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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

Media Advocacy and Social Change:

The Case of Sexual Harassment in Egypt

A Thesis Submitted to

Public Policy and Administration

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Public Policy

by **Naglaa Atef Beshay Hanna**

Under the supervision of Dr. Khalid Amin

January 2015

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my father, Atef Beshay whose love and care inspire me in every single step in my life. Thank you for your trust in me. I will always do my best, just to make you proud.

It is dedicated to my mother who taught me perseverance in setting my objectives and achieving them and gave me strength to face all challenges. And it is dedicated to my sister, my companion and soul mate.

Last but not least, the study is dedicated to my husband. His love, encouragement and patience, make me pursuit my goals.

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I would also want to extend my gratitude to all my friends and colleagues for without their understanding and support, it would have been very difficult to accomplish this study.

Finally, want to thank all the participants in this study whose information and input enriched the study. Hope it will be of a value to their work.

Abstract

Social Change and media advocacy are two related concepts. In Egypt with all the changes that are taking place on the political level, social change is needed in parallel to achieve development. Sexual harassment is an alarming phenomenon that is growing in Egypt in the last few years. Media advocacy is a tool that should be included in the strategy to combat this phenomenon as it contributes to make social change which could eliminate the phenomenon. This study reviews some of the media advocacy attempts in Egypt that targets sexual harassment. It also studies the role of the governmental organizations as well as the civil society organizations in using media advocacy for combating sexual harassment and presents recommendations to maximize their benefits from using media advocacy to solve social problems in Egypt like Sexual Harassment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	8
List of Tables and Figures	9
Introduction.....	10
Chapter 1: Study Overview.....	14
I. Statement of the Problem	14
II. Purpose of the Study	14
III. Research Questions	15
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	16
I. Conceptual Framework	16
A. Advocacy: the Concept, Definition and Types	16
B. Theories of Social Change.....	18
C. Development Communication	19
D. Social Mobilization	20
E. Media Advocacy	21
II. Previous Studies	22
Chapter 3: Methodology	26
I. Methodology and Research Design	26
A. Methodology	26
B. Case Study	26
II. Sampling	28
A. Media Selection	28
B. Entities and Organizations Selection	29
1. Governmental Organization	29
2. Civil Society Organizations	30
Chapter 4: The Case of Sexual Harassment	34
I. Sexual Harassment: a Contextual Overview	34
II. Sexual Harassment and Social Change:	
Top-Down versus Bottom-Up Approach	38
Chapter 5: Sexual Harassment and Government Interventions	42
I. The Egyptian Government's Position on the Issue of Sexual Harassment	42

A.	The Way Different Regimes Deal with Sexual Harassment	42
B.	The Political Context of Sexual Harassment	43
C.	Sexual Harassment in Communication Revolution Era	44
II.	The Role of the National Council for Women in Sexual Harassment	45
A.	The National Council for Women as an Advocate	46
B.	The National Council for Women and Media Advocacy	48
Chapter 6:	Civil Society and Sexual Harassment in Egypt	51
I.	Civil Society in Egypt	51
II.	Civil Society and Gender Issues	54
III.	Civil Society and Sexual Harassment	56
A.	Nazra for Feminist Studies	56
1.	The Chain of “Advocacies”	56
2.	The Cooperation between Nazra and The National Council for Women	58
3.	Nazra and Media Advocacy	59
B.	The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights	61
1.	Advocacy for Human Rights	61
2.	Importance of State Intervention	62
3.	The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights Media Advocacy for Sexual Harassment	63
C.	HarassMap	64
1.	Online and Offline Advocacy Tools	64
2.	HarassMap and its Cooperation with the National Council for Women	65
3.	HarassMap Involvement in Media Strategy	66
Chapter 7:	Findings and Analysis	70
I.	Overall Dynamics of Relationship between Media Advocacy and Social Change	70
II.	Media Challenges and Dilemmas	71
A.	New Media- Traditional Media Dilemma	72
B.	Agenda Setting	73

III. Comparative Overview between the National Council for Women and Civil Society Organizations Approaches	75
A. Similarities	75
B. Differences	77
Conclusion and Recommendations	79
References	82
Appendices	90
Appendix I: Media Strategy	91
Appendix II: Sexual Harassment Law	94
Appendix III: Interview Questionnaires	95
Appendix IV: Malek Mostafa Blog Entry about Sexual Harassment.....	98

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NCW	National Council for Women
EIPR	Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights
ECWR	Egyptian Center for Women's Rights
CSO	Civil Society Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
IDRC	International Development and Research Center
UN Women	The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
ILO	International Labor Organization
EU	European Union
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
ICPD	United Nations International Conference on Population and Development
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
USAID	US Agency for International Development

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Table 1: Assessment of Civil Society Organizations Advocacy	68
Figure 1: The Mechanism of Relationship between Media Advocacy and Social Change	71

Introduction

“Society is a highly complex organism comprised of many interrelated parts, all of which function in important ways for the maintenance of the whole. The function of each part can be assessed in terms of its overall contribution to the survival of society” (Appelbaum, 1970).

The above quote said by Richard Appelbaum, the author of *Theories of Social Change* states that society is a dynamic organism that undergoes continuous changes. Interaction between societies is an important factor of social change; societies in close contact with other societies are more likely to change rapidly. Thus, the contact as a factor for social change developed over time to become not only physical contact but also virtual interaction through technology and communication (Sooryamoorthy, 2011). While the impact of media on change in societies remained debatable for a long time, most of the modern theories confirmed that media is a tool for change (Neumann, 1981). The field of communication relied for so many years on the Selective Perception Theory which suggests that people select the media that is compatible with their views and avoid media that contradicts with their beliefs (Neuman, 1981). Consequently, people’s perceptions do not change since they are not subjected to different views, according to this theory. Nevertheless, recent studies suggest that media is “agent of change” if the media messages and the government policies are consonant, and if the majority supports an argument, change in attitude is more likely to happen (Neumann, 1981), because the more people feel their opinion is closer to the majority opinion, the more they are willing to speak up in public.

This can take place through media advocacy that focuses on attracting people’s attention towards specific issue or initiating a debate in the society. The purpose is to form pressure groups that can push decision makers to design a policy, change an existing one, or effectively implement a policy (Holder & Treno, 1997); people’s agreement on specific issue in addition to policy makers’ adoption to the same argument help in changing societies.

Advocacy requires the involvement of many actors including: community groups, researchers, policy professionals, officials, associations, and media to reach one

objective: policy change; yet changing the policy is not the goal in itself unless a social change occurs (Dorfman, Sorenson, & Wallack, 2009). In many cases, advocacy using media showed success in changing the perception of the public. Starting in the field of health in the 1980s, media advocacy was considered the result of cooperation of the community with the advocates who work in health and social problems. Media advocacy was considered at that time a key tool to formulate policies that minimize tobacco industry and to reduce alcohol-related problems. The purpose was to enhance media coverage about health issues and mobilize people to pressure policymakers in the same direction. Media advocacy as a strategy was then expanded to include more social issues such as reforming health policies, supporting less privileged people, and enhancing education policies (Dorfman, Sorenson, & Wallack, 2009).

In Autocratic states, before revolutions and transformation to democracy in different areas around the world, the policies and the decisions were easily taken in a hierarchal manner from top to down (Bassiouni & Beetham, 1998); but nowadays, with the globalization and technology revolution, people are becoming powerful actors in decision making processes; thus transforming to democracy strengthens the relation between public and policy change. In the modern societies, the social change relies on two main factors: the authority (decision makers) from one side, and the social pressure from the other side. Therefore, successful advocacy campaigns should target ministries, governmental organizations, and elected officials, and at the same time they should target the society represented in the ability and willingness of the citizens to receive a new idea, concept, or policy, accept it and interact with it.

In Egypt, the term advocacy does not have one agreed upon expression or literal translation in Arabic, as it is a new concept in the Egyptian context and not very well known to the public; nevertheless, advocacy is an integral part of civil society work and civil society organizations started to use media as a tool of advocacy to promote for their causes. Not only civil society but also governmental institutions use media advocacy aiming at changing public's perception or shaping their opinion to support a policy generated by the government or to be introduced to new concepts. Yet, to what extent

media advocacy contributes to changing policies and changing society in Egypt is still questionable.

The case of sexual harassment in Egypt is selected to be studied in this study. Sexual harassment is a phenomenon of public concern and media advocacy could be a suitable tool in a strategy to combat it. This phenomenon is very prevalent today to the extent that a study conducted by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (ECWR) found that 62 percent of Egyptian men who participated in the study conducted by the center admitted that they sexually harassed women. Also, more than 80 percent of Egyptian women reported that they were subjected to harassment (ECWR, 2008). Many civil society organizations use media advocacy to raise awareness and to change policies that can contribute to eradicating it. The government is also taking steps through a dedicated ministerial committee and through the National Council for Women (NCW) to fight this phenomenon on different levels. Since it is a problem of public interest, mass media plays a crucial role here. Therefore, studying this case involves three main pillars: the government, the civil society and the media. Through the case of sexual harassment, the study compares between the government and civil society utilization of media to fight the phenomenon.

Despite the efforts that are exerted by different stakeholders to combat sexual harassment, sexual harassment still exists and is still an alarming problem that threatens the Egyptian society. In her study *Sexual Harassment in Egypt: A Neglected Crime*, Neima Ebeid concluded that for sexual harassment to be decreased, media has a fundamental role in acting as a monitoring body for the government performance in fighting the phenomenon. Media is also a tool for pressure to change policies (Ebeid, 2013). Furthermore, a recent qualitative-quantitative research conducted by group of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in cooperation with the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), suggests that security and legislative solutions are not sufficient to eliminate sexual harassment but comprehensive social change is needed. This social change means that sexual harassment should be considered a crime that people do not accept or tolerate with. This unaccepting

discourse could be achieved through media (UN Women, 2013). In conclusion, media advocacy could be a powerful tool to change people's perception about sexual harassment. It could also help in forming pressure groups to change policies.

Chapter 1: Study Overview

I. Statement of the Problem

Many government entities and civil society organizations are using media as part of their advocacy campaigns. They aim at raising public awareness about social issues to have popular pressure that can help in changing policies. Mainstream media, including television and newspapers, could be an effective tool in changing policies and societies. While advocacy as a concept has been studied in different researches, there is still a gap in the assessment of the effectiveness of the media advocacy campaigns on social change in Egypt. Sexual harassment, as a social phenomenon, needs social change and public opinion that is against that phenomenon. This public opinion can be shaped by media advocacy.

Many initiatives have been taking place to minimize this phenomenon using media. These initiatives need to be studied in the context of media advocacy and its impact on social change. Because the phenomenon still exists, the advocacy initiatives are studied to find out the defects in this area and recommend tactics for improvement. Media advocacy is not the sole factor that impacts sexual harassment; other factors might be the reason behind the outbreak of the sexual harassment and need to be addressed in further researches.

II. Purpose of the Study

This study aims at reviewing the use of media advocacy that targets social change. The study reviews the content and the performance of governmental and non-governmental organizations in dealing with social issues using media. The created public opinion could be able to pressure policy makers to do a reform in policies that contribute to ending the undesired social phenomena.

Based on the review, the study is presenting recommendations for using media advocacy to fight sexual harassment phenomenon assuming that there are deficiencies in the media tools which make the advocacy unsustainable leading to the continuation of the phenomenon. This scope tries to address the gap in studies that deal with media advocacy

and its impact on social change in a developing country that is in a transitional phase for political change and struggling for social change as well.

III. The Research Questions

For this scope, the study answers four main questions using qualitative research methods. The questions are:

- 1) What are the dynamics of relationship between media advocacy and social change?
- 2) To which extent media advocacy is an essential tool for social change in Egypt?
- 3) What are the main differences and similarities between Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and governmental organizations' performance regarding using media advocacy for social change?
- 4) How can government and Civil Society Organizations maximize their benefits from using media advocacy to solve social problems in Egypt like Sexual Harassment?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, the conceptual framework of the study is presented. It explains the main concepts and theories discussed in the study. This includes explaining the advocacy, reviewing social change theories, defining development communication and social mobilization concepts, and finally looking at media advocacy as one tool of advocacy. The study discusses the relation between the concepts and theories clarifying how each concept impacts or is impacted by the other. In the second section, the study is reviewing previous studies that deal with media advocacy and social change.

I. Conceptual Framework

To answer the research questions, the study is informed by theories related to media and its impact on social change, advocacy and public policy. In this part, the study delineates the relation between concepts related to media advocacy with specific focus on theories of social change. In addition, the study explains the concept of communication development and how media advocacy is part of it. The purpose is to show how these theories can be utilized to analyze the use of media advocacy in sexual harassment in Egypt.

A. Advocacy: the Concept, Definition and Types

In its basic definition, advocacy is “a set of organized activities and actions that at its most vibrant will influence the policies and decisions of others” (UNICEF, 2010). The meaning of advocacy is almost agreed upon among different scholars and academics, but what make a difference are its vast implications in multiple fields and directions.

Advocacy as a term is relatively new, yet its basic concept goes back to Aristotle in ancient Athens. Aristotle in his writings differentiated between two types of human knowledge: the theoretical knowledge, which is acquired through ‘dialectic’ analysis and communication; and practical knowledge which is acquired through ‘rhetoric’ communication and analysis; the latter is what we call nowadays “advocacy” (Hazard & Remus, 2011). The challenge Aristotle pointed out is that this type of knowledge is

mostly uncertain. Unlike mathematics and natural sciences, advocacy or practical knowledge is based on living conditions and interaction with humans. Aristotle then concluded that to make a decision or action in these uncertain situations, one must put the favor of the community in consideration. As there is no right or wrong in this “approximately true” world, decisions and actions should be taken within the social context (Hazard & Remus, 2011). And this has become the main function of advocacy: the well-being of the community and the positive social change.

Advocacy was then recognized as a ‘stand-alone’ field of study and witnessed many changes in the latest 50 years especially after being linked to politics. By time, advocacy gains legitimacy and credibility when it comes to playing a role in “organized change” (Libby, 2011). About who can engage in it, advocates could belong to the government, the civil society, to independent institutions, or to any decision making groups. All entities that do advocacy always aim to present alternatives to public policies for change to take place.

Besides advocates, literature gives emphasis to the different types of advocacy. One type of advocacy is the advocacy, which aims at making the advocate’s beliefs dominant in the society. Another type is mass advocacy action and this type focuses on the public action where people are the key players. Interest group advocacy is considered the most prevalent type where lobbying is the main element. And the last type is the bureaucratic advocacy where researchers, experts, and policy professionals are themselves the advocates who lobby for their cause (Libby, 2011).

For the purpose of this study, mass advocacy is the most applicable since the focus is on media advocacy that targets people, and since the case studied is sexual harassment which is an issue of public interest. On another side, bureaucratic advocacy is addressed, as for eliminating sexual harassment, the governmental organizations (policy professionals) use media advocacy to support policies they need to develop or implement.

B. Theories of Social Change

Among the theories that are associated with advocacy are those related to social change. For social change to take place, economic, political and cultural factors are involved. It differs from one society to another and from one problem to another with regard to the power of the three factors; yet, for advocates to seek change, they should look at the three elements altogether (Leat, 2005).

Stemming from these factors, many social change theories evolved; each theory focuses on specific element and tackles different area. Organizational change is a theory that describes the change within the organization; it involves two schools: the old school believes that change should be directly introduced inside the organization, while the modern school believes that the change takes place in the surrounding environment and impacts the organization in a way that the organization itself cannot control (Leat, 2005). Other theories of social change focus on the individual and argue that social change will not take place unless individuals and groups change.

This takes us to discuss behavioral change theories. The social cognitive theory by Albert Bandura (1989), one of the behavioral change theories, suggests that what determine human behavior is a group of external factors. This theory entails that for social change to take place, individual behavior should change; and it also suggests that the main factor in changing individual behavior is changing the environment; thus changing environmental factors such as cultural perceptions, will cause social change.

In the theory of the planned behavior, the opposite is true. For changing people's behavior, their inner intentions and norms should be changed (Ajzen, 1991). This requires providing information that shapes attitudes or changes perception of individuals. In applying this theory on this study, we could find that it is the role of media advocacy. One of the main functions of media is to inform; so by giving the required information to the audiences, their behavior will change and thus social change on the macro level will take place.

Besides the previously mentioned theories, Panos D. Bardis (1962) classified the systems of social change into categories. The "Unilinear" Social Change is the first type

where change is moving in straight line from a primitive stage to an advanced one. Although Marx described the social change as linear, he believed that sooner or later this change will stop. The third school adopted by the Greek 'telos' is called the Telic Social Change which is represented by a waved diagram referring to ups and downs, where people deal with change rationally and face obstacles to reach their goals. Irregular Social Change theory developed by William Ogburn says that culture is divided into "material and non-material culture" the two types of cultures do not change together which results in "disharmony" and social change happens irregularly. Lastly, Friedrich Nietzsche and Ibn Khaldun adopted the Spiral Social Change, where both believe that "change happens through repeated stage: birth, growth, decline" (Bardis, 1962). Among the previous theories there is no ideal interpretation to the social change; however, all the theories and interpretations can be used to help analyzing social phenomenon like the sexual harassment.

C. Development Communication

Knowing that shaping people's perception is a crucial element for social change, communication serves that purpose. Development Communication is a concept developed in the 1960s and derived from theories of social change. It is defined as "the planned use of communication processes and media products to support effective policymaking and public participation geared towards social, economic, political, and ecological development" (GTZ, 2006). The main idea of development communication evolved post war, when modernization theory stated that the problem of development is the problem of lack of information and cultural deficits (Waisbord, 2001). And since the problem of development is a problem of information, communication evolved to be the solution and thus development communication was then known as a separate field.

Development Communication is an educational process which targets developing social consciousness (Genaro V. Ong, Jr., 1976). At the beginning, development communication was affected by the classical model of mass communication (Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver) that assume that information is a one-way process that

transfer from the medium to the audience who will be directly impacted by the message (Mefalopulos, 2008). This was called The Dominant Paradigm. This model was criticized and overthrown by the Opposing Paradigm that put emphasis on the importance of culture as a factor for change.

With setting the Millennium Development Goals, the emerging paradigm was introduced to give public participation unprecedented attention to achieve sustainable development. Communication was then seen as a tool for engaging different stakeholders from the public in solving social problems and fighting undesired phenomena. “The horizontal use of communication which opens up dialogue, assesses risks, identifies solutions, and seeks consensus for action, came to be seen as a key to success and sustainability of development effort” (Mefalopulos, 2003).

Throughout history, many initiatives for social change and development did not reach the desired outcomes. According to Robert Agunga, Mass Communication Scholar, this is due to two reasons: either deficiency in using communication, or lack of public contribution. It is not about sharing information through media, it is also about creating a dialogue, analyzing information, building trust and listening to create policies and change societies. In the modern model of development communication, communication plays two roles: assessment and empowerment (Mefalopulos, 2007). Communication via media can be used for analyzing, researching and investigating a phenomenon or an issue. Not only that, but it can also play the role of empowerment when it facilitates the participation of public and different stakeholders in solving the problem or creating social change.

D. Social Mobilization

According to the UNICEF report *Communication for Development*, social mobilization is defined as “a comprehensive planning approach that emphasizes political coalition building and community action” (Wallack 1989). So, after looking at individual change and group change, social mobilization is the following step where groups take actions to make social change. Many theories explained the motive behind social

movements; Charles Tilly, the sociologist provided the theory that is more applicable in this study. Tilly stated that organization, mobilization of resources, common interests and opportunities are the components of any social movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). And this aims at raising people's awareness of particular issue to achieve development in a specific area.

There are two theories explaining social movements: Resource Mobilization Theory and Traditional Social Movement Theory. While the Traditional theory focuses on the human element, including personal traits and people's motives to engage in collective actions (Klandermans, 1984), Resource Mobilization theory is based on the idea of availability of resources in a very rational process, where participants believe there are benefits of engaging in collective actions. In both theories, there should be clear strategic goals with understanding of the political structure in which the movement is working.

Social mobilization can be any action where group of people are engaged aiming at social change. It could be signing a petition or organizing a demonstration. It could also be a revolutionary action that targets total radical change, or it could be a reformative action that targets minor changes (McCarthy & Zald, 2003). Social movement is one of advocacy purposes; advocates usually address people and do campaigns that target raising social awareness and mobilizing people to pressure decision makers to change policies that lead to development.

E. Media Advocacy

According to Holder and Treno, media advocacy is “the strategic use of news media to advance a social or public policy initiative” (Holder & Treno, 1997). Media advocacy focuses on attracting people's attention towards specific issue or initiating a debate in the society. The purpose here is to formulate pressure groups that can push decision makers to design, change or implement a policy (Holder & Treno, 1997). Media advocates should have a thorough understanding of the media map in the society they are working in, in order to be able to interact correctly with the suitable media outlets based

on their target audience (Marshal, 2003); deep understanding of the agenda setting can enable media advocates to have impact on setting priorities of media personnel and channels.

Media advocacy is characterized by 5 characteristics: policy oriented, community based, long-lasting, collective, collaborative (Marshal, 2003); Media advocacy is usually used to promote for a policy that is either there but need to be changed, or a policy that exists but lack effective implementation, or a policy that needs to be developed to solve a social problem. Since media is one of the most effective tools that reach public, media advocacy is based on the community level which means that members of the community are the top priority to be addressed via the campaigns. As mentioned in the communication development theories, for development to take place, sustainability should be put into consideration; thus, media advocacy has profound elongated effect. Collectivity and collaboration are two important characteristics because media advocacy depends on the participation of public in collective manner.

From the above, it is concluded that media advocacy as one tool of advocacy plays crucial role in social change. Modern theories proved that media has powerful impact on people's behavior and perceptions. The media that targets changing societies for the better is part of development communication; it aims at formulation of effective policies with guaranteeing public participation. Media advocacy targets mobilizing people who can influence policy makers to change policy that will eventually cause social change. Thus the previously mentioned concepts are interrelated where each concept impacts and is impacted by the other.

II. Previous Studies

This study is situated in the body of literature that discusses the relation between media advocacy and social change. The purpose is to analyze the role of media in changing societies and to explain the dynamics of the relation between the three main pillars: government, civil society and media in Egypt.

Sexual harassment is one of the growing phenomena in Egypt that threatens the personal security of people and the public order. Multiple researches conducted before proofed that this phenomenon needs change in public perception and behavior, or in other words, it needs social change. The attention towards the importance of media advocacy in impacting public opinion which leads to social change is now increasing. In many cases, effective utilization of media showed significant contribution to eradication of a problem, change in behavior, or change in public policy. Nevertheless, to what extent sexual harassment can be impacted by media advocacy in Egypt still needs further researches.

In a dissertation submitted to Temple University, David Marshall (2003) took one initiative that uses media advocacy to cause social change. The case studied is the “Uptown Coalition Campaign” in Philadelphia that aimed at stopping tobacco giant R.J. Reynolds via small group of African Americans. Their strategy revolved around generating negative media attention against Reynolds. The campaign succeeded in creating negative image of Reynold in people’s perception. It also succeeded in gaining the attention of decision makers; this made the company stop its campaign. The study gives comprehensive analysis to the relation between how media covers social movements and the impact on social change. It also, presented an assessment to the media content against the tobacco industry expansion. While this study addressed the relation between media and social change, the focus is about evaluating the how media covered the movements rather than how the initiative itself use media.

Other study by Holder and Treno (1997) addressed the relation between media advocacy and bad social behavior such as drinking and driving focusing on the strategic use of news media to advance a social or public policy initiative. The campaign resulted in the decline of the amount of alcohol consumed per drinking occasion declined 6 percent from 1.37 to 1. 29. Self-reported driving while drinking has become 51 percent lower (0. 77 versus 0.38 times) per 6-month after the implementation of media advocacy campaign.

Both researches study media advocacy as a separate field and take cases of social problems to apply and to investigate the impact. Both studies took the angle of media coverage of already existing initiatives rather than how the initiatives themselves utilize the media. In addition, both studies focused on civil society and independent movement, ignoring the governmental side.

There is a clear gap in the researches that tackle the relation between media advocacy and social change in the developing world in a country like Egypt where democracy and civic engagement are still unsettled concepts. Advocacy in Egypt is still a new concept not very well known by the public. Most of the researches conducted in Egypt tackle the role of media in social change or in development. Yet, there is no research examined the role of advocacy in the Egyptian context.

In a research conducted by Brian A. Day (1998), environmental social marketing expert, he mentioned that in 1998, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) launched media advocacy campaign in cooperation with GreenCOM, a company specialized in white-label solutions for the utility industry and energy service, for raising Egyptians' awareness about water scarcity. The campaign developed five television spots as public service advertisement. According to his study *Media Campaigns*, "the reach of the campaign was extensive." the television ads were shown almost 1,000 times in three months and were watched by more than 26 million Egyptians (Day, 2000). The campaign also included documentary films about water consumption; and news programs. This campaign was a successful national campaign. The assessment at the end of the campaign showed that the level of awareness massively increased and knowledge about methods to decrease water consumption increased to more than 100 percent of the participants. Brian attributed that success to the efficient use of media and concluded that "information can lead to a change in attitude that can lead to behavior change" (Day, 2000).

Brian research reviewed one campaign in the context of advertising for "environmental education", and he dealt with limited behavior of individuals regarding

certain habit; yet he did not address changing perceptions on a macro level. The campaign that is analyzed is public awareness campaign with advertising nature rather than advocacy campaign. The difference is that in advertising, changing individual behaviors is the target; while in advocacy, a holistic social change in perceptions and ideas is targeted.

In Egypt, there are multiple researches conducted about sexual harassment. Most of these researches focus on analyzing the root cause of the phenomenon and how to decrease it. In a research conducted by HarassMap in collaboration with the International Development and Research Center (IDRC), one of the major findings is the importance of constructing positive images around women's presence in public space in media (Fahmy, 2014). More researches are conducted recently that relate media to sexual harassment in the context of how media can be a contributor in eradicating the phenomenon.

There is a challenge in finding studies that links media advocacy with social change in Egypt. This study tries to address the gap of researches in the area of media advocacy to study it as a field on its own. It also contributes to the literature by adding analysis to specific advocacy campaigns. Studying media advocacy and social change on the case of sexual harassment does not intend to generalize results; however, it could be connected to bigger ideas that give directions to possible solutions of similar cases. The contribution of this study not just adds to the field of social change, but it links media advocacy to social change in a developing nation struggle for a change.

Chapter 3: Methodology

I. Methodology and Research Design

A. Methodology

This study uses the qualitative methodology. The qualitative research techniques allow for insights into the motives and perspectives of organizations and individuals who are involved into media advocacy initiatives to combat sexual harassment. The qualitative methods also give the opportunity to document the advocacy work done by civil society organizations and governmental institutions in fighting sexual harassment as this part is not well covered in the literature. In addition, the qualitative methods give more space for describing the relation between the governmental bodies and the civil society from different perspectives. Since sexual harassment is a social problem where public are interested, the government is involved and the media is a key player, the study uses qualitative methods that deal with the complex relations and describe them in qualitative manner; and because it is an interdisciplinary field, qualitative methods allow for more openness for new topics to evolve that were not originally considered which give richness to the analysis.

Concepts such as public policy, media advocacy and social change as well as the complicated phenomenon of sexual harassment need deep analysis and diversity of views and perspectives that go beyond data and statistics and get in-depth inputs from diverse points of views. The purpose here is not just to get data and numbers but the purpose is to throw a stone into that area that is not researched enough and provide thorough understanding of the relations between different concepts and different sectors in the Egyptian society.

The study is discussing a multi-facet topic where the government, civil society and public are involved. In-depth interviews strengthen understanding media advocacy in relation to public policy and social impact from different perspectives.

An interview was conducted with a member of the National Council for Women in the media department that talked about the role of the Council in changing public policy and about how the Council utilizes media to advocate for specific problems such

as sexual harassment. Through this in-depth interview, the study focused on the nature of the relation between the council as a state organization and the civil society organizations to identify the type of relation.

Other in-depth interviews were conducted with members of the selected CSOs. An interview was conducted with a gender officer from The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR). The second interview was conducted with representative from HarassMap. HarassMap is a volunteer based initiative that tries to make social change regarding the acceptability of sexual harassment in Egypt. Lastly an in-depth interview was conducted with a member of Nazra NGO where she talked about their previous media advocacy campaigns and the outcomes of such campaigns and the impact on social change.

More interviews was conducted with informal people including an economist to discuss root causes of sexual harassment and media scholar to analyze the role of media advocacy in such phenomena

Case Study

To answer the research questions the case of sexual harassment in Egypt is selected to be studied where media advocacy for social change is analyzed. Through the study, detailed information is collected about sexual harassment to understand a bigger issue which is media advocacy and its role in social change.

Sexual harassment in Egypt is a social phenomenon that threatens social security and stability. Many civil society organizations use media advocacy and other types of advocacy to raise awareness and to change policies that can contribute to eradicating this phenomenon. The government is also taking steps through a dedicated ministerial committee¹ to fight this phenomenon on different levels: the policy reform, the security

¹ President Al Sisi ordered the Prime Minister Ibrahim Mehleb to formulate a committee, after a sexual assault incident that took place in Tahrir square during the celebrations of Al Sisi's inauguration in June 2014. The committee is headed by Ibrahim Mehleb and composed of Ministers of interiors, education,

issue, the public awareness, the religious discourse and the socio-economic problems. So selecting this case helps in analyzing the relationship between governmental organizations and civil society organizations.

Since it is a problem of public interest, mass media plays a crucial role here. Modern theories proved that media has impact on people's behaviors either directly or indirectly. From previous studies about sexual harassment, it is inferred that for this phenomenon to evade, policy change is needed as well as change in people's perceptions. So it is the case where we can study media policy and analyze its impact on social change.

Therefore, studying this case involves the three main pillars exists in the research questions: the government, the civil society and the media. Through the case of sexual harassment, the study compares between the government and civil society utilization of media advocacy to promote for social change. Through the assessment and review of different media advocacy campaigns done by governmental bodies and by the CSOs (civil society organizations), the study can infer to what extent media advocacy is an essential tool for social change in Egypt.

II. Sampling

This study uses the purposive non-random sampling technique. The CSOs and the governmental institutions are selected purposively based on specific criteria.

A. Media Selection

For the purpose of this study, the media selected is the mainstream media which is defined by its wide circulation and viewership. The media selected here is not to be analyzed yet to be studied from the perspective of utilization in media advocacy.

social solidarity, endowment, head of the National Council for Women, representatives from ministries of justice and representatives from Al Azhrar and the Egyptian church

Mainstream media is spread via the largest distribution channels, so it is considered the media of the majority (Cissel, 2012). According to the media framing theory, “to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’ and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993). So in the case of fighting sexual harassment mainstream media is suitable for sending a definite message that condemns the act and present recommendations where public opinion is part of the process.

Television is selected because it is the most important and effective medium in Egypt until now due high illiteracy rates that reached 24.9% of the Egyptian population according the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS, 2012) and the poverty rates about 26% under poverty line (Poverty Headcount Ration, at \$1.25 a day) (World Bank, 2011). Watching television does not require the viewer to know to read or to write; on the other hand it is more interesting than radio due to the moving pictures and because of the variety of channels. Television is also considered a relatively cheap medium because one television set is shared by the entire household and sometimes more than one household. According to the latest statistics by the World Bank, 95.86% of Egyptian households have television. So it is more likely that public opinion is impacted by television. Although the state still has control over broadcasting, satellite channels are gaining ground, especially after the 25th January revolution and allowing for wider space of freedom of expression. The study focuses on television as one medium through which media advocacy against sexual harassment takes place to make social change.

For the newspapers, Egypt has almost 100 publications that are issued daily, weekly or monthly (CAPMAS, 2012). It is still the medium that is more aligned with government activities. So newspaper whether state owned or independent are more likely to cover government activities and document incidents and cover the official responses. In addition, every governmental organization tightly follows newspapers and interacts with different publications regularly and receives frequent reports of newspapers

coverage. Therefore, this is the medium that is selected in the study specifically for the government media advocacy. Moreover, in the Egyptian culture, print media has high credibility and have a discipline approach that could be useful in awareness content.

B. Entities and Organizations Selection

The study selects governmental and civil society organizations based on specific criteria include the size of the organization, the involvement in advocacy, the specialization into the area of the case studied, and its engagement with media.

1. Governmental Organizations

The National Council for Women (NCW):

The National Council for Women was established under the Decree of the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt year 2000. From the mandate of the Council, it is clear that the role of the Council is mainly advisory with specific tasks including proposing policies, drafting plans, advising on “all women related issues” (NCW, 2014). While the decree of establishment does not include any executive authority to the council, it indicates the vitality of the NCW recommendations in any policy related to empowerment and development of women in the Egyptian society. The National Council for Women is also the formal representative of Egypt in international conferences and local committees and at the same time it acts as the monitoring body that evaluates women related policies. The Council encompasses 11 committees specialized in different areas to support women policies including committee for education, health, culture, economics, in addition to a dedicated committee for the non-governmental organization and media and information committee.

The NCW is selected in this study as it is the biggest governmental body that is entitled for gender related issue with all the previously mentioned mandates. The specialized committees in the Council make the Council inclusive in tackling women problems. Unlike The National Council for Childhood and Motherhood, that is

specialized in motherhood only, NCW has wide scope of all related women issues with specific emphasis on violence against women. While the NCW is sometimes referred to as an independent body, this study considers it as governmental body authorized for women issues because it is directly affiliated to the president and formulated by a presidential decree. It is also financed by allocations in the government's general budget. The NCW is the official representation of the Egyptian government in the national and international arenas.

The NCW is different than ministries because ministries, such as the ministry of Social Solidarity, are involved only in policy making in “closed rooms” and are not concerned with public opinion; yet the NCW is working on both levels: the policy making level as well as the public opinion level through conducting campaigns and engaging with civil society and through using media advocacy. Ministry of Interiors, as an example is concerned with the security aspect only; yet the NCW put the security issue as one of aspects in the sexual harassment phenomenon but looks at other social, economic, and political aspects.

2. Civil Society Organizations

The study selects three civil society organizations to study their utilization of media advocacy to combat sexual harassment. The three organizations are all working in women rights arena. One of them focus on violence against women in general, other organization is more inclusive and advocate for human rights in general and work in sexual harassment as part of the bodily rights advocacy and the last one is specialized in sexual harassment only.

- **Nazra for Feminist Studies:**

Nazra is selected in this study because it is one of the most famous and on-street existing civil society organizations specialized in violence against women problems. On the local level, Nazra participates in almost all conferences and meetings, discussing feminism and women related problems, where they present research findings, testimonials of sexual violence survivals and gives recommendations based on the

organization's experience in this field that extends to almost 10 years. Being composed of young people, Nazra members have revolutionary ideas that go beyond the traditional way of dealing with women related issues. Their first objective is to fight stereotyping in feminism.

Nazra is an NGO that has strong international presence and participates in international fora to express women problems in Egypt. The human rights first organizations (an American international advocacy organization) in its report "Egypt's Human Rights Crisis Deepen" indicated that Nazra is a leading organization in feminism that works on stopping violence against women (2013). Nazra also participates in UN Human Rights Council and other international events that focus on sexual violence.

Nazra's work has all the elements of advocacy starting from getting the data through conducting research and analyzing these data, to building coalition through engaging with other NGOs in many activities and joint statements till communicating their goals and messages via "artistic tools" including media. Nazra was part of the most famous media advocacy campaigns such as "Salaha fi Demaghak" (Change your Mindset), that aimed at changing the mindsets of people and their perception about sexual harassment from blaming the victim culture to a society that believes that the perpetrator is to be blamed and that the sexual harassment is a crime. Nazra also launched a campaign called "Kanoun Nashaz" (Defamed Law), which criticizes the Egyptian laws related to women, as Nazra believes that all violence against women is backed up by defamed laws that need to be changed. Nazra is in continuous work to advocate against violence against women and has strong contribution in this field.

- **The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR):**

EIPR is selected in this study as it is one of the first CSOs to use advocacy as an integral part of their work in a systematic way with different tools. Started in 2002, the EIPR has deep experience in the field of human rights in Egypt and was one of the very first organizations to focus on personal rights. EIPR has a very wide scope of work including defending political, economic and social rights, in addition to advocating for

policy reforms and civil engagement. Sexual harassment is part of their “Violence and Body Integrity” program.

Since its beginning, the EIPR is in usual engagement in national and international advocacy. On the international level, EIPR uses of the international venues in which Egypt is represented and the international treaties that Egypt signs to track to what extent Egypt abides by the international standards and call for policy change. EIPR participates in the Human Rights Council and it is part of a coalition called “Sexual Violence Initiative” among global south NGOs. EIPR presents regular reports to Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) that evaluates the Egyptian government performance with regards to women related policies and practices.

In terms of national advocacy, EIPR conducts research, writes policy briefs and do campaigns. According to Heba Morayef, researcher in Human Rights Watch, Middle East and North Africa Division, “the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights have been instrumental in shaping the human rights agenda in Egypt, both during and since the January 2011 uprising. They’ve been a main source of information, analysis, and policy and have led campaigns on institutional reform” (HRW, 2011).

- **HarassMap**

HarassMap is a very specialized organization that targets the sexual harassment problem only. Their main objective is to change people’s perception. To achieve their goal they use multiple media outlets to advocate for their cause. Since this study revolves around the relation between advocacy and social change, HarassMap is studied as it gives exceptional emphasis on changing people’s perception that plays part in social change. They believe that by changing people’s perception and making public believe that sexual harassment is a crime, sexual harassment will be discouraged. HarassMap follows an integrated advocacy approach where they combine research with media and communication with on ground activities.

In few years, HarassMap succeeded to be a well-recognized organization on both national and international levels. In 2011, HarassMap won the World Summit Youth Award as a young people based initiative that uses technology to help in achieving the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (Youthaward.org). The "Best Use of Technology for a Social Good" award from Deutch Welle also went to HarassMap in 2012 for creativity in attracting people's attention towards sexual harassment phenomenon (Deutch Welle, 2012).

On the national level, HarassMap is rapidly expanding moving from a 100% volunteering based initiative in 2012 to having 4 founders, 13 paid staff, and approximately 700 volunteers in 13 governorates around Egypt, including Cairo, Giza, Alexandria, Qualiobeya, Minya, Gharbia, Beni Suef, Faiyoum, Port Said, Dakahlia, Assiut, Sohag and the Red Sea mobilized throughout neighborhoods and communities (HarassMap.com). Nowadays, HarassMap participate in almost all initiatives, meetings or conferences held by the Egyptian government to present recommendations (Interview, 2014).

Chapter 4: The Case of Sexual Harassment

I. Sexual Harassment: A Contextual Overview

According to the UN Women (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women), sexual harassment is "any unwelcome sexual advance, request for sexual favor, verbal or physical conduct or gesture of a sexual nature, or any other behavior of a sexual nature that might reasonably be expected or be perceived to cause offence or humiliation to another" (UN). While the UN Women focuses on the humiliation impact of sexual harassment, the International Labor Organization (ILO)

focuses on the fact that it is a form of violence. As for the European Union, it identified types of harassment to make the definition less broad; it is the unwanted conduct of a sexual nature, or other conduct based on sex affecting the dignity of women and men; this includes unwelcome physical, verbal or nonverbal conduct” (EU).

From the above definitions, it is obvious that they all share some characteristics including that it is unwanted behavior and cause one form or another of harm to the harassed. Nevertheless, sexual harassment has different interpretations and connotations based on the culture. For instance, while the international and European definition of sexual harassment includes both female and male, in the Middle East and developing countries’ context, sexual harassment always refers to females who are being harassed (NCW, 2011). Many cultural differences make the sexual harassment a complicated phenomenon that differs from one country to another, where multiple factors are involved including the socio-economic class, the age range, the educational background and the cultural background.

In order to analyze sexual harassment phenomenon many scholars focus on the notion of “public space” and the role of woman. About her presence in public space, Elizabeth Wilson said that women’s presence in public spaces during the 20th century in Europe was seen as a problem of order, because it “symbolized the promise of sexual adventure” (Wilson, 1991). This can describe the situation now in the Middle East; which make some societies seek segregation between the two genders as much as possible such as in schools, universities, and public transportations. This is referred to as “ghettoization” of women to stand away from the public space (Bowman, 1993).

In Egypt, the sexual harassment phenomenon started to grow in the last 10 years. “Until the 1970s, it was called “flirting” (Chiao, 2008); the term “harassment” started to be used lately in the 2000s and it carries very negative connotations contrary to flirting that was not rejected by the community (HarassMap, 2008). The phenomenon is growing to the extent that in a recent study conducted by UN Women in December 2013, the results showed that 99.3% of the surveyed women are subjected to sexual harassment on

daily basis. This leads to hindering women from moving in public spaces and from functioning normally in the society. The concept of public space itself is now changing in Egypt and it has gender variation. When sexual harassment in Egypt's streets is getting to become normal, Egyptian women started to see it as a fait accompli and react accordingly in the frame of her gender role that is pre-defined to her by the society (Ilahi, 2009). In other words, the social norms in Egypt dictate the woman who is subjected to harassment to remain silent and ignore the incident in order to be "respectable" in the society.

In addition, based on the fact that sexual harassment is seen as a phenomenon that does not seem to be solved soon, women in Egypt started to find a way out by withdrawing from public spaces gradually. "I have been groped, stared at, catcalled, and made to feel very unwelcome on the streets of Cairo. I find that in general the worst incidents happen in the street and so I try to take taxis and not walk in the street, which is very annoying because I like walking the city. I am always conscious of my body in Egypt and feeling ashamed if I draw any attention" (Ilahi, interview notes, 2006). An interviewee expressed how she coped with the phenomenon in Egypt.

Besides normalization of sexual harassment in the Egyptian streets, the state, the media and the society remained in a state of negligence of sexual harassment phenomenon for a long time. "Until very recently in 2013, people did not believe us; we were accused of tarnishing the image of girls and Egypt's squares" Said a member of Nazra for Feminist Studies in an interview with her (Interview, 2014). While independent movements and bloggers started to raise the issue as an alarming phenomenon in 2006, especially with the feast celebrations that marked severe group sexual harassment incidents in downtown Cairo and other places, state media and official response neglected the issue and talked about it as individual cases rather than social phenomenon (Ilahi, 2009).

Later on, when the sexual harassment phenomenon prevailed and could no longer be ignored or refuted, special attention was drawn to it from the government, the civil society, the media and the public. It was not until June 2014, that "sexual harassment" is

identified in the criminal law as a crime by a presidential decree. Before that, it was referred to as “an obscene act in the public space”. Not only that but also, many entities started to acknowledge a strategy to combat sexual harassment such as Cairo University that is working on implementing “Anti-Sexual Harassment Act”. Ministry of health is also working on drafting Act to combat violence against women. “This is the result of the pressure we [civil society] do on the different entities” (Interview, 2014).

Amid the previously mentioned efforts, many groups and individuals are trying to find out the reason behind the outbreak of sexual harassment phenomenon in the Egyptian society as a step to minimize it. Economists and sociologists refer to the bad economic conditions of Egyptian youth especially after Anwar Al Sadat Open Door Policy as the main reason behind the existence of sexual harassment problem (Amin, 2006). According to Galal Amin, the economist, the economic deterioration in the 1980s after “infitah” or Open Door Policy and migration to Gulf countries lead to high unemployment rates that cause delay in marriage. This results in sexual frustration which explains increase in sexual harassment (Amin, 2006).

While sexual repression and frustration is the key in Galal Amin’s interpretation, Nadia Ilahi sees that the economic conditions and unemployment resulted in masculinity problem, where men started to feel the contradiction between the historic and cultural perception of men as breadwinners and the current economic facts that left men unemployed. Sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence appeared as a defensive tool for men to prove masculinity and dominance over women. i.e. “They are still men” (Ilahi, 2008).

On the contrary, Sandra Guirguis an economist sees that economic conditions are not the reason behind sexual harassment.

“I wouldn't attribute harassment to poverty; that would be problematic since in Tanzania for example, poverty rates are much higher and harassment levels are still lower. When the society became more complex, the social norms were not replaced by firm laws the way it happened in other European countries, that were as savage towards Women couple of hundred years ago” (Guirguis, note, 2014).

On the other hand, the religious conservatism is a reason behind sexual harassment by a way or another, according to some participants in Ilahi's study. Respondents in the study *Gendered Contestations: An Analysis of Street Harassment in Cairo and its Implications for Women's Access to Public Spaces* denoted that demeaning women's image and role in the conservative society trigger sexual harassment. This is besides other factors such as Women's image in media, absence of laws or deficiency in implementation of laws (Fahmy, 2014).

Looking at the surrounding circumstances in the previous section, it is obvious that sexual harassment is complicated multidisciplinary phenomenon where economic, social, political and psychological factors are involved. While some people suggest reformulating the laws and ensuring effective implementation of them as the solution, others find the solution in changing the religious discourse that degrades women's role. CSOs and other governmental organization find pushing for changing people's perception about sexual harassment and increase awareness is the most effective and long term strategy to eliminate sexual harassment.

More suggestions for combating this phenomenon are mentioned in literature; most of them are under one umbrella: social change. According to a recent study conducted by HarassMap in cooperation with International Development and Research Center (IDRC), collaboration between state institutions and CSOs is a must, in addition to the vital role of media and media personnel in speaking up about the problem.

II. Sexual Harassment and Social Change: Top Down versus Bottom Up Change

Media and public opinion are two much closed notions. While public is a group of individuals who see their world through media, media forms the messages customized to members of the society to make them take decisions (Chaney, 1981). David Chaney in his book *Public Opinion and Social Change* expressed the relation between public opinion and mass media saying:

“It is not that we can ask straightforwardly whether a particular medium of communication or even a particular type of content will prove to have facilitated or impeded social change, rather we must ask how the potential for social change is structured by the language for public opinion in different media in different genres and in different institutional relationships” (Chaney, 1981)

This theory supports the argument that social change needs bottom-up approach, where public perception should change first and this change in perception will pressure decision makers to shape it in the form of a policy. This approach contradicts with the top down method of change where the government makes change through creating policies and implementing it whether it is supported by people or not (Larrison, 1999). For many decades, this debate remained like the egg-chicken dilemma that asks which comes first.

When applied to media advocacy in the case of sexual harassment fighting in the Egyptian society, advocates have varied opinions and they build their strategies on their perception.

The NCW advocacy activities are more centralized around decision makers. By monitoring NCW news in mainstream media, it is noticeable that the council targets ministers and other state organizations in their advocacy to push for changing laws, and creating policies. According to an employee in the Media Department at the NCW, the state organizations respond to the NCW recommendations and policy briefs because it is a governmental entity so the change comes faster. As for the public, the NCW targets them through public awareness campaigns to convince them of the cause adopted by the council rather than using public opinion to pressure the government.

“Whether we like it or not, Al Sisi’s visit to the ‘Tahrir Lady’ [who’s subjected to severe assault in the square during celebrations of Al Sisi’s inauguration] gave the message that the state is taking the issue seriously” Said Mozn, when she was asked about the effectiveness of the top down approach (Interview, 2014). But Mozn also said that in Nazra, the members try to reverse the discourse of top bottom change. Most of the mobilization that takes place in the gender arena is linked to the political will ignoring the grass-root efforts. “Yes we know that no policy changes unless the state adopts the issue,

yet, the process to reach this should not be affiliated to the state but to the initiatives of the independent movements” she added. For example, when the Female Genital Mutilation criminalization law was issued, most of the public believed, by the help of media, that it is because of the “first lady” (Susan Mubarak, the wife of the former president) efforts, while it was the result of cumulative struggles of feminists such as Marie Assaad, an anthropologist, activist, and one of the earliest social scientists writing on the issue of FGM in 1950s (worldywca.org, 2010).

While the top down change is known to be fast and decisive, bottom up approach is more profound and sustainable (Larrison, 1999). The bottom up approach advocates are usually the independent bodies and the CSOs who view changing perception of people is the catalyst to change policies. According to Gender Officer at the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, there is no solution to any “social ill” except through bottom up approach. As for Al Sisi’s latest intervention in the sexual harassment phenomenon, EIPR gender officer does not consider it top down approach. Al Sisi’s visit to the survival and his order to form a ministerial committee for fighting sexual harassment comes as a reaction to the pressure of the civil society that has been advocating for years to combat this phenomenon. “This is the fruit of our advocacy” she said (Interview, 2014).

In sexual harassment, grass-root advocacy succeeded in gaining achievements before the government took any action. The communication manager at HarassMap also shared the same opinion. When asked about the inclusion of the term Harassment in the law, she mentioned that it is the result of work on multiple movements and independent organizations rather than the pressure of the NCW. All the respondents in this study agreed that the independent movements, CSO, and all non-state initiatives succeeded in ending the state of denial in the society and in the media, which is considered the most important gain.

In addition, because civil society usually has closer interaction with individuals, and sometimes it complements the role of the government especially in areas where

government is absent or has weak presence (World Bank), civil society is more likely to understand the root cause of social problems. In the struggle against the Female Genital Mutilation for example, the government took the top down approach. In her interview, EIPR Gender Officer explained that in the FGM case, the civil society and the government (pressured by the civil society and international organizations) worked on changing policies. “The way the problem was addressed was completely wrong” she said. First, they discussed it from the perspective of the danger and risks on the female that might lead to her death. As a result, people continued to practice FGM by physicians to avoid the complications. Second, they worked on the religious perspective trying to propagate that FGM is not “fard” (which means an Islamic religious obligatory action). This also did not end the problem because Christians and Muslims practice it for social motivations not for religious reasons. As a result the initiative adopted by the government to fight FGM had very limited results and the phenomenon persisted (Interview, 2014).

The Communication Unit Head at HarassMap concluded that both approaches are needed at the same time; the bottom up approach allows public to act as the watchdog and the monitor to the government performance in taking decision, implementing laws and changing policies that serve the issue in more interactive and sustainable manner. According to Communication Unit Head at HarassMap, working on changing people’s perception and on changing policy are not two different approaches, considering the policy makers part of the public whose perceptions directly affect the policy formulation. At the same time, putting a legal framework facilitate convincing public that sexual harassment is a crime.

Chapter 5: The Government and Sexual Harassment in Egypt

I. The Egyptian Government's Position on the Issue of Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment, as found in literature, started to exist in public arena and grabbed the attention of advocates, media and public in the last few years. And with the political uprising that took place in the last few years in Egypt, multiple regimes faced this problem and dealt with it according to their agendas and their philosophy in handling such social problems. In this section, the study examines the interaction of different regimes with sexual harassment phenomenon and the stages that this phenomenon passed by from total ignorance to utmost attention.

A. The Way Different Regimes Deal with Sexual Harassment

The issue of sexual harassment was raised during Mubarak era when his wife Suzan Mubarak was in charge of all gender related issues (Shenker, 2010). In November 2008, Suzan Mubarak, who was known for her interest in women rights, declared that there is no sexual harassment phenomenon in Egypt. She said, during participating in a conference about women rights in Abu Dhabi that, “the fact that an incident or couple of incidents or even 10 incidents of sexual harassment took place does not mean that it is a phenomenon. This is an exaggeration” (BBC, 2008). The state of denial is what makes the situation worse and what makes the phenomenon broke out (Malik, 2009). Nesrine Malik, a Sudanese writer who spent her college years in Egypt, wrote in her article in the Guardian “the apathy filters down through all areas of law enforcement. Harsher penalties are hardly going to be dispensed when there is a denial that the problem exists in the first place” (Malik, 2009).

Then the 25th January revolution erupted and the Supreme Council of Armed Forces took over when multiple mass harassment cases took place during the protests which also made the issue intensively discussed (amnesty.org). In 2012, Muslim Brotherhood took the power and all women rights related problems were massively debated given the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic movements’ conservative direction with respect to gender issues

A freelancer journalist was sexually harassed during Morsi’s reign and she thinks that sexual harassment and violence against women in general became worse under the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood, due to their perception about women as "tools of sex" (Read, 2013). The same opinion was shared by media officer at the NCW who said that Muslim Brotherhood not only carries misperception about women and their role in the society but they also hindered some activities to combat sexual harassment. She added that the amendment in the sexual harassment law was prepared by the Council during Mohamed Morsi’s rule; however, the NCW refused to submit it to the Shura Council for

the fear that Muslim Brotherhood, who had the majority of seats in the Shura Council, might defame it based on their conservative perception.

Lastly, Abd Al Fatah Al Sisi was elected as the president after Morsi was toppled. Official statements came out from presidency and from the cabinet that showed clear condemnation to the phenomenon. When a severe incident of sexual assault took place during celebrating Al Sisi's inauguration, a powerful reaction came from the presidency and from the cabinet where a ministerial committee was formed to put an end to this phenomenon. In addition, a National Strategy to Combat Violence Against Women is drafted by the National Council for Women in Cooperation with Ministries of Justice, Health, Interiors, and Social Solidarity, which addresses sexual harassment phenomenon and proposes solutions to this phenomenon with different stakeholders (NCW, 2014).

B. The Political Context of Sexual Harassment

The NCW point of view entails that harassing protestors during Muslim Brotherhood rule was what grabbed the attention of the council to the phenomenon when they started to take action. On the other side, HarassMap sees that politicizing the issue is not in the favor of the case. Linking sexual harassment to politics is not correct as it is a social problem that exists before any demonstrations were held. "It is something that takes place everyday and everywhere" Communication Unit Head said. "Yes it brought a lot of attention to the issue, but this minimizes the problem" she continued, explaining the consequences of politicizing sexual harassment. Although Communication Unit Head at HarassMap believes that many incidents that take place in Tahrir are systematic, where harassers are pushed from specific regime for political reasons, she assured that the government strategy to deal with sexual harassment did not change throughout the different regimes. The only change from, her point of view, is the amendment that took place in the law to include "sexual harassment" term in the law (Interview, 2014).

In her investigative report in BBC, Claire Read interviewed multiple advocates and activists from different ideological backgrounds; many of the respondents confirmed that sexual harassment is not related to Muslim Brotherhood nor to any other regime; it

exists long before Mohamed Morsi was in power and it remained after the ousted of his regime (Read, 2013).

For other advocates the differences between regimes with respect to sexual harassment are represented in the space allowed for civil society. Hassan Nassar, an activist who participated in campaigns against sexual harassment said that the sexual harassment did not vanish from the society, but after the toppling of Mubarak, independent groups have more space to speak up about sexual harassment, exist in streets, advocate against the phenomenon and pressure the government (BBC). A member of Nazra also shared the same view where she said that the legal existence for Nazra as an NGO, that advocate for women's rights, was not permitted until after the revolution.

C. Sexual Harassment in Communication Revolution Era

According to the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology indicators report, internet users in Egypt grew from 10.28 million subscribers in 2008 to 29 million subscribers in 2011 (ICT Indicators Report 2008-2012). This unprecedented boom in internet usage opened more space for youth, the population that is more likely to use internet, to speak up and talk about taboos on social media. Thus, the use of internet and the intensive use of social media during and after the 25th revolution make the sexual harassment phenomenon revealed and cannot be denied anymore. When sexual harassment incidents were scene as videos on YouTube and pictures of harassed girls were uploaded and shared on Facebook, sexual harassment was unlikely to be ignored or refuted.

The social activism on internet did not start with the 25th January revolution. There were harbingers in the late 2000s. Malek Mostafa, a blogger, was one of the first activists to use cyberspace to disclose the issue on his personal blog commenting on Downtown group harassment incidents during the feasts celebrations and wrote blog entry named "Downtown Sexual Frustration" where he added pictures and videos documenting the incidents (Appendix IV).

In addition to being a tool that divulged sexual harassment incidents and declared that it is an alarming phenomenon, internet and social media are used as a pressure tool on traditional media. Gender Officer at the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights commented on that using the example of the sexual harassment incident that took place in Cairo University, when the President of the University, Dr. Gaber Nassar, said in a talk show that the girl who was harassed in the university was because of her “provocative clothes”. He also said that she may face punishment for the incident along with her harassers, and possibly expulsion (Kingsley, 2014). Gender officer at EIPR said that in that case the very strong reaction coming out of social media obligated Dr. Gaber Nassar to apologize and imposed minimum level of political correctness on traditional media.

Media attention to the issue was parallel to an increasing attention from the government. Whether media attention forced the government to start addressing sexual harassment or the other way round is still debatable. Yet, what is confirmed is that sexual harassment phenomenon has gradually become one of the main public policy related issues on the agendas of traditional media, the government as well as civil society.

II. The Role of The National Council for Women in Sexual Harassment

The National Council for Women is the governmental body that is responsible for women related issues in Egypt. The Council’s competences are women education and raising awareness, economic empowerment of women, encourage political participation, protecting and guaranteeing women rights (NCW). Sexual harassment is currently one of the main issues on the Council’s agenda that goes under violence against women. The NCW is an advisory body that helps in formulating policies, submits draft laws to the government or the parliament. It is also considered the link between Ministries and the Cabinet with the public. This section examines the role of the NCW in sexual harassment phenomenon. It defines the role of the government in social change as it gives glimpse on government priorities, government relation to media and CSOs and how these can affect social change.

A. National Council for Women as an Advocate

While advocacy is usually referred to as a strategy to pressure the government to change policies, government itself sometimes is involved in advocacy campaigns. As mentioned in the Council mandate, advocacy is an integral part of their work. The Council's advocacy is directed to two ways: the decision makers inside the government and towards the public. The Council role is restricted to proposing policies, monitoring the government performance, represent the country in national and international events, conduct research; all of which are consultation rather than implementation. Yet, it works closely with executive and legislative entities as well as different stakeholders in direct and indirect manners to improve women conditions in Egypt.

Until very recently, the National Council for Women did not deal with sexual harassment as a standalone alarming phenomenon. "We started our work against harassment with the Muslim Brotherhood rule due to the appearance of "Systematic Harassment" for demonstrators to prevent women from participating in public life." said media specialist at the NCW. While the sexual harassment incidents started in early 2000, it was considered a taboo that no one talked about and the government refused to declare its existence.

By reviewing the NCW statements and newsletters, it is clear that the Ministry of Interiors is one of the top listed executive bodies that the NCW targets. Ambassador, Mervat Al Tellawy held meetings with all Ministries of Interiors since she got appointed. The Council's interest in contacting the Ministry of Interiors resulted in, from the council's point of view, in quick response from the Ministry that took measures to fight sexual harassment. A specific department in police stations for violence against women is established where female officers work to avoid survivors' embarrassment when they report sexual harassment cases. The Ministry also accepted the Council's request of deployment of security forces in public spaces especially during events when sexual harassment is more likely to happen such as in demonstrations or feast celebrations.

In addition, the content of the brochures, magazines, newsletters, and other written materials of the NCW showed that the Council gives special attention to the

security solution. In a newsletter issued by the NCW in 2013 under the title “Together against Sexual Harassment”, the Ministry of Interiors is on the top of the list of the entities that the Council targets to fight sexual harassment; the council stressed on the importance of intensifying security campaigns in streets (NCW, 2013). In a research conducted by the NCW in cooperation with United Nations for Women, Cairo Demographic Center, and Institute of National Planning, the first two recommendations out of four recommendations, focused on the security solutions to eliminate sexual harassment.

While the NCW believes in the security solutions, many independent advocates and experts in sexual harassment and feminism set their priorities differently. In her research paper, *Sexual Harassment in Egypt: A Neglected Crime An assessment for the Egyptian Government performance in regard to the Sexual Harassment in Egypt*, Neima Ebeid, a researcher, put amending the legal framework on the top of the recommendations to end sexual harassment (Ebeid, 2013). The study emphasizes the role of civil society in organizing campaigns to stop sexual harassment and the cooperation between civil society and media to raise public awareness and to monitor the government performance in enforcing the laws (Ebeid, 2013). Moreover, most of the CSOs representatives interviewed in this study think that the security is not a solution because it covers up the problem but does not deal with the root cause of the phenomenon.

Besides the Ministry of Interiors, the NCW targets other Ministries. The NCW organizes meetings with the Minister of Endowment to promote for a new religious discourse in which women’s image is positioned in a positive way; as a result, the weekly Friday speech in mosques focused on the sexual harassment and the image and rights of women in Qur’an. As for the Ministry of Education and Higher Education, the NCW presented recommendations to them for developing their curriculum to include morals which discourage sexual harassment. Lastly, the NCW used to use advocacy with Ministry of Information before it was cancelled and encouraged them to show media content that discard sexual harassment phenomenon. “We asked before the Egyptian

Radio and Television Union to display a movie called “678” during Feast celebration to promote for the cause” said media specialist at the NCW.

The previously mentioned advocacy is what is called the bureaucratic advocacy. In bureaucratic advocacy, there is a trust in experts or those who are officially entitled to deal with specific issue that they are the best to express the problem to the decision makers. The lobbying technique is also used by the NCW in their advocacy to combat sexual harassment where the Council tries to attract allies from different entities to facilitate achieving their goals to change policies (Rengasamy, 2012). While this type of advocacy is known to be the slowest pace advocacy, in the case of the NCW this is not the case. According to a media specialist at the NCW, very fast achievements are gained as soon as Ambassador Mervat Al Tellawy meets with a decision-maker. “Because it is a governmental body that promote for a cause, the response is faster than when it comes from independent entities.” said the media specialist, and added that this is the advantage of having a governmental body responsible for women rights.

B. The National Council for Women and Media Advocacy

The Council uses media tools such as press conferences, newspapers articles and multimedia campaigns occasionally, mainly to raise level of awareness among the public. Yet, such tools are not used based on a proper strategy. In 2014, the NCW signed a cooperation protocol with the Egyptian Radio (The General Program Network) that aims at raising women awareness of their political, economic, social and legal rights. It is in the format of a radio series where five consultants from inside the Council are commenting on each right (Ibrahim, 2014). Also, during the constitutional in 2014, the NCW designed and implemented radio campaign in the form of short promos encouraging women to vote. These are glimpse of media campaigns the Council conducts in several occasions and for different purposes.

In 2013, when the NCW started addressing the sexual harassment phenomenon, the media department in the Council issued a report that encompasses their efforts to fight sexual harassment. According to the report, the NCW focused on the mainstream media

where they use newspapers to publish press releases, articles and investigative reports that tackle the issue from different perspectives: the legal, the religious, and the social. The Council also uses press to announce for the hotlines that people can call to report cases or seek help (NCW, 2013). In the Television, the council selected the most watched TV talk shows where guests are invited to talk about sexual harassment. The strategy here is to let experts change people's perception about sexual harassment and change the culture of acceptance of sexual harassment and to consider it a crime (NCW, 2013).

In all of the mentioned examples, the NCW uses media to advance social policies which is one element of the media advocacy. The media advocacy is either directed to decision makers or to the public to create public opinion that will help in changing the policy. The logic here is that if the policies change from the top without changing people's perception, the impact will be slight. In his article *Mass Media and Social Change: Some Current Approaches*, Karl Erik Rosengren, said "Informed policy-making and valid interpretation of social behavior require systematic indicators of the prevailing climate of the changing symbolic environment". (Rosengren, 1981) This change in the climate can be fulfilled by media campaigns.

Nevertheless, the other main element of media advocacy does not exist in the NCW activities. Most of the scholars use the term "strategic" or "systematic" use of media when defining media advocacy. This is not the case with the governmental use of media to combat sexual harassment. When asked if the Council follows specific media policy or certain strategy in dealing with media, the media officer in the Council said that they have wide networks of media personnel whom they contact "when needed" (NCW media officer, interview, 2014). The need in the Council's perception is when severe harassment incidents take place, or in "high seasons" referring to feasts celebrations or demonstrations. "We deal with media on case by case basis." Media officer said.

One of the main functions of media advocacy is to "help communities create long-lasting change, not just individual change based on instant information given through media (Themba, 1993). So although the NCW declared that sexual harassment

problem is an alarming phenomenon after years of denial and although members of the Council believe that media is crucial tool to combat sexual harassment, media advocacy is not effectively practiced as it lacks sustainability and lacks clear strategic vision.

Chapter 6: Civil Society and Sexual Harassment in Egypt

I. Civil Society in Egypt

By looking at the European and the American experience with regard to the role of civil society in social change and democratization, it is clear that non-governmental organizations and other independent groups act as catalyst to change in these societies. Latin America and some Eastern European countries made use of this experience and gave more space for civil society and non-governmental organization in public life which led to change on both the social and political levels (Abdallah, 2008). The tremendous change that took place in the West gave hope for less developed countries like the Arab World Countries that strengthening civil society could make change (Abdallah, 2008).

In Advocacy, the civil society is a key player in organizing people to take action or form an attitude towards an issue. In non-governmental organizations' work that seek social change, specific emphasis is given to less advantaged and marginalized people in addition to women and minorities whose voice is not heard by decision makers. CSOs usually face restrictions from regimes especially authoritarian ones. The right of assembly and belonging to a group are fundamental human rights, and stated in the UN Charter in article 20 as "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association...No one may be compelled to belong to an association", nevertheless, dictatorships take many anti-human rights procedures to hinder the activities of civil society organizations although many of them sign the international treaties that include these rights. Many authoritarian countries do not believe in people's rights in public participation in the first place or they allow for the formulation of CSOs with very tight restrictions. On the contrary, civil society in the democratic nations has very different perception; it is absolutely independent from the state.

While the role of civil society is not yet very clear in developing nations, democratic societies strongly believe that civil society is a "third" crucial sector along with public and private sector (Suar, 2011). The role of civil society in social change is also well recognized in democratic states through promoting elements of "good governance" such as transparency, accountability and responsiveness. It works on a very important component in social change which is policy reform. Civil society in developed countries analyzes policies and participates in formulating them; the independent organizations also monitor the effectiveness of the implementation of these policies by the government and finally work on qualifying the public to understand their rights and duties that help in implementing the policies to have social change (Suar, 2011). In summary, the civil society in the ideal situation, work on ensuring that the government is doing its role effectively in solving problems, they offer alternatives to social, political, and economic problem to solve them, and they work on having active citizens that participate in the public sphere to accept and make social change.

The civil society as a concept has been there in Egypt since the 1800s (Howeida Aly, 2013). It started as independent organizations specialized in culture, research and civilization then focused on the charity and philanthropy. Civil society remained perceived as charity organizations until the 1950s, when non-governmental organizations turned to politics and started activities that aimed at fighting colonization. The 1970s marked huge transformation to civil society in Egypt when they expanded and turned to more developmental role, especially in advocacy and human rights (Aly, 2013).

By the January 25th revolution the civil society and independent movements were the main actors in the significant transformation that took place. While many consider Egypt as authoritarian country, Daniel Brumberg, a scholar and advisor for Iran & North Africa on issues of democratization and political reform in the Middle East, described Egypt as “Liberalized Autocracy” which means that it is an authoritarian country, yet the regime embeds few liberal and democratic elements in the system (Abdallah, 2008). As an example, Egypt allows for the existence of non-governmental organizations, but it keeps them controlled by restrictive rules and regulations such as illegalizing taking funds expect with government approval. Another strategy Egypt’s regime follows to control the impact of civil society is to appoint CSOs leaders or famous advocates in high positions in the government to make them work with the regime instead of challenging the regime (Abdallah, 2008).

Restrictions from the government are not the only challenge in civil society advocacy work. While advocacy is mainly about policy change and offering alternatives, many CSOs in Egypt call for change yet with no clear objectives nor having alternatives to present. The government in Egypt always seeks to embrace civil society to let it work under their supervision, some CSOs bow to that giving up their independency (Abdallah, 2008).

From the public side, there is a culture that is not welcoming to CSOs that work in the field of development and advocacy. In Egypt, public tends to react with organizations with religious character that provide people with financial assistance (Abdallah, 2008).

The rejection of CSOs that work in human rights advocacy, social change, or development from the public increased with the recent attacks of CSOs by the government after 2011 revolution when security forces raided number of CSOs, alleging that they take foreign aids to disturb public security and increase foreign power in Egypt (El Masry, 2012). These actions from the regime made the public more skeptical of the role of CSOs which makes it more difficult for the CSOs to perform their role in public space for social change (El Masry, 2012).

This is besides other challenges the civil society face in Egypt such as the lack of transparency and inaccurate and inaccessible data. The restrictive laws with the ambiguous terms are another major obstacle that hinders the CSOs activities. The defects in laws make civil society more vulnerable to attacks from the government as well as criticism from the public whose perception about the CSOs is tarnished. For example, article 11 from Law number 48 in 2002 states that, the government has the right to close any organization if “it threatens the public order” (El Masry, 2012). The term “public order” is loose and opens the door for more state control over CSOs. In summary, there are internal problems and external challenges for civil society that obstruct their role in pressuring the regime to change policies for social change to take place.

II. Civil Society and Gender Issues

Egypt is a country where women movements and feminism has strong history. 1919 was the year that marked the first well known appearance of women in the public sphere calling for liberation. In early 1900, Monira Thabet was the first advocate to call for women’s rights to vote in elections, where she used media advocacy through her articles in “Al Amal” magazine (Abu Al Dahab, 2012). In the same era, Hoda Shaarawy was the first women to create “an organization” or “union” (The Egyptian Feminist Union) to defend women rights and to advocate for more public participation for women.

In 1948, Doreya Shafik created the first independent initiative called “Bent Al Nile” to defend women’s political rights (Nazra).

Throughout the history, the Egyptian women movement was never isolated from other factors including the state’s attitude from gender issues, the restrictions of the state over the CSOs, the power of the Islamic movements, as well as the overall national struggles that existed in the country (Al-Ali, 2002). Although media was considered primitive in comparison to the communication and technology revolution that is taking place nowadays, such movements effectively used mainstream media. To advocate for women’s rights in political participation, education and other social issues such as reforming personal status laws, activists used independent newspapers and magazines to create public opinion and to raise the debates in the society (Al-Ali, 2002). They used the medium that was most popular at the time and had recognizable impact.

During Nasser’s era, the autonomous movements and organizations that advocate for women rights vanished due to the state control over any political and social work. Instead, the state took that role and advocated for wider space for women in public space. As for Al Sadat era, the absence of independent organization and civil society to adopt women issue continued as Gihan Al Sadat, the president’s wife took control over women related issues (Hatem, 1993). Mubarak era marked the reappearance of civil society and independent movement including those defending women rights. The main reason was the international pressure for the democratic transformation and adherence to the international treaties with regard to women rights. Egypt compliance to the international pressure was mainly due to the economic aids from the United States and other international financial organization and due to the desire of the Egyptian regime to appear in good image at the international arena.

The preparations for the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in September 1994 were considered a turning point. The independent movements transformed from organizations that work in closed offices to non-governmental groups that interact with each other and reach the “grassroots”

community. They launched open debates around topics that were considered taboos such as, abortion and violence against women (Seif Al Dawla, 1995). Nevertheless, Mubarak regime soon turned to a more restrictive form and embraced independent movements under the Ministry of Social Affairs (Al-Ali, 2002). The women movements since then have two options: either to work under the supervision of the government and lose autonomy, or to work independently in an informal way.

In 1999 when Nawal Al Sedawy decided to establish the first women union to unite all women movements, Susan Mubarak rejected the idea and the Ministry of Social affairs announced that it was illegal. According to Nawal Al Sedawy, Susan Mubarak was preparing to establish the National Council for Women and she wanted to be the leader for women issues instead of being controlled by independent bodies (Sedawy, 2012). This was considered one example of the rivalry relationship that evolved between the state and the CSOs that is reflected Women cause in Egypt.

Whether it is independent organization or a CSO that takes permission from the government, the objective of women movements is empowering women, increasing their participation in public space and solving gender problems. Violence against women including sexual harassment is becoming the most exigent phenomenon (Al-Ali, 2002). To combat such phenomenon, civil society organizations launch projects and activities including advocacy and lobbying, doing research, conducting seminars and training sessions. They also tend, recently, to use media to reach wider audience; they publish books, write articles in newspapers and magazines, appear in television, and launch pages and accounts of social media aiming at pressuring the state and raising awareness. The effectiveness of such activities is examined in the selected cases below.

III. Civil Society and Sexual Harassment

Civil society gives exceptional attention to sexual harassment as one form of violence against women. The term sexual harassment in Arabic “Taharush, have various definitions in the Egyptian context. “For us the terminology is important.” said a member of Nazra. She explained that using the correct term helps in identifying the magnitude of

the problem. For the CSOs working in that field, they used to use the term “street harassment” to be more precise; however, their scope of work expanded to include other women related issues and thus, they use the term “sexual harassment” that encompasses other forms of violence against women (Taha, 2014).

The study selects the cases of three independent organizations, which use different types of advocacy to combat sexual harassment. This section considers the three organizations on three levels of analysis: their scope of work and advocacy activities, their coordination with the NCW, and their utilization of media advocacy to fight sexual harassment.

A. Nazra for Feminist Studies

1. The Chain of “Advocacies”

Starting as a group of independent feminists in 2005, Nazra is an organization that evolved amid the emergence of active political movements such as Kefaya and 6th of April that focus on political reform. The main objective of the group is to “build an Egyptian feminist movement, believing that feminism and gender are political and social issues affecting freedom and development in all societies” (Nazra). Nazra was officially recognized as an NGO in 2007 which, according to Mozn, gave the movement visibility, stronger existence and more resources (Interview, 2014).

Autonomy is the keyword in Nazra formulation. Until very recently, any improvement in women rights was affiliated to the regime, naming them “Gihan Laws, or Suzan Laws” (referring to the wives of the presidents Anwar Al Sadat and Hosny Mubarak, who were known for their interest in women rights). According to Mozn, policies and laws do not change unless the government adopts them; however, the process of pressure from independent movement is important but unfortunately, this process is unrecognized by the public. That’s why “Nazra” works on creating awareness especially to younger generations that independent movements and groups are important in social change and development.

Nazra as an organization is unique in combining three different aspects in their work. The members of the organization conduct research, identify terminologies, produce information and work on theoretical level; at the same time, they do on-ground activities for the grass-root change through working on legal and psychological intervention; they also work on capacity building to different entities, groups and organizations to be advocates themselves to pressure the decision makers (Nazra). Their programs are classified into political rights, social rights, and personal rights and sexuality (Taha, 2014).

The advocacy in the organization definition includes: publishing of studies, reports and documents, attending conferences, formulating groups in governorates that work on gender issues, issuing statements, making videos and documentary films. On the international advocacy level, they participate in the Human Rights Council, the African Commission and other international fora. Besides, Nazra works on lobbying to pressure the government for more women participation in decision making spheres. The ultimate goal of the organization is to build groups and these groups build other groups that pressure the decision makers to make a change, either through policy reforms or implementing strategies, for everyone to do his role and carry the responsibility.

Sexual harassment is an integral part of their scope of work. Although the core interest of Nazra is sexual violence in general, lately, the organization effervesced with sexual harassment because of the frequent incidents that they document. “Our engagement with sexual harassment started after the 25th January revolution by documenting the cases and the testimonials for the incidents that take place in Tahrir Square. When we become known as an organization that works in sexual harassment, we expanded in that to include other incidents in public space” a member of Nazra explained (Interview, 2014).

2. The Cooperation between Nazra and The National Council for Women

With the establishment of the National Council for Women in 2000, many advocates, including some of the participants in this study, see that the NCW monopolizes women rights issue, leaving very limited space for the civil society. According to a member of Nazra, the NCW owns everything and is very centralized (Interview, 2014). In passing laws, creating policies, or succeeding in achievement in favor of women rights, the credit always goes to the National Council for Women ignoring all the struggle the civil society goes through to achieve that success. Nazra on the contrary, tries to be decentralized. Its work is licensed under a Creative Common Attribution which gives the people the right to share its content, the fact that helps distribution of ideas not necessarily attributing everything to “Nazra” (Interview, 2014).

About the current relationship between the NCW and Nazra, a member of Nazra said “we have to define roles first. We are not the same” The NCW’s role is to adopt a strategy, or to create policies and to monitor the government performance in that regard; while the role of civil society is mainly to pressure the Council (Interview, 2014). Despite the different roles, cooperation between the two entities is crucial for the success of the initiatives (Mansour, 2014). One form of cooperation is the participation of the CSOs in the National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women; their input is based on their on-ground experience in dealing with these issues. A media officer at the NCW noted that there is a major shift after Ambassador Mervat Al Tellawy took over the Council. She believes in the role of the civil society and engages them in the decision making process (NCW media officer, interview, 2014).

On the civil society level, Nazra representatives assured that now there is response from the government more than before. In 2013 Nazra with other CSOs presented amendment to five articles in the Penal Code to include the term “Harassment”. The government finally responded and changed about three quarters of what the Civil Society Organizations asked for. Engaging civil society organizations in the National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women is another form of cooperation and response from the government to the advocacy of the civil society. Other governmental entities

such as the Ministry of Health and some public universities, seek the civil society to acknowledge acts and strategies to resist violence against women.

3. Nazra and Media Advocacy

Nazra does not approach media, neither new media nor traditional media. Although members of Nazra publish articles, statements and get good media coverage for the events they do or attend, it is out of the media interest rather than the organization's intention to use media as a tool for advocacy. The organization approached the media once through a round table they conducted in 2013, where media personnel were invited to give them recommendations about how to cover sexual harassment incidents.

Nazra's most reports, newsletters, statements, and articles are released in certain occasions or as a reaction to sexual harassment incidents to give instructions to individuals about how to react to such incidents or to condemn certain sexual harassment group incidents. Nazra's founder along with other members in the organization appeared in television as interviewees to comment on sexual harassment incidents. They also write opinion pieces in different publication on individual basis. Nazra also participates in campaigns with other movements and CSOs to raise awareness and create public atmosphere that rejects sexual harassment. One of the campaigns Nazra participated in along with the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, HarassMap and Tahrir Bodyguards was in 2013 called "Salaha fi Demaghak" or "Change your Mindset". The campaign aims at challenging the misperception about sexual harassment in Egypt including blaming the victim, associating sexual harassment with what women wear, and underestimating the crime. The campaign included distributing flyers in public areas, drawing graffiti in streets, holding press conferences, organizing workshops and round tables. This is besides the intensive use of social media and internet through videos on YouTube and posts of Twitter and Facebook (HarassMap, 2013).

When asked about the relation with media, a member of Nazra said that contacting media is not in their agenda. Nazra does not have monitoring unit to see how the organization or the sexual harassment as a case is portrayed in media. They already

take the decision not to call reporters or to have direct contact with mainstream media. Their relation with media is very limited and they were compelled, in rare cases, to establish relation with media due to the urgency of the sexual harassment problem and the recent interest of media in the topic.

“It is a bit problematic” a member of Nazra commented on their relationship with media. One of the major problems in their relation with media is their “privacy obsession”. Nazra’s general policy in all its work is never to share contacts or information of ‘survivals’ of sexual harassment. In sexual harassment cases Nazra publishes the testimonials anonymously and refuses to release any information for the privacy and the safety of the people. In Nazra’s perspective this protects the girls and encourages more girls to report cases without fear or embarrassment; but for the media, according to a member of Nazra, it is disappointing and detrimental to the case. Another challenge in using media for advocacy is the internal policy of each publication or TV channel. “One of our recommendations to media is to use the word “survival” rather than “victim” when referring to the girl that is subjected to sexual harassment.” A member of Nazra said. However, editorial policy and the desk decision will change that according to their understanding to the case (Interview, 2014). The agenda of each media outlet has strong impact on media advocacy for sexual harassment. Not only that, but a member of Nazra also added that the personal preference of the editor in chief can interfere. For example, there are editor in chiefs who search for catchy headlines, or have certain perspective towards the sexual harassment that he/she wants to highlight in the publication. “This is how the mainstream media works” she added.

Nazra’s decision not to approach media in addition to internal complications in the Egyptian media resulted in occasional coverage for the sexual harassment phenomenon in mainstream media depending on the newsworthiness of the case rather than the importance of discussing the phenomenon as a social problem.

B. The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights

1. Advocacy for Human Rights

The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights is not specialized in women rights only, yet it pays attention to the sexual harassment phenomenon as part of human rights advocacy. The Initiative started in 2002 with four main programs to advocate for: Right in Privacy, Right in Health, Right of Religion, and Right of Body Protection. The Initiative has very broad and holistic view in looking at human rights. It now has four focal areas: civil freedom, criminal justice, social and economic justice, and democracy and political rights that encompass several personal, economic, and social rights. It is one of the organizations that does advocacy in a systematic and studied way. As they work in multiple fields, they have group of specialized researchers and scholars that deal with various topics.

For the EIPR, advocacy is policy change. The Initiative members are involved in national and international levels. On the international level, they use the different international venues in which Egypt is represented to advocate for human rights in Egypt; in addition, they review to what extent the government abides by the international treaties that Egypt signs to call for policy change to comply with international standards. According to Gender Officer at the EIPR, the Initiative for example, is part of Sexual Rights Initiative Coalition in the Human Rights Council that aims at promoting progressive sexual language in the Human Rights Councils Resolutions. The Initiative monitors Egypt's performance in rights field; it submits shadow reports, and presents recommendations for Egypt to take more progressive steps in the human rights. On the national level, the EIPR writes report, conducts research, prepares policy briefs, and meets with different stakeholders based on the case the Initiative advocates for.

EIPR also pays special attention to minorities and less privileged groups whose voices are unheard. Its members advocate for prevention of sectarian violence. They participate in international campaigns for allowing abortion for rape victims; they advocate for freedom of religions; and they raise awareness about HIV and virus C patients. As for the sexual harassment, EIPR is involved in it as part of the personal rights for women for protecting her body and for empowering women to participate in public life.

2. Importance of State Intervention

The fact that there is huge mobilization on the civil society level for combating sexual harassment does not mean that the government does not have a role. According to the EIPR Gender Officer, state intervention is needed to create deterrence. Civil society is pushing for policy reform and law implementation. It also works on raising public awareness, and on directly intervening in protests or in crowds to protect the girls. This is besides using soft tools such as videos and documentaries to fight this phenomenon. On the other side, government should intervene through responding to the demands and implement.

The EIPR as an organization is invited by the government to participate in policy formulation and in other brainstorming sessions to find a solution to sexual harassment. On the EIPR side, they try to create monitoring and consulting body for the government to present recommendations to expand the gains that are already achieved. The EIPR Gender Officer expressed that the main objective is the persistence of pressure over the government “and whenever we achieve a success we ask for the following” she commented.

When asked about the EIPR relation with the National Council for Women, The EIPR Gender Officer said that the problem with the NCW is its affiliation to the government which makes its agenda centralized around the regime agenda rather than the women rights. Lack of autonomy in the NCW makes it a biased entity that can take actions that violates their mandates. However, as a mediator between the CSO and the government, the NCW performs its role and sometimes respond to civil society recommendations.

The EIPR representative expressed her doubts in fulfilment of social change that can decrease sexual harassment. According to The EIPR Gender Officer, social change cannot take place in a state where all the freedoms and human rights values are retreating. Sexual harassment case is not isolated from the overall atmosphere. To decrease sexual harassment, public should be convinced that women’s bodies are theirs and that women

have the right to move in public spaces without being touched. “This is very progressive notion that should go in parallel with freedom of criticizing the president, accepting the rights of gays, and respecting the rights of atheists, for example” The EIPR Gender Officer commented. That is why fighting sexual harassment comes in the form of partial rather than comprehensive solution (Interview, 2014)

3. The Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights Media Advocacy for Sexual Harassment

Not very different from Nazra, EIPR as well does not approach media. The EIPR Gender Officer expressed their relation with media as “not bad”. She thinks that the EIPR news gets good coverage but not as it is supposed to be. Again, it is usually the media that covers events, press conferences; Newspapers and televisions ask the EIPR members for experts to make interviews with them or get quotes in investigative reports about sexual harassment. Nevertheless, the EIPR members still have other channels where they use media to advocate for their call using media. Writing opinion pieces in newspapers is one tool the members use to express their concerns through mainstream media. Most of the members write periodically in Al Masry Al Yom, Al Shorouq, Al Tahrir, which are considered first tier publications with high circulation and readership. This is besides writing in web sites such as Mada Masr which is popular among younger generations (Interview, 2014).

Although there is no direct approach from EIPR to the media, the pressure these advocacy groups do on-ground and on social media succeeded in ending the state of denial of sexual harassment problem in mainstream media (Interview, 2014). The advocates for combating sexual harassment also worked on encouraging survivors, witnesses and volunteers to appear in traditional media and talk about sexual harassment incidents. This resulted in inverting the shame that was used to be attached to the survivors to be attached to the perpetrators. So the EIPR believes in the indirect impact on media rather than using media advocacy.

C. HarassMap

1. Online and Offline Advocacy Tools

HarassMap is one of first independent bodies that focus on sexual harassment only. Coming from human rights, development and research background, four volunteers decided to launch HarassMap in 2010 mainly to be a tool for reporting sexual harassment incidents. The main objective of the movement is to end tolerance with such crimes and reverse public's acceptance of sexual harassment (HarassMap, 2010). For HarassMap's founders, targeting the government by advocacy to create or amend a law is not sufficient; they want to do some activities on-ground targeting the perception of the public as they believe it is more long-term effect advocacy. "The actual issue is not that sexual harassment itself happens. The problem is that it happens and it seems something normal; no one intervenes and no one does anything about it" said Communication Unit Head at HarassMap. This makes the initiative target people for changing their mindset besides targeting the government for policy change.

HarassMap is one of few feminist or right initiatives that use word of mouth as a fundamental tool of advocacy. Members of the initiative talk to people on face to face basis in 22 governorates trying to explain what sexual harassment is. They talk with porters, shop-owners, drivers and other people whose professions make them spend most of their day "in street", as they are influential in public reaction towards harassment incidents. Moreover, social media, online and mobile technology is integral part of HarassMap work. The idea of the initiative itself is built on a web-based tool where people can report cases on the internet or via mobile messages anonymously. This is all besides communication campaigns that include distributing flyers, posting videos on YouTube, drawing graffiti, which are created based on information they gather from the research they conduct and from their experience from working on-ground.

2. HarassMap and the its Cooperation with the National Council for Women

Communication Unit Head at HarassMap used to have a very firm attitude from engaging with the government. "Until very recently we did not engage with the National

Council for Women because we did that before and we realized they are not serious” Communication Unit Head at HarassMap said. Now the NCW started to have a strategy of engaging civil society in all their activities. Nevertheless, HarassMap representatives still have concerns over the NCW approach. The NCW targeted HarassMap to know the spots of the highest harassment incidents through the map to increase security forces in those areas. According to Communication Unit Head at HarassMap, “This is like putting plasters on the problem”.

Lately, HarassMap has become one of the independent organizations that are invited by the NCW to discuss and formulate the National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women. “It is good opportunity for us to tell them [National Council for Women representatives] what to do and what not to do”. HarassMap as a movement does not see a tangible results of their recommendations so far.

When asked about the future and if the phenomenon is in its way to be eliminated, two opposite views are shared from members of the same organization. While The Communication Manager at HarassMap sees that there is a great success in breaking the taboo and acknowledging that there is a problem after long period of denial, Communication Unit Head at HarassMap believes that, volunteers in the movement face more resistance now from public they talk to more than before. The reason might be that when everyone is now talking about harassment, some people started to feel it is normal and it is their right to harass, so they do not want to listen to someone who condemns the act (Ibrahim, interview, 2014).

3. HarassMap Involvement in Media Strategy

Although HarassMap idea started on new media, the members strongly believe in the role and efficiency of traditional media as an advocacy tool to discourage sexual harassment in Egypt; consequently, they put traditional media engagement as the way forward objectives. “This is how we grew” Communication Unit Head at HarassMap said. “We started on-ground, then we moved to social media and the next step is moving

to traditional media because it is huge and if we can use traditional media in a better way than we do now, we can reach the mass easier” (Interview, 2014).

Internally, HarassMap used to suffer from lack of media capacity until very recently. It did not have communication manager or media expert that can take the responsibility of launching media advocacy. They used to rely on the attention they receive from the traditional media because they are one of the very first independent initiatives to break the taboo and talk about sexual harassment. Communication Unit Head at HarassMap said that media always seeks HarassMap because of the reporting system they have and the research they conduct. Nevertheless, similar to the case of Nazra, HarassMap until now is sought by media but does not approach traditional media.

When asked to put the first priority to solve sexual harassment problem, the Communication Unit Head at HarassMap put media advocacy as the first and most urgent tool to end sexual harassment phenomenon even before policy reform; that’s why the initiative assigned a communication manager to work on a comprehensive strategy for media advocacy and for engaging with media. The reason is because if there is a law and policy that criminalizes the sexual harassment act while the people do not believe it is a crime, the policy will be ineffective (Interview, 2014).

HarassMap is into a phase of formulating a comprehensive media strategy to regulate the relation with the traditional media. This strategy will include media core messages they want to tell to people; it will also include section about evaluating media where the performance of media and how sexual harassment is covered will be assessed; another section will deal with all technicalities of media policy such as how to handle interview, what to say in the interviews, the timing and the content of media exposure. This strategy according to the Communication Manager at HarassMap will transform their media relations from the passive to the active position. In other words, this media strategy will make HarassMap approach media on frequent bases rather than waiting to be approached by media in times of crisis (Ibrahim interview, 2014).

Like all organizations working on sexual harassment, HarassMap faces the challenge of media agenda. Each media outlet chooses the time to talk about such phenomenon based on its agenda. For example, there is progress happening in preparing the National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women, yet there is no media coverage about that as long as there is no major crisis (Ibrahim, interview, 2014).

Another challenge that faces HarassMap is that media in Egypt is more interested in the political side of the problem more than the social side. Ibrahim noted that when advocates are interviewed in media, they are usually asked about their political opinion. The media is interested in making out statements about the political regimes. “Sometimes they [media personnel] want to grab people’s attention by having you saying something politically stirring or controversial” Ibrahim noted. Same opinion is shared by Mohamed Selim, Media Scholar who thinks that the governmental media always tries to beautify the image of the government and they are less likely talk about major problems as sexual harassment; as for the private media, Selim said that we do not expect from a channel owner who is in very good terms with the regime to discuss in his own channels something that is against the regime’s will. This is all besides the hereditary problems in traditional media in Egypt such as accuracy, timing, distortion of terminologies, lack of professionalism including sharing personal information (Selim, interview, 2014).

The Communication Unit Head at HarassMap also raised additional point which is the media eagerness in personalizing the case. I.e. the media is always interested to cover sexual harassment from an incident-based perspective talking about the circumstances of the incident, the background, clothes and identity of the victim (Interview, 2014). She added that sometimes HarassMap intentionally refrains from the media because the purpose of the organization is to focus on the social aspect and the everyday phenomenon.

The three organizations share some common thoughts, ideas and strategies to eliminate sexual harassment in the Egyptian society. They all agree that the state of denial regarding the issue is retreating. They also believe that media advocacy is very

powerful but they do not engage in proper strategy to start media advocacy for different reasons. The performance of the National Council for Women is not very well perceived by the CSOs that participate in this study. The NCW started engaging the CSOs, yet still absence of independency, adopting the regime agenda and lacks of deep understanding to the issue represent the main criticism to the NCW.

For the phenomenon to be uprooted there should be consistent engagement with media from the CSOs and from the government. In addition cooperation between the NCW as the government representative with CSOs working in advocacy for social issues is crucial where each entity perform its role under one target and common understanding to the reasons and solutions.

Table 1: Assessment of Civil Society Organization Advocacy

	Nazra	Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights	HarassMap
Advocacy	<p>Powerful in forming groups that engage in advocacy. This builds series of advocates so that people would feel ownership to the initiative and social change happens.</p> <p>Nazra is well known in the CSOs arena and is gaining credibility.</p>	<p>Very thorough in understanding human rights which allows them to deal with sexual harassment from deep perspective rather than considering it a temporary social phenomenon. It gives weight to their advocacy initiative.</p> <p>Their language might be a bit higher than the public and they have elitist approach that could hinder advocacy amongst people</p>	<p>Very specialized and dedicating all their resources to advocacy for eliminating sexual harassment only.</p> <p>Good engagement with the public but they need to strengthen their expertise.</p>
Relation	Has receptive attitude towards cooperation	The Initiative's international advocacy	Their target audience is younger generation;

<p>with National Council for Women</p>	<p>with the NCW.</p> <p>The organization is opponent to the regime and criticizes the government yet they are ready to cooperate with different governmental entities as long as it will serve the cause.</p> <p>This is a good potential for collaboration between CSO and governmental organization that is needed for social change</p>	<p>is powerful. They raise important human rights issue in international conferences which is powerful. Yet they need to engage more with national entities as long their main objective is changing policies.</p> <p>So advocacy with policy makers on the national level could be beneficial</p>	<p>they use the approach that suits this age range well. The members are young so they reach youth easily; their tools are modern, their language is simple.</p> <p>Nevertheless, when advocating for a social phenomenon like sexual harassment where almost all the society is impacted, they need to widen their target audience.</p>
<p>Media Advocacy</p>	<p>Nazra's engagement with media is minimal. The challenges of keeping privacy of the survivals make the members of the organization refrain from media.</p> <p>Different ways of conducting media advocacy campaigns can serve the purpose and overcome the challenge</p>	<p>The initiative's members exist in mainstream media especially in newspaper.</p> <p>The EIPR does not have many concerns about media advocacy but they need to invest some of their resources in launching media advocacy campaigns and give it more attention.</p>	<p>HarassMap is on the way for creating a systematic media strategy.</p> <p>The strategy should have an experimental phase and if succeeds, they can cooperate with other CSOs and even with the NCW to implement it collectively.</p>

(Source: the author)

Chapter 7: Findings and Analysis

In this section the study presented the main findings and analyzes the data collected with respect to three main aspects: the overall dynamics of relationship between media advocacy and social change, media challenges and dilemmas, and differences and

similarities between the NCW and CSOs approaches in utilizing media to change policies and reduce sexual harassment phenomenon.

I. Overall Dynamics of Relationship between Media Advocacy and Social Change

“Even if the influence of the mass media is indirect and difficult to monitor, measure, and understand, the media are an important instrument to be used in continuous efforts to improve people's quality of life” (Kraidy, 2002)

Marwan Kraidy, Media Scholar, noted in the above quote that media impact on society cannot be ignored though some theories proved that the impact is indirect and unmeasurable. Based on the data collected from the literature and the field research, the study attempted to document the mechanisms of impact of media advocacy on social change through the case of sexual harassment in Egypt.

By analyzing the previous studies that worked on the relation between media and social change, the study found out that in most cases media has impact on social change; some theories suggest that impact takes place in a direct way, while others proved that social change is impacted by media in an indirect way under one condition “carefully using conceptualized and operationalized persuasion campaigns” (Kraidy, 2002).

While traditional theories, such as social learning theory and cognitive theory, believe in the one way direction of impact of media, this study suggests an interactive model where media advocacy is directed towards the public to change their perception and to policymakers to pressure them to change policies; and at the same time, the study inferred that the public themselves represent a tool for pressure on the policymakers and the policymakers could also use media advocacy to change people’s perception (fig. 1). All of these interactive relations help eventually in making social change fostered by media advocacy.

**Figure 1: The Mechanism of Relationship
between Media Advocacy and Social Change**

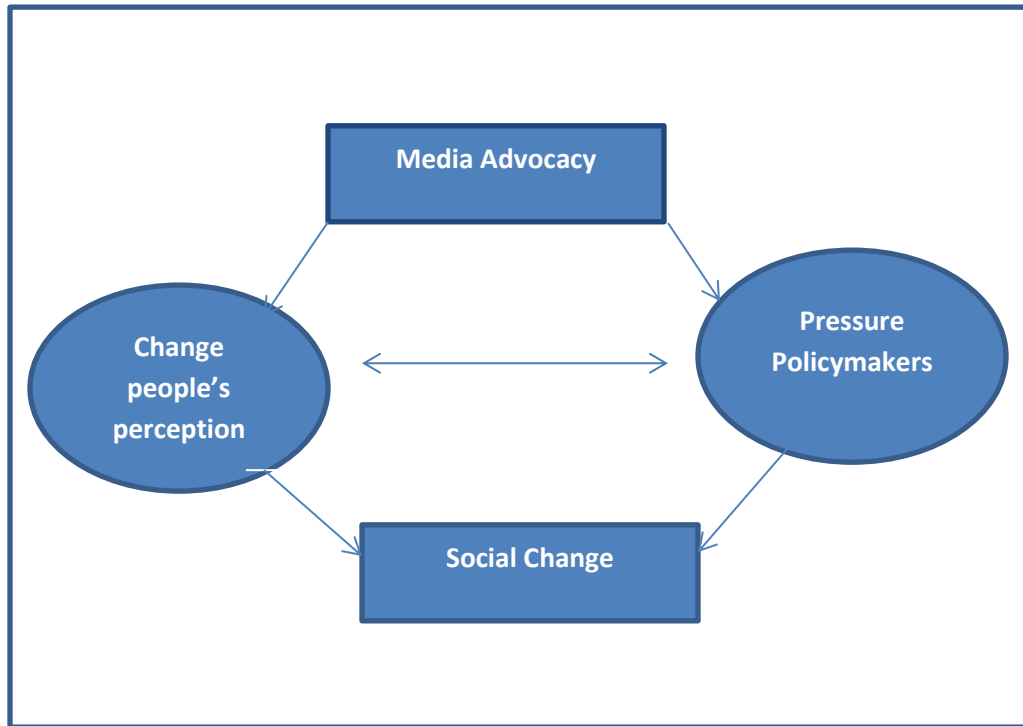


Figure 1

Source: the author

II. Media Challenges and Dilemmas

While the study focuses on the endeavors of civil society and governmental organizations to use media advocacy to combat sexual harassment and make social change, media on the other side as an independent variable in this study has its own complications. Different organizations want to use media advocacy as a powerful tool for making change through raising awareness and pressuring policymakers, yet media has certain limitations and impediments that most of the respondents in the field research explained and the study reviewed.

A. New Media- Traditional Media Dilemma

Media advocacy works on changing “social environment” where collective changes happen in people’s behaviors rather than individualistic change. So instead of addressing individuals as in public relations, media advocacy addresses factors that cause

changes in behavior such as changing policies to have broader impact with permanent effect on the entire society. That's why in media advocacy, media tools of wide audiences are the most suitable. Mainstream media including television and newspapers are known to have wider audiences. Recently, social media mainstream media could be the best tool because of its wide audiences tools of wide audiences are used such as mainstream media including television and newspapers and recently social media (Themba, 1999).

The debate between using social media versus traditional media in media advocacy evolved recently especially with the booming in social media usage after the Arab Spring among younger generations. While this study focuses on traditional media, the impact of social media is now inevitable and the comparison imbeds itself in all discourses.

In Egypt, although internet penetration increased in the last few years (32 million users in 2013), still more than half the population does not have access to the internet, this is besides the high illiteracy rates (CAPMAS). These facts make some people believe that for media advocacy, traditional media is still more effective as it has larger audience. Nevertheless, there is another argument that supports using social media in media advocacy to make social change. In a phenomenon like sexual harassment, social media could still be very effective. According to The EIPR Gender Officer, sexual harassment is a cross class phenomenon. "A man who drives a car harasses and a gardener harasses. I do not adopt class based explanation for sexual harassment" The EIPR Gender Officer said. In addition, most of the mobilized mass is on social media. Young generations who use social media were mobilized with the revolution and become ready to question their convictions; so if advocates address their perception about gender issues, change in that regard will be easily achieved compared to older generations whose views are more rigid (Interview, 2014).

The argument that supports traditional media is still powerful in Egypt. According to a member of Nazra, traditional media is still more efficient in Egypt because it is more reachable to audience, more credible and has instructive approach. Hani Morsi a researcher at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex criticized the use of new media and web-based tools to combat sexual harassment saying

“While HarassMap is popular among the rich, educated and smartphone toting Egyptians; it is still a foreign word for the vast majority of Egyptians (Selim, 2014). On another side, with the competition with new media, traditional media repositioned itself as information provider to the citizen away from the state tight control.

In 2004, Al Masry Al Yom started a new trend of autonomous journalism that provides citizen with topics of their interests rather than the regimes interested as it used to be with state owned newspapers. The trend extended to television as well with the emergence of private channels (Abdallah, 2011). Although these types of media are not absolutely independent from the state, they represent transformation that makes Egyptian audiences still seek traditional media.

Despite the effectiveness of traditional media it has many challenges that make many independent movements and civil society organizations use new media. According to the Communication Unit Head at HarassMap, it is much easier to be on social media. The EIPR Gender Officer shared the same opinion saying that more opportunities are allowed on social media than in traditional media; there is access barrier and lack of control of traditional media that do not exist in social media. Hence, some CSOs find it more effective to use mainstream media but the difficulty to reach it compelled them to use social media.

B. Agenda Setting

Advocates against sexual harassment face major challenge in their relation with media which is the agenda setting. Agenda setting is a function of media that set the priorities of issues to tell public what is important. According to Maxwell McCombs “The news media can set the agenda for the public’s attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms” (McCombs, 2004). There are several techniques used in media to set the importance of the issue in the audience mindset. In print for example, a story on the front page, large font headlines, or full page news draw the attention of the reader and make him feel the importance of the news. In Television, starting the news bulletin by specific news, or repeating a topic several times, or giving a specific topic longer duration in talk shows to discuss also give the audience the feel of importance of the topic discussed.

According to Walter Lippman, people do not see the world around them as it is, they see it through the media. In other words, when media set its priorities, it then become the same as people's priorities (Lippman, 1922). Agenda setting not only identifies the importance of a topic in the audience's mind, but it also impacts their perspectives regarding the issue. People cannot pay attention to everything, but they have selective attention. And in making judgment, people are more likely to give opinions based on the ready information available to them rather than analyzing the entire facts surrounding them. Therefore, people are affected by what media dictate them as important and ignore what media do not or slightly mentioned (McCombs, 2004).

The agenda setting of media served the sexual harassment phenomenon in many cases where major incidents took place and the media put it at the top of their priorities. However, when sexual harassment is not news worthy, or in other words, when nothing major take place in that regard, media pull it down to the least priorities. Hence, fluctuation of interest in sexual harassment topic in media is reflected on the interest of the public and thus on the decision makers themselves. As a result, the phenomenon is dealt with on case by case bases with no comprehensive and sustainable solutions.

In conclusion, traditional mainstream media is not the easiest type of media to advocate through for a phenomenon such as sexual harassment because it is not easily accessible and because each publication or TV channel has its own agenda that advocates cannot change to put their case as a priority. These problems do not exist in social media that is controllable in comparison to mainstream media and have high accessibility. Nevertheless, in a developing country such as Egypt advocates cannot rely on new media only and abandon traditional media. Instead, for advocates to reach the widest audience to make social change they should penetrate traditional media in addition to using social media to target all age groups, gender, social and economic classes.

III. Comparative Overview between the National Council for Women and Civil Society Organizations Approaches

It is inferred from the data collected that there is a potential for making social change from the government and from civil society. The recent few years witnessed unprecedented interest in eradicating the sexual harassment phenomenon started from

individuals, bloggers and very small movements until it reached the interest of the president. Each entity has specific approach in dealing with the phenomenon based on the mandate of the entity, the structure, the background of members and their interest and level of knowledge of the phenomenon. This section considers the main similarities and differences between the approaches of NCW as a governmental body and the CSOs selected in this study with regard to their advocacy activities to fight sexual harassment and to media utilization to create social change.

A. Similarities

All the participants in this study believe in the dual direction of advocacy: towards the people to change their perception and to decision makers to change policies in order to minimize sexual harassment. As part of the NCW advocacy activities, a conference was held called “Egyptian Women and the President” that aimed at expressing the Egyptian women’s problems and issues including sexual harassment to the president. Such advocacy directed to the decision makers is backed up by on-ground media advocacy campaigns such as “Together Against Sexual Harassment” campaign led by the NCW that includes posting videos for raising awareness on their website, Facebook page, and other websites. It also includes organizing “hearing sessions” and workshops to listen to cases of sexual harassment and brainstorm with advocates for solutions. This campaign was also covered in media through talk shows, newspapers, and magazines. The Council issued special publications (flyers, booklets, and newsletters) to raise level of awareness about the sexual harassment in which the term itself is defined, the law is stated, the reasons behind this phenomenon are analyzed, and the role of different entities in combating this phenomenon are identified (NCW, 2012).

Similarly, Nazra for Feminist Studies, the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, and HarassMap, attend all the conferences, meetings, and committees on both the national and international levels. The EIPR and HarassMap participated in the National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women that is prepared by the government. The representatives of the two organizations assured that they participate in order to pressure policy makers to adopt their recommendations. Nazra participates in the Human Rights Council and the African Commission talks. Nazra also work on targeted advocacy

campaigns with doctors in hospitals to train them on how to deal with sexual violence survivors. A group of specialist also coach prosecutors on how to investigate such cases to guarantee that the case is filed correctly (Interview, 2014).

The NCW along with the CSOs studied here have media departments which indicates their certainty in the importance of media; yet none of them has specific media strategy or media advocacy plan. Their relationship with media is limited to publishing news, commenting on events in TV talk show or covering events. They believe in the vitality of its role and allow their reports, statements and all other materials to be covered by media but they do not systematically use media advocacy to promote for their cause. Some of the organizations are working on preparing a comprehensive strategy for having long-term sustainable media advocacy.

Although the NCW as a governmental body has higher accessibility to media, it still lacks a strategic vision with regards to media advocacy as a tool for combating sexual harassment. The NCW news and activities appear in media; however, the NCW does not have a sustainable plan for using traditional media to pressure the other stakeholders or to raise awareness.

To sum up, one of the major defects in the media advocacy activities conducted by the NCW and the CSOs is the lack of strategy and sustainability. Most of the CSOs in this study depend on the media interest in the topic and the media coverage to their statements, opinions, researches or events. This results in fluctuations in the public arena. When there are huge incidents of harassment or events such as feasts or demonstrations where sexual harassment incidents are more likely to happen, the media is interested and seeks advocates opinions and analysis; while when there are no major stories that are of news worthiness, media loses interest and advocates disappear from the media. As a result, the public get the perception that the problem is solved while it does not. That's why it is crucial for these organizations whether independent or governmental to have a strategy in targeting media on a sustainable manner to have a continuous pressure on the decision makers.

B. Differences

The NCW believes that sexual harassment is a temporary phenomenon that will soon disappear. On the contrary, CSOs have consensus that it is long standing, systematic phenomenon that has been existing in the Egyptian society for years and it is becoming a daily normal act that Egyptians are involved in (Lahidji, 2014). About the future of the sexual harassment in Egypt, media officer in NCW expressed her and the Council's hopefulness in solving the problem "the problem is in its way to be solved because of the political will" (NCW media officer, interview, 2014). In her latest statement, Mervat Al Tellawy, the NCW President mentioned that the last feast celebrations in 2014 recorded very low number cases of sexual harassment which is, in her opinion, a recede in sexual harassment problem (Selim, 2014). Al Tellawy referred to harshening the punishments and existence of security forces as the main reasons behind the recession of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, the decrease in the reported cases does not mean decrease in the cases themselves or improvement in the phenomenon as many females do not report cases due to social pressures.

On the other side, most of the respondents in the study who belong to civil society believe that it is still too way long for this phenomenon to be eliminated. According to The EIPR Gender Officer, the problem will not be solved unless we face the root causes of the problem which does not happen now. "We need guarantees that any changes from the state in this regard are not cosmetics that only beautify the state's face without addressing the problem" (Interview, 2014). In addition, sexual harassment phenomenon needs progressive change in the mindsets of people and this change needs a comprehensive respect to the values of all rights and freedoms. So an entire environment of convincing people with the bodily rights should exist first to guarantee that sexual harassment will be solved.

In all the official statements, documents and during the interviews, the NCW President and members always praise the role of the CSOs and stress on the importance of their inclusion in combating the sexual harassment phenomenon. According to the media officer in the Council, the NCW sees the relation between the CSOs and the Council as a complementary relationship where the CSOs play crucial role (NCW media officer, interview, 2014). The Council has a dedicated committee for non-governmental

organizations that monitors the performance of CSOs in women related issues and present recommendations in addition to activating their role in solving gender related problems.

On the contrary, some CSOs criticize the NCW in many aspects. The NCW is accused of monopolizing the women related issues and ignoring all the preceded efforts by the CSO or independent feminists in their struggle. Also there are doubts in the intention of the NCW in its activities to combat sexual harassment. “While it is supposed to be independent body, this is not the case in reality,” (Interview, 2014). The EIPR Gender Officer insured that a major defect in NCW advocacy work with regard to sexual harassment is its affiliation to the regime that makes the council focus only on the topics that are of the regime’s interest. While some of the CSOs declared that the Council is inviting them to participate in the National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women and other meetings and workshops to solve gender related problems, some still believe that it is only for beautifying the image and not for actual inclusion.

Sexual harassment requires a “holistic approach” to be solved (Lahidji, 2014); Egypt has ratified several international treaties that oblige the government to take actions to combat violence against women. The treaties also entail that the government is responsible for the state and non-state activities to combat sexual harassment and for ensuring that all stakeholders are conducting their roles effectively (Lahidji, 2014); so the government is required to include civil society and monitor their performance. On the other side, being in closer contact with public, civil society involvement in combating sexual harassment is inevitable. Also, The NCW receives high response from different governmental bodies, decision makers and policy makers which facilitates legal amendments and policy reforms. Civil society has experts in the field and independent from the state so it is unbiased and interested in solving the issue and closer to public with high accessibility and relevant acceptance.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study explains the dynamics of relationship between media advocacy and social change through the case of sexual harassment in Egypt. It is inferred that sexual harassment is a deeply rooted social phenomenon that needs the collective efforts of

multiple sectors and entities including the legislative bodies, the executive authority, ministries in addition to media and CSOs (Selim, interview, 2014); yet changing public's perception through media is the top priority in fighting this phenomenon as indicated by all respondents in the study as well as previous researches. Thus, media can change people's perception to end the acceptance of the crime and to form pressure groups that oblige the decision makers to change policies.

In June 2014, a law against sexual harassment was developed following the incident that took place in Tahrir square during the celebrations of Abd Al Fatah Al Sisi's inauguration. The law includes an article that defines sexual harassment and considers it a crime with sentence 1 year prison and not less than 10,000 EGP fine (Appendix II). The National Council for Women celebrates this law and CSOs believe it is the fruit of their work. Nevertheless, they all still believe that it is not sufficient to end such phenomenon. Social change is needed to change people's mindset, change the culture of acceptance to such crimes and reverse blaming the victim discourse. The study concluded that media advocacy is a crucial tool for achieving this goal.

The suggested model in this study indicates that media advocacy is a dual strategy. It targets the decision makers to change policies or take actions to combat sexual harassment. On the other side, media advocacy is directed to public to raise their awareness and to form pressure groups. According to the social mobilization theory, encouraging people to take action is the step that follows social change (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). And one of the main purposes of advocacy is encouraging people to engage in an action. So media advocacy helps in changing people's perception and encourage them to take actions.

When all the participants in this study and previous studies ensured that it is a multifaceted phenomenon that needs collective contributions from multiple sectors, cooperation between the government, represented in the National Council for Women, and CSOs in media advocacy is required to have a holistic vision for eliminating this phenomenon. The literature indicated that there are attempts of including CSOs in all NCW activities. One way of cooperation is formulating and implementing a joint media

strategy to use media advocacy effectively and uniformly in mainstream media to address sexual harassment phenomenon (Appendix I).

Previous cases and studies proofed the effectiveness of media advocacy campaigns on causing social change such as the “Uptown Coalition Campaign” nevertheless, the Egyptian movements are still using media on case by case basis and rely on the media coverage of their campaigns, conferences and other activities rather than approaching the media using media strategy. That’s why initiatives to combat sexual harassment came partial and incomprehensive.

In the previous chapters, the study reviewed the media advocacy initiatives conducted by selected CSOs and the NCW in an attempt to study the relation between media advocacy and social change through the sexual harassment issue and proposed a media strategy to be adopted by different organizations. The study took sexual harassment as a case, yet the concept can be applied on other social problems in the Egyptian society. The aim is to become alert to the importance of using media advocacy effectively in a systematic way to make social change that can solve many social problems.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Media Strategy

Media strategy is the use of selected media outlets to send specific messages to reach audiences to reach optimum results. This media strategy is to combat sexual harassment in the Egyptian society. Based on this study, combating sexual harassment needs not only legal amendments or security forces but social change that will change people's perception towards the issue and create a public opinion that pressures policy makers to reform policies that helps in ending this phenomenon.

The Current Situation:

- Egypt suffers from sexual harassment phenomenon in public places
- A new law was issued earlier this year that defines sexual harassment and harshened the penalty
- There is no media strategy adopted by organizations working in this field
- The National Council for Women is the governmental body that is responsible for all women rights issues
- Civil society organizations launch campaigns to fight this phenomenon
- A National Strategy to Combat Violence against Women is being formulated by the National Council for Women in cooperation with ministries, other governmental bodies and some civil society organizations.

Challenges:

- Traditional media talks about sexual harassment only when there is major incidents
- Talking in media is based on the agenda setting of the media outlet
- Traditional media is into sensational headlines and details of the story more than the issue of sexual harassment as human rights issue
- Many people still does not grasp the dimensions of the issue
- Decision makers and officials are engaged in other political issues and put sexual harassment in least priority unless there is major incident

Objectives:

- Have sustainable media attention towards sexual harassment regardless of the occurrence of major incidents
- Have at least weekly media coverage for NCW and CSO activities to combat sexual harassment
- Use the correct terminologies in media when talking about sexual harassment (rape versus sexual harassment, assault versus abuse, etc.)
- Have unified messages to be disseminated to public regarding sexual harassment
- Form pressure groups through media to pressure policy makers reform policies

Target Audience:

- Policy makers (ministers, parliament members, other entities)
- Public
- Youth and volunteers

Key Messages:

- Sexual harassment is a crime where the perpetrator is the criminal
- The harassed girl's clothes is not a reason for harassment
- Reporting cases to the authorized entities is a must to eliminate the phenomenon
- There are several cases where harasser were sentenced in prison
- Women have the right to participate in public life
- The government is responsible for the safety of public places

Process:

- A coalition of the CSOs and NCW should be formed where all members agree on set of objectives and messages.
- Database of media personnel should be created in all key TV channels and publications.
- Establish a relation with media personal to be established through meetings, roundtables, public events.

- Allies from reporters and media personnel who adopt the strategy should be formed
- Media calendar should be created have all initiatives and media activities to be made around it
- Start implement the below tactics
- Have monitoring and evaluating bodies in each organization to do qualitative and quantitative analysis to media coverage about sexual harassment

Tactics:

Tactic	Description
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pitch for interviews with allies from media personnel • Pitch for participate in long features about the issue • Have phone calls in talk shows commenting on the issue
Documentary films	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make short movies that explains sexual harassment • Explain role of each person to combat sexual harassment
Advertising campaign	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Launch advertising campaign in television where public figures participate in discouraging sexual harassment
Press release	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequent press releases should be written and disseminated to publications about the organizations activities in combating sexual harassment
Op-ed pieces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of organizations (NCW and CSOs) write frequent op-ed pieces that condemn sexual harassment • Op-ed pieces that talks about women role in public life
Media roundtables & conferences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Periodic meetings with media representatives to be held to coach media on how to cover sexual harassment cases • Update media with the recent initiatives • Give media information about the achievements accomplished in the issue such as laws, strategies, etc.
Movies & Drama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produce movies and drama that enhance the role of women in the society • Indirectly address the bad perception about women • Promote bodily rights • Portray harassers in a negative way

Appendix II

Sexual Harassment Law

يُعد تحرشًا جنسيًا إذا ارتكبت الجريمة المنصوص عليها في المادة ٣٠٦ مكرراً (أ)
من هذا القانون بقصد حصول الجاني من المجنى عليه على منفعة ذات طبيعة جنسية ،
ويعاقب الجاني بالحبس مدة لا تقل عن سنة وبغرامة لا تقل عن عشرة آلاف جنيه ولا تزيد
على عشرين ألف جنيه أو بإحدى هاتين العقوبتين .
فيذا كان الجاني ممن نص عليهم في الفقرة الثانية من المادة (٢٦٧) من هذا القانون
أو كانت له سلطة وظيفية أو أسرية أو دراسية على المجنى عليه أو مارس عليه أى ضغط
تسمح له الظروف بممارسته عليه أو ارتكبت الجريمة من شخصين فأكثر أو كان أحدهم
على الأقل يحمل سلاحًا تكون العقوبة الحبس مدة لا تقل عن سنتين ولا تجاوز خمس سنين
والغرامة التي لا تقل عن عشرين ألف جنيه ولا تزيد على خمسين ألف جنيه .
(المادة الثالثة)
يُنشر هذا القرار بقانون في الجريدة الرسمية ، ويعمل به اعتباراً من اليوم التالي
لتاريخ نشره .
صدر برئاسة الجمهورية في ٧ شعبان سنة ١٤٣٥ هـ
(الموافق ٥ يونية سنة ٢٠١٤ م) .
٦٤ الجريدة الرسمية - العدد ٢٣ (تابع) في ٥ يونية سنة ٢٠١٤

(المادة الثانية)
يُضاف إلى قانون العقوبات المشار إليه مادة جديدة برقم ٣٠٦ مكرراً (ب)
نصها الآتي :
عدلي منصور

الجريدة الرسمية - العدد ٢٣ (تابع) في ٥ يونية سنة ٢٠١٤ ٦٣

قرار رئيس جمهورية مصر العربية بالقانون رقم ٥٠ لسنة ٢٠١٤ بتعديل بعض أحكام قانون العقوبات الصادر بالقانون رقم ٥٨ لسنة ١٩٣٧

رئيس الجمهورية المؤقت

بعد الاطلاع على الدستور المعدل الصادر في الثامن عشر من يناير ٢٠١٤ :

وعلى قانون العقوبات ؛

وعلى قانون الإجراءات الجنائية ؛

وعلى القانون رقم ١٠ لسنة ١٩٦٦ في شأن مكافحة الدعارة ؛

وبعد موافقة مجلس الوزراء ؛

وبناءً على ما ارتأه مجلس الدولة ؛

تقرر

القانون الآتي نصه :

(المادة الاولى)

يستبدل بنص المادة ٣٠٦ مكرراً (أ) من قانون العقوبات الصادر بالقانون

رقم ٥٨ لسنة ١٩٣٧ النص الآتي :

المادة ٣٠٦ مكرراً (١) :

يعاقب بالحبس مدة لا تقل عن ستة أشهر وبغرامة لا تقل عن ثلاثة آلاف جنيه
ولا تزيد على خمسة آلاف جنيه أو بإحدى هاتين العقوبتين كل من تعرض للغير في مكان عام
أو خاص أو مطروق بإتيان أمور أو إهجات أو تلميحات جنسية أو إباحية سواء بالإشارة
أو بالقول أو بالفعل بأية وسيلة بما في ذلك وسائل الاتصالات السلكية أو اللاسلكية .
وتكون العقوبة الحبس مدة لا تقل عن سنة وبغرامة لا تقل عن خمسة آلاف جنيه
ولا تزيد على عشرة آلاف جنيه أو بإحدى هاتين العقوبتين إذا تكررت الفعل من الجاني
من خلال الملاحقة والتنصيح للمجنى عليه .
وفي حالة العود تضاعف عقوبتا الحبس والغرامة في حدهما الأدنى والأقصى .

Appendix III
Interview Questionnaires

Interview 1: Mohamed Selim, Media Scholar

- 1) Do you think media is well utilized to combat sexual harassment in Egypt?
- 2) If the government represented in National Council for Women adopted media strategy and contacted media to advocate against sexual harassment, will that impact media independency?
- 3) Which is more effective in using for media advocacy to combat sexual harassment: new media or traditional media?
- 4) Amid all the efforts exerted from the government and NGO, why is the problem still persistent?
- 5) Regarding sexual harassment, are we towards solving the problem or it is getting more complicated?
- 6) How can advocate deal with media challenges and penetrate mainstream media?

Interview 2: a member of Nazra

- 1) How do you see the sexual harassment problem in Egypt?
 - a. An external problem that will end soon
 - b. A disastrous phenomenon that needs much effort to decrease
 - c. It is everywhere in the world and is not that alarming

Please explain

- 2) What advocacy work does your organization do to combat issue?
- 3) Does the organization have specific media engagement strategy?
- 4) Intensifying security existence in the streets, changing policies and harshening punishments, using media

Arrange the previous solutions from the most important to the least in your opinion to solve sexual harassment problem. Please explain

- 5) Do you believe that change that should take place to combat sexual harassment should be top down or down up change. i.e., there should be a political will to change that

will impact people or the other way round: a pressure from public that impact the decision makers?

- 6) Does the government ask your organization to engage in solving the problem? Do they respond to your recommendations?
- 7) Are there noticeable differences between different regimes in dealing with sexual harassment (Mubarak, SCAF, MBs, and Al Sisi's regime)?

Interview 3: The EIPR Gender Officer

- 1) What is the EIPR, how it started and what is your scope of work?
- 2) Advocacy is an integral part of your work, what do you mean by advocacy?
- 3) Your organization launches and participates in campaigns that targets combating sexual harassment, but mostly on new media, did you try to approach traditional media?
- 4) Which is more effective new media or social media
- 5) How do you evaluate the role of the NCW in fighting sexual harassment problem?
Do you engage with the Council in any of its advocacy activities?
- 6) How do you see the future of this problem in Egypt?

Interview 4: The Communication Manager at HarassMap and the Communication Unit Head at HarassMap

1. From where does the idea of HarassMap come?
2. You are accused of being elitist as your tools are restricted to new media. What's your opinion? Do you try to approach mainstream media to address this problem?
3. What are the main features of the media strategy you are working on? Do you have a plan to engage other organizations in it?
4. Is there any form of cooperation with the NCW? To what extent they respond to your recommendations as experts in sexual harassment?
5. Do you face any challenges in dealing with traditional media?
6. Do you believe in the Top down or bottom up approach
7. How do you see the future of this phenomenon?

Interview 5: the National Council for Women, Media Department

- 1) Give me an overview of the National Council for Women advocacy activities for gender related issue?
- 2) To whom NCW advocacy is directed? Policymakers or public?
- 3) Do policymakers respond to the NCW recommendations?
- 4) What is the role of the media department in the Council?
- 5) In your campaigns, do you rely on mainstream media? New media? Which is a more receptive private or state-owned media outlet? Are there any challenges?
- 6) Does the Council cooperate with Civil Society Organizations? How?
- 7) From your experience, is the phenomenon in its way to be eliminated or not?

Appendix IV
Malek Mostafa Blog Entry about Sexual Harassment

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B2SGamUeMec>

