

العنوان:	Women & Media in the State of Kuwait : Female Mass Communion Students Views of Woman & MEDIA
المصدر:	مجلة كلية التربية
الناشر:	جامعة عين شمس - كلية التربية
المؤلف الرئيسي:	دشتي، فاطمه
مؤلفين آخرين:	Dashti, Ali A.(Co.Author)
المجلد/العدد:	ع25, ج1
محكمة:	نعم
التاريخ الميلادي:	2001
الصفحات:	33 - 50
رقم MD:	668853
نوع المحتوى:	بحوث ومقالات
قواعد المعلومات:	EduSearch
مواضيع:	المرأة ، وسائل الإعلام ، طالبات قسم الاتصال الجماهيري، الكويت
رابط:	<a href="http://search.mandumah.com/Record/668853">http://search.mandumah.com/Record/668853</a>

**Women & Media in the State of Kuwait:  
Female Mass Communication Students'  
Views of Woman & Media**

**Fatimah A. Dashti, Ph.D.**

**Ali A. Dashti, MS**

In Kuwait, since its liberation in 1991 after the Iraqi invasion, the subject of equality for women has received increasing attention. Women in Kuwait are demanding equal rights with men, especially the right to vote. During the Iraqi invasion, many women worked to help liberate Kuwait through their involvement in the Kuwaiti resistance; some were martyred, and some are still missing. They worked in media productions, did humanitarian work, and took part in demonstrations inside and outside the country. This stressful period of Kuwaiti history showed clearly that Kuwaiti women could work equally with men, without discrimination, as they did to help free their country.

One issue in the equality struggle is women's desire to have job opportunities in the mass media on a par with men. Women have a working history in the Kuwaiti media, but little has been recorded about it. Today, of 142 women working in the print media, only 15 (11%) are editors-in-chief.<sup>1</sup> More women are currently working as producers or broadcasters in television and radio stations than in the past, but their numbers are still low. Few women are directors in either medium.

In 1992, Kuwait University established the Mass Communication Department to produce graduates with bachelor of arts degrees in mass media and specializations in either journalism or radio/television. The program is designed to provide students with the professional skills needed for working in the media and practical experience so they can use the new media technology. The department has 12 faculty members (one woman), two teaching assistants, and one research assistant. It is currently supporting a number of Kuwaitis who are pursuing Ph.D. degrees in mass communication abroad--in England or the United States. Among these graduate students are four women.

From the beginning, women students have outnumbered men in the department. In the first year (1992/1993), there were 59 women students (80% of the total department enrollment). This number increased to 201 in 1995/1996, representing 74% of the enrollment. In the same years, there were 15 and 70 men students, respectively, representing 20% and 26% of the department's enrollment. In the summer of 1996, the department had its first graduates: 40 women (91%) and 4 men (9%).

The purpose of this study, conducted shortly before graduation in 1996, was to survey the women students in the Department of Mass Communication who were soon to graduate and to learn their expectations for, feelings about, and goals after they left the university. Other information was also collected to clarify their perceptions of women and the media in Kuwait.

### **Background**

Kuwait is considered a pioneer in the Persian Gulf in giving women more rights than its other Arab neighbors do. For example, women in Kuwait hold very important positions: One is president of Kuwait University and another is ambassador to Africa. Another important difference is that women are allowed to drive cars in Kuwait; in neighboring Saudi Arabia, this is not legal. In spite of these and other rights, women see themselves as having a less than satisfactory level of equality.

The Kuwaiti constitution gives equal rights to men and women. Article 29 states that there should be no discrimination between nationalities in gender, origin, language, or religion. Article 41 of the second chapter gives every Kuwaiti man and woman the right to work.<sup>2</sup> However, Kuwaiti traditions have prevented women from exercising their constitutionally protected rights. Many men interpret the Islamic religion as banning

women from working outside the home. They explain the Holy Quran in a way that denies women the basic rights given them by Islam.

Women reject this interpretation. Kadija Al-Mahmeed believes that Islam gives men and women equal opportunity to take part in managing their society, and that women's position today does not represent the Islamic view of women. In reality, it goes against Islamic law.<sup>3</sup> Islam sees women as being separate from men, gives them equal rights with men, and has made them integral not only to the family but in society as well.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the resistance women face from those who hold traditional views of Islam, their status slowly continues to improve. A major reason for this improvement is education.

#### *Education of Women in Kuwait*

Before 1916, education in Kuwait was mainly for males because they were considered the family providers; females were banned from leaving the house after they were 10 years old. These beliefs forced women into illiteracy. Beginning in 1916, some women began to receive instruction in the Quran from religious women (*mutawaat*). The intent was not to teach women to read but to help them memorize verses of the Quran.<sup>5</sup> However, from exposure to the Quran as they were memorizing it, many women did learn to read and write. Even so, the little education they received was not designed to prepare women for jobs or to give them specific skills; its purpose was to teach women to be religious and to serve their husbands.<sup>6</sup>

By 1926, the first informal teaching room or *kuttab* was established to give women a basic education. This step represents the first direct intention to teach reading and writing to females. In 1938, schools exclusively for females began to be established in the

country, but many girls and women did not attend these. Family structure, economics, and social status often demanded that females stay at home. Males were the only providers for the family, and most families considered it shameful for women to work outside the home.<sup>7</sup>

The discovery of oil accelerated a change in many of these beliefs. Suddenly there was sufficient wealth to bring the country into the twentieth century. The economic status of families changed and women were encouraged to become part of the workforce to help in the development of the society, especially in the private sector. These circumstances have helped to create more educated and trained women workers among the middle class,<sup>8</sup> and today more women than men in Kuwait hold bachelor's degrees.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Women and Work*

The society continues to experience a high degree of conflict about women's education and their participation in the workforce. Al-Atiya has identified the three main views popular in the Gulf region regarding working women: (1) the traditional view, held by people who wish to control and own women; (2) the moderate view, held by people who recognize women's right to work, but who believe they should work only in traditional jobs such as teaching and nursing because these are more acceptable to society; and (3) the liberal view, held by those--mostly women--who desire equal rights for men and women.<sup>10</sup>

Women in Kuwait who desire to work are pulled in many directions. Some forces encourage them toward the work place: (1) the number of educated women, (2) the growth in the use of new technology at home, and (3) the need among most families for additional income. Other forces make working difficult: (1) many men distrust women's

skills and abilities; (2) some men feel emasculated by having women doing what has previously been considered possible only for men; (3) women are discriminated against in promotions at work; and (4) they have the difficult adjustment of having responsibilities in the workplace added to their responsibilities of running a home and caring for children.<sup>11</sup> In spite of the difficulties they encounter, more and more women are entering the labor force. The average participation of women in work was 1.4% in 1959; 12.8% in 1980, and 25.3% by 1993.

#### *Women in the Media in Kuwait*

Many women in the country elect to work in mass media. More and more of them are acquiring the education, especially advanced degrees, needed by the field. Some have developed specializations that challenge those of their male colleagues. Another reason is the wide range of positions and available technology in the country. The money that Kuwait realizes from oil export has allowed it to have the most sophisticated technology in the world. There is, however, a major barrier. The general view of women working in the media, especially in television, is quite negative.

This attitude is different only in degree from the reaction worldwide to women working in mass media. The number of women in journalism has been increasing since the 1970s, but few hold leading positions.<sup>12</sup> Women journalists face problems similar to those of other women workers because they are not judged from the nature of their professions but as women.<sup>13</sup>

Van Zoonen believes that women at work are seen as a 'symbol for their sex'; thus, any mistakes they make are generalized to the entire female gender.<sup>14</sup> Women must also

confront the male philosophy that it is hard for women to combine a media career with raising children.<sup>15</sup> Sue Lafky noted that

when women leave the labor force to rear children, their job skills become stale and they suffer a wage penalty when they reenter. . . . Employers may invest less in women employees because they believe women may take time out of their careers to have children and that, as employers, they will not enjoy the same return on their investment that they will with male employees.<sup>16</sup>

Women in Kuwait, at least those in the government sector, may have an advantage over other working women as they can have six months of leave to stay with their new babies.

Another problem for women in journalism is the fear of some male journalists that an increase in the number of women in the field will somehow cause a decrease in men's salaries. Leslie Steeves suggests that the best strategy to combat this is to get women's issues on an international agenda, to hold conferences, to increase the number of women working in mainstream media organizations, and by having women become policy makers.<sup>17</sup>

Women have played little or no role in media policy making. Achieving such participatory status will require a combination of strategies, including information sharing and support through networking [and] feminist research among women or between women and men in different cultures. Feminist research does not imply Western forms of feminism. It implies a common theoretical and political concern with women's oppression, and an understanding that women of each culture have the right and deserve the support to seek means of addressing their own problems of oppression.<sup>18</sup>

The writing of Kuwaiti women first appeared in print in 1946 with the establishment of the first Kuwaiti magazine—*Al-Bietha*, published in Egypt. This magazine gave Kuwaiti women a chance to express their feelings and ideas. Beginning in 1947, one page in the magazine was devoted entirely to women, and many women writers published articles here under their own names or pseudonyms. One writer, Layla M. Saleh, wrote:

Kuwaiti women aired their complaints over the society's discrimination against women in different arenas, such as education and work. Their articles, poetry, and short stories asked for change in a way that showed they were not negative, as was popularly thought.<sup>19</sup>

Ever since 1947, the number of women in the media has increased annually, largely because of their self-discipline and their understanding of the importance of the media in influencing society. Among the women registered in the Kuwaiti Journalists' Club there are nine editors-in-chief and five administrative editors. In the Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), an important voice in Kuwait, 32% of the workforce is women, with 50% of them holding leading jobs.<sup>20</sup>

For anyone interested in working in the media in Kuwait, the Ministry of Information is a very important venue. It is directly responsible for television and radio stations as well as for supervision of the print media. The Ministry is the only place one can work in audio and visual media. Kuwaiti women have realized the importance of the Ministry of Information since its establishment. The number of women working there has historically been low, but it increases annually, rising from 107 in 1985 to 427 in 1995.

Of these, only 27 have supervisory positions,<sup>21</sup> and not all the women employed in the Ministry work in radio or television stations. In April 1996, the number of Kuwaiti women in radio was 50; the number in television was 92.<sup>22</sup>

The Ministry is trying to increase women's participation. In an interview with the newspaper *Al Watan*, Sheik Saud Al-Sabah, Minister of Information, invited Kuwaiti women to become part of the Kuwaiti media. He said that the absence of women in the media, especially television, is very obvious.<sup>23</sup> To help change the negative view of women working in the media, Al-Sabah explained:



The media profession is noble and glorious, and we are waiting for those [women] who will graduate from the Department of Mass Communication at Kuwait University or from overseas to participate in television, which is in need of them. They will find cooperation and training to help them reach the highest professional level and we will be proud of them because they will bring a new touch to our media.<sup>24</sup>

### **The Study**

With so many women pursuing degrees in the Department of Mass Communication, it is important, given the history of women and work in Kuwait, to learn the employment outcomes of these women graduates. Therefore, the purpose of this study, is to assess the perceptions of women students, collected prior to their graduation, concerning their opportunities in the mass media.

### *Study Questions*

Seven questions guided the study:

1. Are the female students who are going to graduate from the Department of Mass Communication with degrees in journalism or radio and television going to work in the mass media after graduation?
2. Are female students optimistic or pessimistic about working in the mass media after graduation?
3. What do female students' family members think about their daughters or sisters working in the mass media?
4. What do the female students think about Kuwaiti society's view of women working in the mass media?
5. What do the new female graduates think about the policies of equality between men and women that guide the Ministry of Information and the various print media?
6. How do the new female graduates view women working in the mass media in Kuwait?
7. What are the women graduates' expectations and concerns for the future?

### *Methodology*

The population for this study was the 40 women scheduled to be the first women graduates from the Department of Mass Communication. The study was conducted in

April 1966, several weeks before they were to graduate. Data were gathered through a 25-question survey as well as 15 interview questions; development of the data-gathering instruments was guided by the study questions presented earlier. All questions were written in Arabic.

The survey questions were designed so that a five-point Likert-type scale could be used for responses. The scale used in the survey ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. For analysis, these possible responses were collapsed into three categories: agree/strongly agree, don't know, and disagree/strongly disagree.

The 15 interview questions were open-ended and covered a number of topics related to women and the media. Twenty-seven women were interviewed face to face; 13 who were not able to schedule interviews wrote their answers to the 15 questions, submitting them with their survey responses. Surveys were completed by 40 students, for a 100% response rate.

### *Results*

Among the 40 respondents, 26 (65%) were majoring in journalism; 14 (35%) were in radio and television. Twenty-eight (71%) of the students were not married; 10 (25%) were married. Of the other 2 (3%), one was a widow and one is married to a prisoner of war of the Iraqis.

Question one explored whether female graduates expected to work in the mass media regardless of the negative image commonly held about women working in this field. The responses showed that 17 students (42.5%) had such expectations, 15 (37.5%) were not sure, and 8 (20%) did not expect to work in the media. Asked whether finding a job in

the mass media would be easy, 18 (45%) said yes; 16 (40%) were not sure, and 6 (15%) said no (see Graph 1).

Question two asked whether women students were optimistic or pessimistic about finding a job: 16 (40%) were optimistic; 13 (32.5%) were pessimistic, and 11 (27.5%) were not sure. The mean (on a scale of 1 to 10), taken from interview responses (N = 37), was 7.3, indicating a more optimistic than pessimistic view (see Graph 2).

Question three was aimed at finding who within the student's immediate family (father, mother, sisters, and brothers) supported her desire to work in the mass media. (Support means any verbal and nonverbal action that positively encourages the woman to work in the mass media.) The results showed that most of the support came from sisters. A total of 32 (86.5%) received support from the sisters, and 28 (70%) had support from their mothers. Fathers provided support for 24 (60%) students. Brothers were the least supportive, with 15 (37.5%) reacting positively.

Question four asked what female students thought about Kuwaiti society's negative view of women working in the mass media. For response, the question was divided into three categories: press, television, and radio. The results showed that 21 (52%) students indicated that Kuwaiti society would not accept women working in the print media; 17 (42.5%) thought women would be accepted in these occupations, and 2 (5%) were not sure (see Graph 3). Employment in television had the most negative perception among students, with 33 (82%) indicating that they thought society would not accept women in television, and only 5 (12.5%) believing that women would be accepted. Radio had higher acceptance than television, with 20 (50%) students indicating their belief

that society would accept a woman working in radio. Those who disagree numbered 16 (45%).

Question five asked for opinions about the policies held by the Ministry of Information and print media organizations toward equality for men and women. Of the 40 respondents, 18 (45%) thought the policies of both stressed equality between men and women; 15 (37.5%) thought men were favored, and only 2 (5%) believed women were favored over men in the policies.

Question six sought the students' perceptions of the main challenges women face in the mass media. Of 38 students responding, 36 (95%) believed that male domination of the media in Kuwait is the greatest challenge to women. A majority of the women (35, or 87.5%) believe that women should work side by side with men in the mass media. A majority also thought women's salaries should be equal to those of men, with 32 (80%) indicating agreement and 6 (12.5%) indicating disagreement. Opinions were not so clear-cut concerning how much weight should be given to salary in deciding whether to work for the government or the private sector, with 18 (51%) believing salary would be a factor, and 16 (46%) disagreeing with this position.

A majority of the students believed that an increased number of women working in the mass media would help focus more attention on women's issues than is currently true: 30 (75%) had this opinion; 18 (45%) disagreed.

Nineteen students (47.5%) were not sure what effect working in the mass media would have on their married lives, but almost 11 students (27%) thought the effects would be negative; 10 students (25%) did not agree. Most of the students agreed that women

working in the mass media would encounter problems in trying to work and raise children, with 22 (55%) students agreeing and 18 (45%) disagreeing.

In other findings, most students believed that a Kuwaiti woman, at some time in the future, would hold a leading position in the mass media; of 39 students, 28 (72%) agreed, 8 (20.5%) did not agree, and 3 (7.5%) were not sure. The students thought print media would require more work than television--21 (52.5%) agreeing and 14 (35%) disagreeing--or radio--26 (65%) agreeing and 8 (20%) disagreeing. One student wrote that working in the mass media is interesting, but she does not think women will be accepted because of the prevailing view that working in the mass media is not respected for women and their work in the media is not taken seriously. The majority of students (27, or 67%) also wished to continue their higher education; 5 (12.5%) had no such plans, and 8 (20%) were undecided.

#### *Discussion and Conclusions*

One of the main goals of Kuwait University is to teach special skills in a variety of fields that the country needs; mass media is one specialized and important field in which women are noticeably absent. It was partially in recognition of this lack that the university established the Department of Mass Communication in 1992. The department has attracted more women than male students because women generally have higher high school grades than men, and the department accepts only students with high grade point averages.

In spite of the initial enthusiasm of the women students in the Department of Mass Communication, many of them are indicating that they will reconsider working in the mass

media after graduation. This attitude is a disappointment to the university as its goals for establishing the Department of Mass Communication will not be met if the graduates ultimately work in other fields. However, Kuwait is a male-oriented society, and its mass media have always been controlled by men. The presence of women in the media is small and not likely to change dramatically very soon. With 37% of the students in the study undecided about working in the field, they are indicating concern about their job prospects there. Also, they are unsure of the reaction of society to them if they take jobs in the mass media. As a result, many of the women would rather work in the government sector in public relations, archives or press departments to avoid the criticism of society and family.

Even though the students' optimism is generally high, it is not strong enough to help them withstand all the negative pressure. Media officials say they are encouraging women to work in the media, but the students feel that the government is not working hard enough to open doors for women in that field.

The positive family support that was reported is encouraging; however, it is not strong enough to counterbalance the pervasive disapproval of society at large. The results support previous findings that women are afraid to work in television because of society's image of such women as 'bad.'<sup>25</sup> Those who choose this field generally work behind the scenes in montage, editing, or scriptwriting where no one sees them--or they elect employment in radio or the print media.

Fortunately, officials at the Ministry of Information and press organizations have positive attitudes toward hiring women, and students believe they are sincere. According to the students, the officials are serious about hiring more Kuwaiti women in the mass media, but male workers are not yet ready to accept them. One student commented that

many viewers confuse working in television with being an actress. Both involve appearing on television, and most Kuwaitis consider actresses immoral. By association, any woman who appears on television is therefore suspect.

The students participating in the study recommended major changes in the current policy, especially that more specialized people be hired to work in the press, television, and radio. Some complained that men working at the radio and television stations still treat women as an inferior group regardless of their hard work and university degrees. Also, in the print media, men can get to news sources more easily than women. For this reason, women are given soft news stories; the hard news is kept for the men because they have better access than women.

The family's influence is powerful in whether women are discouraged or encouraged in seeking work in the mass media. One student said that her family did not know she was being trained at the Ministry of Information during her internship at a television station. She used a pseudonym to prevent their finding out.

A high percentage of the students believed that increasing the number of women in the mass media would help focus attention on women's issues; however, this perception may be unrealistic, as illustrated by one student's experience. She covered a women's seminar during her internship, but the newspaper refused to publish it because the paper has a negative policy toward that particular women's group. Thus, simply increasing the number of women employed in the mass media may not bring a corresponding increase in stories about and for women and their issues.

The students were realistic in acknowledging that they would have problems working in the mass media and raising children, but they believed that these could be

resolved by the way both husband and wife managed their time. However, one student who worked in the print media during her internship was shocked to find how hard it would be for her as a married woman and mother to work in the press. Many students believe women should be given flexible schedules to help them manage their time between working and raising children.

The study participants offered several recommendations for improving the status of women in mass media:

1. The new women graduates in mass communication should help media officials accept the reality that women are capable of working in this field.
2. The government should hire more Kuwaiti women and implement new media policies toward them.
3. A media campaign should be started to increase the public's awareness of women's role in the mass media.
4. Women should be allowed to cover hard news.
5. On-site child care/kindergarten should be established at the women's work places to help married women who want to work and raise children at the same time.

In spite of the generally negative perception held by most Kuwaitis concerning women working in mass media, the majority of students (72%) believe that women will have leading roles in this area in the future. Many believe that good journalists--male or female--will create positive images of themselves, and that women will successfully compete with men in the media.

The students also expressed concerns, varying from personal fears to societal fears.

The most common of these are listed here:

1. My supervisor will not respect my rights.
2. My husband may not accept the articles I write.
3. I will not be able to manage both working and raising children.
4. I will not be given a chance to prove myself.
5. If I fail, my failure will be attributed to my being a woman.
6. I will not be given the freedom to work because of media censorship.



7. My studies will not have prepared me adequately for the real world.
8. I will be affected by the current environment and make the same mistakes I see occurring in the press now.
9. My health and my marriage will suffer because of my work.
10. The society will not accept women working in the mass media.

Many of the students believe that one way to maintain their enthusiasm after they begin working is by creating a club for women journalists. The majority of the students (40, or 82.5%) approved of a club as a way for women to communicate with one another and to stay up to date on new technology. Some students were concerned that such a club would fail to live up to its mission, as so many other women's clubs have done, and would become a forum for speeches rather than real action.

They also expressed concern about their training; 21 (64%) of the 33 students responding to this question thought the Department of Mass Communication had prepared them well, but 12 (21%) disagreed. The complaints were that the training was too theoretical, with too little practical experience.

Asked what they would like to change in the Kuwaiti media, the students offered several suggestions:

- Change society's negative perception of women working in the mass media.
- Change women's thinking and education through intensive lectures in different fields.
- Increase the number of women journalists and educate them politically and socially.
- Improve women's salaries in the mass media.
- Provide women with job protection in the print media to encourage them to work there.
- Improve ethics in the mass media.

The findings of this study are not promising for women Kuwaiti journalists, but they are not totally negative, either. Women must travel a long, arduous road if they are to achieve better status in the mass media. To change their status, they will have to be willing

to sacrifice their time, marriages, money, and even perceptions. They also need to realize that adopting a Western model for women working in the media will not fit Kuwaiti society. They will have to create their own ideology that will be acceptable by the society, especially men. They must look to their religion, culture, and rights to create an ideology that will not cause men to feel insecure or ashamed and will allow the society to accept women as women--no less and no more. More studies are needed about women and the media to put women's issues in perspective and to help women overcome the obstacles that are preventing them from taking a strong role in the society, especially in the mass media in Kuwait.

### **Bibliography**

1. Ministry of Information (1996). Kuwait .
2. The Constitution of the State of Kuwait.
3. Khadija Al-Mahmeed (1994) 'Women Moslem's Mission', paper presented at the 'First Conference on Women's Role in Cultural Development', April 12, 1994, the Women's Social and Cultural Organization, pp. 1--41 (in Arabic).
4. Ibid., p.11
5. Amer Al-Temimi (1996) 'Economic Participation of Kuwaiti Women,' paper presented at 'Women and Decision Making Forum: The Way to Accomplish Equality in 1996', May 6-9, 1996, Kuwait, organized by the Women's Social and Cultural Organization, pp. 1--7 (in Arabic).
6. Abdul Qader Abdul Basit (1975) 'Working Women in Kuwait and the Gulf,' paper presented at the 'National Conference on Women in the Arabian Gulf, Women's Social and Cultural Organization, April 21, 1975, Kuwait, pp. 305--334 (in Arabic).
7. Norah Falah (1981) 'Arab View of Working Women: Kuwaiti Media: Press', in 'Women's Development in the 80s: Studies and Research', Second National Conference

on Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, March 28-31, 1981, Organized by Women's Social and Cultural Organization, Kuwait, 2: pp. 681--772 (in Arabic).

8. Fozia Al-Atiya (1985) 'Women and Work in the Arabian Gulf', in Women and Work, Third National Conference on Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, March 24-27, 1984, Abu Dabi. Organizing Committee on Working Women in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, Kuwait, 1:1985, pp. 213--244 (in Arabic).

9. Abdullah Q. Al-Saleh (1996) 'Participation in Decision Making Is One Issue of Kuwaiti Working Women from a Societal Perspective', paper presented at 'Women and Decision Making Forum: The Way to Accomplish Equality in 1996', May 6-9, 1996, Kuwait, organized by the Women's Social and Cultural Organization, pp. 1--11 (in Arabic).

10. Fozia Al-Atiya (1985), p. 214.

11. Muna Al-Qaith (1996) 'Analysis of Administrative Pressures Leading Women Face in Government Sectors', paper presented at 'Women and Decision Making Forum: The Way to Accomplish Equality in 1996', May 6-9, Kuwait, organized by the Women's Social and Cultural Organization, pp. 1--22 (in Arabic); see also Modhi Al-Homood (1996) 'Managing Women and Working Pressure', paper presented at 'Women and Decision Making Forum: The Way to Accomplish Equality in 1996', May 6-9, Kuwait, organized by the Women's Social and Cultural Organization, pp. 1--25 (in Arabic).

12. D. H. Weaver and G. C. Wilhoit (1986) The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

13. J. S. Gelfman (1976) Women in Television News. New York: Columbia University Press; see also R. M. Kanter (1977) Men and Women of the Corporation, New York: Basic Books.

14. Van Zoonen (1988) 'Rethinking Women and the News', European Journal of Communication: pp. 35-53.

15. Ibid.

16. Sue Lafky (1989) 'Economic Equity and the Journalistic Work Force', pp. 164--179 in Pamela J. Greedon (edt) Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage.

17. H. Leslie Steeves (1989) 'Gender and Mass Communication in a Global Context', pp. 83--111 in Pamela J. Greedon (edt) Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values, Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.

18. Ibid., pp. 102-103.