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Dis-empowering women on Malaysian TV

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While women are encountering profound changes in their lives, the role and responsibility of television is critical in facilitating women's voices, perspectives and issues. An analysis of women's programs in daytime television in Malaysia reveals that far from promoting active citizenry by raising the level of public discussion, Malaysian television is weak and ineffectual, lacking clear political focus. Women's concerns are not taken seriously and television fails to contribute to women's empowerment in society.

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The past century has witnessed unprecedented changes in the role and status of women in relation to men and the mass media have played a crucial part in creating gendered images which have helped to describe and define shifting currents in this area. Feminist works have illuminated the social construction of gendered hierarchies and practices in social institutions and processes, which do not privilege women's experiences and interests. There still looms much dissatisfaction at the global and local levels where representation of women in the media is concerned. Further more, there appears mounting mistrust of media organizations, widespread scepticism of journalists' ethics and resentment of the growing power of the media (Peters, 1995).

Feminist work in the field of media has unveiled the limited portrayal of women's images, the increased presence of women in the media profession and despite this, the lack of progressive images of women in the media. The popular celebration of women's pleasures towards some media genres and the apolitical trend in numerous feminist media studies has also been found to be debilitating the gender struggle to create a more egalitarian society (Gallagher, 1992).

The focus on power is critical as it can be conceived to be both repressive and productive. Power works in two major ways; 'power over' and 'power to' or 'empowerment' (Gore, 1993;

Grimshaw, 1992; Bate, 1988). 'Power over' denotes the dominance and ability to control over women through forms of physical coercion and through institutional, formal practices, cultural conventions and habitual reactions in the profession or in the workplace. 'Power to' or 'empowerment' is a reflective activity, a process capable of being initiated and sustained only by the agent or subject who seeks self-determination (Simon, 1992).

Riano (1994:23) explains that empowerment is not just individual achievements or assessing certain power positions, but "the energizing of individual and collective objects to participate in social movements and process of emancipation." Empowerment thus constitutes the process of working to bring about individual and collective transformation.

In the present article, empowerment is linked to advancing gender issues — gender awareness in media knowledge; to develop critical consciousness at the individual level and in turn creating collective actor-oriented strategies to intervene in environmental and structural arrangements that oppress women.

The discursive and institutional framing of women as a complex social group and the role of television in representing women's concerns and their participation in public space is still very much an underresearched area in Malaysia. The quest for development and modernization calls for serious analytic attention to questions regarding the place of women in informing and influencing the nature of development.

This article reports the content of women's programs in Malaysian television, the aspirations of women producers as well as the perception and use of these texts by women audiences in the light of experiencing empowerment. The discussion will examine the following:

• The shaping of the gender debate in the sociocultural context of Malaysia;

• An analysis of women's programs on Malaysian television to define patterns of representation;

• The views of television producers with regard to program content issues and the empowerment of women; and

• The perception and use of women's television programs in moving towards empowerment for women.

Framing The Malaysian Gender Agenda

Many works on gender have attempted to analyze women's experiences by emphasizing the embeddedness of patriarchal relations in a matrix of intersecting inequalities (Bathla, 1998; Riano; 1994; Zoonen, 1994). The category of women as a

homogeneous group has been questioned as race, class, caste, age, physical ability and other cultural factors distinguish individuals.

In the Malaysian context, it cannot be denied that the gender dimension is linked principally with factors of ethnicity, religion and class. Malaysia is a multi-ethnic society and efforts in re-structuring society are cased dominantly along ethnic lines. Framing the gender agenda is however a very difficult task given the diversities and confrontational identity politics embedded in the Malaysian scenario. Conflicts over issues such as unequal allocation and use of natural resources, discrepancies in opportunities in political, economic and the workplace spheres, domestic and public violence towards women and variations of struggles among women reveal the embattled concept of feminism in the contemporary society. It is therefore not surprising that many studies on gender do not examine the multiple and contradictory power relations experienced by women and there is very little documented work that delves into the multiple interactions and combined complexities that produce gender.

The National Advisory Council on the Integration of Women in Development (NACIWID) was set up in the Prime Minister's department in 1976 to look into women's matters. While this gesture was taken in support of UN's declaration of the Women's Decade in 1975, there were hardly any initiatives that were taken to address women's position in society. Rather, policies to focus on resource based higher technology industralisation saw the engaging of female workers in labour intensive industries such as textiles and electronics (Jamilah, 1992). The market interests of transnational corporations and the government also deployed procedures of control and limitation and created new forms of wielding power over women (Syed Farid, 1994).

The first official document on gender planning emerged in the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995) and the framework that was adopted here mirrored closely to the Equity Approach that aims to emphasize economic opportunities by giving women access to employment and the marketplace. However, it was found that that there was only a small increase in female labour force participation, from 45.8 percent in 1990 to 47.1 percent in 1995. The Seventh Malaysian Plan (1996-2000) on Women in Development has linked this situation to lack of affordable and quality child-care services and inflexible working conditions for women; obscuring more significant causes like cultural traditions and beliefs, patriarchal institutional policies and professional values as well as increasing competition in a growing global capitalistic economy that continue to co-exist to subordinate women.

The role of the media, which was silent in the Sixth Malaysia

Plan, was acknowledged in the Seventh Malaysia Plan. The Seventh Malaysia Plan observes very briefly that the media have to play a pivotal role in facilitating the dissemination of information pertaining to the rights of women in areas such as marriage, divorce, employment and property and in the promotion of a healthy lifestyle and nutrition. The action plan underpinning the National Policy of Women aims to increase public awareness and sensitivity towards issues relating to women.

Within this spectrum, one may legitimately examine the role of television in the context of the present study. How has television responded to women's concerns, especially in defining public issues? What is the role of women's programs and how does it promote the role and participation of women? What kind of ideas and ideologies the media in relation to women is perpetuating?

Malaysian TV Scenario

The broadcasting scene since the colonial days and even after independence did not articulate any specific policy for broadcasting in Malaysia. The country's constitution, its laws, the national ideology Rukunegara, and the New Economic Policy served as guidelines to broadcasting. While RTM has outlined some policy directions that toe the government rhetoric, the other private television networks have not explicitly stated the philosophy that underpins their operations and program development.

The Broadcasting Act 1988 (Revised 1997), The Communication and Multimedia Act (1999), The National Telecommunications Policy (NTP) have been used to control the number of television networks in operation, as well as the number of hours that they can broadcast. The above Acts and policies have very little to state about the role of broadcasting in social and cultural development and perform more strongly as elements of control that stipulate restrictions and sanctions to expressions on television.

Malaysian television was a government monopoly from its inception in December 1963 until mid-1984 when the policy on broadcasting was modified to encompass privatization interests as propounded by the Privatization Masterplan in 1991. This was in line with the government's intention to expand and accelerate the pace of the privatization process that seeks to transfer enterprise ownership from the public to the private sector. More generally, as Jomo (1995) notes, privatisation here refers to changing the state of a business, service or industry from state, government or public to private ownership or control.

The Ministry of Information that coordinated Departments of Broadcasting, Information and Film initiated the privatization

of television broadcasting in Malaysia in the 1980's. Rahmah (1995:236) asserts that forms of privatization in Malaysian broadcasting took shape mainly in the privatization of local programming as well as airtime in the government-owned Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) and the licensing of private television networks alongside RTM's two channels.

The introduction of numerous broadcasting channels in television sectors has led to an intense competition for sponsorship and advertising revenue. Privatization in the television scene has also been primarily seen as an incitement to marketing and consumerism. The scheduling and production of programs is almost inevitably tied in with the need to generate revenue, even in the case of public service channels.

Approaching Issues in Television's Women's Programs

At the heart of feminist cultural politics is the critique of media content and its implication in the construction of women's experiences. Women's programs, as these are spaces that deal with factual information and women's perspectives in any activity or area of life. These programs are designed specifically for the women audience as it advances topics and events in which women participate primarily as newsmakers.

It is critical to examine how television texts invite particular readings and interpretations with regard to the involvement of women in defining reality; television's role in framing women's issues and the focus television gives in constructing a more positive representation of women as powerful actors and active citizens in fostering social change in society. The interest here is to observe the ways television imparts information on public issues and through which citizens make decisions. Specifically, the study is seeking to unveil the ways women's concerns and their participation in the public space is represented. Given the diverse make-up of Malaysian women, this study also examines the articulation of ethnicity and class in the women's programs. In this regard it needs to be reiterated here that while there are general current affairs programs in English, Malay, Mandarin and Tamil, there are no such women's programs produced specifically for Chinese and Indian women. This genre is visibly absent in television programming for ethnic groups.

There are four women's programmes that are currently being aired right now, that is Minda Wanita and Hawa (RTM1); Nona (TV3) and 3R. The content study over a period of four weeks suggest the following:

Women As Consumers

The major sponsors of women programs include Hotels and Island Resorts, Cosmetics and Boutiques; Cellphones, Milk products and Banks. Filming for these programs also take place at various shopping malls. For example, one programme was shot entirely in a specific departmental store. The program appeared to promote goods and facilities available.......children's toys, clothing, play area for children, restaurants, spa centers as well as designer clothes and accessories. The hosts of some of the women's programs invite us to shop as the viewers are taken from one setting to another where numerous goods in smart and eye-catching ways were displayed.

There is clearly a growing relationship between merchandizing and women's programs. It can be argued that the crucial decisions about the form and content of the programs are being made primarily with a view to promote products and services. For instance, it is remarked that shopping with children can be quite a stressful and tiring experience, and if that happens, it is convenient to step into a spa health centre and relax one's mind and feet. The News section in Nona, for example, brings three items that are considered as 'newsworthy': the launching of Chanel's shopping lot in Kuala Lumpur; the promotion on Jacques Farel's fashion brand watches; and the Persian Art exhibition on marriage certificates and design.

If sponsorship and advertising are considered as expressions of capitalist consumer culture (Zoonen, 1994), the construction of women's programs that focus on women's increasing purchasing power is gaining currency in the Malaysian television context. There is growing tendency for women's programs for being sites of business rather than as sites for the creation of ideas that will contribute to the empowerment of women.

Women's Issues

All women's programs take up a single issue as a major segment of the program. Some of the issues discussed include 'Marriage and Dilemma of the Older Women'; Toys and Safety of Children; and 'Women and the Media'.

The first issue *(Minda Wanita)* sees the host, a female Malay counselor and a male Ustaz speaking about the importance in marriage in the life of a good Muslim. The counsellor defines marriage as a form of religious, virtuous act suitable for women between the ages of 21-26. A woman is considered a spinster if she is not married by the age of 27. For women with careers, they are labelled as spinsters if marriage does not take place at the age of 30. The issue is advanced from a religious point of view where it is continuously stressed that marriage is 'ibadat' — a form of 'devotional service' that will enable women to take up roles,

responsibilities and enable them to engage in reproductive activities. The discussion advances that every human being wants marriage and if women do not get married, this is possibly because of: bitter past experiences, women concentrating on their career; women being highly 'choosy' when looking for a partner; and wanting to be free but running way from 'devotional duty', responsibilities and obligations as a good Muslim. The guest counsellor appearing in this show further adds that women should maintain their feminine traits, specifically in being gentle and graceful, polite and demure. The segment concludes by advising unmarried single women to open their minds towards marriage.

It is clear that cultural and religious traditions govern the imaging and lives of women in this region. In this case, while there are many progressive views on Muslim women and possible legitimate reasons for not engaging in marriage or delaying marriage, these explanations are not given due attention. The program reinforces the conservative-traditional discourse and trivialises women's experience as being 'choosy'. Worse, women are seen as the problem here rather than socio-cultural and industrial structures and processes that neither acknowledge women nor support her roles in both the private and public spheres in a given society.

One focus of discussion in another women's program related to children, toys and their safety. In this particular program, the location filming was based at Twinkles, a shopping department in one of the popular malls in Kuala Lumpur (the name of the store was mentioned in the program). The segment on this issue is constructed in fragments intersecting with other news and fillers and appears primarily to promote the goods (children's toys, dress, games) and services (playpen, birthday party and dining facilities) of the departmental store.

Women appear as major actors in discussing harmful toys and children and this includes a female, Malay paediatric consultant as well as parents of children who experienced some accidents with harmful toys and equipment. The segment describes two cases, where one child is paralysed and visually handicapped after a fall. In the second case, the danger of using walkers for babies is enacted to demonstrate the danger of falling or tripping over floor steps. The danger of small parts in toys that may be swallowed is emphasized in this program.

This is an important issue but the theme is situated in a very odd setting where there appears to be direct promotion of departmental stores and the toys that they carry like Barbie Doll, cuddly bears, computer games. The impression that is given is while the location setting used to house the week's show is at Twinkles Departmental Store; the issue of safety of toys has been

deliberately inserted as a secondary theme. The segment lacks depth —the need to put pressure on toy manufacturing companies to make safe toys, the need for regulation and the importance of sensitising parents to avoid toxic materials used in children's toys do not emerge as issues of public concern. It is suggested here that the overall program appears to be governed by commercial logic rather than a genuine concern for children's interest.

Another very interesting issue that emerged was the Women and Media relationship. Specifically, the segment advances the question, "Is television about pretty faces or intelligent persons?" Popular views from the people in the street largely suggest the following: good looks are essential as they keep the audience interested in the program; the value of programs depreciate if the presenters are not attractive; and that qualities like intelligence and eloquence should also accompany beauty.

A popular Malay, middle-aged television news presenter is invited to give her views on this issue and she reiterates that television is a glamorous industry and appearance is a determining factor in constructing visuals. She adds that while a warm personality and not necessarily good looks is important for male presenters, the same measures do not apply to female presenters. She observes that the most popular television presenters are the ones with beautiful faces. She adds that while beauty is important, television presenters must be serious about Journalism, be able to carry out interviews and live coverage. Thus, the underlying statement made in this session is: —beauty is a pre-condition for young girls interested in television careers. The presenters then make this comment: "This is not fair, but that's Life!.....leaving the impression that women can be powerless and helpless in intervening in the media's representation of women.

While there are many controversies surrounding this area, the discussion on women and the media appeared to be narrow, constrained and rather "safe" where the gender practices operating at the institutional and structural levels are not addressed. This can be read as a way of constructing views but controlling them so that they do not become offensive. The program has raised a pertinent question about women and the media, but failed to provide helpful answers regarding possible intervention that work towards the betterment of women.

Women's Other Interests

One popular segment that was included in women's programs is fashion ...mainly for the rich, slim and glamorous as various figure-hugging apparels that accentuate femininity were presented. There was also fashion for the more conservative ones.

Other sample items included in the women's programs

are: Activity: line dancing for women who want to relax and engage in a pleasurable activity; IT: some tips on how to protect your computer from virus; Tips: Treatment for split hair; Cosmetics and relaxation: Spa health center and Chinese Herbal therapy for the body and mind; and Heart to Heart: Emotional experiences of tragic incidents, usually accompanied by appeals for donations.

The content study of the women's programs suggest the following:

• Women are young and middle-aged classes.

• Women are active agents in their profession

• Women are beauty conscious

• Women are fully able, glamorous and interested in fashion they have heavy work commitments.

• Women are happy consumers.

• Women seldom interact among ethnic groups.

• Poverty does not exist among women professional and community levels.

Women's programs are important public discussion spaces where women's concerns and interests can be advanced to sensitize women to the various forms of struggles experienced in the domestic sphere, in the workplace and in the wider community. Unlike drama, musicals, game-shows, sports and advertisements which carry stereotyped images and messages, women's programs is one genre that responds to factual and current public affairs with the women interest angle. It is women-centred in the sense of raising questions about women and aiming women to provide with helpful answers regarding domination in the production of meaning and knowledge. It is also a platform for examining male domination and enabling women as primary actors to make qualitative differences to the television environment.

Despite undergoing rapid changes and social and economic progress, there has been no radical change in the representation of women. Rather the programs appear to sustain the current social order by limiting women's struggles and experiences.

Women Producers Speak Out

In discussing women's programs on television, it is crucial to examine the views of production personnel in the television industry with regard to women's struggles. Their beliefs and ideologies about the role of television, the aims and objectives of women's programs and the challenges confronted by those working in this area will illuminate the ways women's programs are constructed. The summary of discussion is as follows:

The status of women in society

All the creative workers stated explicitly that women in Malaysia enjoy increased employment opportunities and that there is an improvement in women's lives. It was noted that in the past, women's role was pre-determined and was confined to home and family but contemporary women have choices to venture in different types of work. Some feel that gender equity has been obtained in Malaysia while there are a few who do not fully agree with this view. They note that women do encounter problems in both domestic and professional place and that gender discrimination, sexual harassment and poor working conditions are real struggles confronting women. One creative worker points that it is a popular belief that work outside home is liberation, but that this not always the case. While women get financial benefits, women also face problems but their problems are not seen as important public debates.

Women and television in Malaysia

The general feeling is that the current situation in television is encouraging as more women are visible in this sector. It is believed that a lot of women are seen as newsreaders, reporters, script-writers, presenters and as producers and this proving that women are capable in this field.

As far as the portrayal of women in television is concerned, the creative workers note that there are many progressive images of women and very conservative-traditional ones too. They also point out that that feminine attributes are still considered as appealing and are able to pull the audiences and sometimes they have to work towards these images that are considered as 'pleasurable' to their employers, audiences as well as sponsors.

Aims of women's programs

There are no clear polices regarding women's television programming in Malaysian television networks. The general feeling is that women's programs should cover a diverse range of issues like health, family and children, careers for women, social debates, fashion, religion, IT, culture, creative arts/skills as well as recreation activities for women. The programs should also appeal to both housewives as well as to those who are working outside homes. The programs aim to provide lots of information as well as entertainment.

There is a clear agenda among some of the creative workers

to ensure that women are represented as intelligent beings. The programs, they state, also seek to enrich understanding of human lives and to extend women's horizons rather than confining them narrowly to home and matters of the heart. Interestingly, several of the creative workers are also socialized to avoid controversial political, ethnic based or religious issues. While the producer has relative independence to decide the segments in the program, it is important for them to also observe the unspoken boundaries imposed on them. Given that some of the creative workers are young and have less than three years experience in this area, they are cautious about taking risks.

Creating alternative images of women

A few of the younger creative workers observe that television fails to portray women, children and the elderly in meaningful ways. While they try to attempt changes, they are also mindful that change comes with risks. They note that such a task can be potentially divisive and bring negative feelings. They are also quick to add that some senior women professional themselves have not supported alternative visions that define women in broader terms.

All the creative workers are conscious of the multi-ethnic composition of women and the intersection of other factors like ethnicity, age, and class in focusing on women's expressions. They are also aware that alternative visions and values might conflict with institutional policies and cultural beliefs and practices, thus constraining their work. They feel it is not so risky once they occupy important positions, as that will provide them with certain opportunities to engage in conscious-raising activities.

Malaysian women - missing diversities

The diverse experiences do not emerge in women's programs. The creative workers note that language sometimes is a problem and the importance of presenting eloquent speakers who are seen as credible and authoritative has to be observed. One producer notes that the audiences for the programs are primarily Malays women, and as such one tends to see a higher representation of Malay women in the programs. Producers also have a list of resource persons in various areas and given that one is confronted with time limitations, it is easy to ascertain that the guest is an eloquent speaker if she is Malay.

On other diversities, the producers acknowledge that there may be many limitations as women are defined largely as middle class and middle aged. According to the creative workers, this is

done consciously and unconsciously as many of the topics that are broached in the programs are related to the experiences of middle-aged and middle class groups. One producer notes that there is a lot of social marketing of products and services in the programs and these are targeted to middle-aged women. The need to appeal to a wider audience with little risks of offending the sponsors is another factor that needs to be considered.

Another producer observes that feedback from the public is also essential to sensitize the program makers to more important issues. The current situation in television is one that sees audiences writing fan mail and commenting on the physical looks of the presenters rather than the content or issues of the program.

Women and Empowerment

Women's programs play an important role in increasing the levels of information and knowledge that will improve women's lives at both the individual and collective levels. In the present study, empowerment is linked to advancing gender issues — gender awareness in media knowledge; to develop critical consciousness at the individual level and in turn creating collective actor-oriented strategies to intervene in environmental and structural arrangements that oppress women.

The last part of this study reports the findings of focus groups interviews that aim to explore how women use and receive women's programs, specifically in relation to empowerment. Twenty-four women coming from young and middle age groups, different ethnic groups and different profession ranging from nurses, clerks, teachers, managers, administrative officers and housewives formed three groups. Out of the twenty-four women, only nine follow at least one women's program each week while the several watch the programs on an irregular basis. Six of them do not follow these programs. The study is not representative of Malaysian women's views; but the purpose of these focus group discussions is to provide insights into the ways women respond to the selected programs. The three groups of women watched the programs of that week and their views are summarized below.

Feedback on women's programs

The respondents have different ways of describing the programs. Some find it informative and entertaining, while other have the following to say: " humorous, boring, useful, so outdated, a waste of time." For those who find the programs useful, informative and entertaining, the issues and tips have exposed them to new information. Some of them enjoy the issues, IT and

fashion segments while others find it humorous and ridiculous. There are several respondents, who find the issues discussed as interesting and useful knowledge in managing their interests.

Several other respondents feel that the programs are boring and are not relevant or 'in tune' with women's needs and struggles. The clothes presented on fashion shows for, they point out, are for the rich and famous and celebrities. The respondents add that the format is rather conservative and the information limits women's experiences and horizons rather than widening them. They note that some of the segments have no new images or messages. The women have progressed immensely in the past decade and are experiencing changes, but the programs; they observe follow the same format as they did five or ten years ago.

Raising awareness of women's issues

The respondents were asked the role of the programs in raising their awareness on various matters. To this the general feeling is that there is no additional information regarding women's conflicts and experiences. While the programs note that gender discrimination exists in society as in the story of the singer and the media presenters, the program does not provide information on ways to counter them.

Many of the respondents note that emphasis on beauty rather than talent or intelligence of women is a problem in many areas, yet there is little information to raise women's awareness on possible ways to on confront this problem.

Development of skills

The respondents point out that the skills that they find useful are: dressing skillfully according to various body sizes; confronting virus in IT and learning to solve hair split problems.

Skills in confronting discrimination, in handling children's demands at shopping malls and skills in managing home and the career effectively are not presented in the segments. One respondent notes this, "When one is tired and stressed, the program suggests that women can engage in spa therapy....but no skills are imparted on how this can be done...steeping into a spa health center can be a costly affair!".

After watching the programs, the respondents feel that the women's programs do not offer opportunities to improve themselves, to stand equally with men, to get a better position at the workplace and to mobilize women collectively to work towards women's development. The respondents conclude that women's programs are not useful in providing knowledge on developing

personal and collective skills at the workplace or at home or in the wider society.

Enhancing interaction

The respondents perceive that women programs do not enhance interaction or encourage support groups for women confronting traumatic experiences or difficulties. Names of groups or citizen movements involved in supporting activities are useful for the audience. One respondent observes that women's programs would possibly enhance interaction among groups of women who can afford designer clothes and accessories, fancy restaurants and upper class health spots. This information is for private, leisurable matters and not in the interest of the wider group of women.

Enhancing cultural understanding

There is this recognition that women are made up of diverse backgrounds and that there are many skills, ideas and experiences that can be communicated across the cultures, but this is glaringly absent in women's programs.

It is also noticed that a multi-ethnic society like Malaysia is rich in cultural practices where women are key participants in these activities. Hence women program makers can use these opportunities to foster cultural understanding among women. The definition of women's experiences can also be broadened to include stories of the elderly, children and the physically disabled.

Audience apathy

Overall, the respondents appear disappointed with the information presented on women's programs. When asked if they would write to the program-makers or to the mass media regarding the dismal state of women's programs, many of them said that they would not. The reasons given are: this involves work and if there is no feedback, it can be frustrating; lack of courage to do so and lack of interest in engaging in these activities.

Watching television requires learning and skills. We need to learn the rules and codes of the world as mediated by television. Television literacy is only available at the institutions of higher learning and this hinders a wider participation of citizens critiquing television. The fact that there is very little public questioning or discussion from the female audiences themselves leads to the sustaining of the present format in making women's programs.

Conclusion

The present discussion is a preliminary attempt to examine the content of women's programs and to link this content with views from the program-makers as well as the female audiences. The analysis of the content of the women's programs shed light on the narrow definitions of women's experiences. There is a lot of celebration of leisurely private pursuits while issues on women's subordination are marginalized, denying alternative values and alternative readings of history.

Women's programs are a part of factual television and it is a serious mode of discourse that needs serious attention of various groups including program-makers, women movements as well as the female audience. If television's original mission was to educate, inform and to entertain, this mission appears to discard the first two tasks and the replacement is — to entertain and to consume. The mission to empower is far from being a reality.

The intensification of commercialization set at both local and global levels pose major challenges to women and the feminist movement. There is a need for encouraging more women and other citizen groups to engage with media debates, institutional policies and to take intervention activities to ensure new forms of making meaning of women's struggles are developed. More women, committed to women's struggle are needed to participate in politics and the media industry with a clear agenda of working towards improving women's lives and empowering communication. ∎

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