stereotyping in a society promotes and encourages sexual violence against females. The argument is that in sex-role stereotyping societies men are shaped into offenders and women into victims. Moreover, these items state that male dominance and inequality between the sexes are causes of rape.

f) Psychological characteristics of offenders: Articles belonging to this group state that the reason for rape is offenders' psychological disturbances and sexual deviances. Rapists are portrayed as sexually deviant, psychopaths.

g) Other: This category is for articles covering any reasons for sexual violence against females different than the ones in the preceding categories.

h) Issue not covered: Editorial items that are listed under this group don't report reasons for sex crimes.

19. Sub-issue categories of sexual violence against females: The editorial items are coded into 6 categories in order to investigate sex crime coverage in greater details.

a) Discrimination: Editorial items reporting unfair treatment or attitudes toward rape victims or females in general are included in this category. Such items may contain accounts of police officers illtreating rape victims; defense lawyers putting their chastity on line; or governmental officials blaming rape victim for their attack. Also, these items may contain arguments against rape myths or may illustrate the horrors of sex crimes.

b) Rates: Editorial items that make up this category are concerned with the number and extent of sex crime in Egypt. Items included may assert
that very few rape cases occur in Egypt, or may, on the other hand, stress that rape is prevalent and spreading rapidly.

c) Government policy: Editorial items forming this group cover sex crime laws, discuss the controversy over public execution of rapists, or illustrate government actions toward sex crime. Some of these items may ask for changes in sex crime laws, portray police inefficiency in dealing with this crime, or criticize slow trials and the weak implementation of laws.

d) Human interest: This category consists of editorial content detailing the rape victim and her family's life before and after the attack. Also, included are articles depicting rapists' lives (e.g., their occupation, marital and social status, features and attitudes). In other words, these articles cover participants in sex crimes, in a way that personalizes the information.

e) Prevention: This group is composed of editorial items dealing with methods for sex crime prevention. For example, increase penalties for rapists and assailters; avoid any delay in reaching a verdict in rape cases; coverage of the crime by the media, teach children morality and religion; increase number of policemen in remote areas; and females learn self-defense techniques.

f) Other: Articles listed under this group do not contain any of the above mentioned sub-issue categories of sex crime.

ALL THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WILL BE APPLIED TO THE ARTICLES THAT ARE CLASSIFIED AS FEATURES

20. Gender of interviewed sources for sex crime information: The editorial items are inspected to specify the gender of the interviewed sources.

a) Females: Refers to articles that include interviews exclusively with females.

b) Males: Articles containing information obtained only from males will be coded under this category.
c) Both: This category refers to items covering interviews acquired from both sexes.

d) Unattributed: Articles that belong to this group include information that is not ascribed.

21. Occupation of interviewed sources for sex crime information: The editorial items are thoroughly studied to determine their sources of sex crime information. Nine categories are included.

a) Sociologists: Editorial items that express the opinion of sociology and criminology experts on sex crime will be included in this category.

b) Psychologists: Articles that state psychologists’ point of views on sex crime are listed under this category.

c) Police officers: If the opinions of the Ministry of Interior personnel (the Minister or police officers) are present in an article, it will be a member of this category.

d) Feminists: This category is devoted for articles relating feminists' point of views about sex crimes.

e) Media professionals: Editorial items that make up this group contain journalists, TV and radio professionals or mass communication professors on sex crime.

f) Islamic scholars: Articles in this category make Islamic scholars' thoughts on sex crime known.

g) Law personnel: This section contains items that illustrate opinions of law professors, judges or attorneys on sex crime.

h) Others: This category includes sources that were very rarely sought for information about sex crime, to the extent that it was unnecessary to add them as categories to the original list.

i) Unattributed: Articles that are listed under this category report views that are not ascribed, therefore, neither the person nor his/her occupation is known.
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