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The American University in Cairo
Global Affairs and Public Policy

**THE ROLE OF ONLINE AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN COMBATING SEXUAL
HARASSMENT IN EGYPT**

A Thesis Submitted to
The Journalism and Mass Communication Department

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

by Mariam Saleh

under the supervision of Dr. Hussein Amin

Fall 2017

Abstract

Violence against women – particularly sexual harassment is a widespread problem faced by women around the world. In Egypt, research shows that a large number of women have been harassed at least once in their lifetime. The Egyptian Government, international organizations and non-governmental organizations have been working for several years on interventions and activities to combat sexual harassment. With the widespread use of online and social media in Egypt, this new media became a better and easily accessible form of conveying combating sexual harassment messages. This study, thus, aims to identify ways through which online and social media could be used through development communication campaigns to combat sexual harassment in Egypt. The study is based on a theoretical framework built on the Social Ecological Model, and seeks to identify how online and social media could be utilized along its five levels to combat harassment through social change, social mobilization, and advocacy. The study uses the single exploratory case study of HarassMap – an Egyptian NGO working on combating sexual harassment through online and social media. Theoretical propositions were developed for each of the five levels, and based on a content analysis of HarassMap’s website and Facebook Page, the theoretical propositions were verified and modified. Findings of the study show that online and social media could be used through functional participatory communication campaigns, following a social change and social mobilization approach to: (1) encourage sexual harassment survivors to respond to harassment through changing beliefs, increasing self-efficacy, and changing behavior through social prompting; (2) encourage bystander intervention through changing beliefs, increasing bystander-efficacy, and changing behavior through social prompting; (3) change the society’s attitudes and beliefs as related to assignment of responsibility and attribution of sexual harassment and increase the society’s collective-efficacy to fight acceptability of harassment; (4) advocate for organizational change to have sexual harassment-free workplaces/educational institutions through targeting the organization and its surrounding environment; and (5) advocate for more stringent sexual harassment law/law enforcement.

Keywords: Combating Sexual Harassment, Social Ecological Model, Social Change, Social Mobilization, Efficacy, Social Prompting, Advocacy, Organizational Change, Bystander Intervention

Dedication

To every survivor who fearfully responds, and stands up against harassment

*To every human being who is still humane and chivalrous enough to intervene
when they witness harassment*

You're the ray of light in the darkest skies

To the January 25 Revolution

I owe to you who I am today,

*Thank you for opening my eyes, widening my horizon, and making me a better
person*

Acknowledgement

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My mother, who has always been a living example of what it means to be a strong, independent, dependable woman. Thank you for showing me that this is not just a cliché, but actions that you take every single day. Thank you for bringing me up to strive to be as resilient as you are, to always have the willingness to persevere. Working on this thesis while having a demanding fulltime job hasn't been easy at times, I wouldn't have been able to do it without you always pushing me to be the best I could be.

My father, for always showing me what it means to dare to dream, for always pushing me to pursue and do what I love, to spread my wings and fly, even if it meant switching education and careers from engineering to development and mass communication. Thank you for always believing in me, even when it felt like I'm doing something crazy. Thank you also for teaching me to always do the best job I can do, even if it means sleeping less and working more. I wouldn't be writing this acknowledgement for a thesis submitted to the JRMC department if it weren't for your support.

My grandmother, for the endless number of times she read *suret yaseen* for me during my SATs in high-school, my undergraduate exams at the GUC, and my comprehensive exams at the AUC, and whom I'm sure would have been praying for me during my thesis defense had she been able to. I wish you that you live your coming days happily and in peace, with no more pain.

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List of Acronyms

Acronym	Full Term
APC	the Association for Progressive Communications'
CAPMAS	The Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
CPE	The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
ECWR	The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutation/Cutting
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
JP	The UNFPA/UNICEF Joint Program
NCW	The National Council for Women
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
PSAs	Public Service Announcements
SEM	Social Ecological Model
SH	Sexual Harassment
SMCR	Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNWOMEN	The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
VAW	Violence Against Women

1 Introduction

1.1 Context

Violence Against Women (VAW) is an epidemic that the world still suffers from to date, with more than 30 percent of the world's female population being subjected to a form of violence once in their lifetime (Ellsberg et al., 2014). VAW is considered a major violation of human rights, and, in some forms, one of the worst public health issues (World Health Organization, 2016). It comes in many different faces, including: intimate partner violence, sexual harassment and assault, female genital mutation/cutting (FGM/C), trafficking, sexual violence in conflict and war times and gender-based killing (UN Women, 2013b).

Particularly in Egypt, VAW is very much prevalent in different forms, the most prominent of which is Sexual Harassment (SH) with more than 99 percent of Egyptian females being subjected to some form of harassment (UN Women, 2013d). Sexual harassment has several forms that differ in their severity; it could be verbal, non-verbal, or physical, invading of private space or an utter assault, a grope or gang rape. Egyptian women are subjected to the different forms of sexual harassment in the street and public spaces, in public transportation, in universities or workplaces, or even at home. It can have severe psychological and physiological impacts on victims, as well as major economic effects on the country as a whole (UNFPA, 2016).

Clearly, effort must be exerted both on the policy and sociocultural levels to combat sexual harassment. This is where Development Communication becomes useful. Development communication is defined as “the process of intervening in a systematic or strategic manner with either media (print, radio, telephony, video, and the Internet), or education (training, literacy, schooling) to achieve positive social change. The change could be economic, personal, spiritual, social, cultural, or political” (McPhail, 2009). It is thus concerned with using means of communication in strategizing and implementing development programs (Moemeka, 1994). This type of communication, which includes health, habitual, and sociocultural awareness raising and behavior change campaigns, is argued to have a positive effect on increasing the development outcome (Obregon & Waisbord, 2012).

Several non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international organizations and government interventions have made use of mass media in the past few years to combat

sexual harassment and other forms of VAW as well as promoting family planning – which is another important sexual health issue – through development communication (Rizzo, Price, & Meyer, 2012; The John Hopkins University, 1998; UN Women's Facebook Page, 2015). However, most of these campaigns, especially recent ones, lack published data related to measuring their impacts.

Recently, as online and social media became more accessible, popular, and ubiquitous, they have become a medium for communicating development. This includes health issues, such as: changing beliefs and providing tips about prevention of certain diseases (Hay, Coups, Ford, & DiBonaventura, 2009), providing health tips (Ybarra & Suman, 2006), awareness about certain diseases and their risks (Ryz et al., 2015), and awareness of health risks (Duke et al., 2015). It also includes means of empowering women such as:(Dalal, 2006; Kirkup, 2002; Zebunnessa Laizu, Jocelyn Armarego, & Sudweeks, 2010), as well as combating violence against women in different forms, such as female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), sexual harassment, and domestic violence (Pavan, 2014).

This thesis is concerned with how online and social media could be utilized to communicate development in Egypt, specifically as related to sexual harassment, one of the most prevalent forms of violence against women in Egypt. Particularly, it is concerned with means of using online and social media in changing the public attitude toward sexual harassment, encouraging bystander intervention, encouraging survivors to take an action and seek help, and encouraging businesses and educational institutions to adopt an anti-harassment policy.

1.2 Problem Statement

Sexual harassment is a worldwide problem that women suffer from in different countries and settings (Wilkinson, 2016). In Egypt, almost all women have been subjected to sexual harassment at least once in their lifetime (Ebada & Douh, 2007; ECWR, 2005; Amel Fahmy, Abdelmonem, Hamdy, & Badr, 2014; Shoukry & Hassan, 2008; UN Women, 2013d). Studies conducted by different institutions between 2005 and 2014 with different sample sizes show that sexual harassment is very much prevalent. In 2005, the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights ((ECWR) conducted an informal survey through sending questionnaires to 3,500 women in six governorates in Greater Cairo, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, the vast majority of the respondents indicated that they experience harassment in their daily lives. In 2008, ECWR conducted a more scientific research on the prevalence of sexual harassment in Greater Cairo, with more than a thousand females sample and found that 83 percent of the respondents were subjected to sexual harassment at least once in their lifetime (Shoukry & Hassan, 2008). In 2013, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) conducted a survey in six governorates with over 2,300 female respondents residing in urban and rural areas in Upper and Lower Egypt, as well as Cairo and Alexandria. The Survey found that 99.3 percent of the sample was subjected to some form of harassment (UN Women, 2013d). Finally, in 2014, HarassMap conducted a survey with 300 female respondents in Greater Cairo and found that 95.3 percent of the sample have been subjected to harassment in the past (Amel Fahmy et al., 2014).

Sexual harassment has several negative physical and psychological impacts on women, as well as economic impacts on the country as a whole. It has major negative impacts on women's freedom of movement, pursuing education, careers and different potential opportunities, women's health and well-being, as well as interaction and presence in the social and public spheres. For example, women may feel the urge to stay at home to avoid sexual harassment in public spaces. They sometimes feel that they must leave a job as a result of harassment by a colleague or a manager, or stop going to school as a result of harassment by a teacher. In some cases, women may feel that they are responsible for sexual harassment as a result of victim blaming, and thus their view of themselves may change and they may lack the self-confidence needed to take certain actions (Karama & The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement, 2013; UN Women, 2013d; UNFPA, 2016).

Much needs to be done in order to combat sexual harassment. This does not only involve advocating for laws with strict penalties against perpetrators and stringent law

enforcement, but also changing the sociocultural perception to reject sexual harassment and support victims, create a safer environment for women, encourage organizations and entities to have rules against harassment, encourage bystanders to intervene in case they witness harassment, and encourage victims to report and seek help (UN Women, 2013d). In that sense, Development Communication can help in combating sexual harassment through social change and mobilization, as well as advocating for policy change and enforcement (Fiske & Glick, 1995; Pryor, Giedd, & Williams, 1995).

1.3 Scope and Purpose of the Study

This study is of an exploratory nature. It takes a Social Ecological Model (SEM) approach to combating sexual harassment through development communication techniques on online and social media. The concept of SEM is that development is achieved through tackling the whole environment where this development should occur, as well as the person's interaction with it. The model defines five systems of the environment that must be focused on in order to achieve development. These systems are: individual, microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1981). The SEM has been used in several development communication campaigns aiming to combat violence (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002; UNICEF, 2009). It is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The geographical scope of this study is Egypt, one of the countries with highest sexual harassment rates. It focuses on communication activities on online and social media undertaken to combat sexual harassment in the streets and public spaces, public transportation, and educational institutions and workplaces. The idea is to understand how online and social media can be utilized and integrated with other development communication tools/activities to help end this affront. For the purpose of this study, social media refer to: *“the use of web-based and mobile technologies to turn communication into an interactive dialogue. They can be defined as a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of the so-called Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content”* (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2012). The term online media widens the spectrum to also include content curated and published on *websites, email, podcasts, instant messengers, and mobile applications*.

There are five pillars related to fighting sexual harassment that this study is concerned with: (1) the victims' ability and willingness to speak up about and act against sexual harassment incidents they face, seek help, and report them to authorities; (2) bystanders' willingness to intervene to stop harassment as well as to support and help victims; (3) the society's perception and acceptability of sexual harassment, blaming the victim and perception of the perpetrator; (4) having systems and policies within organizations that penalizes and punishes perpetrators; and (5) having stringent sexual violence laws and law enforcement.

To do so, the study uses HarassMap as a case study for organizations that make use of online and social media to combat sexual harassment. HarassMap is one of the most popular entities that makes use online and social media in combating sexual harassment in Egypt. HarassMap is an "award winning volunteer-based initiative founded in late 2010. It is based on the idea that if more people start taking action when sexual harassment happens in their presence, we can end this epidemic". HarassMap works on encouraging bystander intervention, encouraging institutions to take action against sexual harassment, encouraging women to take action and report, and changing the society's perception of sexual harassment as to create a society that is intolerant of such acts (HarassMap, 2015ab). HarassMap makes use of mobile phones to report and map sexual harassment in order to break the sexual harassment taboo, turn society against perpetrators and encourage people to speak and act against such acts (HarassMap, 2015e).

The reason for choosing HarassMap is that it's the most focused NGO on using online and social media, it has a larger online reach and is more active online than other NGOs, e.g. (Imprint Movement, 2017; Op Anti-Sexual Harassment/Assault, 2015; Shoft Ta7rosh (I Saw Harassment), 2017), it is entirely focusing on sexual harassment, and it makes use of online and social media in different and innovative ways. Work of HarassMap is analyzed and compared against theoretical prepositions related to combatting sexual harassment. Their use of online and social media is discussed and against the propositions.

1.3.1 Research Questions

The main research question of this thesis is:

RQ: How could online and social media be utilized as a form of development communication on the five levels of the SEM to combat Sexual Harassment in Egypt?

This question is divided into the following sub questions:

RQ1: How could online social media be used as a social change and social mobilization tool to support sexual harassment survivors, fight self-blaming, and encourage them to take positive action when they're harassed?

RQ2: How could online social media be used as social mobilization tool to encourage bystander intervention?

RQ3: How could online and social media be used as a social change tool to fight the acceptability of sexual harassment and victim blaming among the Egyptian society?

RQ4: How could online and social media be used to create a safer, harassment-free environment for women in public spaces, public transportation, educational institutions, and workplaces?

RQ5: How could online and social media be used as an advocacy tool to advocate for stringent harassment laws and enforcement?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The output of this study is theoretical propositions aiming to identify ways in which online and social media could be used to combat sexual harassment in Egypt on different levels, namely: the sexual harassment survivor; bystanders/witnesses of sexual harassment, or the immediate social circles of survivors and perpetrators; the Egyptian society at large; different organizations such as educational institutions, workplaces, malls, etc.; and the country's legislations and policies. Together, these propositions form a framework that could be utilized by different organizations and entities in Egypt for development communication campaigns against sexual harassment. The use of such framework shall: (1) destigmatize sexual harassment and encourage survivors to report and speak about it; (2) encourage bystanders and the immediate social circles to support survivors; (3) decrease the levels of acceptability of sexual harassment in the society and de-normalize it; (4) increase the number of organizations with anti-sexual harassment measures; (5) have better laws for criminalizing all types of sexual harassment in Egypt. Ultimately, the use of this framework shall play a role in creating sexual-harassment-free spaces and decreasing sexual harassment prevalence rates in Egypt.

1.5 Limitations

While the above sections make it evident that sexual harassment is a pressing problem in Egypt, work undertaken to combat sexual harassment to date is not much, especially on the online development communication level. This study uses the case study of one NGO simply

because work of other entities would not have been sufficient to study broadly in order to make a comparative study. Thus, being a new field of research that lacks sufficient preliminary research, this study is of an explorative nature that aims to give a broad understanding of how online and social media can be utilized as a development communication tool for combating sexual harassment. It aims to build a foundation which future research can build on to further understand how new media can be used to combat harassment.

Recent data on sexual harassment prevalence is also lacking, which makes assessing the impacts of work that was recently undertaken to combat sexual harassment not entirely possible. In addition, it is important to note that HarassMap's reports may not all be true, and that neither the researcher nor the HarassMap team have a way of confirming such reports. Nonetheless, the aim of this study is to explore ways to encourage reporting rather than assess the prevalence of sexual harassment, and consequently the results will not be affected by any fake reports.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

Earlier models used in development interventions, such as the self-efficacy model, focused mainly on the individual. Clearly, however, changing violent behavior does not depend entirely on the individual, but also on the influence of social and physical environments and the individual's interaction with them. As such, campaigns aiming to combat violent behavior must address the different levels of influence that may lead to such behavior, thus increasing the probability of changing it.

The theoretical framework for this study is thus primarily based on the Social Ecological Model, which was first developed following World War I with the aim of understanding the interrelations between different levels of influence on human behavior. By the 1970s Urie Bronfenbrenner has developed a conceptual social ecological model for human development and continued to revise it throughout his scholarly career, until 2005. The concept behind Bronfenbrenner's model is that in order to understand human development, the whole environment where this development occurs, as well as the person's interaction with it, should be studied. He defines development as: "a lasting change in the way in which a person perceives and deals with his environment" (Bronfenbrenner, 1981).

2.2 Social Ecological Model

The Social Ecological Model gives a clear structure to the different roots of an issue and how such risk factors interact together. According to the model, the ecological environment is divided into five different levels that are a subset of each other (fig. 1), and it's the interrelationship of these levels that affect human development. The innermost level is the *individual's* characteristics that influence behavior, such as age, gender, personal history, health, education, income level, etc., as well as knowledge, attitudes, traditions, beliefs, self-efficacy, etc. The *microsystem* comes next; it defines the individual's social identity, as well as role within the community. It encompasses the individual's immediate circle where face-to-face interactions take place, such as immediate family, social networks, co-workers, neighbors, etc. The third level is the *mesosystem*, which is a system of microsystems. It defines the relationship between different settings in which the individual is involved, for example the relationship between the neighborhood and the family. The *exosystem* refers to the characteristics of or forces in the society/social system which may affect the individual. This may include unemployment or poverty, illiteracy, working hours, social norms, media agenda, political agenda, etc. Finally, the outermost level is the *macrosystem*, which is the cultural identity values and beliefs that affect all layers. This level also includes a country's policies, laws and regulations (Bronfenbrenner, 1981; Gregson et al., 2001; Mcleroy, Bibeau, Steckler, & Glanz, 1988).

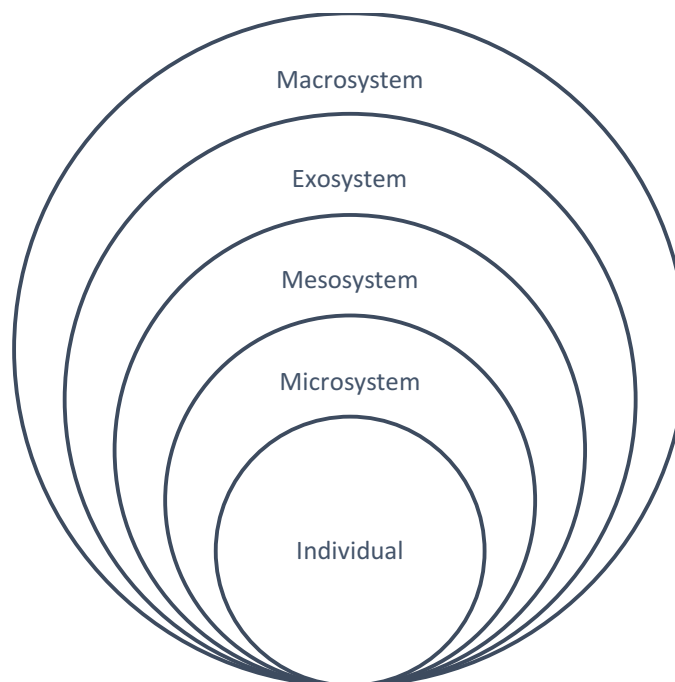


Figure 1: The Social Ecological Model (Bronfenbrenner, 1981)

The social ecological model has been altered many times to be used in different contexts to understand people’s behavior as related to health habits, nutrition habits, child abuse, youth violence, intimate partner violence, and abuse of the elderly. Particularly as related to violence, the model provides an explanation as to why violence occurs and means combat it based on individual and contextual factors through understanding the interrelationships between the victims or perpetrators and the different levels of influence in their environment (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug et al., 2002; Mcleroy et al., 1988; Ratchford, Talukdar, & Lee, 2001).

2.3 The SEM in the Development Communication Context

Below is a description of the five levels that influence an individual and may lead to violent behavior or being a victim of violence according to empirical models that have been designed by the Center for Disease Control, the World Health Organization and the UNICEF (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug et al., 2002; UNICEF, 2009). It is important to note that this model has been slightly modified to match the subject at hand. For each of these levels preliminary prevention strategies are explained based on previous scholarly research.

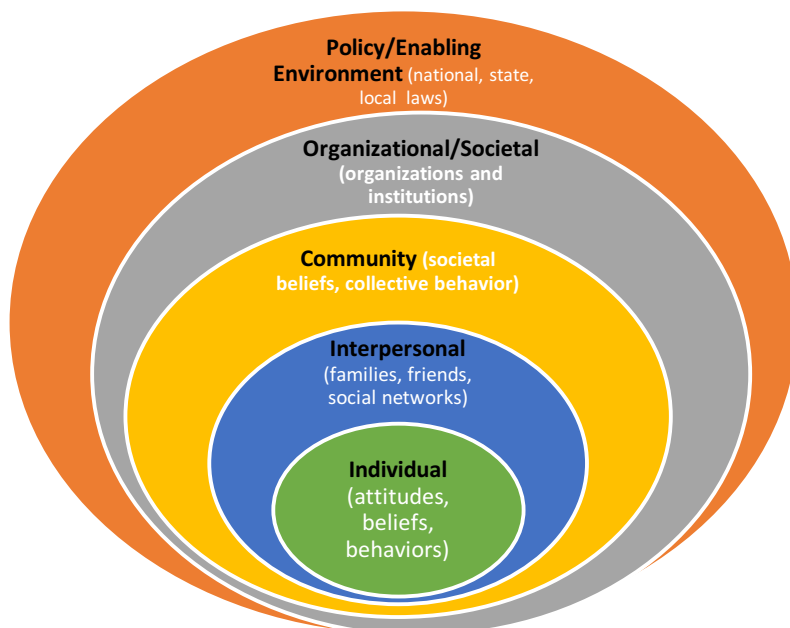


Figure 2: Violence Prevention Social Ecological Model (UNICEF, 2009)

Individual

This level focuses on personal constructs, which include any personal, psychological, demographic, socioeconomic or biological characteristics that affect a person’s behavior (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug et al., 2002). For example, a person

who has a substance abuse history or has been abused as a child is more likely to be violent. Self-efficacy, knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and stigmas related to violence or the victim of violence, in this case women, could also lead to violent behavior. The individual's values, goals, and expectations, as well as their religious and ethnic beliefs and sexual orientation can also affect their behavior (UNICEF, 2009).

As for victims, research has shown that young age, low levels of education, and being single are traits that increase a woman's vulnerability to being a sexual violence victim. The Social Power Theory explains that a society may put greater pressure on certain members through "social attitudes, norms and access to resources". Individuals who have low sociocultural power and are more vulnerable to such pressure, are less likely to respond when they are harassed. Reasons for not responding may include fear of revenge, as well as lower coping self-efficacy, thus such victims feel that any confrontation or seeking help will not be successful and might even put her in danger (Cortina & Wasti, 2005). Another important issue is self-blame, which is a result of societal sexual violence myths that put the blame on women or raise the levels of its acceptability being adopted by women. In fact, self-blame can be thought of as an issue that has an effect through all SEM levels (Campbell, Dworkin, & Cabral, 2009).

Prevention strategies for this level are self-efficacy, behavior change campaigns that promote positive attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and motivations leading to violence prevention. This may be approached through interpersonal communication, as well as mass communication and social media campaigns educational programs and life skills training (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; UNICEF, 2009). Such campaign should target individuals who are victims or perpetrators of violence, family members and generally small groups (UNICEF, 2009). For the purpose of this study, focus is only given to victims and not perpetrators, who are in this context, treated as criminals.

Interpersonal

This level focuses on the immediate formal and informal social networks and social support systems that may influence the individual's behavior and increase the risk of them being a violence victim or perpetrator. This may include immediate family, intimate-partner, friends, colleagues, co-workers, religious networks, as well as costumes and traditions (UNICEF, 2009). These people influence the individual's behavior and contribute to building her/his personality and expanding their experiences (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). An example of this is a child who has been brought up in a family where

intimate-partner violence is practiced. The likelihood of this child being a violence victim or perpetrator becomes higher. Another example is when an individual's friends all practice sexual harassment and encourage it. The likelihood of this person practicing sexual harassment becomes higher. Furthermore, since such relationships are usually long term and these individuals may see each other on a daily basis, if a person in this immediate circle is an abuser then there is a high probability that the individual is repeatedly abused (Krug et al., 2002). This level also covers people who witness harassment, which may a person's social circle, co-workers, neighbors, or random people that were present at the setting where harassment took place. For this thesis, this level considers the subject of bystander intervention, which is concerned with the involvement of these groups in combating harassment.

Prevention strategies for that level may include family-focused interventions, design of mentoring and peer-programs, promotion of problem solving skills and healthy relationships (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). This level is targeted by behavior change and social change campaigns that focus on empowering groups of individuals to participate in processes to identify their needs, demand their rights and work together to change their social system. They may also be in the form of encouraging public and private dialogue to promote change of behavior, norms and societal inequalities on the larger scale. This is mediated through interpersonal communication, community dialogue, as well as mass and social media (UNICEF, 2009).

Community

This level involves the larger community in which interpersonal relations take place, this may include neighborhoods, cultural groups, or societies (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; UNICEF, 2009). The aim of including these communities in the model is to assess the influence of the larger community, societal factors, and cultural beliefs on victims and the prevalence of sexual harassment. This includes the existence of a social climate that accepts violence against women or societal norms that lead to reduced rates of awkwardness as related to violent practices. It also includes rules that create gaps between different social segments or tensions between different groups of the society. The most relevant example in that context is social and cultural norms and traditions where male dominance over women and children is rooted (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug et al., 2002; UNICEF, 2009). This leads to acceptability of sexual harassment, siding with the perpetrator and blaming the victims.

Prevention strategies at that level work through social mobilization and focus on working with national and community leaders to create an enabling environment for combating violence through collective efficacy and empowerment (UNICEF, 2009).

Organizational

This level focuses on the educational institutions, workplaces, and their rules and regulations that govern sexual harassment happening in the workplace or educational institution. This includes the lack of a system, policies and procedures to fight sexual harassment in the workplace or educational institutions. Such systems and policies would give victims a way of submitting complaints of sexual harassment to the management, ensuring that perpetrators are punished/penalized based on a written and known system.

Prevention strategies at that level work through social mobilization, advocacy, and focusing on working with organizations to create an enabling environment for combating violence through collective efficacy and empowerment (UNICEF, 2009).

Policy/Enabling Environment

This level covers national laws and legislations related to preventing and/or combating violence against women. This includes the laws sexual harassment and their enforcement. It also includes health, economic, educational and social legislations that lead to maintaining inequalities between different groups of the society, such as women and men (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug et al., 2002; UNICEF, 2009). Prevention strategies at this level rely on advocacy to develop new laws and administrative regulations, change existing ones, or have stringent enforcement. This is achieved through media advocacy, community mobilization, coalition-building and communicating evidence-based justifications for interventions. Such interventions target policymakers, decision-makers, and community leaders (UNICEF, 2009).

2.4 Theories of Social Change and Social Mobilization

As explained above, prevention of violence is primarily based on theories of social change and social mobilization. There are different theories of social change that differ on their level of broadness. Generally, it is important to note that social change campaigns can work on two routes. The direct route aims to influence the target audience's behavior directly by development communication campaigns. In this route, the communication promotes change by "informing, enabling, motivating and guiding" the target audience. The indirect

route on the other hand is a “socially mediated” route in which change is promoted by aiming that social systems influence audience’s behavior. This is achieved by designing development communication campaigns that are based on linking audience to social networks where a participatory approach can be used to provide personalized guidance and social support. An example of this is when development communication campaigns targeting family planning link audience to family planning offices, like the Egyptian Gold Star family planning campaign which is discussed in the next chapter (The John Hopkins University, 1998). Another example is a campaign aiming to empower women that would link its audience to women support groups. Such social networks could also be informal, where the campaign encourages people to discuss an issue together. The indirect route has been found to have stronger influence on social change (Bandura, 2004). Having such participatory nature, social media could be a good platform for such socially mediated approach to social change.

Social change could work on different levels with different focus. On the *macro-level*, social change is argued to be a result of political, economic, and cultural aspects. Politics can influence social change through the government and laws. In terms of economics, the extent of industrialization, for example, can influence the social setting. Finally, cultural factors play a major role in social change. As such, entities aiming to change on this level should focus on changing the political, economic and/or cultural settings (Leat, 2005).

On the *meso-level*, organizational change is concerned with change within organizations. There are four main schools in organizational change. The first is the traditional school, which works with the assumption that organizational change should come from within the organization, it thus requires a strong organizational culture and leadership (Leat, 2005). The modern school, on the other hand, sees change as a result of catalysts in the surrounding environment, and thus cannot be controlled by the organization. While the Symbolic Interpretive school sees an organization as a chain of personal relationships and change as a dynamic process which reproduces existing social structures and lead to their altering based on the community’s interpretation and level of agreement with such structure (Aleazurra, 2016; Leat, 2005). Finally, the postmodern school sees change in organizations as a dynamic, continuously changing process that can be altered through a change in discourse (Leat, 2005). Organizational change, thus, can be achieved through one of four methods: (1) introduce such change within the organization; (2) change its surrounding environment which would in turn lead to change within the organization; (3) indirectly create change from within

through creating knowledge sharing activities; or (4) change the organization's discourse (Leat, 2005).

Lastly, on the *micro-level*, Backer (2001) developed eight points which he argues make behavior change more likely to occur. These points are derived from Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory – which argues that human behavior change is a result of external factors such as cultural perceptions (Bandura, 1986); Fishbein's Theory of Reasoned Action – which argues that behavior intent is a result of the person's attitude (evaluation and strength of belief) toward this behavior and subjective norms, which include normative beliefs (what the person thinks others will expect them to do) and motivation to comply (how important it is for the person to do what they think others expect them to do) (Fishbein, 1980); Kanfer's Theory of Self-Regulation and Self-Control – self-regulation is the processes which guide a person's goal-oriented behavior depending on time and consequences, this process begins by identifying goals, changing behavior in order to reach this goal, monitoring accomplishments and comparing them to the goal, and determining whether there's a need for adjusting this behavior, according to Kanfer & Kanfer (1991), reward, punishment, learning, and thinking are psychological processes that can encourage such change (Kanfer & Kanfer, 1991); and Triandis's Theory of Subjective Culture and Interpersonal Relations – which argues that habits and facilitating conditions play a role in a person's adapting a behavior they intend to adapt (Triandis, 1980).

According to Backer (2001) behavior change is likely to occur if: (1) the person commits to this change or forms a strong positive intention toward it; (2) there are no environmental constraints that make this change deemed impossible to occur; (3) the person has the necessary skills to accomplish such change; (4) the person perceives that the advantages of such change in behavior outweigh the disadvantages; (5) the person perceives stronger normative pressure to perform the change than not to perform it; (6) the person believes that such action is more consistent than inconsistent with their self-image and doesn't go against their personal standards; (7) the person's emotional reaction to such behavior is more positive than negative; and (8) the person believes that they can perform such behavior under different circumstances (Backer, 2001). It is important not to design campaigns only aiming to change behavior of individuals, but rather to focus on the three levels as to ensure that the different aspects that encourage such behavior are addressed (Wallack, 2011).

Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986) is one of the most popular social change theories that could work on the three levels. This theory argues that attitude and/or behavior change could be achieved either based on trial and error or by social modeling. Social modeling is the cheaper and easier mode of learning. In this mode, people learn from others' experiences, mistakes and successes. Using media could lead to communicating development through social modeling and reaching the society as whole (Bandura, 2004). Social modeling promotes behavior change through: (1) instructive function – communicating “knowledge, values, cognitive skills, and new styles of behavior” with the aim of transmitting certain emotional experience to audience (e.g. fear depicted in a certain social model frightens audience); (2) motivational function – communicating the advantages and disadvantages of certain actions; seeing a positive/negative outcome of a certain action could lead to audiences adopting certain attitudes/beliefs toward such action; (3) social prompting – communicating certain behavior of others with the aim of transmitting such behavior to the audience; and (4) social construction – communicating content with the aim of making audience build certain social constructs (Bandura, 2004).

2.4.1 Efficacy

Perceived self-efficacy is one's belief that they have control over their functioning and that they can succeed and accomplish a certain task. In fact, this belief has been found to be central and crucial to taking an action. Thus, it is a very important aspect of Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory. Efficacy also impacts people's choices with regards to the roles they give to themselves, the type of environment they choose to live in, and the type of activities they take part in. Not only does self-efficacy have a causal effect on an individual's actions, but also on other elements that this individual may somehow impact. Efficacy regulates an individuals' actions – or lack thereof – through four processes, as explained by Bandura: “cognitive, motivational, emotional, and decisional” (Bandura, 1997). As Bandura explains:

“[Efficacy] beliefs influence whether people think pessimistically or optimistically, or in self-enhancing or self-hindering way. Efficacy beliefs play a central role on the self-regulation of motivation through goal challenging and outcome expectations. It is partly on the basis of efficacy beliefs that people choose what challenges to undertake, how much effort to expend in the endeavor, how long to persevere in the face of obstacles and failures, and whether failures are motivating or demoralizing. The likelihood that people will act on the outcomes that they expect prospective behaviors to produce depends on their beliefs about whether or not they can produce the required performances. In the affective domain, a strong

sense of coping efficacy reduces vulnerability to stress and depression in taxing situations and strengthens resiliency to adversity.” (Bandura, 2004)

One’s belief in their efficacy “can be developed in four ways: (1) through mastery experience; (2) social modeling; (3) social persuasion; and (4) construal of physical and emotional states”. Mastery experiences is the most effective means of developing a strong feeling of self-efficacy. Successes develop a strong efficacy and failures challenge it. Thus, resilient efficacy is built by a mix of successful experiences and failed attempts that the person works to overcome. Social modeling – as explained above – can help develop self-efficacy. When a person witnesses someone else’s successes, s/he is motivated and inspired by this success and thus can get a stronger belief in their own ability to succeed. Witnessing failures of others on the other hand can bring self-doubt in one’s self and one’s abilities to succeed. As for social persuasion, it is when a person is intentionally put by efficacy builders on a route to success and self-improvement with the aim of boosting their efficacy. Finally, people can also base their efficacy beliefs on their physical and emotional states. For example, when a person is in a good mood, they are more likely to have higher self-efficacy.

Thus, efficacy could be built by reducing stress, and enhancing the physical strength (Bandura, 2004). In addition, efficacy and behavior are also regulated by social reactions; they may change based on the society’s approval or disapproval of a certain action/behavior.

Some common problems or targets require a group or groups of people to work together to solve them through collective agency. According to Bandura, the national, societal, communital, organizational, or familial collective efficacy and belief in their power is key to collective agency. Achieving social change is not an easy task, however, many times it touches upon the power struggles and traditional/sociocultural norms/taboo. A good example of this is addressing sexual and reproductive health in societies that suffer from patriarchy or gendered power imbalances. In this case, social change should come in the form of empowering women, but also target men through collective efficacy. The role of media in collective efficacy is to raise people’s beliefs in their power to work together to realize the required development/social change (Bandura, 2004).

2.4.2 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization, is defined as “a comprehensive planning approach that emphasizes political coalition building and community action” (Wallack, 1989). Social mobilization aims to raise awareness on a particular issue with the aim of achieving social change/development. Social mobilization can be any form of action taken by a group or

groups having the same development objective in order to mobilize the society to reach this objective. This action could be in the form of signing a petition, protesting, or creating a social media campaign. The objective can be in the form of a radical change or just a minor alteration to a sociopolitical or sociocultural setting (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Social mobilization could also be used as an advocacy tool through mobilizing the society to demand something from the authorities.

One approach to social mobilization is resource mobilization theory which argues that resources, “such as time, money, organizational skills and certain social or political opportunities—are critical to the success of social movements” (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011). The theory looks at resources that should be mobilized, relationships between social movements and other groups, and the needed external support and tactics used by authorities to control such movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

2.5 Media Advocacy

Media advocacy is “the process of disseminating information through the communications media where the aim is to effect action, a change of policy, or to alter the public’s view of an issue” (Lane & Carter, 2012). It “seeks to raise the volume of voices for social change and to shape the sound so that it resonates with the social justice values that are the presumed basis of public health” (Wallack, 2011). Experience has shown that media can be a powerful tool that is utilized – along with other community-based activities – by advocacy groups to promote policy and social change through creating a public debate, speaking to influencers, and pressuring decision makers. The idea is to frame the issue from the “shared accountability” perspective, which shows that such issue would not be fully resolved until the society as a whole takes the responsibility of resolving it. In doing so, media advocacy shifts the focus of campaigns from the individual to the social, environmental, economic and political settings (Dorfman, 2010; Wallack, 1994).

Media advocacy campaigns are designed to address the “power gap” rather than the “information gap”. Development communication campaigns that address the information gap target individuals through raising awareness and providing knowledge about a certain behavior without taking into consideration the sociopolitical conditions that lead to or encourage such behavior. Media advocacy campaigns on the other hand take into account that negative behavior is not necessarily a result of lack of knowledge, and therefore addresses the power gap through targeting the society as a whole, and focusing on the

sociopolitical root causes that lead to such behavior. It aims for changing the environment that enables such behavior to take place and pressuring decision makers to change policies or enforce them. To do so, media advocacy campaigns target external factors that might lead to this behavior, such as “basic housing, employment, education, healthcare, and personal security” (Wallack, 1994).

Media advocacy has been used frequently in health campaigns against substance abuse, health issues, smoking, and violence (Wallack, 1994). A successful media advocacy campaign is made of four interrelated layers. The first layer is the *overall strategy*, which is concerned with building the developmental or social change strategy and defining the campaign’s ultimate goal, i.e. what is the problem, what is the desired outcome, who can make this change, and who could apply pressure. The second layer is where media comes in; the *media strategy* should address the power gap rather than the information gap through encouraging social and political involvement in addressing the issue. This could be achieved through using the different media tools that would be used in any media campaign, including ICTs. The third step would be to *develop a message strategy*, which is what needs to be said and how to say it. The way the message is formulated and framed is essential because it may result in different audience feedback. For media advocacy campaigns, issue-oriented frames (where the focus is on the issue as a whole) lead to putting the blame on policies, social institutions and the government and are thus more successful, while for event-oriented frames (where the focus is on one event where this issues causes harm to a person) audiences tend more to blame the victim. The final layer is creating an *access strategy* through developing content that would interest the media and attract attention (Dorfman, 2010).

3 Literature Review

3.1 Violence against Women and Sexual Harassment

3.1.1 Violence against Women: definition and prevalence

The United Nation's definition for violence against women is:

“any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life”.

It is further explained through the following: “Physical violence involves intentionally using physical force, strength or a weapon to harm or injure the woman. Sexual violence includes abusive sexual contact, making a woman engage in a sexual act without her consent, and attempted or completed sex acts with a woman who is ill, disabled, under pressure or under the influence of alcohol or other drugs. Psychological violence includes controlling or isolating the woman, and humiliating or embarrassing her. Economic violence includes denying a woman access to and control over basic resources.” (Saltzman, 2002).

Recent data show that 1 in every 3 women (35 percent) of the world's population have experienced some kind of physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner or sexual violence by a non-partner throughout their lifetime (World Health Organization, 2016). VAW is practiced in different cultures, religions and socioeconomic backgrounds, it has been found to be associated with low levels of education, alcohol abuse, being badly treated or exposed to domestic violence as a child as well as adapting beliefs of gender inequality and acceptance of violence (The International Center for Research on Women, 2016; World Health Organization, 2016).

In Egypt, several forms of violence against women are very much prevalent, the most common of which are intimate partner violence, female genital mutation/cutting (FGM/C) and sexual harassment. According to Egypt's 2014 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) Report, 3 in every 10 (30 percent) of ever married women between the ages of 15 and 49 have been subjected to intimate partner violence (also known as domestic violence) in the form of physical, mental or sexual violence by their spouse. The same report estimates that 92 percent of ever-married women between the ages of 15 and 49 have undergone FGM/C, and more than half the daughters between 0 and 19 are expected to undergo FGM/C (Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt], El-Zanaty and Associates [Egypt], & The DHS

Program, 2015).

These are not the only types of violence against women taking place in Egypt; there are several other types that are practiced in most countries ruled by authoritarian regimes. Egyptian women suffer from state violence; arresting a male suspect's female relatives to get to him; sexual assault, abuse and mob attacks against political protesters practiced by regime-supported thugs; and mental, sexual and physical violence and torture against women in state custody by both the police and the military. It also includes institutional violence through "discriminatory laws and enforcement practices" leading to hurdling women's access to equal opportunity and representation in the political sphere and elsewhere (Amnesty International Ltd, 2015; The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights).

3.1.1.1 Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is defined as:

"any form of unwanted words and/or actions of a sexual nature that violate a person's body, privacy, or feelings and make that person feel uncomfortable, threatened, insecure, scared, disrespected, startled, insulted, intimidated, abused, offended, or objectified" (HarassMap, 2015aa).

Sexual harassment is a worldwide problem that women suffer from in both the developing developed world. Studies have shown that 79 percent of women living in urban settings in India, 86 percent in Thailand, and 89 percent in Brazil have faced harassment or violence in public spaces (Wilkinson, 2016). Furthermore, a survey conducted in Afghanistan – a country where women are required by law to cover completely – found that 93 percent of the women were subjected to harassment in public spaces, 87 percent in workplaces, and 89 percent in educational institutions (Stop Street Harassment, 2016). The case in the United Kingdom is no better; 75 percent of women living in UK cities have been subjected to sexual violence or harassment in public areas, and 51 percent of female Londoners feel at risk of facing harassment in public transportation (Wilkinson, 2016). Table 1 below shows some prevalence rates of different forms of sexual harassment in several countries (Stop Street Harassment, 2016).

Table 1: Sexual harassment prevalence around the world

Country	Type and percentage of Harassment
Afghanistan	93% in public spaces, 87% in workplaces, 89% in educational institutions
Argentina (Buenos Aires)	100% in public spaces
Australia	87% in public spaces (65% face physical harassment)
Canada	80% in public spaces
Chile	90% in public spaces
China (Beijing)	70% different forms, mostly in public transportation
Croatia	99% in public spaces
France	100% in public transportation
India	40% in public spaces (Delhi), 80% in public spaces (Mumbai),
Japan (Tokyo)	64% in public transportation
Morocco	63% in public spaces
The Netherlands	59% in public spaces
Saudi Arabia	80% different forms
Tunisia	53.5% in public spaces (41% face physical harassment)
Turkey	93% in public spaces
USA	87% in public spaces

Source:(Stop Street Harassment, 2016)

In Egypt, sexual harassment is experienced by virtually every single woman alive. A UN Women 2013 nationwide report estimated that 99.3 percent of women have been subjected to a form of sexual harassment (UN Women, 2013d). More than 67 percent of the survey’s female respondents believe that women are harassed regardless of “attire, looks, manner of speech or gait”. The survey also found that the most common form of harassment involved touching, with 96.5 percent of respondents indicating that they have been touched. This is followed by verbal harassment, with 95.5 percent reporting that they have been subjected to it (Stop Street Harassment, 2016). Similarly, a 2014 survey by HarassMap¹ found that 95.3 percent of the interviewed women were subjected to sexual harassment (Amel Fahmy et al., 2014).

The UN Women 2013 report has some interesting findings about sexual harassment in Egypt which are discussed in this section. According to the study, harassment is most common in streets (89.3 percent), and public transportation (81.8 percent). It is also common in beaches (60.7 percent), markets (59.3 percent), public gardens (53.3 percent), deserted

¹ HarassMap is an Egyptian non-governmental organization that focuses on combating sexual harassment

areas (46.2 percent), through mobile phones (39.2 percent), and in malls (34.6 percent). Harassment in Egypt happens at all times of the day, by people of all ages, and having different jobs. In terms of employment, survey respondents believe that harassment is most commonly practiced by the unemployed (85.9 percent), students (61.9 percent), drivers (57.1 percent), as well as workers and hand craftsmen (53.6 percent) (UN Women, 2013d).

The UN Women survey has also studied victims' and bystanders' reaction to harassment and perpetrators. Sadly, taking an action against the perpetrator is not a common practice; only 22.8 percent of the respondents said that they have insulted the perpetrator, 1.7 percent sought help from a family member or a friend, 0.3 percent sought help from the work owner or a responsible official, and 1.1 percent sought help from the police. Reasons given for not taking a positive action are: believing that this is a common incident that could happen to anyone (34 percent), feeling worried that this would hurt her reputation (15.2 percent), feeling that there is no one to turn to (15 percent), feeling worried about people's reactions (9.2 percent), thinking that no one would help (6 percent), thinking that the police would never help or believe her (1.1 percent), and fearing being harassed by the police (1 percent). Rates of bystander intervention is also extremely low; only 7.5 percent of the respondents said that male bystanders have intervened, and 4.5 percent said that female bystanders intervened to stop the perpetrator (UN Women, 2013d).

The UN Women's study findings related to male awareness and understanding of sexual harassment are also of great importance. Most male respondents (more than 87 percent) agreed that acts involving touching the victim's body, as well as rape, are considered sexual harassment. Verbal harassment, using obscene language and dirty looks come next, with more than 73 percent of the respondents believing that this is considered sexual harassment. Overall, more than half the respondents agreed that all suggested acts – which also include: exposure of male private parts, stalking and telephone stalking, insisting on inviting a female out, making her stay at work for no reason, and insisting on taking her home or to work – are considered sexual harassment acts.

Interestingly, male perceptions of the traits of sexual harassment victims are not very far from the information collected from females' survey. 38 percent agreed that women are subjected to harassment regardless of their attire, 45.3 percent agreed that women of all ages are subjected to harassment, 80 percent agreed that females are subjected to harassment regardless of their marital status, and 73.3 percent agreed that women from all social backgrounds are subjected to harassment. With regards to prevalence, 73.3 percent indicated

that they believe women are harassed on a daily basis. Strangely enough, males point of view with regards to the reasons a female is harassed are excruciatingly inconsistent with the female survey results and males' perception of traits of sexual harassment victims. Results show that 72.6 percent indicated that they believe women are harassed because of the way they're dressed is revealing, 47.2 percent believe that it's because of their beauty and make-up, and 30.1 percent believe that girls feel happy when harassed.

When asked what they think males feel when they harass women, fulfilling a sexual need got the highest level of agreement (67.1 percent), while doing it out of habit got almost 25.8 percent agreement, and expression of manhood and feeling confident got almost 24.7 percent. Sadly though, when asked how they react when they see harassment, only 24.4 percent of the total male sample have indicated that they have actively intervened by insulting and/or hitting the perpetrator, 19.6 percent passively sympathized with the victim and less than one percent accompanied the victim to a police station to report the incident. Reasons given for not intervening were as follows: it is not their business (38 percent), girls like such acts (22 percent), they feared the perpetrator (17.2 percent), others also stated that they commit harassment themselves or feared that the situation would get more complicated and they would have to go to the police (UN Women, 2013d). In fact, in another survey conducted by the Egyptian Centre for Women's Rights in 2008, 62 percent of the men admitted that they sexually harass women (Stop Street Harassment, 2016).

3.1.2 Impacts of VAW and Sexual Harassment

VAW and sexual harassment have several harmful mental, physical and sexual impacts on women and girls that extend to the society and country as a whole (UN Women, 2013b). Among VAW impacts are depression, alcohol disorders, acquiring HIV and other sexually transmitted infections, giving birth to underweight babies, physical injury and death (World Health Organization). Sexual harassment can also have major negative impacts on women's freedom of movement, pursuing education, careers and different potential opportunities, women's health and well-being, as well as interaction and presence in the social and public life (UNFPA, 2016).

More recently, in October 2017, the Thompson Reuters Foundation conducted a study to assess the incorporated risks of rapid urban growth for women. The assessment based its conclusions on four main elements: Sexual Violence, Cultural Practices, Economic Opportunities, and Access to Healthcare. Results have shown that Cairo is the worst and most

dangerous megacity for women, and the third worst megacity in the world in terms of risk of sexual violence in particular. This conclusion was based on conducting structured interviews with at least 15 experts in 19 megacities in different countries of the 31 megacities listed by the United Nations² (Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2017). The NCW, however, issued a statement rejecting the study and questioning the methodology used. The statement indicated that “this [study] was done without any reference to internationally recognized indicators and without employing the necessary research methodology” (National Council for Women, 2017).

Earlier, in late 2015, the NCW, in association with CAPMAS, and the UNFPA conducted a study on the cost of gender-based violence and showed very different results of sexual harassment prevalence from previous studies. For example, it shows that annually, less than 8 million women suffer from “all forms of violence” by an intimate partner, a person from their social circle, or a stranger. It also shows that 3.7 percent of working women have suffered from sexual violence in the workplace in the previous year, more than 1.7 million women have been exposed to sexual violence in public transportation, and around 2.5 million women suffered from sexual harassment in streets and public spaces in the previous year. Again, this study was criticized by civil society organizations, including HarassMap, for using a methodology that is “not necessarily very representative”. Reasons given for this was that all women in their sample were over 35 years, the questionnaire was too long, and a large part of the sample was in rural areas where speaking about sexual violence is not practiced (HarassMap, 2017; UNFPA, 2016). Thus, while different studies may not agree on the prevalence rates of sexual violence, they all agree that many women from different ages, locations and income classes suffer from it.

VAW and sexual harassment, however, are not issues that affect only women and girls, but also the country as a whole. In fact, there are several health, societal and economic consequences to VAW and sexual harassment. According to a study that has been conducted by Karama³ and The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement (CPE), Egypt loses a total of EGP 147.6 billion annually as a result of the direct and indirect economic costs of VAW. The study covers all costs related to: harassment in the workplace and the streets, state violence (including that that results from having insufficient legal

² Cities with more than 10 million inhabitants

³ An Arab NGO aiming to end violence against women

protection to women), lack of fair and easy divorce means, and intimate partner violence (be it physical, sexual or psychological). These costs also include counter violence costs, such as counter violence against husbands (Karama & The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement, 2013).

Direct costs include the cost of treatment and hospitalization and those caused by inability to work because of physical or mental injuries/damages and/or taking care of the injured. They also include costs that result from absenteeism, not running important errands, or having to take a companion for safety. Indirect costs, on the other hand, include those that result from lifelong hurdles and/or disabilities that hinder women from reaching their full potential; it's mainly the cost of what could have been as opposed to what is (Karama & The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement, 2013).

A more recent study was conducted in 2015 by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the National Council for Women (NCW), and The Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). The study shows that the economic cost per year of the one most severe sexual violence incident that victims have faced in the street and public spaces, public transportation, educational institutions, or workplaces is more than EGP 572 million. These costs include health and legal costs, cost of taking a longer route or having a companion for safety, costs of truancy and absenteeism, and cost of not being able to do housework (UNFPA, 2016).

3.1.3 The Social Perception

It might have been thought that this major problem is only a male problem, given that it is either practiced by males or in a setting where a male is mostly the decision maker, and thus that combating it would need only to focus on men's behavior. However, this is not entirely true; according to the 2008 DHS data of Egypt, it is estimated that between approximately 8 percent and 32 percent of women agree to husbands beating their wives. The rates differ based on the reason for beating; going out without telling him (31.5 percent) being the highest, and burning food being lowest (7.9 percent) (Spatial Data Repository, 2008). Furthermore, only one third of the women who were subjected to intimate partner violence have sought help, and most of those turned to their families (Ministry of Health and Population [Egypt] et al., 2015). As for FGM/C, more than half the women in the 2014 DHS sample believed that it is a religious requirement, 60 percent believed that the practice should continue, and around half believed that men would also like the practice to continue (Ministry

of Health and Population [Egypt] et al., 2015).

In terms of sexual harassment, 37 percent of females in the abovementioned UN Women study sample believed that women themselves encourage or cause harassment. Furthermore, it can be concluded from results of this study that, while members of the society might know that sexual harassment is a wrongdoing, there is actually a high level of passive acceptability of this endemic. It is also usual to find people blaming victims and finding excuses for perpetrators. In addition, it could be concluded that women react passively to harassment as a result of the society's passiveness, self-blaming and feeling responsible for being harassed, as well as thinking that no one would want to help. Finally, bystanders rarely intervene to help victims because they don't feel that it is their responsibility to help or because they think women enjoy the act. (UN Women, 2013d).

3.1.4 Sexual Harassment Law and Enforcement

While the different studies show how severe the issue of sexual harassment is, it is rarely an issue of concern by the government. Until 2014, Egypt did not have an anti-sexual harassment law, however, the following Penal Code articles could be used for reporting sexual harassment: (1) article 278 against public indecency; (2) article 267 against nonconsensual "penile penetration by a man of a woman's vagina" (which doesn't fully define rape); and (3) article 268 against sexual assault that involves physical violence (HarassMap, 2015h; "Penal Code," 1937). Extensive media coverage and media advocacy have finally led to the government taking some action (Abdelhamid, 2015). In mid-2014, interim president Adly Mansour issued a decree a few days before he left office to amend articles 306a and 306b of the Penal Code to criminalize sexual acts – whether in public or private space – without consent, in the form of "words, gestures, and actions expressed in person or through other means of communication" ("Penal Code," 1937).

Punishment under this law is a minimum of six months' imprisonment and/or a fine between EGP 3,000 and EGP 5,000. Harsher punishment could be given in cases of repeated harassment and/or stalking (a minimum of one year imprisonment and a fine between EGP 5000 and EGP 10,000). Minimum and maximum punishment are doubled every time the perpetrator is tried for harassment. If such acts aim to get "an interest of a sexual nature" the minimum and maximum fines increase to be EGP 10,000 and EGP 20,000 respectively. Finally, if such harassment is in the form of physical sexual assault, if the act is committed by more than one person, if one of the perpetrators has a weapon, or if the perpetrator has

“occupational authority, familial, educational/mentoring, or practiced any kind of pressure on the harassed that would allow the context of committing the crime”, imprisonment is between two and five years and the fine is between EGP 20,000 and EGP 50,000 (El-Rifae, 2014; HarassMap, 2015t; "Law for Amending Penal Code," 2014; "Penal Code," 1937).

Anti-sexual harassment campaigners and advocacy groups see the Law as a step in the right direction, however it is insufficiently strict, does not clearly or fairly define all types of sexual harassment, and does not make reporting an easy task, since victims will have to arrest the perpetrator and take him to the nearest police station/officer. Furthermore, enforcement of this law is questionable, especially since policemen can be harassers themselves or side with the perpetrator and blame the victim. In fact, it is common that when women do report harassment, the police's sympathizing with the perpetrator impedes victims from filing a report. As such, these groups are mobilizing the society to create an intolerance of sexual harassment (El-Rifae, 2014; HarassMap, 2015e, 2015h; Kingsley, 2014).

A year before this law was issued, in early 2013, the Ministry of Interior introduced a new all-female police unit to combat VAW and sexual harassment. The unit started with ten female officers, some of whom have psychology degrees. They have been trained in the United States on combating sexual harassment and violence against women crimes. One of the unit's responsibilities is to encourage victims to seek help, fight societal pressures, and report their perpetrators (Ghanem, 2013).

These female officers have been deployed in the streets on holidays and times when harassment is known to increase. Yet, the unit has had mixed views for the way its officers react to street harassment; using the same excessive violence known to be used by the Egyptian police. In 2015, a YouTube video showing an officer arresting an alleged harasser from a cinema house in Downtown went viral on social media, with over a million views. The video shows the officer using excessive brutality, slapping him on the face, and shocking him with an electric Taser while handcuffed. Dalia Abdel Hamid, head of the Gender and Women's Rights Program at the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights explained: “maybe she needed to use violence to pull him off girls, but using an electric rod against him after he's been arrested and surrendered, that is a real violation” (Abdelhamid, 2015; Dean, 2015; VideoYoum7, 2015).

Seeing women in a position of power had also different responses; while some saluted the officers' strengths, others felt that it's against the social norms. According to Abdel

Hamid: “This is more about gender politics...People are upset because women can’t hit men, not because it’s the police”. Additionally, presence on holidays only and not all year long was also criticized. Overall, NGOs working on combating sexual harassment saw this as a step in the right direction, but also believe that much work needs to be done in order to end this endemic (Abdelhamid, 2015; Dean, 2015; VideoYoum7, 2015).

Finally, since 2015, the NCW has been working on implementing a five-year national strategy for combating VAW. The Strategy targets women, their families, perpetrators, the society at large, policymakers, and media outlets. The vision of this strategy is to “create a safe society for women that is free from violence and guarantees a safe environment for women, catering to their needs and rights and empowering them socially, economically and politically”. The Strategy works along four lines: (1) prevention – situational analysis, law review, awareness raising, and making use of ICT in combating VAW; (2) protection – modifying laws and ensuring their enforcement, raising awareness of the laws, and creating an enabling environment to encourage women to report; (3) intervention – providing healthcare services for survivors and rehabilitation services for perpetrators; and (4) prosecution – development of a restraining system to protect VAW survivors, establishing specialized courts focusing on VAW cases, and following international standards in combating VAW (National Council for Women, 2015).

3.1.5 Combating Sexual Harassment

Certain social norms can encourage violent behavior against women and sexual harassment. For example, sexual harassment is more likely to occur if it’s perceived as a socially accepted act (Pryor et al., 1995). For example, the existence of certain female stereotypes in the workplace that objectify women can encourage sexual harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995). Combating sexual harassment is thus a task that involves several parties with different roles. A key player in this is assignment of responsibility; if victims, bystanders, workplaces, societies, or governments assign sexual harassment responsibilities to victims rather than perpetrators, then responding to it would not be targeted correctly. Earlier studies have shown that there is a sex difference in the attributions of sexual harassment (e.g. motives of harassment, frequency, type of harassment, and women’s ability to handle such harassment). Jensen and Gutek (1982) have conducted a study about attributions and assignment of responsibility in sexual harassment at the workplace. They have found that men are more likely to blame women for being sexually harassed, and that women who were previously harassed are less likely than other women to blame the victim. Interestingly,

however, between 20 and 30 percent of the victims were found to engage in self-blame one year after the incident. Such victims were found to be less likely to report such sexual harassment or talk about it than those who assign responsibility to the perpetrators. They are also more likely to feel anger and disgust toward the incident and are more concerned about protecting the perpetrator.

Another key player is attitudes toward sexual harassment. Attitudes play a role along three main lines (1) perpetration – men having “more traditional, rigid, and misogynistic gender-role attitudes” are more likely to practice violence against women; (2) individual and institutional responses; and (3) victim response. Changing attitudes has always been a key target in communication and awareness campaigns aiming to combat sexual harassment (Flood & Pease, 2009). Both attitudes towards sexual harassment as well as attribution and assignment of responsibility were found to be linked to sex-role beliefs and; if a woman embraces traditional sex-role beliefs, she is more likely to blame other women or herself for sexual harassment and consequently she is less likely to report the incident. Similarly, sexual aggression was found to be associated with masculine ideologies; according to Flood and Pease (2009), “there is a consistent relationship between men’s adherence to sexist, patriarchal, and/or sexually hostile attitudes and their use of violence against women”. These attitudes are mostly shaped based on different factors on all SEM levels. These factors include: (1) on the *individual level* – witnessing or being a victim of violence, age, and development; (2) on the *interpersonal* and *community levels* – being part of groups or networks with attitudes towards sexual harassment; (3) on the *organizational level* – participating in violence-related acts; (4) on the *societal level* – cultural beliefs, pornography consumption, and being subjected to media and educational campaigns; and (5) on the *policy level* – laws and social movements. This shows that changing sex-role beliefs may play an important role in assignment of responsibility in sexual harassment, and consequently combating it (Flood & Pease, 2009; Flske & Glick, 1995; Jensen & Gutek, 1982).

3.1.6 Violence Against Women and Sexual Harassment Campaigns

Combating violence against women campaigns target both women and men; while earlier targeting men was limited and only focused on perpetrators, newer campaigns aim to involve men in combating VAW “as policy makers and gatekeepers, and as activists and advocates”. The rationale behind involving men is based on three factors: (1) the majority of perpetrators are men, thus – in order to combat VAW – men’s attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors need to be changed; (2) masculinity, patriarchy, and male economic and decision-

making dominance are factors that affect VAW prevalence on the individual, familial, community, and society levels; and (3) VAW is an issue of concern to men as well. This third point shows that men may actually have a positive role in combating VAW; while men benefit from having an upper hand in a masculine, patriarchal society, there are several reasons why men may benefit from eliminating VAW. Some of these reasons are freedom from conforming with the traditional masculinity definitions, men's care for their female loved ones, minimizing violence within the community, and ethical reasons (Flood, 2011).

In his study, Flood (2011) offers a framework for involving men in prevention of VAW which targets primary prevention – preventing violence before it happens. He bases this framework on the Spectrum of Prevention, which – similar to the SEM – works on several levels of the social order, targeting the root causes of the problem as related to the different societal and cultural dynamics. The six levels of the Spectrum of Prevention are: (1) strengthening individual knowledge and skills; (2) promoting community education; (3) educating providers; (4) engaging, strengthening and mobilizing communities; (5) changing organizational practices; and (6) influencing policy and legislation (Flood, 2011).

Following the Spectrum of Prevention Model, he suggests that men could have a role on VAW prevention on six levels: (1) on the *individual* level – through provision of knowledge and building capacities through teachers, healthcare professionals, families and policy makers to promote non-violent attitudes and addressing issues known to be a root cause of violence perpetration, e.g. substance abuse; (2) on the *community education* level – through community education, for example school and university education about the negative consequences of VAW (found to have limited in time impact), peer education and mentoring (males with peers who support or practice violent behavior are more likely to perpetrate violence themselves), local education and campaigns to change social norms related to perceptions of other men's agreement to VAW and encourage bystander intervention, and communication and social marketing campaigns (especially in conjunction with on the ground awareness raising activities); (3) on the *providers/professional* level – through increasing organizational capacities (e.g. in workplaces) to prevent sexual harassment, and working with workplace professionals, healthcare providers, or law enforcement and providing workplace training to change their attitudes toward VAW, identify VAW incidence, and react to it; (4) on the *community mobilization* level – through changing social norms related to gender-roles and power relations and give the community the sense of responsibility and ownership to respond to and combat VAW, through on the

ground and mass media campaigns against VAW which would also highlight its impacts on the society as a whole, involving community leaders, and creating a “critical mass” to support prevention efforts; (5) on the *organizational practices* level – through working on changing the internal culture, policies, and practices, which can in turn positively reflect on the surrounding community leading to similar changes; and finally (6) on the *policy* level – through having the laws and legislations which are the umbrella under which all other activities can be undertaken (Flood, 2011).

Another important aspect related to combating sexual harassment is bystander intervention. The most popular line of research related to bystander intervention was initiated by Darley and Latane in late 1960s when a woman was killed and sexually assaulted in the street where she lived. The murder was witnessed by some 38 of her neighbors and none have acted to save her in a timely manner. Darley and Latane studied people’s reactions in such cases with the aim of explaining when and why people choose to intervene to help someone in emergency situations. They argue that people do not intervene not necessarily as a result of apathy or indifference, but it could be as a result of fear of harming one’s self, feeling shocked or thinking that some other person may be of better help (e.g. a physician in case of a medical situation, or physically stronger person in case someone is physically harmed, or someone with authority). Thus, they have found that when people think that they’re the only ones who can save a victim they are more likely to intervene, while if they think that there are other people who may help, they are less likely to intervene (Darley & Latane, 1968; Latane & Darley, 1969).

Bystander Intervention is an approach that can help limit sexual harassment. Through educating and giving different community members roles to adopt when they witness harassment, bystanders can help prevent harassment, limit it, or support the victim before, during, or after it happens. The key here is to ensure that community members feel responsible to speak against harassment, change attitudes and social norms, help victims, and support survivors. In their study, Banyard, Moynihan, and Plante (2007) explored the effect of educating female and male members of the community to respond to sexual violence in their capacity as bystanders. They found that such education increases knowledge and decreases levels of acceptance of sexual violence, significantly enhances prosocial bystander attitudes, bystander efficacy and behavior.

3.1.7 Communication interventions to Combat VAW and Sexual Harassment

Several aspects and issues related to VAW and sexual harassment cannot be fully combatted without strong political will, the right set of policies and legislations and stringent enforcement. Development Communication can help not only in combating sexual harassment through social change and mobilization, but also through advocating for policy change and/or enforcement. In Egypt, different interventions were developed by different United Nations agencies, in association with the government, to combat violence against women. Below are some examples.

3.1.7.1 *Development Communication Campaigns and Public Service Announcements*

3.1.7.1.1 Safe Cities Global Initiative

One of the largest programs is UN-Women's Safe Cities Global Initiative. One of the programs under this Initiative is Safe Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls – in association with UN Habitat – which aims to design and implement approaches that work on creating a safer environment for women and girls in public areas that are free of sexual harassment and other forms of violence. The Initiative has led the Egyptian Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development to adopt the “women safety audit” as part of its urban planning strategies (UN Women, 2013b). Moreover, an agreement was reached with the Ministry of Interior to design a training for the Police Academy students as to “improve provision of services to victims and survivors of gender-based violence” (UN Women, 2013c).

The Initiative has also succeeded in engaging 100 young women and men to spread awareness about sexual harassment and sexual violence and promote “respectful gender relationships, gender equality, and safety in public spaces”, in schools and other areas of intervention (UN Women, 2016). Finally, the Initiative included a campaign to end sexual harassment in public transportation (UN Women, 2013a). The campaign included television public service announcements (PSAs) titled “Put yourself in her shoes, instead of finding ways to blame her” that mainly aimed to change the society's perception of sexual harassment.

3.1.7.1.2 *Mateskotoosh*

More recently, UN Women, in association with the National Council for Women, have implemented the “Speak-up” (known in Egypt as *mateskotoosh*) mass media campaign that includes public service announcements and outdoor advertising. The campaign covers

both domestic violence and sexual harassment. It encourages people to come together and speak up to combat violence against women (UN Women's Facebook Page, 2015).

3.1.7.1.3 *Taa' Marbuta*

Taa' Marbuta is a campaign that was launched in 2016 and is managed by NCW, together with UN Women and UNFPA. The campaign targets the Egyptian society at large and aims to change the social perception with regards to VAW issues – giving special focus to sexual harassment, as well as women economic, social, and political empowerment. Taa' Marbuta is the Arabic letter that refers to feminine conjugation, but the word marbuta also means tied, it thus may imply the hurdles and restrictions that hinder women from reaching their full potential, only because they are women and are viewed differently from men with the same qualities/qualifications. The campaign's slogan is thus: "Taa Marbuta is not your restriction, it is your strength". The campaign includes PSAs that air on television and social media, and is said to have reached five million viewers on social media and eight million on television. It also includes outdoor advertising, and on the ground activities in universities and public spaces to directly communicate messages to the public. The campaign has also relied on celebrities to communicate the messages and produced a women empowerment song titled "*Nour*" (National Council for Women, 2016; UNDP, 2016).

Sexual harassment PSAs include messages targeting women to fight self-blaming and encourage them to take part in the public sphere and not be hindered by sexual harassment. They, however, do not explain how this may affect women, given that they would continue to be harassed, nor do they encourage them to take any action against harassment. It also includes messages targeting the society, explaining that sexual harassment (in public spaces, public transportation, and the workplace) is not the woman's problem and that the society "will take an action to support women and stop harassment". Finally, it also includes messages targeting harassers which show that harassing women may have serious repercussions (National Council for Women, 2016).

3.1.7.1.4 Harasser = Criminal

In 2015, following the enactment of the Sexual Harassment Law, HarassMap launched a PSA campaign titled Harasser = Criminal. The campaign, which aired on television and social media, aimed to raise awareness of the Law and its penalties, encourage women to report, and encourage bystanders to take an action. The campaign was viewed online more than five million times, and more than 350,000 times on television. It also stirred

discussions on social media in different areas all over Egypt and was mentioned in newspaper articles more than 56 times (Page, 2015).

3.1.7.1.5 Khaled El Nabawy PSAs

Khaled El Nabawy – the Egyptian actor – has produced and co-starred in four PSAs. The PSAs are in a form of sexual harassment situations, and a message is given by El Nabawy in the end. Two of the situations have a bystander intervening to save the victim, another is of attempted assault where the victim fights back using a spray and is able to escape safely, and the fourth shows verbal and physical harassment against a protester, and again the victim is able to fight and flee. All four PSAs have messages targeting the perpetrator, and only one partially targets the bystander. These four PSAs aired in 2013 on several Egyptian channels and have been on YouTube since then (KNZ Productions, 2013).

3.1.7.2 Arts and Film

3.1.7.2.1 Films focused on Sexual Harassment

3.1.7.2.1.1 678

In 2010, Egyptian writer and director Mohamed Diab made a feature film about the journey of three women of different backgrounds with sexual harassment. The film that won nine international awards is inspired by true accounts that Diab has collected, aiming to encourage women to speak up when they're harassed and not feel ashamed by it, as well as highlight the horrific impacts of the endemic on women and the society as a whole, as to change the society's perception and acceptability toward it. (Diab, 2010; El-Hennawy, 2010).

3.1.7.2.1.2 The People's Girls

More recently, two filmmakers – Tinne Van Loon and Colette Ghunim – produced a documentary called *The People's Girls* with the aim of putting faces to the suffering of women with sexual harassment. The award-winning documentary follows the lives of three people with different views on sexual harassment. Through a series of interviews and social experiments, *The People's Girls* “takes a closer look at Egypt to see who is to blame for harassment and how women are fighting back...This documentary serves as a catalyst for public debate not only in Egypt but internationally” (*The People's Girls*, 2016). The documentary tries to get to the root causes of sexual harassment, sheds light on creative ways women fight it, encourages more women to fight back, and tries to change the society's perception toward harassment and the way they blame victims (Elsangary, 2017; Nojara, (Producer), Ghunim, & Loon, 2016).

3.1.7.2.2 Films Portraying Sexual Harassment Negatively

Cinema and television are two very important sources of information for Egyptians, thus, the portrayal of VAW and sexual harassment in films may play an essential role on the society's views on them (Fatim, 2017). Throughout the more than a 110 years' history of Egyptian cinema industry, VAW has been given relatively minimal focus, especially in earlier times. If anything, cinema was a means of normalizing VAW and treating it as normal practice through portraying it as something acceptable or putting it in a comedy context. Furthermore, films promoting patriarchy and showing men as more superior and powerful than women also play a role on the society's perception of VAW, since those with strong sex-role stereotyping and pro patriarchy beliefs are more accepting to VAW (Flood, 2011).

Nevertheless, some films still had portrayed some forms of VAW as something negative, even in earlier times. Another important means of portraying VAW as a negative practice began with the rise of symbolism in film, when rape was used to symbolize different political and socioeconomic issues that would have been challenging to portray directly. And while such films do not directly aim to de-normalize VAW, they still portray it negatively. Below is a summary of how the Egyptian film industry treated VAW issues throughout its long history.

The Egyptian film industry began as early as 1896 and continued to grow until its golden age between 1940s to late 1960s. During that time, negative portrayal of VAW in Egyptian film was limited to non-consensual sex/rape (e.g. *El Haram* (Barakat (director), Idris, & Wahba, 1965), *Al Hareba* (Ramzy, 1958), *Shams La Tagheeb* (Helmy, 1959), and *Noora* (M. Zulfaccar (Director) & El-Tabei, 1967)), and sexual harassment by a person from the victim's social circle (e.g. *Al Shomooa' Al Sawdaa'* (Zulfaccar, 1962) and *Ayam We Layaly* (Barakat, 1955)). One popular comedy sketch by *Tholathy Adwaa' El Masrah* in *30 Yom Fel Segn* tackles the issue of verbal harassment by telling a story of a man who verbally harasses a woman and follows her to her home and ends up being beaten by her husband (N. Mostafa (Director), El-Rihany, & Khairy, 1966).

On the other hand, intimate partner violence was highly normalized in both comedy and drama films. In comedy films, a dominating wife is slapped, beaten, or sworn at by the end of the film to show that the man has taken back his rightful position of being in control (e.g. *Ibn Hamido* (F. Abdelwahab (director) & Kamel, 1957), *Ismail Yassin Fel Ostool* (F. Abdelwahab (director) & Tawfik, 1957), *Enta Habiby* (Y. Chahine (director) & El-Ebiary, 1957), and *Ah Men Hawaa* (F. Abdelwahab (director) & Aboseif, 1962)). In drama films,

men our shown slapping or beating women for different reasons (e.g. *Liala Bent El Reef* (Mezrahy, 1941) and *Habib El Rouh* (Wagdy, 1951)). In addition, films promoting patriarchy and against women empowerment were popular at that time (e.g. *El Avokato Madiha* (Wahby, 1950)). And while there were some women empowerment films, they were very limited (e.g. *El Bab El Maftooh* (Barakat (director) & El-Zayyat, 1963), *Meraty Modeer 'Am* (F. Abdelwahab (director) & El-Sahhar, 1966), and *Karamet Zogty* (f. Abdelwahab (director) & Abdelkudoos, 1967)).

By the 1970s – particularly after the defeat in the 1967 war and the death of President Nasser – political films became popular. In such films, sexual violence was used in two main themes. The first theme is sexual violence by security forces for political reasons as a means of portraying torture in political detention (e.g. *El Karnak* (A. Badrakhan (Director) & Mahfouz, 1975)). The second theme is a symbolic one, where rape symbolizes the forfeit of land (e.g. *Awdet El Ibn El Dal* (Chahine, 1976), and *Al Rosasa La Tazal Fe Gayby* (H. Mostafa (Director) & AbdelKudoos, 1974)).

In late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s several sociopolitical changes have affected VAW portrayal and portrayal of women in general in the Egyptian film industry. First, more focus has been given to women's rights and family laws, which was also reflected in films at that time (e.g. *Oreedo Hallan* (S. Marzouk (director) & Shah, 1975), *Asfa Arfod Haza El Talaq* (E.M. Ali (director) & Mehsb, 1980), and *Afwan Ayoha El Qanoon* (E. El-Deghiedy (director) & El-Mogy, 1985)). Moreover, commercial films were also on the rise, most of which sexualized and objectified women, leading to normalization of VAW. Yet, rape has become portrayed negatively more intensively in such films also, especially in Nabila Ebeid's and Nadia El Gendy's films (e.g. *Eghteyal Modaresa* (Ashraf Fahmy, 1988), and *Toot Toot* (A. Salem (director) & El-Shamaa, 1993)). The third type again uses rape as a symbol to the changes that happened in the society as a result of Sadat's *open door policy* (e.g. *Hatta La Yateer El Dokhan* (A. Yehia (Director) & Abelkuddos, 1984), and *'Asr El Ze'ab* (S. Seif (director) & Massoud, 1986)) (Shaaban, 2016).

Starting 2000s, reality cinema has become more popular and violence against women became more prevalent in Egyptian films. For example, *Ehky Ya Shahrazad* (Y. Nasralla (director) & Hamed, 2009) included different types of VAW, *Asmaa* (Amr Salama, 2011) tells the story of the suffering of a woman living with HIV, and *Wahed Sefr* (K. Abozekri (director) & Naoom, 2009) included sexual harassment and violence as a result of unfair laws. Again, rape was used as political symbol portraying the oppression and corruption of

the governing regime (e.g. *Heya Fouda* (Y. Chahine (director) & Abdelrahman, 2007) and *Emaret Yacoubian* (M. Hamed (director) & El-Aswany, 2006)). Commercial films, however, continue today to objectify women and normalize sexual harassment (e.g. *Omar We Salma* (A. Farid (director) & Hosny, 2007)).

While there are no regulations to date in the different Egyptian media platforms for portrayal of VAW or female objectification, several television commercials and content have been taken off air for objectifying women and inciting sexual harassment. In addition, although all Egyptian artwork must seek approval from censorship authorities before being published/displayed/aired, portrayal of VAW issues is left to the views of those responsible for censorship rather than governed by certain policies. Nevertheless, a step has been taken in late 2017 to give a role to the film industry in combating VAW. During the 39th Cairo International Film Festival, the most prominent figures in the cinema industry have taken a pledge to fight VAW – both on screen and off screen – through their work. This movement aims to find means in which filmmakers can take part in combating VAW (Cairosceen Team, 2017).

3.1.8 Combating Sexual Harassment through Online and Social Media

3.1.8.1 *International Campaigns*

3.1.8.1.1 #TakeBackTheTech

Several campaigns around the world have made use of online and social media to spread messages and combat VAW. One of the most popular online campaigns is #TakeBackTheTech and #WhatAreYouDoingAboutVAW. #TakeBackTheTech was launched in 2006 by the Association for Progressive Communications' (APC) – Women Networking Support Programme. The campaign aims to “reclaim [Information and Communication Technologies] ICT to end violence against women. The campaign calls on all ICT users – especially women and girls – to take control of technology and strategically use any ICT platform at hand (mobile phones, instant messengers, blogs, websites, digital cameras, email, podcasts and more) for activism against gender-based violence”. Every year since 2006 a campaign runs during *the sixteen days of activism against VAW* (November 25 to December 10) to fight forms of VAW that take place through ICTs (#TakeBackTheTech, 2016). While the campaign is mostly undertaken online through a “systematic multi-platform digital action strategy”, it also includes some offline activities like attending the United Nations Internet Governance Forum meetings and holding training sessions on gender and technology.

The website is the center of the campaign, which acts as its “headquarters and repository”. The hashtag is used for awareness-raising, increasing the campaign’s reach, and spreading its strategies for combating VAW. It also encourages users’ participation in the campaign as well as taking action to combat VAW on the Internet. This is exactly why Take Back the Tech launched the #WhatAreYouDoingAboutVAW initiative, which targets Internet intermediaries (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube) to take action to prevent VAW over their platforms (Pavan, 2014).

3.1.8.1.2 It’s on Us

Another initiative in the United States is “It’s on Us”, which focuses on campus sexual assault. The ultimate objectives of this initiative are to: raise awareness about the society’s responsibility in combating sexual assault in educational institutions; change the society’s acceptability attitude of sexual assault, as well as victim-blaming; and encourage bystanders, and the society as a whole, to intervene to stop any non-consensual sex act on campus. The initiative is built on a pledge that could be signed online to fight sexual assault and “not to be a bystander to the problem, but to be a part of the solution.” The website also includes some campaigning tools, such as changing social media profile pictures to the initiative’s logo, T-shirts with the logo on them, and creating personal videos about the issue and the initiative that are then shared on the website. It also includes some awareness tips on sexual assault, consent, and how to take positive action to combat assault and help victims. In addition, it includes a toolkit that can be used on campus to promote the initiative. Finally, it includes a list of the initiative’s media supporters and names of the people who took the pledge. Over 400,000 people have taken this pledge. The initiative also makes use of social media (Facebook and Twitter) to promote its activities and engage audience. (It's on Us, 2017).

3.1.8.1.3 Everyday Sexism

There are several videos of actual sexual harassment incidents – shot by women using hidden cameras – e.g. (Rob Bliss Creative, 2014), shared over social media. This is used by women to share their experience, let the world understand what they face every day, and bring the issue to the forefront (Brändlin, 2014). Another popular initiative for sharing women’s sexual harassment experience is the Everyday Sexism Project, which is a platform where women share stories of sexual harassment over the project’s blog and social media pages (The Everyday Sexism Project, 2016). This helps victims feel less alone and less ashamed about these incidents, as well as raise awareness about the impacts of sexual

harassment (Brändlin, 2014). Another type is staged sexual harassment social experiments which aim to test people's reactions, encourage bystander intervention and encourage women to report, e.g. (Transport for London, 2015). Many of these videos and stories are the work of individuals or grassroots organizations. The low cost and large reach of social media are the primary reasons that these items can be shared globally and viewed by millions – if not tens of millions – of users (Brändlin, 2014). Finally, there is a partnership between UN Women and Microsoft as part of the global initiative in Rio de Janeiro, Marrakech, and New Delhi. This aims to explore access to mobile phones in the areas of intervention and how they can be utilized to prevent, document and respond to sexual harassment (UN Women, 2013b).

3.1.8.1.4 #MeToo

One of the most recent cases that gained international popularity is that of Harvey Weinstein – an American film producer and co-founder of the entertainment company Miramax and the Weinstein Company. In early October 2017, allegations of sexual misconduct by Weinstein against several women in the film industry began to arise. In a snowball effect, more than twenty women, including famous actresses in the US, Canada, and the UK came forward saying that film mogul had sexually harassed, assaulted, or raped them. Weinstein – who allegedly been sexually harassing women for over thirty years – had first denied the accusations, but had to issue an apology and had to resign from the board of the Weinstein Company as more women came forward. In addition, in another snowball effect, sexual harassment and assault allegations were made by many women and men against different people in the film industry, including popular actors, as well as politicians in the US and the UK, including US President Donald Trump (BBC News, 2017). The social media response came after American actress Alyssa Milano suggested the idea of activist Tarana Burke on Twitter that all women who “[have] been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’”. The Tweet further explains, “if all the women who have been sexually harassed or assaulted wrote ‘Me too.’ as a status, we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem” (Milano, 2017). The hashtag went viral and had more than 1.7 million tweets from women and some men from over 85 countries – including Egypt – in its first few days. In addition, Facebook saw more than 12 million Me Too posts, 4.7 million of which were in its first 24 hours. The hashtag had women from different backgrounds sharing their stories of sexual harassment, assault and rape. It continued to be used for over a month (Khomami, 2017; A. Park, 2017).

3.1.8.1.5 Time's Up

On January 1, 2018, following the Harvey Weinstein scandal, over 300 women who work in the film industry, television, and theater created a movement aiming to make use of the media focus and their access to different media outlets to call for “significant increase of women in positions of leadership and power across industries and equal representation, opportunities, benefits, and pay for all women workers”. The idea behind this is that they believe that people get away with sexual harassment in the workplace because managerial positions, boards, and legislator positions are dominated by men. The movement also aims to shed light about sexual harassment in other, more marginalized professions that do not get the same media attention. Furthermore, they have created a legal fund to help survivors fight against perpetrators and continue to advocate for legislations to punish companies that tolerate sexual harassment in the workplace. As a result, almost all actors wore black to different award ceremonies – including the Golden Globes and BAFTA Awards – as a sign of solidarity with the movement. Time's Up website has several resources that could be used by survivors, means of donation, and different ways in which people could help (Time's Up Movement, 2018).

3.1.8.2 *Egyptian Campaigns*

3.1.8.2.1 HarassMap's Work

In Egypt, one of the most popular entities that makes use online and social media in combating sexual harassment is HarassMap. HarassMap is an “award winning volunteer-based initiative founded in late 2010. It is based on the idea that if more people start taking action when sexual harassment happens in their presence, we can end this epidemic”. HarassMap works on encouraging bystander intervention, encouraging institutions to take action against sexual harassment, encouraging women to take action and report, and changing the society's perception of sexual harassment as to create a society that is intolerant of such acts (HarassMap, 2015ab). Just like the UN Women and Microsoft initiative, HarassMap makes use of mobile phones to report and map sexual harassment in order to break the sexual harassment taboo, turn society against perpetrators and encourage people to speak and act against such acts (HarassMap, 2015e).

3.1.8.2.2 The Zagazig Incident – as an example

Another example of how online and social media are used to combat harassment in Egypt is described in the following incident. During the writing of this thesis, a lady who was returning from a wedding in Zagazig – a city in Sharqia Governorate, northeast of Egypt –

was subjected to mob sexual assault. After screaming for help, bystanders were able to make their way into the circle and take her inside a restaurant. The police came later and had to fire in the air to be able to take the lady out and escort her to the police department where she filed a report. Six suspects were arrested and the lady was able to identify one of them as a perpetrator (Mehanna & Eldeeb, 2017).

A person with a smartphone who witnessed the incident recorded it and uploaded it to Facebook (Mahmoud, 2017). The video went viral; in a matter of 24 hours it had over 500,000 views. The video – which was shared more than 6000 times in two days – led to numerous discussions about sexual violence in Egypt and its impacts on victims and the society as a whole. On Twitter, a hashtag was reintroduced where women and men told their age when they were first subjected to sexual violence. The hashtag – which quickly became the number one trend in Egypt – encourages victims to tell their stories and not be ashamed of them, knowing that they are not alone and they're not to blame. It also helps raise awareness about the issue of sexual violence, how prevalent it is, and how it impacts victims. In addition, it also sheds light about sexual violence against men, which is even more stigmatized than violence against women. This, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

NGOs working on combating sexual harassment – including HarassMap – made use of the video and hashtag to spread their messages on social media and encourage people to discuss solutions for the issue of sexual harassment. The popularity of the video and hashtag caught the attention of mainstream media, such as newspapers and television talk-shows, which in turn made the issue more visible and popular among the society. Soon after, Eng. Fayqa Faheem, the member of parliament covering the women seat, announced that she will be discussing the incident in the parliament with the aim of writing more stringent laws for combating violence against women.

This incident is not the first nor will it be the last to be shared on social media and lead to such talks and discussions. Every few months, some sexual harassment incident will be shared over social media, stirring public opinion and leading stronger advocacy efforts. The incident above is an example of what usually happens in such situations, and how online and social media can be utilized in the fight against sexual harassment in such cases.

3.1.8.2.3 Social Experiments

Additionally, several Egyptian social experiments are posted on YouTube and shared immensely on social media. The most popular of these is of a male actor who dressed up as a

woman once in hijab and once without and walked in the streets of Downtown Cairo to experience what women suffer from every day. The video that was shot using a hidden camera aimed to raise awareness about the magnitude of sexual harassment in Egypt in order to change the society's perception. This was part of an investigative documentary titled *Awel El Kheit* that aired on ONTV (an Egyptian private channel). Following the episode, this video was uploaded to YouTube. It has gone viral on social media, leading to it being viewed over three million times (Awel El-Kheit, 2013).

Another social experiment was undertaken by *Bussy Project* – a storytelling project that gives women a space to tell their VAW stories. The experiment aimed to test bystander intervention through staged sexual harassment incidents in which victims start shouting at perpetrators. Sadly, when bystanders finally intervene they try to end the fight, rather than help the victim. In one of the two videos, the victims wanted to take the perpetrator to the police department and bystanders were trying to convince them not to (The Bussy Project, 2012a, 2012b).

3.1.8.2.4 *Sokootak Taharosh*

A more recent campaign related to bystander intervention has been undertaken by three women who – through a photography project – showed staged sexual harassment incidents in public areas, public transportation and workplaces, where bystanders are silent and have tape over their mouths, as a sign of their passiveness. The campaign that aims to encourage bystander intervention is called *sokootak taharosh* – Arabic for you silence is harassment. The photographs are shared in a Facebook album on the photographer Facebook Page (Marwa Ragheb Photography, 2017).

3.1.8.2.5 Not Guilty

Finally, an NGO named Not Guilty, which is specialized in combatting child sexual abuse through educating children and guardians (parents and teachers), has also made use of online and social media. Not Guilty created a series of 23 YouTube videos on how to fight sexual abuse for parents. It has also created an entertainment education mobile application for children called SKIT – short for “say no, keep private parts private, it is not your fault, and tell someone” – which is in a form of a 25-level game that educates children on how to identify sexual abuse, how to react to it, and how to seek help and report it (Nader, 2017).

While there is no published information about the impacts of these interventions and campaigns, a short walk in the streets of Cairo would show that not much have changed

(Nojara et al., 2016). However, no recent statistics have been published to confirm or deny this observation. Yet, it's important to note that combating sexual harassment is a long and complex issue that will not happen only through mass communication campaigns (Abdelhamid, 2015). Mass communication, particularly online and social media, is however a catalyst that can – along with policy change, enforcement and community mobilization – help women take action, bystanders to support women, and the community to change its perception toward sexual harassment (Brändlin, 2014). Furthermore, ICTs and online and social media provide members of the community with a platform to report sexual harassment incidents and share them to the public, which in turn leads to mobilizing the community, as well as act as watchdogs on law enforcement.

3.2 Development Communication

Back in the 1970s, development communication became popular in the United States as a result of two events that took place on television. The first was when a character in a series decided to have an abortion, which resulted in a wide debate about abortion in the country. The second incident was when a teenage character in another series issued a library card, leading to almost half a million teenagers issuing library cards (Sandman & Peter, 2000). Yet, in different times and contexts before and after these events, development communication has been used by governments and international organizations, such as the United Nations and the World Bank, for advocacy, social change, and social mobilization (Members of the Programme Communication Coordination Team - UNICEF Bangladesh Country Office, 2008) in both developing and developed countries (McCall, 2011; Moemeka, 1994).

To be able to understand what is development communication, its objectives and expected outcome, one must have a clear definition of development and what it entails. However, according to a meta-analysis of 140 studies in the field of development communication in the years between 1987 and 1996, only one third of these studies conceptualized development. Not only this, but also those who provided a definition were not in agreement about what development really means (Fair & Shah, 1997; Mody, 2003).

The United Nations defines “human development” as a means of: *“expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human beings live. It is an approach that is focused on people and their opportunities and choices.”* This involves, health, knowledge, standard of living, the environment, security, gender

equality, and political and community participation (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

Development communication, on the other hand is defined⁴ by the United Nations as: *“the need to support two-way communication systems that enable dialogue and that allow communities to speak out, express their aspirations and concerns and participate in the decisions that relate to their development.”* (McCall, 2011).

While the World Bank’s Development Communication Division “*DevComm*” sees it as: *“An interdisciplinary field based on empirical research that helps to build consensus while it facilitates the sharing of knowledge to achieve positive change in development initiatives. It is not only about effective dissemination of information but also about using empirical research and two-way communication among stakeholders”* (Mefalopulos, 2008).

3.2.1 History and Definition of Development

While most scholars and practitioners would agree that development is concerned with improving the living conditions of people, not everyone would agree about what “improved living conditions” entails and how these conditions could be improved (Mody, 2003). Over the history there has been four main lines in studying and practicing development. The first line is the **modernization** line (also known as **westernization**). Modernization measures the level of development using only economic indicators. It follows the “capitalistic economic development” concept, which entails that applying the “western model of economic growth” is applicable everywhere and that introduction of new technologies is essential to realize development (Mody, 2003). Development was conceptualized as modernization in early 1949, following World War II, when – then – US President Henry Truman was at office, and a policy was developed to “make the benefits and advances of western science, technology, and progress available to the 'underdeveloped areas' of the world”(Fair & Shah, 1997).

While modernization had been the most popular development line, during the 1960s and 1970s it has been highly criticized for several reasons (McPhail, 2009; Moemeka, 1999). Development under this paradigm mostly took place through providing governments of underdeveloped countries – which more often than not were authoritarian – with aid money. However, as the years passed and large amounts of money were spent, underdeveloped

⁴ As defined in Article 6 of the General Assembly Resolution 51/172 in 1997

countries remained underdeveloped. The reason for this is that development programs were lacking sociological depth, ignoring the cultural differences, as well as not accounting for external political, historical social and economic factors leading to underdevelopment (Mefalopulos, 2008; Mody, 2003). This one-way flow, highly politicized approach, whose main focus had become to end communism, has thus failed to achieve the expected developmental results (McPhail, 2009).

This criticism was witnessed especially in Latin America (more than in Eastern Europe) where the societal and cultural habits are far from those practiced in the West (Mody, 2003). A new approach thus emerged in Latin American countries, giving less focus to economic development and aiming to tailor development interventions to address the needs of the global south through focusing on the sociocultural perspective of practices and policies. To do so, a horizontal approach that relies on grassroots was used instead of the readymade top-down approach that was imported from the north based on the decision makers' views (McPhail, 2009). This horizontal developmental approach aims to create a socially and culturally sensitive knowledge-sharing dialogue between the development programs' teams and their recipients in order to trigger some action that addresses and takes into account needs, capacities, and interests of the recipients (McPhail, 2009; Mefalopulos, 2008; Servaes, 2008). Consequently, design of programs started to take into consideration the different environmental, political, economic, social and cultural aspects of target areas. They also began to take a participatory approach to engage stakeholders through consultation or sometimes even giving them decision-making power (Mefalopulos, 2008).

Other development communication lines include the *Critical* line, which is another perspective that argues that development can be achieved through economic and political restructuring in order to have a fair allocation of resources between and within societies (Mody, 2003). Another line is the *liberation* line (also known as *monastic*), which is concerned with freedom from oppression and “fulfillment of human potential” rather than economic growth (Little, 1995; Mody, 2003). Finally, the *empowerment* line, which is widely used in development communication. Empowerment is concerned with giving power to those who are in need of development, however to understand what is meant with development under this line, there has to be a definition of what “power” entails (Mody, 2003).

Today, the United Nations defines “human development” as a means of “expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human

beings live. It is an approach that is focused on people and their opportunities and choices.” This involves, health, knowledge, standard of living, the environment, security, gender equality, and political and community participation (United Nations Development Programme, 2016).

3.2.2 Definition of Development Communication

Communication has gone hand in hand with development ever since the idea was introduced, giving strong emphasis to the role of media, specifically radio, in introducing and learning new ideas (Fair & Shah, 1997). Development communication research gained much of its popularity in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It started when Lerner (1958) explained that mass media have the power to “create opportunity for empathy which...disciplined western men in skills that spelled modernity”. This was soon followed by Klapper (1960) argument that mass media effects include increasing the audience’s knowledge, which is directly related to development. Finally, Schramm (1964) gave one of the most popular descriptions of development communication in the 1960s. He categorized the areas of mass media impact on development into 12 categories, namely: “widening horizons, focusing attention on relevant issues, raising aspiration, creating a climate for development, helping change strongly held attitudes or values not conducive to development, feeding interpersonal channels of communication, conferring status, broadening the policy dialogue, enforcing social norms, helping form tastes, affecting attitudes lightly held and canalizing stronger attitudes, and helping substantially in all types of education and training” (Moemka, 1994).

Development communication began with the wave of modernization. Mass media were then viewed as “ideal vehicles for transferring new ideas and practices from the developed to the developing world and from urban to rural areas” (McCall, 2011). At that time, development communication practitioners followed a – then popular – vertical, top-down, one-way model known as the sender-message-channel-receiver (SMCR) model, which classifies the receiver as a passive individual who would comprehend the message and react in a predetermined manner (Servaes, 2008). Mass media were also viewed as an influential tool for diffusion of innovative practices to the local audience, which again is a top-down approach to development. During this phase, development communication campaigns – similar to the development programs – were designed in seclusion from the sociocultural context (McCall, 2011; Moemka, 1994).

By late 1970s, the SMCR model was highly criticized for treating audience as passive recipients of information and assuming that media by itself can achieve social/behavior change. With the development paradigm going from modernization to a more participatory, sustainable and culture-related paradigm, so too did its communication. The SMCR was thus changed to other horizontal, two-way models, which give the audience a more active role, for example, through community participation (McCall, 2011; Mefalopulos, 2008). This, in fact, was more of an expansion than a shift; moving from “information dissemination to situation analysis, from persuasion to participation” (Mefalopulos, 2008).

3.2.3 Development Communication Models

In his book “Development Communication: reframing the role of the media”, McPhail (2009) suggests that the criticism that followed the modernization era led to the emergence of new development communication models based on different communication theories and aiming to use a bottom up approach that starts from grassroots. Today, the field of Development Communication is largely dominated by four interrelated models, these are: (1) cultural imperialism; (2) diffusion of innovations; (3) participatory communication; and (4) entertainment-education. (McPhail, 2009; N. Morris, 2003).

3.2.3.1 *Cultural Imperialism*

Like modernization, cultural imperialism began in the United States with political goals to fight communism and the Soviet Union. It suggests that “a dominant sociopolitical group influences and shapes the culture of weaker groups, or nations, through mass media and other practices and institutions” (McPhail, 2009). In this case, such dominant groups are usually the developed west who would make use of mass media as a means of propaganda to influence the global south. While this strategy still sees development as being modernized, i.e. more like the western nations, and more homogenous than diverse, it acknowledges that cultural differences exist and play a major role in development interventions. It also acknowledges the importance of mass communication in achieving development.

The effect of Cultural Imperialism has become clearer today with globalization, as well as media conglomerates – such as the Rupert Murdoch, Time Warner, Sony, and Disney Empires – being mostly from western cultures. These conglomerates form an oligopoly of the media industry leading to spreading such ideas and beliefs leading to westernization (McPhail, 2009).

Media scholars who were against capitalism – led by Herbert Schiller – began to research the effect of cultural imperialism and set the foundations for the theory. This was based on three key notions: (1) in a free, capitalist, market, the wealthy will get wealthier and the poor will get poorer; (2) concentration of ownership of media organizations and the creation of media conglomerates will reduce the diversity, range and type of messages being delivered to the public; and (3) media technologies are tools for targeting societies created with sociopolitical objectives to reach economic goals (McPhail, 2009). In his book: *Communication and Cultural Domination*, Schiller (1976) argues that:

“*[T]he concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced, and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system.*”(Schiller, 1976)

In fact, Schiller sees Cultural Imperialism as the twentieth century’s new form of empire-building and colonialism. He suggests that: “*the colonial system, disappearing rapidly as a formal apparatus of domination, lives on and flourishes in an intricate web of economic, political and cultural dependencies*” (Schiller, 1976).

Cultural Imperialism extended two concepts; *electronic colonialism* and *media imperialism*. Electronic colonialism suggests that media – being dominated by the western conglomerates – spread popular culture and control people’s lives, cultures and the global market in the same manner colonization would. Media imperialism, on the other hand, is concerned with the fact that media are dominated by a few large, powerful groups, which don’t leave a chance to smaller, less powerful groups to have a voice. Clearly, however, spreading the western beliefs did not lead to the development of every nation (McPhail, 2009).

3.2.3.2 *Diffusion of Innovation*

The diffusion model finds its basis in the *Diffusion of Innovations* theory (Rogers, 1962), and builds on the modernization paradigm for development. In fact, it is a resilient model that refused the expansion into a more participatory mode of communication. The diffusion model assumes that an issue within a society is a result of lack of knowledge, thus its development aims are related to behavior change through dissemination of knowledge or new ideas (N. Morris, 2003).

The theory suggests that new ideas (i.e. innovations) are communicated differently from other ideas, since most people don't have previous experience and/or knowledge of them. Generally, communication is about creating and sharing messages around a certain topic in order to reach a common understanding around such topic. However, when the idea is new, the normal communication process would not be possible. According to Rogers, the diffusion process has four aspects that affect the likelihood of adopting the innovation, these are: the innovation itself, communication channels, social system, and time. The process would begin when the *innovation* is adopted by a few members of the society. These members would then diffuse details about this idea into the *social system*, which is the interrelations, cultural networks and institutions within the society. This, in turn, would lead to more members adopting the idea, thus creating a critical mass. The process would continue with *time* until the idea is fully diffused among the society and reaches the point of saturation and sustainability. The *communication channels* for this process are not only mass media channels, but also inter-personal ones. Opinion leaders and peer networks, for example, are used in such situations since they're an important instrument for influencing community members (Kaminski, Spring 2011; Rogers, 1962, 2003).

Rogers further elaborates that the diffusion process has five steps: (1) awareness – first exposure to the innovation; (2) interest – leading to seeking further information; (3) evaluation – whether this innovation would be useful to the individual in the present or future; (4) trial – through fully trying the innovation; and (5) adoption – the decision to continue to utilize the innovation. The success or lack thereof of the diffusion process is based on a number of characteristics (Rogers, 1962):

- **Observability:** the level of availability of the innovation to community members who may be potential adopters.
- **Relative advantage:** the added benefit of the innovation compared to existing practices.
- **Compatibility:** the extent to which the innovation is applicable with sociocultural values, traditions and the community's perceived needs.
- **Trialability:** the extent to which the innovation can be tried out before adopting.
- **Complexity:** how easy it is to understand the innovation.

Time plays an important role in the diffusion process, influencing it on different levels. The first level is related to the time needed to go through the five steps of diffusion,

starting at awareness and up until adoption. In addition, the time spent within each step of the process and how they complete each other until saturation is reached is also an important factor. Finally, the rate of adoption – i.e. the number of people within a community who adopt the innovation is also of great importance (Rogers, 1962).

In the field of development communication, the diffusion model is usually implemented through the Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP) model. This model suggests that information leads to knowledge, which may in turn lead to a change in attitude that ultimately brings a change in behavior, i.e. practice (N. Morris, 2003). Such campaigns usually follow one of two strategies: entrainment education – creating entertaining content with the aim of raising awareness or changing behavior (Singhal & Rogers, 2004); or social marketing – using above-the-line (television and radio spots, outdoor advertising, etc.) marketing communications tools to promote a certain behavior using a marketing research methodology (consumer research, targeting, segmentation, etc.) (N. Morris, 2003). The diffusion model, however, had been criticized for being built on the assumption that developmental issues are caused by lack of knowledge. Furthermore, it had been criticized for being based on the modernization theory and building vertical campaigns that do not involve different members of the community.

3.2.3.3 *Participatory Communication*

The participatory model was developed in the 1970s to be the horizontal, dialogic communication alternative to the vertical, monologic theories built on modernization, such as Cultural Imperialism and Diffusion of Innovations. The participatory model finds its basis in ideas illustrated in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire (1970). The book which gave a new model for education that is built on involving students in a knowledge-sharing manner argues that participation of community members leads to greater and more successful educational outcomes than the normal teacher delivers to student system. This model makes use of the horizontal effect of mass media; instead of focusing on the effect of those who control media, it focuses on the effect of members of the society on mass communication. It is thus concerned with knowledge sharing and exchange rather than disseminating ideas to those who are assumed to be less knowledgeable.

The idea is that grassroots' participation in inter-cultural communication could have a positive effect that may lead to development. The participatory model thus aims to achieve development through empowering societies and enabling them to make their own decisions. In doing so, individuals, groups within societies, or societies as a whole would be more

democratic, achieve equity, and become more developed. Development communication campaigns under this model are designed based on the community needs and what they want to see bettered as opposed to what is suggested by the modernization paradigm. Such campaigns rely on community participation and dialogue, focusing primarily on interpersonal communication (N. Morris, 2003).

To date, participatory communication does not have one agreed on definition, yet it is agreed that an underlying element of such campaigns is grassroots' involvement in the decision making (N. Morris, 2003). The closest to a definition, however, came from a meta-analysis that has been undertaken by Brenda Dervin and Robert Huesca. They state that participatory communication is "*understood as being at the heart of what it means to be human, to have an identity, and to possess a sense of belonging vis-à-vis humanity, nature and God*" (Dervin & Huesca, 1997).

The existence of such paradigm entails a development communication approach for a society that speaks for itself and takes part in its own development rather than being instructed by another culture. It is an approach that goes deep within cultures, using languages, traditions, habits, and relevant issues of the target groups within the campaigns. In this case, aid providers and the recipient societies collaborate together to achieve the development objectives (McPhail, 2009).

The rationale behind this paradigm is three-fold: (1) the beneficiary communities know best their own circumstances, and are key to the success of any development program; (2) it is a basic human right of the beneficiary communities to decide on and shape their own development; and (3) involvement and empowerment of beneficiary communities will lead to a sense of ownership and stronger support of the beneficiary communities which in turn can expedite realizing common developmental goals (McPhail, 2009).

The participatory communication paradigm is built on Paulo Freire's model of communication which consists of five main concepts that make the communication "more democratic", these are: dialogue, conscientization, praxis, transformation, and critical consciousness. *Dialogue* is the two-way communication between developmental bodies/organizations and their beneficiary communities. *Conscientization* is acknowledging and being aware of the power differences between the developmental bodies/organizations and the beneficiary communities who are more vulnerable and marginalized. *Praxis* is continuous examination of theory and practice. *Transformation* is educating beneficiary

communities in a manner that encourages active consciousness and critical thinking as related to issues they face and the rationale behind developmental solutions. *Critical consciousness* is actively involving and engaging beneficiary communities (Freire, 1970; McPhail, 2009).

There are several types of participation that go from *passive participation*, which involves informing beneficiaries about the project rather than soliciting their feedback. The second step on the participation ladder is *participation by consultation*, where beneficiaries' feedback is collected through experts asking them questions, yet it is up to the decision-makers what feedback to include in the final product. Next is *functional participation*, which implies that beneficiaries are involved in discussions about pre-determined project objectives. This type of participation usually does not result in changes as to what is achieved, but can shape how it is achieved. Finally, *empowered participation* involves joint decision-making between beneficiaries and other decision-makers. In this type of participation, beneficiaries have decision-making power in everything having to do with their lives (Mefalopulos, 2008).

The participatory communication approach, however, is subjective and unquantifiable, making it hard to practice and evaluate. In other words, since there's no concrete operational definition for participatory communication, it is hard to state how much participation makes a development project participatory. Issues related to the role of facilitators and how neutral it should be so as not to overly influence the beneficiary communities is also questionable. Another issue with participatory communication is the language and/or literacy barriers which may hurdle some more vulnerable groups within the community from actively participating (McPhail, 2009).

The introduction and expansion of the Internet – and more recently social media – has given a strong environment for horizontal communication that is based on exchange of information as opposed to the vertical top-down dissemination of information. This has given a stronger ground for participatory communication and increased outreach (McPhail, 2009). While not in the form of a developmental project per se, the Egyptian January 25 Revolution is a clear example of how social media can be used for participatory communication, as well as how participatory communication can be used to mobilize the society and achieve developmental/political goals (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011).

3.2.3.4 *Entertainment Education*

Finally, the Entertainment-Education paradigm – also known as edutainment – has been introduced in late 20th Century in order to make use of media in social change by means

of entertaining content that educates the society, spreads awareness, leads to a favorable attitude, or change behavior about issues that can be resolved through actions that they can take independently or with minimal help. Entertainment Education was very successful in addressing several problems faced in different third-world nations. This includes, sexual, health, environmental, social and civil society issues (McPhail, 2009).

3.3 Development Communication in Egypt

Egypt has had different development communication programs since television was introduced in the country in the 1960s. This may be considered one of the advantages of having a government-owned television broadcast system, which uses the medium for developmental purposes. Egyptians – being more of the visual than the reading type of people (also a result of high illiteracy rates) – are avid television viewers who see it as a channel for gaining knowledge and information (Abdulla, 2003). Consequently, development communication television campaigns have gained great popularity since their introduction. Over the past 30 years, Egypt has had several development communication campaigns of different types covering political, economic, social, gender discrimination, as well as health, environmental and legal issues, some of which were considered very successful (Abdulla, 2003). Today, while Egyptian television might have lost some of its popularity, a result of the increased spread of satellite television, it is still used as a development communication channel in different governmental and non-governmental campaigns.

The first development television program was called the *Secret of Production*, which targeted factory workers. Several literacy and healthcare programs in the form of television shows, comedy series, soap operas, and spots followed this. One of the most popular development series is *Secret of the Land*, which is a United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded educational series that was aired in 1989 and targeted peasants, providing them with different agricultural and agri-industrial information. Following the success of this show, *the Family House* was produced in 1992 with funds from the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and The Johns Hopkins University – Bloomberg School of Public Health Center for Communication Programs (JHU – CCP). The focus of the Family house was on social and health issues, including drug addiction, HIV/AIDS prevention, family planning, hygiene, and home accidents. These two successful shows were preceded with a participatory situational analysis with the target audience, and pretesting. In terms of Television spots, several campaigns were

produced targeting issues such as healthcare, family planning, water conservation, waste disposal, eating habits and hygiene (Abdulla, 2003).

In addition, several healthcare campaigns were aired in Egypt, especially during 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s. One of the most popular and successful campaigns is the Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT) campaign, which was launched in 1993. The campaign that was in the form of 1 to 3-minute comedy spots starring popular actors aimed to teach parents how to give their children ORT. This campaign led to ORT awareness almost reaching 100 percent and usage reaching almost 96 percent by 1991 when the campaign has ended (Abdulla, 2003; Obregon & Waisbord, 2012). Another successful campaign is the Gold Star Quality campaign for Family Planning, which took place in the late 1980s to early 1990s. At the time, this USAID-Funded campaign was the world's largest family planning program. The campaign was accompanied by a wide range television and radio PSA campaigns, as well as informative printing material, which was available at the clinics (The John Hopkins University, 1998).

3.4 Uses of the Internet

Several studies have found that individuals with access to different mediums (e.g. radio, television, print media, and the Internet) use different types of mediums to fulfill different needs. The Internet – being a medium for different types of communication; one-to-one communication (e.g. email, private messages), group communication (e.g. group chats, social media posts), and mass communication (online newspapers, IPTV) – makes identifying uses of the Internet as a medium for communication more problematic than traditional mediums which usually support one type of communication (Flanagin & Metzger, 2001). According to Flanagin and Metzger (2001), people use online media in their daily lives in conjunction with traditional communication tools to fulfill different needs. For example, web surfing is used in ways similar to newspapers and television, for collecting information and entertainment. In fact, the Internet was found to be the medium used most for collecting information. As for interpersonal platforms, they are used for social bonding, maintaining relationships, problem solving, and persuasion. This shows that as people get used to certain types of media the way they use them evolves, as the diffusion of innovations concept suggests.

In the past decade, social media has become increasingly popular, and today it is used to “pass time, maintain relationships, meet new people, keep up with current trends, and

gather social information” (Quinn, 2016). In addition, social media has been linked to collecting political information and civic engagement, it has also been found that college students who use Facebook for politics and civic engagement are more likely to practice them offline (N. Park, Kee, & Valenzuela, 2009). In addition, it has been found that social media users usually do not use one form of social media, but rather utilize different forms of online and offline communication. Furthermore, using new social media platforms has been found to be linked to social trends to maintain a certain “communication repertoire” (Quan-Haase & Young, 2010).

One increasingly popular use of online media is help-seeking, especially in the case of health issues. Research has suggested that four in every ten adults have used the Internet at least once in the previous year to seek health information, and that using health websites has had a positive effect on attitude and behavior change. Using such websites has been found to be linked to reducing anxiety and increasing self-efficacy (Ybarra & Suman, 2006). With the emergence of social media platforms, the Internet has become a more important source for seeking help and collecting health-related information. For example, in their study, Huesch, Galstyan, Ong, and Doctor (2016) have used Facebook, Twitter and Google search engine for a pilot campaign about maternity health and found that these platforms – especially Facebook and Google – have a wide reach, and are a cheap means of communicating public health information. This was of special importance since 45 percent of the media time for Americans was spent on the Internet and mobile devices (Huesch et al., 2016), and 73 percent of the adults use social media (Quinn, 2016).

It is important to note, however, that the Internet and social media are also abused to harass women. In Fact, with the rise in use of the social media, sexual harassment becomes more prevalent. There are different ways of doing so, including sending unwanted messages with sexual content, abusing someone’s personal data and photographs, online stalking, and even stalking in person (Pavan, 2014).

3.4.1 Internet Usage in Egypt

According to the Egyptian Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, the Internet penetration rate in Egypt is 55 percent, while the mobile phone penetration is 111 percent, 64 percent have smart phones, 41 percent of which are connected to the Internet. Mobile Internet users, however, are continuously on the rise (The Alexbank Research Team, 2015). As for social media, Egypt is the Arab country with highest number of Facebook users

and it ranks 17 in terms of number of users worldwide with a total number of users of about 19 million (The Alexbank Research Team, 2015). Furthermore, more recent studies show that Internet penetration in Egypt has reached 50 percent of the population and social media users have reached 40 percent (We are Social & Hootsuite, 2018). While Internet penetration is increasing rapidly, its usage is restricted by the high illiteracy rates as well as inequality in accessibility based on income ranges, demographics and gender (Abdulla, 2013). The highest visited website in Egypt is Facebook, followed by Google Egypt, then YouTube (Abdulla, 2013; Alexa.com, 2016).

The participatory environment that was created as a result of social media has led to higher engagement among Egyptians, which is argued to have played a role in mobilization (Abdulla, 2013), which in turn has led to the January 25 Revolution. While – as previously explained – Internet penetration will always be limited by high illiteracy rates, its effect becomes highest when what takes place online and on social media, is covered on television. This was especially clear in the case of the Facebook Page “We are all Khaled Said” that was the first to call for a revolution on January 25, coverage of this news in traditional media, such as newspapers and television has led to very high awareness of the event (Abdulla, 2013).

3.4.2 The Internet and Communicating Development

Much has changed since mass communication was formalized some 500 years ago; several “revolutions” have led to altering mass media more than once in the past century (Thomas, 2009). The Internet is said to be the largest and “most spectacular” of these revolutions; since it was opened for public use in the early 1980s, mass media landscape has been continuously changing dramatically (Kraidy, 2009). Just a decade later, 25 million people were estimated to be using the Internet, and it has begun to be thought of as a mass medium (M. Morris & Ogan, 1996). Furthermore, the World Bank has estimated that Internet usage has boosted from 1 person in every 2000⁵ of the world’s population in the year 1990 to almost 41 in every 100 in 2014 (World Bank, 2014). Since its early years, and even more today, the World Wide Web, has resulted in a great impact on the way media is produced and consumed (M. Morris & Ogan, 1996; Ohiagu, 2011). Today, the Web can be thought of as a nontraditional mass media channel (Flanagin & Metzger, 2001) that communicates

⁵ Ratio is represented differently from the World Bank data to be more meaningful. Original representation is 0.05 in every 100

information, entertainment, advertising, as well as development.

With the continuous rise in popularity and evolution of the Internet and the ease of access of information, it has become a primary source of information for self-development (Savolainen & Kari, 2004), health- (Hay et al., 2009), parenting (Duggan, Lenhart, Lampe, & Ellison, 2015), consumer choice related information (Ratchford et al., 2001), and electoral information (Lusoli, 2005). It has also been used as a behavior-change tool; for example, it was found that the Internet could be used for changing health behavior, especially through interactive campaigns (Webb, Joseph, Yardley, & Michie, 2010), and that web-based campaigns, compared to non-web-based ones, have a positive effect on changing bad health habits, acquiring positive ones and improving health related perceptions (Wantland, Portillo, Holzemer, Slaughter, & McGhee, 2004). With the emergence and popularity of social networks, this effect is expected to further increase (Maher et al., 2014).

As an example, closely related to violence against women, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), in association with the Egyptian Ministry of Health and Population, has developed a website, called *Ma'alooma* (information) to spread awareness about sexual and reproductive health for both married and unmarried women and men. The website gives tips about prevalent sexual and reproductive health issues. It also allows people to anonymously ask specialized physicians about related issues. The website also has social media presence on Facebook and Twitter. The website is part of the One World's Mobile4Good Initiative, which aims to exploit the Internet and mobile phones to improve people's lives (Ma3looma, 2016).

One World also has similar e-learning and edutainment projects for sexual and reproductive health rights and women empowerment. These projects make use of mobile phones and the Internet to give reliable information and work on breaking any cultural taboos that may lead to fear of discussing such topics. This service is also complemented by an interactive website, social media channels, and radio programming (One World, 2016). Another online campaign is Take Back the Tech! which was an event that took place in 2010 on the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-based violence, which start on November 25. People used technology, including mobile phones and the Internet to write, speak and perform about violence against women, how to combat it, and means of using technology to fight it (Association for Progressive Communications, 2010).

Another project that used social media to campaign for combating violence against women is Partners for Prevention's "Engaging Young Men Through Social Media for the Prevention of Violence against Women" which was a regional project in Asia. The project supported three social media campaigns that aimed to raise awareness among young men and encourage them to prevent violence against women. Each of the three campaigns was implemented in one of the following three countries: India, China, and Vietnam. Evaluation of these three campaigns has shown that: social media can be an effective tool to engage people and raise their awareness as related to violence against women; if used on its own, social media may be "a mobilizing force and a tool for creating dialogue and fostering an enabling environment", but it cannot be used independently to change gender norms; and it gives highest impact when it's done in conjunction with other on the ground and interpersonal campaigns (Liou, 2013).

4 Methodology

To investigate the above research questions, this study relies on HarassMap's work as a single exploratory case study. HarassMap is considered a representative or a typical case of using online and social media to combat sexual harassment. The case study research method is described as an empirical inquiry that uses several sources of evidence to study a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, where there are no clearly defined boundaries between the phenomenon and the context. It is used to understand how and/or why the phenomenon occurs (Yin, 2013). The case study is further described as follows: "*the essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result*" (Schramm, 1971).

The reason for choosing an exploratory case study research strategy is three-fold: (1) the research questions for this study are all concerned with *how* social media can be useful in combating sexual harassment, which could be explored intensively through a case study; (2) the study aims to explore a contemporary field of research and practice, it explores how existing online development communication is undertaken in Egypt within its real-life context, and does not have or require any control over events which a case study does not allow; and (3) the study is exploring a contemporary practice that includes different types of evidence (website content and social media posts that include pictures, videos, and text) which could be studied through a case study research strategy. This goes in line with the criteria suggested by Yin (2013) for using a case study research strategy as detailed above.

The Egyptian sociocultural context is of special importance in this study; gender roles, stereotyping, and views about VAW are essential to combating sexual harassment. In addition, the way and frequency social media is used in Egypt is also essential for studying development communication over social media. This makes a case study research strategy most useful for this study. In addition, HarassMap online media includes social media posts, news coverage, and data from its website, which is data of different types and nature. In that sense, the case study research strategy is the most useful method for studying and analyzing such data of different types. Finally, the data studied through this thesis must be analyzed qualitatively to answer the exploratory research questions. This could be achieved through the case study strategy which allows both quantitative and/or qualitative analysis of data (Yin, 2013).

The unit of analysis of this study is HarassMap's use of online and social media to combat sexual harassment. This study covers HarassMap's website and Facebook page – which is the Organization's most active social media channel, using content analysis. The aim is to explore the content published on these accounts in the period between 2015 and 2017, and how they aim to combat sexual harassment on the different SEM levels through such content. There are two reasons this period was chosen:

- By the time HarassMap started its work in late 2010, the Egyptian January 25, 2011 Revolution was about to take place. 2011 and the years that followed saw continued political unrest. This unrest brought a significant focus on sexual violence in protests or by security forces. This focus continued to resurface starting from the Lara Logan sexual assault case, which took place in Tahrir Square on the night President Mubarak was ousted (Stelter, 2011), to the alleged virginity tests on protestors by the army in 2011 (Amin, 2011), to different incidents of mob assault and/or rape and systematic sexual harassment in different protests (Associated Press, 2012; Kingsley, 2013), until the mob assault incidents that took place in Tahrir Square in mid-2014 during the celebrations of the inauguration of President El Sisi, which led to several women being hospitalized (Kirkpatrick & El-sheikh, 2014). By 2015, however, protests became very limited and the focus on this kind of harassment subsequently went back to normal. Thus, the extensive focus on this type of sexual violence during these years could be thought of as confounding variable that would affect the results of the analysis. As such, it was decided to begin the analysis at the beginning of the following year – 2015.
- The Egyptian Sexual Harassment Law was enacted in 2014, giving stronger legal grounds for fighting harassment in Egypt. As such, HarassMap's work for combating sexual harassment should differ after enactment of the law from what was before it. For example, advocating for a stringent law would be limited, content highlighting that sexual harassment is criminalized by law would also increase, focus on encouraging women to enforce the law through reporting would increase, and content concerned with reporting to the police would be based on the law procedures. Thus, to analyze based on the existing parameters and legal framework, it was decided to begin the analysis starting from the beginning of the year following the issuing of the law – 2015.

For data analysis, the study relies on explanation building to compare the findings to the theoretical propositions. Explanation Building is a type of pattern matching used to analyze data in exploratory and explanatory case studies. It is an iterative method where the theoretical propositions are compared to the analyzed data and modified accordingly. The output is new propositions which could be used as hypotheses for future research (Yin, 2013).

4.1 Theoretical Propositions

In line with previous research findings, the following theoretical propositions are made along the five levels of the SEM:

1. The participatory nature of online and social media makes it a good platform for participatory communication campaigns that aim to combat sexual harassment
2. Victims sharing their experience with sexual harassment may encourage other victims to share their stories, change the self-blaming mindset, and encourage them to act against harassment
3. Sharing incidents where bystanders have a positive role in helping victims may increase self-efficacy for potential bystanders and encourage them to intervene in similar situations.
4. Sharing incidents of sexual harassment would change the views of the society about sexual harassment and fight victim blaming.
5. Promoting safe culture, and sexual harassment-free workplaces/educational institutions would encourage more companies and institutions to take such actions for marketing purposes, to be viewed as a company/institution with zero tolerance toward sexual harassment.
6. Online and social media platforms could be thought of as an advocacy tool for more stringent laws and law enforcement.

4.2 Advantages of Using a Case Study

Seeing that the topic of using online and social media to combat sexual harassment is novel and relatively understudied, a case study would be useful for bringing about a wealth of information from HarassMap's work in the area from the past three years. Thus, exploring the Organization's work would lead to ideas and clues about the topic which can be built on for future research. Using the HarassMap case in conjunction with the discussed theoretical propositions would give a clear understanding and analytical generalization of how online

and social media could be used for combating sexual harassment along the five SEM levels, and what should be given more focus along the different levels.

4.3 Disadvantages of Using a Case Study

Case studies have been criticized for three main reasons. The first is that many case studies lack a scientific rigor. Yin (2003) explains that: “*too many times, the case study researcher has been sloppy and has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the...findings and conclusions*”. However, he also points out that researcher bias is also found in other research methods, but “*they may have been more frequently encountered and less frequently overcome*” in case studies (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014; Yin, 2013). To address this, clear theoretical propositions have been designed.

The second piece of criticism is that generalization cannot be made based on one case. In other words, case study research cannot be used to make “*statically based normative statements about the frequency of occurrence of a phenomenon in a defined population*” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014). This, however, is not the purpose of this study, but rather to generalize the theoretical propositions, which is best done using a case study (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014; Yin, 2013).

The third and final criticism is that case studies are usually time consuming and lead to collecting a large amount of data that are hard to summarize (Wimmer & Dominick, 2014; Yin, 2013). This, however, is not the case for the HarassMap case study, seeing that the scope of the study covers readily available online data.

4.4 Content Analysis

Data is collected and analyzed qualitatively through a directed content analysis of HarassMap’s social media and website content. Directed content analysis is a “deductive category application” method, meaning that it starts with a categorization and operational definitions based on existing theory/theoretical propositions and allows for modifications of categories as needed throughout the analysis process (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For this study, data is categorized based on the above theoretical propositions, and operational definitions are put based on the theoretical framework and literature review. Throughout the content analysis process, categories are modified and/or new categories are added based on the data. Finally, the analyzed data, together with the modified categories and operational definitions are used to alter the theoretical propositions using explanation building.

4.4.1 Categorization and Operational Definitions

To ensure internal validity and reliability, the study begins with the following categories and operational definitions:

- **Publishing:**
 - **Website content:** content published by HarassMap on their website under all sections, except the “About” section and “Research” subsection.
 - **Facebook post:** content posted by HarassMap on their Facebook page including images, videos, and text.
- **Media type:**
 - **Text:** content published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook page. Image and video captions for Facebook Photos and Videos are not included under this category.
 - **Images:** images published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook Page. Facebook Photos’ captions are included under this category.
 - **Videos:** videos published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook page. Video captions are included under this category.
 - **Interactive content:** HarassMap’s crowdsourcing map’s published reports.
- **Targeted SEM Level:**
 - **Individual:** victims or potential victims of sexual harassment
 - **Interpersonal:** bystanders who can intervene in case of harassment or any person who has agency in supporting victims (e.g. families of victims, co-workers, neighbors).
 - **Community:** the society as a whole, which may have certain cultural beliefs about sexual harassment, stereotypes, and gender-role beliefs that may increase the level of acceptability of harassment.
 - **Organizational:** workplaces, educational institutions, and other entities where women may suffer from harassment without any regulations or practices to support them.
 - **Policy/Enabling Environment:** policy makers, news media, law enforcement personnel.
- **Theme:**

- **Social change:** content that aims to change the views and beliefs of the society on sexual harassment, victims, perpetrators, or the roles of the community members/society and government in combating it.
- **Social mobilization:** content that aims to mobilize the society to take action to support sexual harassment victims, encourage bystanders to intervene, organizations to create a safer environment for women, or victims to seek help and report.
- **Advocacy:** content that aims to advocate for policy change (be it laws or rules within organizations) or stringent law enforcement.
- **Message type:**
 - **Participatory:** content whose purpose is to raise questions or points of discussion to create debates with the website or Facebook Page visitors, or posts about trending anti-sexual harassment hashtags. Questions added at the end of an awareness/news/account post are not included under this category.
 - **Account:** description of a real-life sexual harassment incident.
 - **News:** shared news that sheds light on sexual harassment incidents and their effect. News must include a link to published content on a news website or photograph of published content in a newspaper or magazine.
 - **Awareness:** content that aims to raise awareness about sexual harassment incidence, types, locations, unsafe areas, or impacts on women and society.
- **Sexual Harassment Setting:**
 - **Public spaces:** streets, parks, squares or any public areas.
 - **Public transport:** any means of group transportation (trains, buses, minibuses).
 - **Organizations:** workplaces or any educational institutions (universities, technical institutes, schools).
 - **Other:** other settings where harassment occurs.
 - **Not Specified:** generic messages/content that does not specify the setting where harassment occurs.

5 Data Gathering and Analysis

5.1 About HarassMap

HarassMap was launched in late 2010 by four women who have been working in the field of combating sexual harassment for several years. HarassMap seeks to raise awareness and engage the society, with the aim of decreasing tolerance and acceptability of sexual harassment in Egypt. Its mission is: *“To engage all of [the] Egyptian society to create an environment that does not tolerate sexual harassment.”*. While its vision is: *“To build a society that guarantees the safety of all people from sexual and gender based violence”* (HarassMap, 2015k, 2015ab).

Based on their previous experience, the co-founders believed it is important to engage members of the society in work related to combating sexual harassment for it to break the silence around it, resulting from the cultural taboo. HarassMap thus developed their model based on a situation analysis to be community-targeted. The HarassMap team saw the problem of sexual harassment is caused by three main issues: (1) social acceptability and tolerance of harassment; (2) assignment of responsibility of harassment to the victim which leads to victim-blaming; and (3) passive bystanders who witness harassment and do not intervene to stop it or respond to it. As such, HarassMap focuses on those three lines throughout their work, combined with advocacy efforts for a new law – which was an objective the Organization had prior to the enactment of the 2015 Law – as well as anti-harassment policies and systems in workplaces and educational institutions.

To create a safe environment in Egypt that has zero-tolerance to sexual harassment – and in line with their research findings, the HarassMap team works on three lines: (1) changing the social beliefs around sexual harassment by explaining that sexual harassment is a criminalized by law, that responsibility of harassment should be assigned to perpetrators rather than victims, and that bystanders have an essential role in combating harassment through intervention; (2) mobilizing the society to put such beliefs into action through encouraging victims to think of themselves as survivors and respond to harassment, encouraging bystander intervention, encouraging the society to fight destigmatize harassment and fight its acceptability; and (3) advocating for having policies and rules against sexual harassment, and encouraging workplaces and educational institutions to adopt such laws (HarassMap, 2015c).

Knowing that almost all Egyptians have mobile phones, HarassMap decided to use mobile phones and the Internet to report harassment and engage members of the society with

the aim of creating a safer environment (HarassMap, 2015k). It thus introduced a crowdsourcing service that aimed to map where sexual harassment is most prevalent to create a safer environment for women and allow them to seek help through the website. The system is based on Frontline SMS and Ushahidi, which are free software that allow anonymous reporting via Short Message Service (SMS) or online through the website or social media accounts (Facebook and Twitter) – giving the chance for anyone with a mobile phone to report harassment. Data from reports is then mapped and represented on HarassMap’s website. The Map’s objective is to: *“support an offline community mobilization effort to break stereotypes, stop making excuses of perpetrators, and to convince people to speak out and act against sexual harassment”* (HarassMap, 2015k).

HarassMap thus works in five different directions: (1) reporting sexual harassment incidents in order to show the size of the problem and ultimately have people intervene when they see harassment; (2) volunteering to spread awareness about sexual harassment and its impacts and how different community members can help combat it; (3) conducting research related prevalence of sexual harassment and ways to combat it; (4) developing communication campaigns to raise awareness about combating sexual harassment; and (5) working with different entities (educational institutions, businesses, shops) to create safe spaces where sexual harassment is not accepted (HarassMap, 2015d).

HarassMap’s website is divided into four different sections, as shown in Figure 3; (1) About – which includes a description of the Organization, its story, and how it began; (2) Our Work – which includes details about HarassMap’s different initiatives and activities; (3) Resources – which includes research studies, definitions, and responses to sexual harassment myths; and (5) Take Action – which covers the different ways community members could take action. The following sections include a description of the website’s main elements (HarassMap, 2015d).



Figure 3: HarassMap's Site Map source: (HarassMap, 2015d)

5.1.1 The Map

Reporting is done anonymously in Arabic or English via SMS, email, on Twitter via the HarassMap account and/or hashtag, Facebook Posts or Messages, or over the website. Reporting is open for intendants – by victims or bystanders, or incidents with interventions to respond to harassment and support victims. Reporting can be done instantly at the time and location of harassment, or it could be done at a later stage through manually entering the incident's time and location. When someone accesses the website to report an incident, they

are required to choose whether they are reporting harassment or intervention. After this, they are led to a page where they can share their location (for those reporting from the location of harassment) or entering the location where harassment occurred, date, and time. A textbox is then provided for entering a description of the incident, and several checkboxes with different types of harassment are provided to choose from. The person who reported is then required to state whether they were personally harassed, saw harassment, or heard of the incident. Finally, they should state whether or not someone intervened. Similarly, the same process is given to those reporting intervention, however, instead of asking whether or not someone intervened, an extra list of check boxes is given to describe the type of intervention. Figures 4 and 5 summarize the harassment and intervention reporting respectively (HarassMap, 2015m, 2015n, 2015p, 2015u). When a person reports, they are provided with phone numbers of *Nazra* NGO, which is an NGO working on feminist studies and provides legal and psychological support to sexual harassment survivors.

The Map is published on HarassMap's website, with each report shown as a dot that differs in colors based on whether or not there was an intervention. Reporting can be shown either on the map, in a table, or on a chart (the chart, however, currently does not work). Figure 6 and 7 show an example of the 2017 reports on the map and table respectively. Reports can be filtered by date, type (an incident or intervention), or by location (through zooming in using the map). Currently, filtering by type of incident is not included (HarassMap, 2015d).

Points on the map and table entries are clickable and expand into the full report. As shown in Figure 8, each report includes its type (incident or incident with intervention), date, time, location and GPS coordinates, a description of what happened, and tags describing the type of harassment. The report page also includes an "express support" button, number of supporters, an option to add a comment, as well as Facebook and Twitter sharing icons (HarassMap, 2015l).

While the aim of reporting is to show the extent of the problem, that it is widespread, happens in different locations, to different people, and in different times of the day, HarassMap's reporting cannot be thought of as a scientific method for quantifying harassment incidence for several reasons: (1) none of the reports can be verified; (2) being voluntary, data is limited by victims' willingness to report; (3) data may be geographically limited based on Internet prevalence – even those reporting through their mobile phone would have heard about HarassMap through online media, and literacy (Rahman, 2016). Thus, the Map could only be thought of a social change tool that aims to change the society's

views with regards to harassment, victim blaming, breaking the taboo around it, and fighting social acceptability. It could also be thought of as a social mobilization tool that encourages women to tell their stories and report them, and encourage passive bystanders to intervene when they witness harassment.

5.1.2 Safe Areas

The HarassMap team and volunteers work along three different lines to create a safe, harassment-free environment for women. The first of these lines is the Safe Corporates program, which provides support to companies of any size to prevent sexual harassment within their workplaces. Such support includes trainings to employees and management, as well as tools to “develop, adopt, and implement” anti-harassment policies. While the ultimate aim is to create environments free of sexual harassments, HarassMap also positions the program as a means for managing reputational risks that may arise as a result of sexual harassment, a corporate social responsibility element that will help create a socially responsible brand image for the business, and a means of expanding its list of applicants, since people may feel more comfortable about applying for work at a sexual-harassment-free business. Business that join the Safe Corporates Program are provided with the Safe Corporates Brand, which they can use in their marketing campaigns.

The Program includes four different modules, depending on the number of activities the business agrees to undertake and their frequency. Activities provided under this program include: Policy Adoption, Employee Training, Management and Supervisors Training, Safe Subcontractors, Sponsorship of a Societal Training Program, and those who fulfill all activities are considered to “Champion the Cause”. Depending on the number of activities undertaken by the business, it is granted the Safe Corporates’ Basic, Bronze, Silver, or Gold Brand. The Gold module includes quarterly employee trainings to ensure sustainability of the program through repeating the message to continuing employees and ensuring that new ones are trained (HarassMap, 2015q, 2015r).

REPORT AN INCIDENT

REPORT AN INTERVENTION

REPORT AN INCIDENT OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT

IT JUST HAPPENED HERE

IT HAPPENED EARLIER / ELSEWHERE

Address/Description

Date Time

City/Town/Country

Timezone

Africa/Cairo



Describe what happened...

Type of incident

- Facial Expressions
- Ogling
- Catcalls
- Comments
- Indecent Exposure
- Stalking or Following
- Touching
- Phone Calls
- Online
- Sexual Invites
- Sexual Photos
- Unwanted Attention
- Threat
- Mob Sexual Harassment
- Sexual Assault
- Rape
- Mob Sexual Assault/Rape

Your role

My role was...

Did anyone intervene?

Yes/No

SUBMIT

CANCEL

Reporting is anonymous. If you've logged in, only your user name is used on the website, never your real name or email address. For your and others' safety, please do not include personal information in your report description.

Figure 4: Incident Reporting Source: (HarassMap, 2015m, 2015p, 2015u)

REPORT AN INCIDENT

REPORT AN INTERVENTION



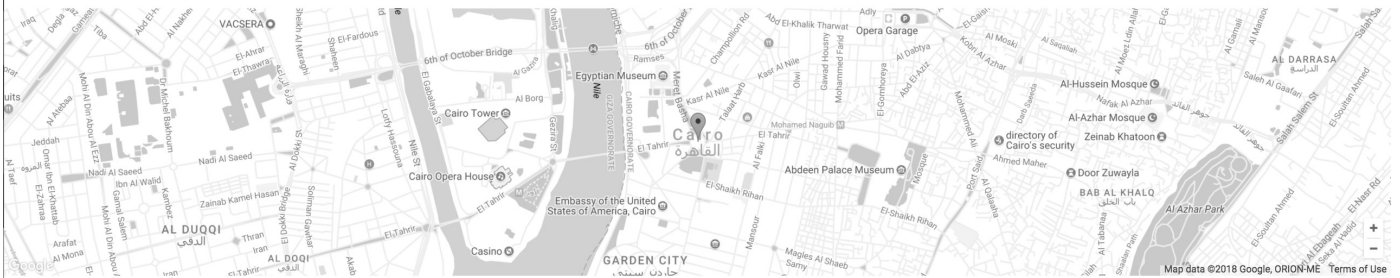
REPORT AN INTERVENTION

IT JUST HAPPENED HERE

IT HAPPENED EARLIER / ELSEWHERE

Address/Description Date Time

City/Town/Country Timezone



Describe what happened

- Offered assistance to harassed person proactively
- Responded positively to harassed person's request for help
- Told harasser to stop
- Served as witness against harasser when filing police report
- Expressed sympathy with the harassed person
- Other

Describe what happened

Type of incident

- Facial Expressions
- Ogling
- Catcalls
- Comments
- Indecent Exposure
- Stalking or Following
- Touching
- Phone Calls
- Online
- Sexual Invites
- Sexual Photos
- Unwanted Attention
- Threat
- Mob Sexual Harassment
- Sexual Assault
- Rape
- Mob Sexual Assault/Rape

Your role

My role was...

SUBMIT

CANCEL

Figure 5: Reporting Intervention Source: (HarassMap, 2015n, 2015p, 2015u)

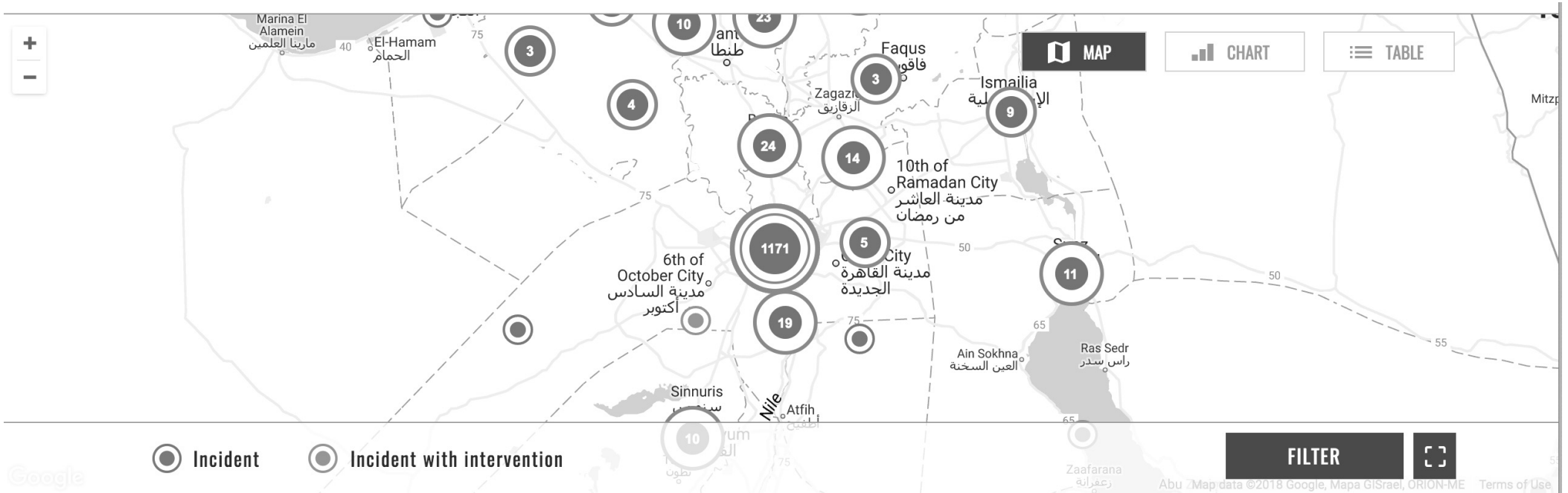


Figure 6: Reports shown on the map Source: (HarassMap, 2015d)

DATE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION	LOCATION	CATEGORIES
20 / 12 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	I waited for a friend at the Tahrir place, and som...	Tahrir square, Cairo	Catcalls, Stalking or Following
14 / 12 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Salem from Ship. A egyptian men.	Föhranleger, Wittdün	Comments, Touching
13 / 12 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	i was harassed	, pakistan	Facial Expressions, Ogling
27 / 11 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	...نازلة من البيت قدتم البيت بالضبط فيه واحد لمسني صر	دمياط السنانية اول طريق راس البر امام حضانة براعم الايمان, دمياط	Touching
21 / 11 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	...حدث تحرش لي عند الدخول لمنطقة التجنيد وذلك أثناء ا	منطقة التجنيد - المنصورة - الدقهلية, المنصورة	Touching
06 / 11 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	Shopping at clothes shop he kept trying to touch m...	, Dehab main shop	Comments, Touching
19 / 10 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	As I was paying my taxi driver, when he reached ba...	8 Al Hadekah, Garden City, Cairo	Sexual Assault
18 / 10 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	A men touched my butt while i was trying to catch ...	LB, Hurghada, Hurghada, Cairo	Touching
16 / 10 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	He touched my butt	Matrix office furniture, Egypt	Touching
09 / 10 / 2017	<input checked="" type="radio"/>	... في واحد قال لي يا وحش وصاحبه قال لي يا ارض احفظي	جامعة القاهرة, Cairo	Comments

Figure 7: Reporting shown in a table Source: (HarassMap, 2015d)

REPORT



Incident happened on 20/12/2017 at 5:00PM

at Tahrir square, Cairo (30.044070 31.235510)

I waited for a friend at the Tahrir place, and some men didn't stop talking to me asking me to go out with them, grab a coffee, as soon as one man goes another man comes. It was obvious that I felt uncomfortable and I told them many times to stop but they just started asking why and that there's nothing wrong with what they are doing

✓ 13 expression of support.

EXPRESS SUPPORT

ADD COMMENT

VIEW MORE REPORTS

Categories

- Catcalls
- Stalking or Following
- Unwanted Attention



COMMENTS

Sorry, you need to be logged in to comment. [Log in here.](#)

Figure 8: Report Example, Source: (HarassMap, 2015)

The first business to join the Program in Egypt is Uber Egypt, which took the Gold Brand in late 2015 and continues to work with HarassMap to date. This partnership includes adopting an anti-harassment policy and providing all Uber drivers with mandatory trainings on “recognizing, preventing and taking positive action” when they witness harassment. In addition, drivers have stickers on their cars “vowing to take positive action against sexual harassment” (Ahmadein, 2015). Later, several other businesses have also joined the program. The Program is mainly promoted online through HarassMap’s social media accounts, and businesses that join the program are also promoted through these accounts. To support this initiative, the Organization launched an online communication advocacy campaign in 2016 aiming to encourage women to inquire about anti-sexual harassment policies at employers before they accept new jobs (HarassMap Facebook Page, 2016).

The second line is the Safe Schools and Universities Program, which started in 2013, and aims to create safe spaces within Egyptian schools and universities. Through the Program, HarassMap offers support to the development of anti-harassment policies for educational institutions, providing trainings to students, faculty/staff, and administration, and supporting such institutions in creating anti-harassment units responsible for raising awareness about the policies and implementing them. The Unit’s responsibilities also include reporting mechanisms, identifying measures to be taken against perpetrators, and prevention activities such as trainings and awareness raising.

The Program is working different governmental universities across the country, including Cairo, Ain Shams, Monoufeya, Mansoura, and Sohag Universities, among others. Cairo University has adopted the first ever anti-sexual harassment policy in an Egyptian university, established an anti-sexual harassment and VAW unit in 2014, and is collaborating with HarassMap to related activities (HarassMap, 2015s; HarassMap YouTube Channel, 2015a). Later, in 2016, Beni Suef University has also established an anti-sexual harassment unit and worked with HarassMap to develop an anti-sexual harassment policy (HarassMap, 2016). In addition, the Organization works through its student volunteers to raise awareness about combating sexual harassment and the importance of bystander intervention in different universities, as well as advocate for anti-harassment policies within these universities.

The third and final line under HarassMap’s work to create safe environments is the Community Partnerships Program. This program works with different members of the community, including individuals and entities (e.g. owners of kiosks, restaurants, cultural centers, etc.) to take positive action to fight sexual harassment in their neighborhoods. Through its volunteers, the program provides partners with informative material on means of

combating sexual harassment, how to react when witnessing harassment, and responses to myths related to sexual violence. Partners then vow to take an action to respond to harassment when they witness it. Current Partners include Goethe Institute, *Eish we Malh* Restaurant, and different kiosk owners (HarassMap, 2015b; HarassMap YouTube Channel, 2015a).

5.1.3 Campaigns

To support its different activities and initiatives, HarassMap developed several communication campaigns with different messages. The most popular and largest of these campaigns is the “Harasser = Criminal” campaign which was aired in 2015, following the enactment of Sexual Harassment Law. The campaign was aired on television and radio channels, as well as social media, reaching a total of more than 5 million views (HarassMap YouTube Channel, 2015a; Page, 2015). The campaign focuses on sexual harassment in streets and public transportation and it has four main objectives: (1) to raise awareness about the Law and its penalties; (2) to frame the harasser as a criminal, with the aim of fighting the social acceptability of sexual harassment and assigning the responsibility to the harasser rather than the victim; (3) to show the importance of bystander intervention and how it can help women; and (4) to encourage women to take action when they are harassed (HarassMap, 2015a; HarassMap YouTube Channel, 2015b).

The rest of the campaigns are of a smaller size and are only communicated through social media or through brochures/posters handed out by volunteers. Another campaign is the “I’m not silent campaign”, which began in 2014, but was re-shared several times in the next years. It shows videos that tell actual and staged stories of women who have taken action when they were harassed or intervened when they witnessed harassment in the street or public transportations (HarassMap YouTube Channel, 2014). The campaign also includes images and posters with awareness messages as to why women should take action and how (HarassMap, 2015a).

The Organization also has an online advocacy campaign supporting the work of its volunteers under the Safe Schools and Universities Program. The campaign calls for anti-sexual harassment policy in public universities. In addition, it has several awareness campaigns aiming to change the social views as related to reasons and nature of sexual harassment. Finally, it has several online campaigns aiming to mobilize those who witness harassment to intervene and take action to support the victim (HarassMap, 2015a; Page, 2017).

5.1.4 Resources

HarassMap's website includes several resources: (1) the Sexual Harassment Law – highlighting that sexual harassment is a crime, perpetrators can, should be, and have been punished based on this Law, and the types of harassment that the Law covers (HarassMap, 2015g); (2) sexual harassment myths and responses to them – aiming to reject its social acceptability and victim blaming, and highlighting that harassment could happen to everyone by anyone, anywhere, at any time, as well as the importance of bystander intervention in supporting victims and combating sexual harassment (HarassMap, 2015j); (3) the definition of sexual harassment – explaining that sexual harassment is not only touching or groping but any non-consensual word or action of sexual nature, and aiming to break the taboo around it to encourage people to talk about it and victims to report (HarassMap, 2015z); (4) the definition of intervention – highlighting that when people take action to stop harassment they will take part in combating such behavior (HarassMap, 2015y); and (5) academic research studies about HarassMap's work and sexual harassment in Egypt in general (HarassMap, 2015w).

5.1.5 Take Action

The final section includes details about all actions community members can take to combat sexual harassment: (1) Report – describes how victims or bystanders can report on the website (HarassMap, 2015u); (2) Intervene – gives tips for how people can intervene to support victims and stop harassment when they witness it (HarassMap, 2015f); (3) Volunteer – describes the different ways people can volunteer with HarassMap (HarassMap, 2015x); (4) Report to the Police – includes tips and advice on how victims can report harassment to the police (HarassMap, 2015o); (5) How to Stop Phone Harassment – includes tips on how to block harassers and how to report them to the police (HarassMap, 2015v); and (6) Legal and Psychological Services – includes contact information of different entities working in several governorates to provide legal services and psychological support related to sexual harassment (HarassMap, 2015i).

5.2 Content Analysis

The data analyzed for this thesis includes 982 items, of which 168 items are published on the website and 815 published on the Facebook Page. Facebook content is mostly Arabic (either colloquial or formal), and the website content is available in both Arabic and English. Analysis of data began using the above categorization and operational definitions, but as it continued, some definitions were modified as shown in the table below:

Table 2: Modified Operational Definitions

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
Publishing			
Website Content	Content published by HarassMap on their website under all sections, except the “About” section and “Research” subsection.	A clearer, more inclusive definition was developed to describe the content included in the analysis	Content published by HarassMap on their website aiming to deliver social change, social mobilization, or advocacy messages
Facebook Post	Content posted by HarassMap on their Facebook page including images, videos, and text.	- A clearer definition, more inclusive was developed to describe the content included in the analysis - The category name was changed to be inclusive of different media types	Facebook Content: Content published by HarassMap on their Facebook Page aiming to deliver social change, social mobilization, or advocacy messages
Media Type			
Text	Content published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook Page. Image and video captions for Facebook Photos and Videos are not included under this category.	Non-image and non-video content was found to be not necessarily text. This category includes links from other websites, shared content from other Facebook accounts/pages that does not include images or videos, and text content published directly by	Posts: Non-image and non-video content published or shared by HarassMap on the website or Facebook Page, including links, Facebook shared non-image and non-video posts, or textual content published directly by HarassMap. Image and video captions

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
		<p>the Page or website, as such:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A more inclusive name was given to this category - A more inclusive definition was developed 	for Facebook Photos and Videos are not included under this category.
Images	Images published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook Page. Facebook Photos' captions are included under this category.	Definition modified to include images shared by HarassMap on their Facebook Page	Images published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook Page, or shared from other Facebook accounts/pages. Facebook Photos' captions are included under this category.
Videos	Videos published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook page. Video captions are included under this category.	Definition modified to include videos shared by HarassMap on their Facebook Page	Videos published by HarassMap on the website or Facebook page or shared from other Facebook accounts/pages. Video captions are included under this category.
Interactive Content	HarassMap's crowdsourcing map's published reports.	No change needed	HarassMap's crowdsourcing map's published reports.
Targeted SEM Level			
Individual	Victims or potential victims of sexual harassment	No change needed	Victims or potential victims of sexual harassment

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
Interpersonal	Bystanders who can intervene in case of harassment, or any person who has agency in directly supporting victims (e.g. families of victims, co-workers, neighbors).	No change needed	Bystanders who can intervene in case of harassment, or any person who has agency in directly supporting victims (e.g. families of victims, co-workers, neighbors).
Community	The society as a whole, which may have certain cultural beliefs about sexual harassment, stereotypes, and gender-role beliefs that may increase the level of acceptability of harassment.	No change needed	The society as a whole, which may have certain cultural beliefs about sexual harassment, stereotypes, and gender-role beliefs that may increase the level of acceptability of harassment.
Organizational	Workplaces, educational institutions, and other entities where women may suffer from harassment without any regulations or practices to support them.	No change needed	Workplaces, educational institutions, and other entities where women may suffer from harassment without any regulations or practices to support them.
Policy/Enabling Environment	Policy makers, news media, law enforcement personnel	No change needed	Policy makers, news media, law enforcement personnel
Theme			
Social Change	Content that aims to change the views and beliefs of the society on sexual harassment, victims, perpetrators, or the	No change needed	Content that aims to change the views and beliefs of the society on sexual harassment, victims, perpetrators, or the

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
	roles of the community members/society and government in combating it.		roles of the community members/society and government in combating it.
Social Mobilization	Content that aims to mobilize the society to take action to support sexual harassment victims, encourage bystanders to intervene, organizations to create a safer environment for women, or victims to seek help and report.	No change needed	Content that aims to mobilize the society to take action to support sexual harassment victims, encourage bystanders to intervene, organizations to create a safer environment for women, or victims to seek help and report.
Advocacy	Content that aims to advocate for policy change (be it laws or rules within organizations) or stringent law enforcement	No change needed	Content that aims to advocate for policy change (be it laws or rules within organizations) or stringent law enforcement
Message Type			

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
Participatory	Content whose purpose is to raise questions or points of discussion to create debates with the website or Facebook Page visitors, or posts about trending anti-sexual harassment hashtags. Questions added at the end of an awareness/news/account post are not included under this category.	Definition modified to include posts encouraging visitors to tell their harassment or intervention stories or send them to HarassMap to be shared anonymously	Content whose purpose is to raise questions or points of discussion to create debates with the website or Facebook Page visitors, content encouraging visitors to tell their harassment or intervention stories or send them to HarassMap to be published anonymously, or content about trending anti-sexual harassment hashtags. Questions added at the end of another type of published content are not included under this category.
Account	Description of a real-life sexual harassment incident.	Modified to include intervention accounts and details given by volunteers about community reactions	Description of a real-life sexual harassment incident/incident with intervention, or details shared by volunteers about community views and reactions to their work
News	Shared news that sheds light on sexual	- Published content under this	In the News: Shared content from

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
	<p>harassment incidents and their effect. News must include a link to published content on a news website or photograph of published content in a newspaper or magazine.</p>	<p>category is from either news media outlets or social media posts that HarassMap describes as trending</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Content under this category is not necessarily news. It also includes interviews with the HarassMap team and press releases about their work, etc., as well as accounts of sexual harassment shared on news media outlets. - Content also includes news about convicted perpetrators, condemning media content normalizing harassment, and news about online and offline initiatives or activities undertaken to combat harassment <p>Name and definition modified to be more inclusive</p>	<p>national or international news websites, TV shows, radio programs, or social media posts described by HarassMap as trending that sheds light on sexual harassment incidents and their effect, as well as convicted perpetrators, condemning news media content accepting or normalizing harassment, describing HarassMap’s work through interviews or press releases, or highlighting positive actions taken to combat sexual harassment. News must include a link or photograph to content published in a media outlet or trending content.</p>
Awareness	Content that aims to raise awareness about sexual harassment incidence, types,	Modified to be more inclusive	Content that aims to raise awareness about the definition of sexual

Category	Original Definition	Rationale for Modifying	Modified Definition
	locations, unsafe areas, or impacts on women and society.		harassment, clarify wrong beliefs, stress on its prevalence and impacts, explain the importance of anti-harassment laws and policies, as well as reporting, and highlight the importance of intervention
Sexual Harassment Setting			
Public Spaces	Streets, parks, squares or any public areas.	No change needed	Streets, parks, squares or any public areas.
Public Transportation	Any means of group transportation (trains, buses, minibuses).	No change needed	Any means of group transportation (trains, buses, minibuses).
Organization	Workplaces or any educational institutions (universities, technical institutes, schools)	No change needed	Workplaces or any educational institutions (universities, technical institutes, schools)
Other	Other settings where harassment occurs	No change needed	Other settings where harassment occurs
Unspecified	Generic messages/content that does not specify the setting where harassment occurs.	No change needed	Generic messages/content that does not specify the setting where harassment occurs.

5.2.1 Data filtering

Data on HarassMap's Facebook Page and website was filtered and some content was excluded. The main filter is based on the content theme; only content with direct sexual harassment social change, social mobilization, or advocacy messages was included. For example, content such as coverage of events done by HarassMap that does not have any of the above messages was not analyzed as part of this research. Repeated content, however, e.g. reposted images, were analyzed every time they are used. Thus, the following content was excluded:

- Announcements about volunteering opportunities, job vacancies, events, or workshops held by the HarassMap team.
- Coverage and description of offline events.
- Content not focusing on sexual harassment against women (e.g. against men or children, VAW content that does not focus on sexual harassment).
- Photographs that do not include any caption or description.
- Some Facebook content that has broken links (e.g. a blog that used to be on the HarassMap website but was taken offline, articles from other websites taken offline, or websites that have closed). In such cases, the content was analyzed based on the title and description published on Facebook.
- The website had several sections and subsections of excluded content, these are: the "About" section, "Research", "Around the World", "Studies and Reports", and "Volunteer" subsections.

5.2.2 Data Analysis

5.2.2.1 Publishing

As expected, the majority of the content analyzed came from HarassMap's Facebook Page (83 percent), a result of the nature of social media platforms, where the history of content published remains accessible. Conversely, as shown in Figure 9, content from the website makes only 17 percent of the sample, most of which are accounts taken from reports on the Map. It is also important to note that HarassMap's website has undergone renovation in early 2017 and some content was removed, the most relevant of which is a blog where visitors were encouraged to submit their entries of sexual harassment accounts, or submit entries based on themes that Organization suggests every month. The blog was taken offline

in the new website and was thus not included in the analysis. However, Facebook content with links to the blog was included as indicated above.

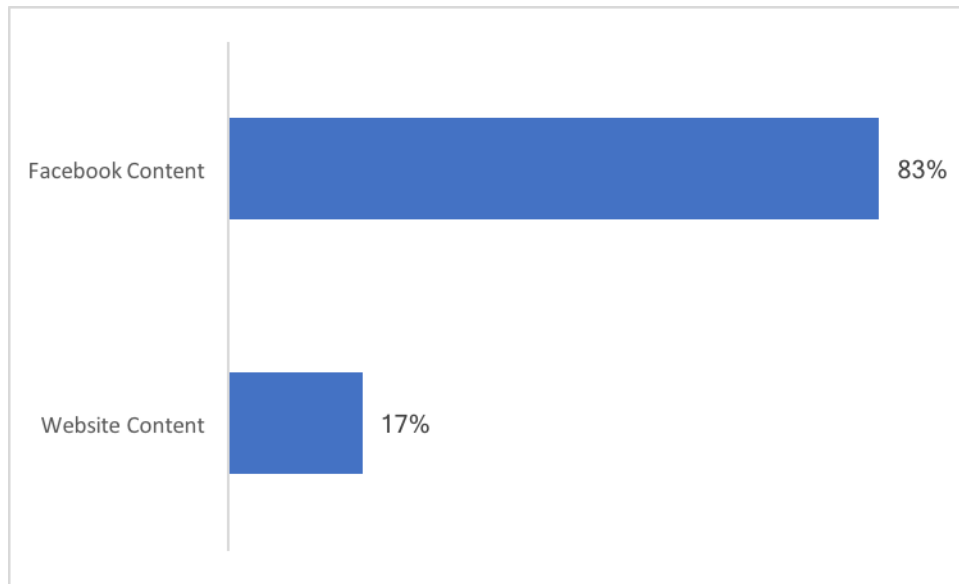


Figure 9: Publishing

5.2.2.1.1 Website Content

Website content analyzed is either accounts under the map reports or awareness messages. Other than the reports, website content includes awareness messages with a social change theme, such as definitions of sexual harassment and intervention, the Law and its explanation, sexual harassment myths and responses to them. It also includes social mobilization themed content supporting those who want to take an action against harassment, such as detailed instructions on reporting harassment to the police, means of intervening, means of fighting phone harassment, and contact information for entities providing legal and psychological support to survivors.

Figures 10, 11, 12, and 13 show the division of website content based on targeted SEM level, theme, message type, and sexual harassment setting respectively. As shown in the figures, website content targets only individual (16 percent), interpersonal (8 percent), and community (76 percent) SEM levels. The majority of the content targets the community level since most of the Map reports aim to change the social perception of sexual harassment. Content that target the individual level is either content encouraging sexual harassment survivors to take an action against perpetrators, or explaining what actions could be taken and how to take them. Finally, content targeting the interpersonal SEM level encourages bystander intervention through explaining how bystanders can support in responding to harassment.

Consequently, themes used are social change (75 percent) – which covers the Map reports, as well as definitions and information aiming to change attitudes and beliefs – and social mobilization (24 percent) – which covers content highlighting how survivors can report and why they should, and how bystanders can intervene and why they should. Only one advocacy item is included on the website, which is an incident report that advocates for more stringent sexual harassment laws. In terms of message type, as explained above, website content is divided between awareness (81 percent), and accounts (19 percent). Finally, HarassMap’s website content focuses on sexual harassment that occurs in all different settings, with 49 percent of the published content focusing on public spaces, 9 percent on public transportation, 6 percent on organizations, 19 percent on other settings, 17 percent of the published content did not specify a setting.

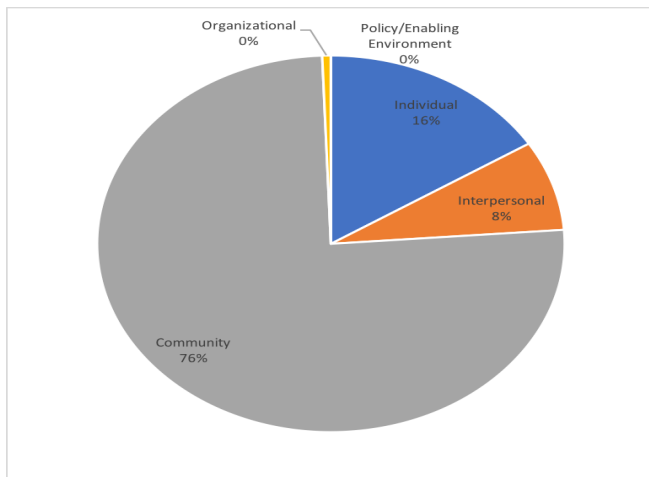


Figure 13: Website - Targeted SEM Group

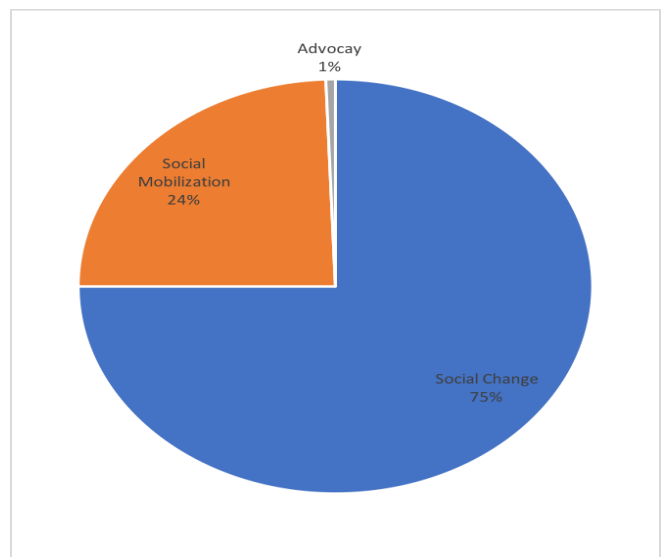


Figure 13: Website - Theme

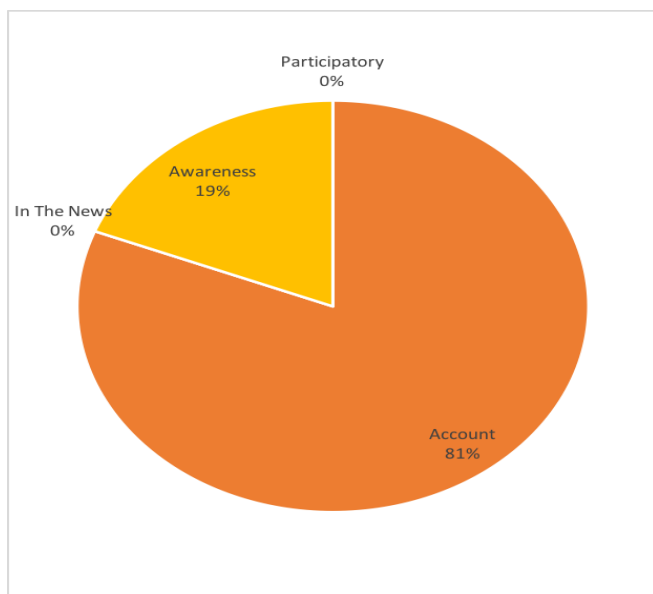


Figure 13: Website - Message Type

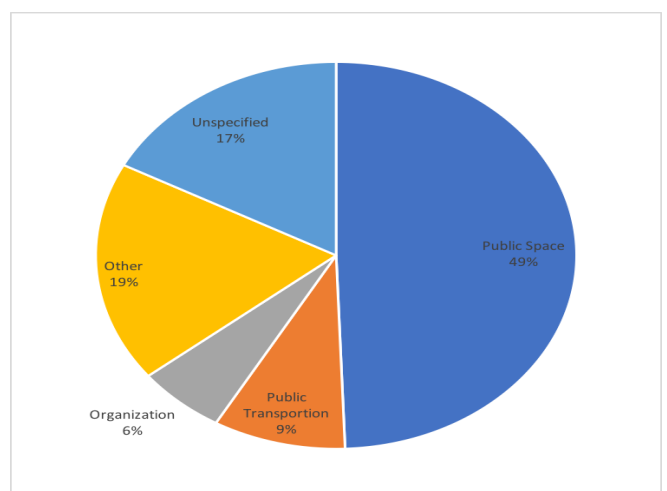


Figure 13: Website - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.1.2 Facebook Content

Facebook content on the other hand is more diverse, yet also more persuasive, concise, and focused on one point, e.g. one myth, one law article, one excuse for not intervening, etc. Facebook content, while mostly of message type awareness, also includes participatory content encouraging visitors to answer questions, join debates, share their stories, or take surveys. It also includes items shared from the news or trending anti-sexual harassment social media content. Finally, it also includes accounts of sexual harassment or intervention. Comments are open on all of HarassMap's Facebook content, and in most cases, where there is a question or a myth, or a supporting view, the Page replies to these comments, to answer questions, correct myths, or stir a discussion about ways of combating sexual harassment. The Facebook Page also includes several Arabic hashtags, such as [translated] #ShareYourOpinion, #MySexualHarassmentStory, #SexualHarassmentTypes, #WhyYouShouldInterevene, and others.

Figures 14, 15, 16, and 17 show the division of the Facebook Page content based on targeted SEM level, theme, message type, and sexual harassment setting respectively. As shown, Facebook content targets all SEM levels, with the community level having the highest share of content (39 percent) – which includes campaigns and news items aiming to change beliefs and behavior, followed by the individual level (29 percent) – which includes accounts and campaigning content aiming to encourage survivors to respond to harassment, the interpersonal level (18 percent) – which includes campaigning material and accounts of intervention aiming to change beliefs on the role bystanders in combating harassment and encouraging intervention, the organizational level (13 percent) – which includes content promoting and advocating for joining the Safe Areas Program, and finally the policy/enabling environment with only 1 percent – which includes content advocating for stringent sexual harassment laws.

In terms of themes, unlike the website content, for Facebook 62 percent of the published content fall under the social mobilization category, followed by 29 percent under the social change category, and 9 percent falling under the advocacy category. This goes in line with the interactive nature of social media, as opposed to the more informative nature of websites. It also goes in line with the higher focus on the individual and interpersonal levels in the Facebook content more than the website content.

In terms of Message type, more than half the content published on Facebook is considered awareness messages (57 percent), while participatory messages make 18 percent of the total content, accounts make 16 percent, and messages from the news make only 9

percent. It is important to note here, however, that content that includes awareness messages followed by a question for debate – where the emphasis is on the awareness message rather than the question – is analyzed under the awareness messages category rather than participatory, and that content under the participatory category is one that focuses primarily on questions. Finally, 59 percent of the content on Facebook is about sexual harassment in general, regardless of its setting. While 19 percent focuses on organizations, 12 percent on public spaces, 6 percent on other settings, and 4 percent on public transportation.

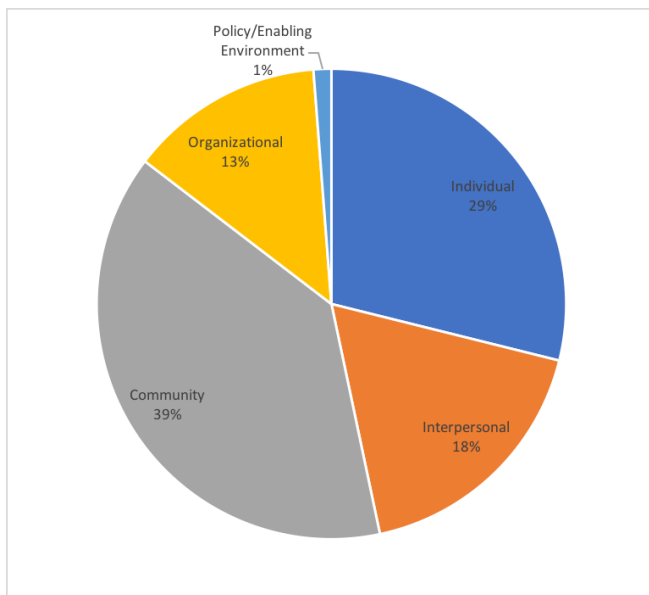


Figure 17: Facebook - Targeted SEM Level

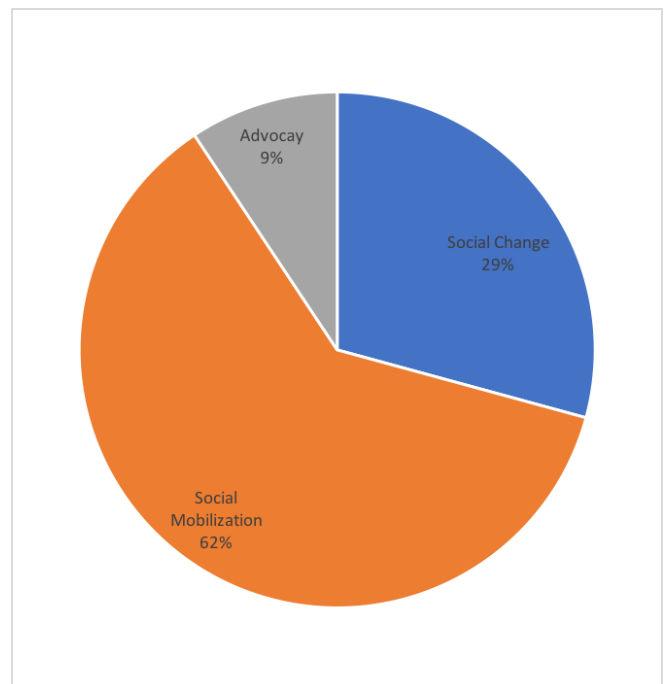


Figure 17: Facebook - Theme

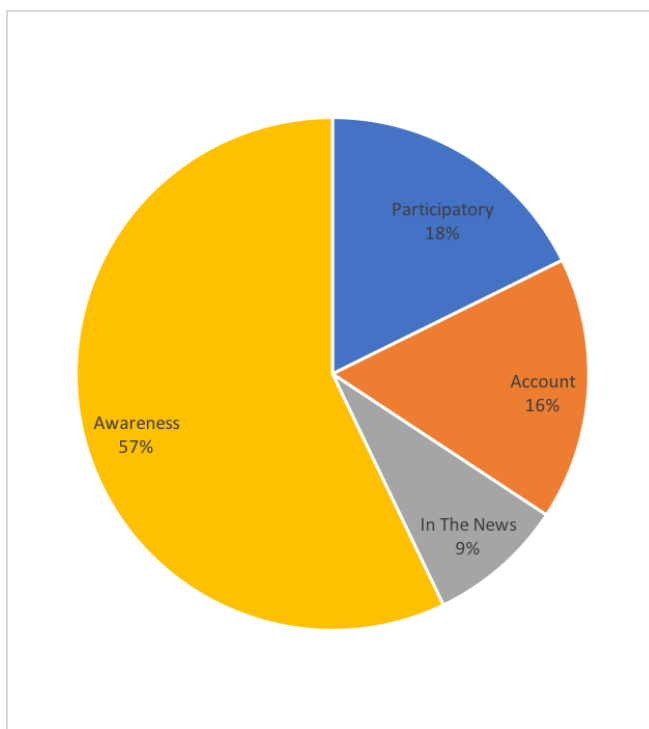


Figure 17: Facebook - Message Type

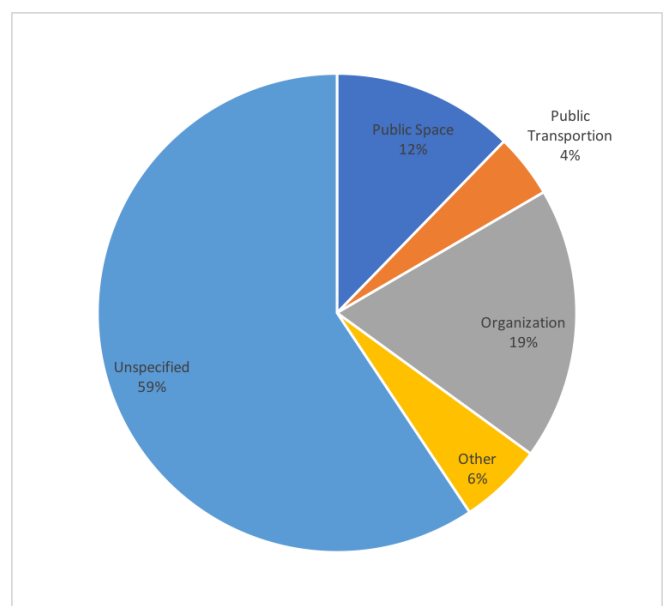


Figure 17: Facebook - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.2 Media Type

The analyzed content is divided into 615 images (62 percent), 156 posts (16 percent), 135 interactive content (14 percent), and 76 videos (8 percent) published on HarassMap's website and Facebook Page, as shown in Figure 18. The difference in content under each category is minimal, with each category – except for the interactive content – having content with all themes, and targeting the different SEM levels.

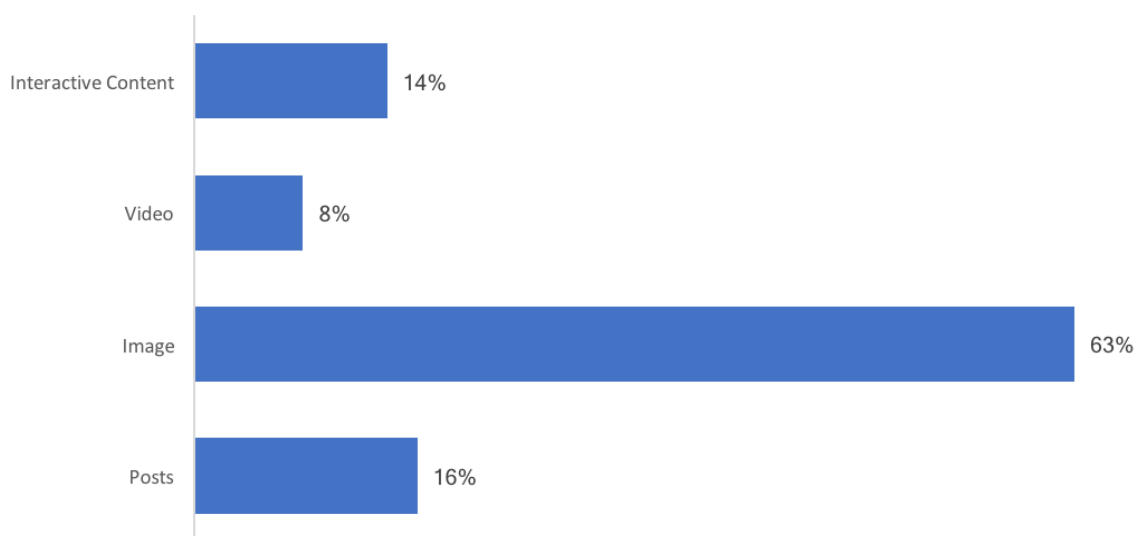


Figure 18: Media Type

5.2.2.2.1 Images

The image category makes the majority of content analyzed, and under this category all themes, message types, targeted SEM levels, and settings where harassment occurs are covered. Images are repeatedly shared on the Facebook Page to echo their messages. Images used include:

- Designed campaign material, such as the Harasser = Criminal campaign, the I'm not Silent campaign, the bystander intervention campaigns, sexual harassment myths campaigns, the Safe Workplaces campaign (titled Ask), and the advocacy for anti-harassment policies campaign.
- Photographs taken from news pieces about harassment incidents.
- Screenshots of media content about harassment or normalizing harassment.

Figures 19, 20, 21, and 22 show the division of content under the image category upon the different targeted SEM levels, themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. As shown in the Figure 19, 42 percent of the images target the community SEM level, while 24 percent targets the individual level, 17 percent targets the interpersonal level, 15 percent target the organizational level, and only 2 percent target the policy/enabling environment level.

In terms of themes, 59 percent of the images fall under social mobilization, 31 percent under social change, and 10 percent fall under the advocacy category. For the message type, 64 percent of the content fall under the awareness category, 20 percent under participatory, 11 percent under account, and 5 percent from the news. Finally, image content focuses on all sexual harassment settings as follows, 63 percent of the image content does not specify a setting, 19 percent focus on organizations, 10 percent on public spaces, 5 percent on other settings, and 3 percent on public transportation.

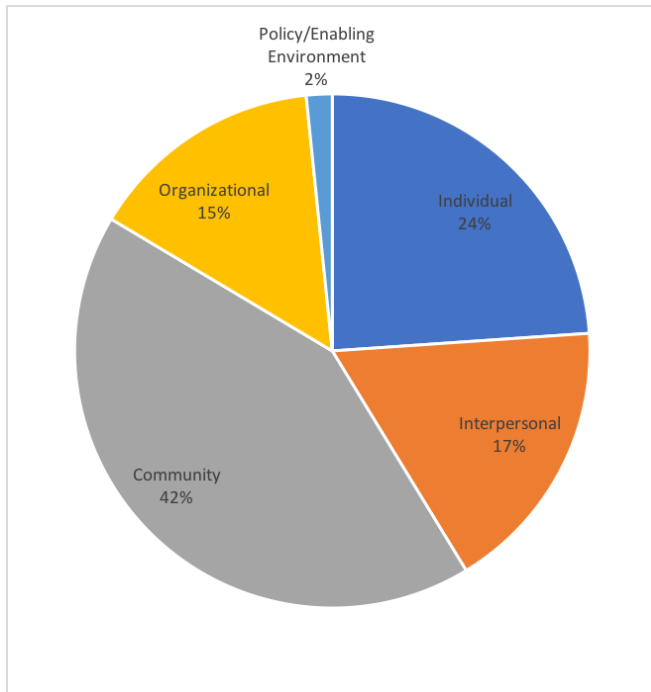


Figure 22: Images - Targeted SEM Level

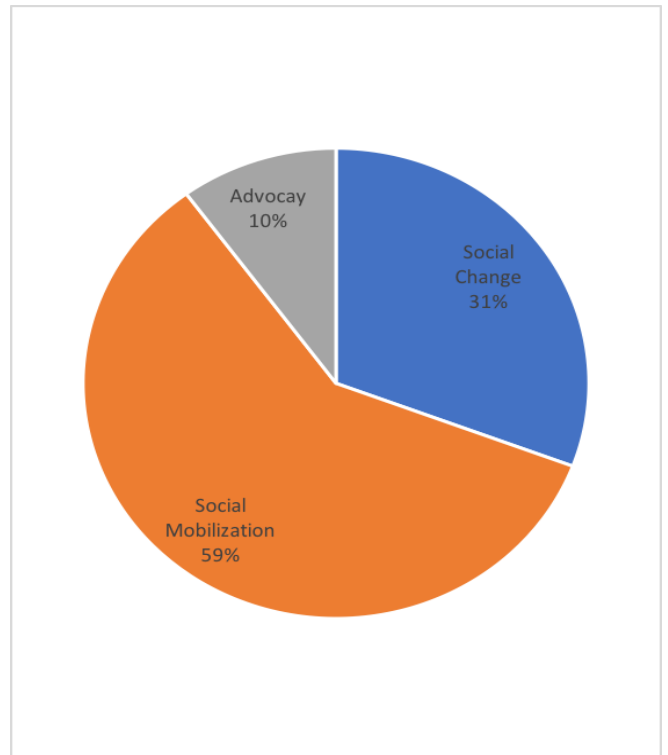


Figure 22: Images - Theme

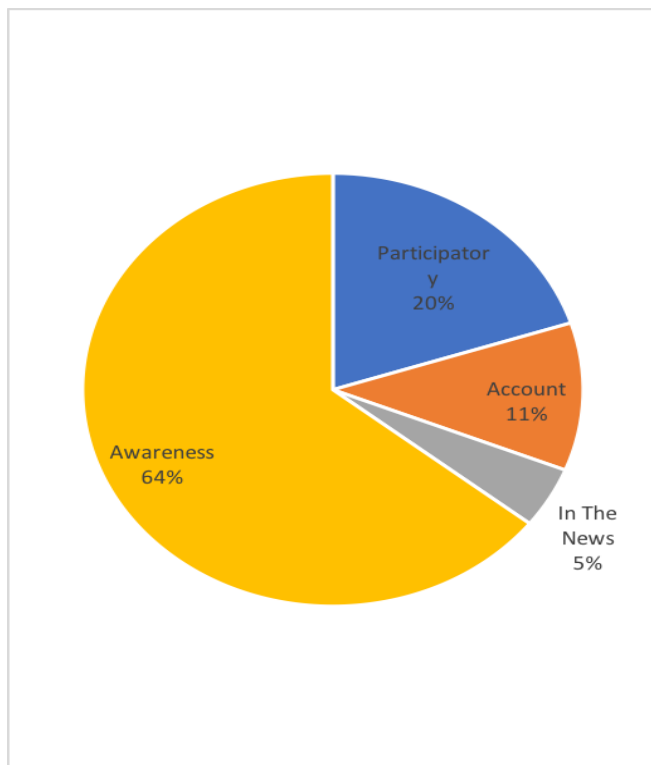


Figure 22: Images - Message Type

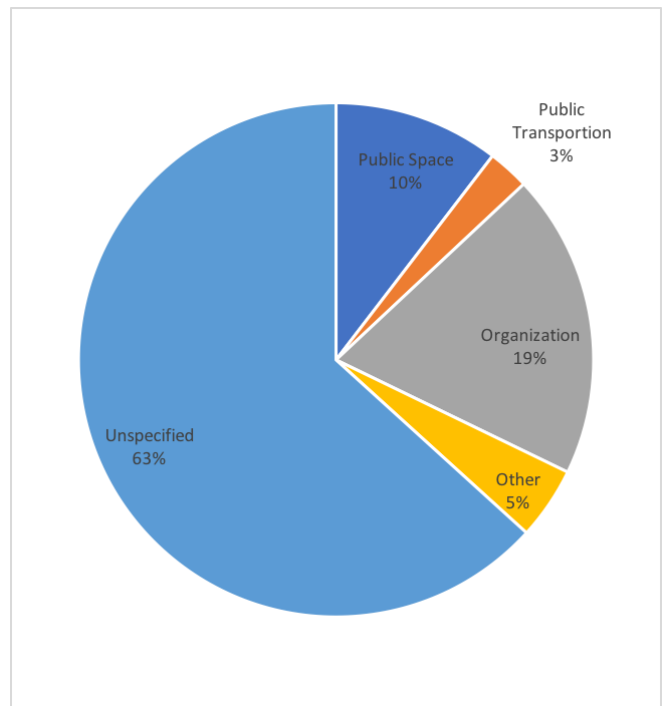


Figure 22: Images - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.2.2 Posts

Posts are of more specific types than images. They are either:

- Links from the national or international news media that are shared on the Facebook Page with a comment from HarassMap.
- Accounts published anonymously by HarassMap or shared from other accounts/pages on the Facebook Page
- Participatory messages asking visitors to join debates, answer questions, tell their stories, or take surveys.
- Website awareness content.

Figures 23, 24, 25, and 26 show the division of content under the posts category upon the different targeted SEM levels, themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. Unlike images, posts give more focus to targeting the individual SEM level (47 percent) this is mostly through accounts published or shared on Facebook, as well as website content supporting survivors. The community level comes next with 32 percent, such content is mostly shared items from news media or trending social media posts, as well as the participatory content. The interpersonal level is targeted with 11 percent of the content, which is mostly accounts of how intervention can help victims and combat harassment. The organizational level is targeted with 10 percent of the posts which include news about new anti-harassment policies and information about the Safe Corporates Program. Finally, no posts target the policy/enabling environmental level.

Posts' themes are mostly social mobilization (64 percent), which includes the accounts aiming to encourage others to tell their stories, participatory content, website content encouraging reporting and intervention, etc. Social change content comes next with 28 percent, which is mostly news of popular incidents and their impacts on the survivor and perpetrator, or of convicted perpetrators. Finally, 8 percent of the posts fall under the advocacy theme, which is the content targeting the organizational level explained above.

In terms of message type, 38 percent of the posts fall under the awareness category, these include the Facebook and website content about HarassMap's work, sexual harassment myths, and links to blog posts that discuss cultural beliefs rather than tell accounts of sexual harassment. Accounts shared on Facebook make 26 percent of the posts, content from the news make 22 percent, and participatory posts make 14 percent. Finally, in terms of sexual harassment setting, 57 percent of the posts do not have a specified setting, 15 percent focus

on organizations, 11 percent focus on other settings, 10 percent focus on public spaces, and 7 percent focus on public transportation.

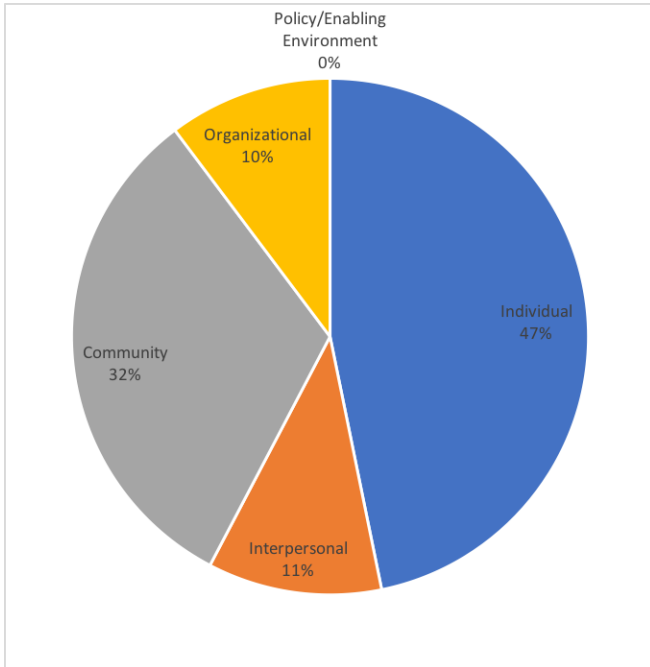


Figure 26: Posts - Targeted SEM Level

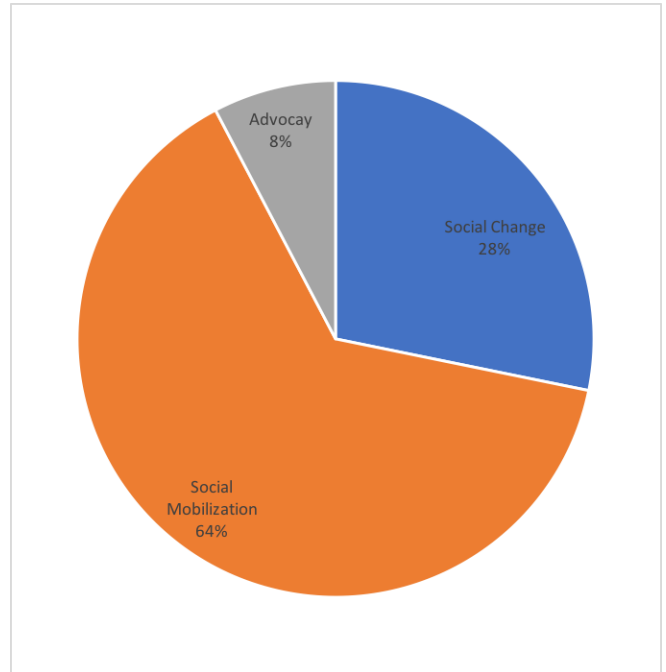


Figure 26: Posts - Theme

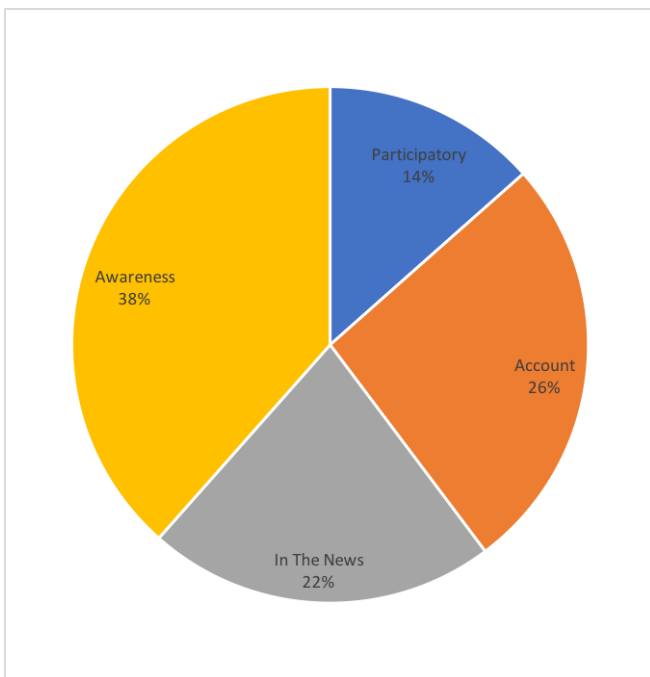


Figure 26: Posts - Message Type

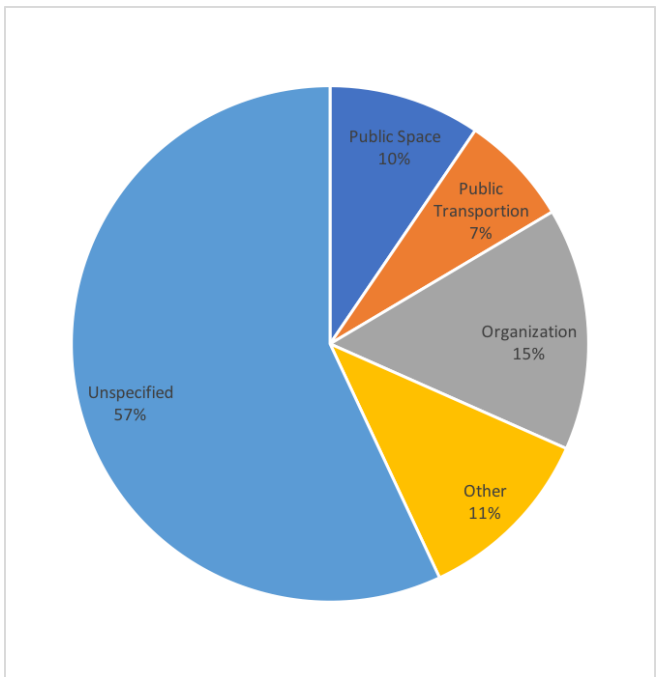


Figure 26: Posts - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.2.3 Interactive Content

Interactive content refers to the Map's reports which are published on the website. Reports are all accounts of sexual harassment incidents or incidents with intervention. Reporting incidents are considered as a social change tool that aims to change the society's views about what the term sexual harassment entails, its impacts on victims, and its prevalence in different locations and times of day – which is the information given in each report. Reports of intervention, on the other hand, targets the interpersonal SEM level, encouraging bystander intervention by highlighting how intervention can support survivors and combat harassment. In this analysis, incidents where the survivor responded to harassment and succeeded in stopping it, or incidents with intervention where intervention was successful in supporting the survivor, were categorized under the social mobilization theme. Reports where survivors took action are thus categorized under the individual SEM level since they show victims that acting against harassment will help them, while incidents with intervention were categorized under the interpersonal SEM level for the same reason.

Figures 27, 28, and 29 show the division of content under the interactive content category upon the different targeted SEM levels, themes, and sexual harassment settings respectively. According to the analysis criteria detailed above, 80 percent of the reports were categorized as targeting the community SEM level, 13 percent as targeting the individual level, and 7 percent as targeting the interpersonal level. None of the reports target the organizational or policy/enabling environment level. In terms of themes, also following the above criteria, 78 percent of the reports were categorized under the social change theme, 21 percent under the social mobilization theme, and 1 percent under the advocacy theme (the one report calling for more stringent sexual harassment laws). Finally, since all reports are required to have a location, all items were categorized with a specified setting as follows: 61 percent in public spaces, 21 percent in other settings, 11 percent in public transportation, and 7 percent in organizations.

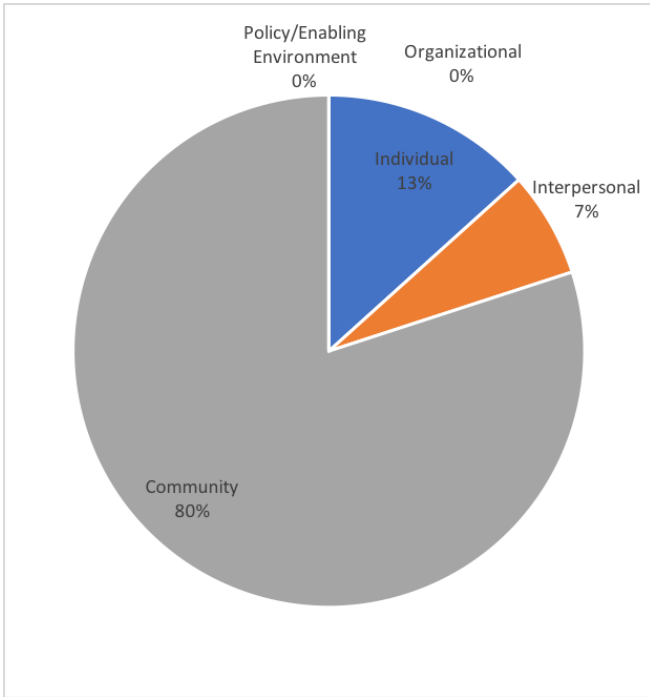


Figure 29: Interactive Content - Target SEM Level

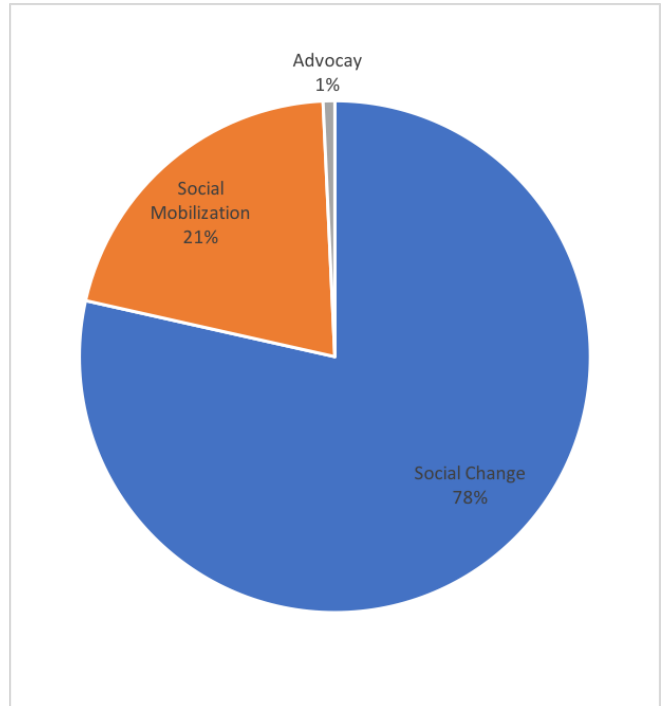


Figure 29: Interactive Content - Theme

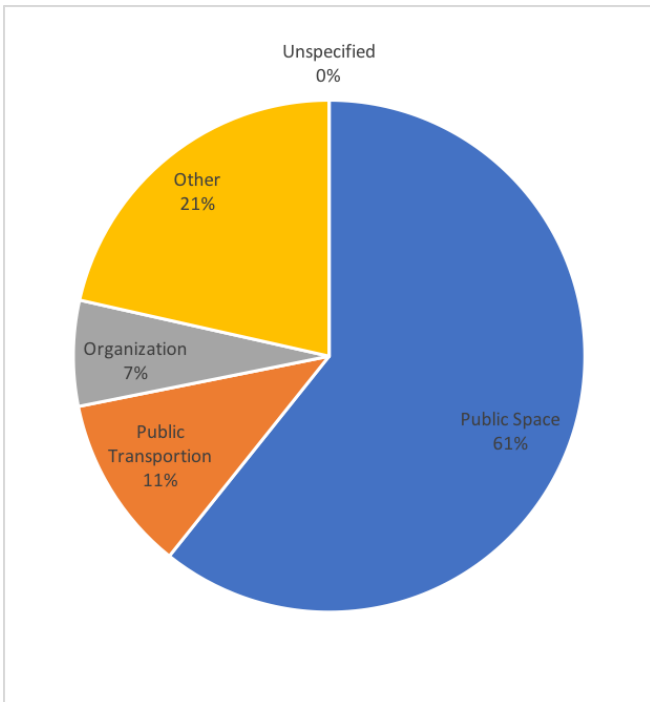


Figure 29: Interactive Content - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.2.4 Videos

Videos are the final and least used media type. All except two videos are published on the Facebook page (the two videos on the website are also repeated on the Facebook Page). Videos are either:

- Campaign videos/television PSAs (including accounts of sexual harassment or intervention).
- Interviews or news reports or videos from television shows shared from other pages or news videos published by HarassMap.

Figures 30, 31, 32, and 33 show the division of content under the videos category upon the different targeted SEM levels, themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. Unlike the previous media types, content targeting the interpersonal SEM level has the highest share of videos (34 percent) – which is campaign videos encouraging bystander intervention, closely followed by the community level (32 percent) – which is campaign and news videos aiming to change beliefs and frame harassment as a crime, then the individual level (30 percent) – which is campaign videos encouraging survivors to respond to harassment. The organizational level is targeted by 4 percent of the videos – which are news videos about the Safe Corporates and Safe Universities Programs, and none of them target the policy/enabling environment level. The reason for this is that most of the analyzed videos are part of campaigns that encourage intervention and reporting, as well as correct wrong beliefs related to sexual harassment.

Similarly, in terms of theme, 64 percent of the videos are under the with social mobilization category, and 33 percent under the social change category, and only 3 percent are under the advocacy category for the same reason. For message type, the highest percentage of videos fall under the awareness category (54 percent) because such campaigns aim to raise awareness about harassment through staged incidents that show the impact of harassment and how taking a positive action can help. This is followed by the account category with 35 percent, because several of these campaign videos are of incident or intervention accounts. Finally, content from the news makes 11 percent covering the televised and radio interviews, news about HarassMap, or shared news or social media video content. None of the videos fall under the participatory category.

Finally, for the sexual harassment setting, 43 percent of the videos do not specify a setting for harassment. This includes interviews, news and social media videos, and some campaign videos. Most the campaign videos, however, specify a setting. The division among the rest of the setting is as follows: 29 percent in public spaces, 13 percent in public transportation, 12 percent in organizations, and 3 percent in other settings.

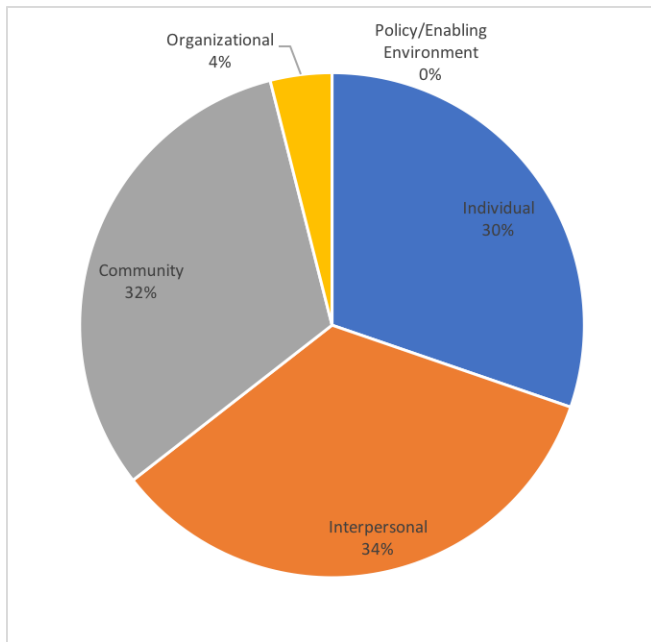


Figure 33: Videos - Targeted SEM Level

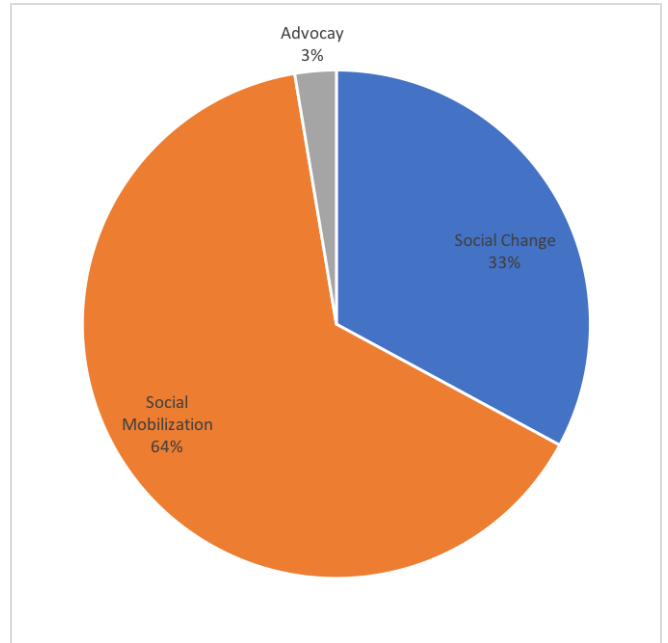


Figure 33: Videos - Theme

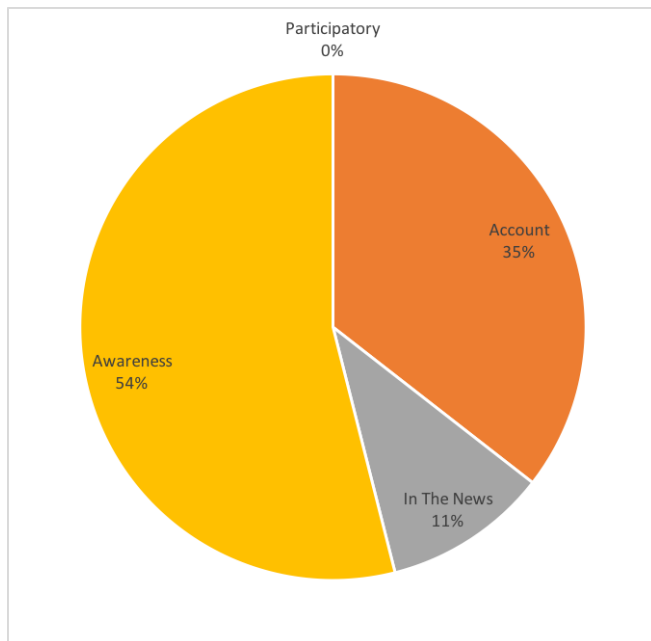


Figure 33: Videos - Message Type

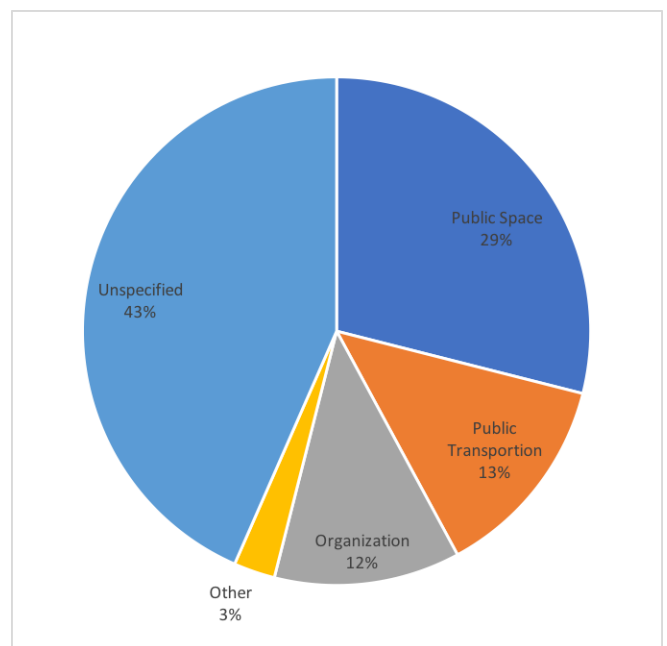


Figure 33: Videos - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.3 Targeted SEM Level

While HarassMap’s website and Facebook Page target the five levels of the Social Ecological Model, it naturally does not give the same weight to all levels. As shown in Figure 34, the strongest focus is given to the community level (45 percent), which is in line with its mission of changing the social acceptability and normalization of harassment, assigning responsibility to perpetrators, giving the right attributions, and breaking taboos around it. The

Organization also gives strong focus to the individual level (27 percent) aiming to encourage women to respond to harassment by speaking about it, seeking help, and reporting. This is followed by the Interpersonal level with 16 percent, which focuses primarily on bystander intervention, then the organizational level with 11 percent, focusing on advocating for anti-harassment policies and practices to create safe areas. Finally, the focus on the policy/enabling environment is limited (1 percent) and focuses on advocating for more stringent sexual harassment law and law enforcement.

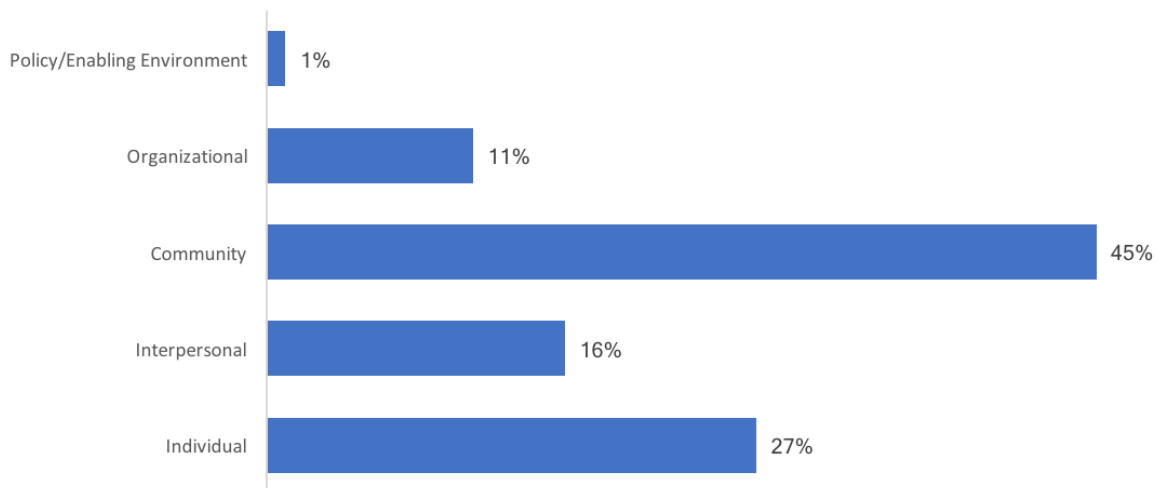


Figure 34: Targeted SEM Levels

5.2.2.3.1 Individual

Content which targets this innermost SEM level focuses on women who are subjected or may be subjected to sexual harassment, which HarassMap identifies as women of any age, living anywhere in Egypt, from any social class, and with any attire. One of the main content types targeting individuals is accounts of sexual harassment incidents published on Facebook – mostly anonymously – with statements encouraging more women to share their accounts, or posts that entirely focus on encouraging survivors to share their accounts in an effort to destigmatize sexual harassment and encourage women to talk about it rather than be ashamed of it. Focus is also made about the sexual harassment law and the penalties which can be given to perpetrators charged with harassment as to encourage women to report. In terms of sexual harassment in workplaces, content under the Safe Corporates campaigns include items that encourage women to look into sexual harassment mandates in companies as they apply for a new job. Avoiding victim-blaming is covered as will be detailed below, but self-blaming on its own is not covered in any of the content, instead, it is included as part awareness posts that target the community as a whole.

The Organization's idea is for those women to think of themselves as active survivors rather than passive victims, to know that they have a role to combat harassment and that by responding to harassment, they will not only be giving the perpetrators the punishment they deserve, but also feeling better about one's self instead of feeling traumatized. They encourage survivors not just to report to the police, but also to tell their stories, be it through the Map, online, or within their social circles to destigmatize sexual harassment, correct wrong beliefs about it, and fight its social acceptability and normalization. Content targeting the individual level, thus, includes:

- Campaigning content and Map accounts where survivors successfully responded to harassment aiming to encourage women to take an action and/or seek help when they're harassed (e.g. look perpetrator in the eye, tell him to stop, shout or scream, hit the him, ask for bystanders' help)
- Campaigning content aiming to encourage women to report sexual harassment incidents to the police
- Participatory content and accounts published on Facebook aiming to encourage women to report on the Map, as well as share their stories, whether online, anonymously through sending them to HarassMap, or to their social circle
- Campaigning and news content encouraging women to advocate for anti-harassment policies in their workplaces or educational institutions.

Figures 35, 36, and 37 show the division of content under the individual SEM level category upon the different themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. As shown, content under this category is mostly calling for action, and thus falls under the social mobilization theme (94 percent). This content is either in the form of accounts shared on Facebook as to encourage more women to tell their stories, some of the reports on the Map that show that when women take a positive action they can stop harassment, Facebook posts asking women to share their stories, and content encouraging women to take an action. Social change content is limited (4 percent) to highlighting to survivors that they should not be ashamed to speak about it. Finally, advocacy content (2 percent) calls for women to advocate for anti-harassment policies in their workplaces and educational institutions.

Messages are divided between awareness content (41 percent), which explains to survivors what action they should take, why they should take it, and how. Accounts make 33 percent of the content targeting the individual SEM level, covering accounts published or

shared on Facebook to encourage more survivors to tell their stories, as well as Map reports that show that positive impacts of responding to harassment. Next, comes participatory content with 20 percent, which includes content encouraging women to share their stories, send them to HarassMap social media accounts to be published anonymously, or content asking survivors to respond to questions and/or surveys. Items from the news or social media trending content the least category, with 6 percent. This includes news about convicted perpetrators or survivors who reported.

Finally, content targeting the individual SEM level gives focus to all sexual harassment settings, as well as includes generic content that does not target a specific setting. The division is as follows: 50 percent of the content does not have a specified setting – this covers some of the content encouraging women to respond to harassment, as well as social change content. Public spaces comes next with 19 percent, this includes accounts and some campaigning content that encourage women to report. This is followed by organizations, which makes 13 percent of the posts and includes the Ask campaign encouraging women to ask about anti-harassment policies when they apply for jobs and advocacy content described above. Other settings (11 percent), and public transportation (7 percent) content are also similar to content under the public spaces category.

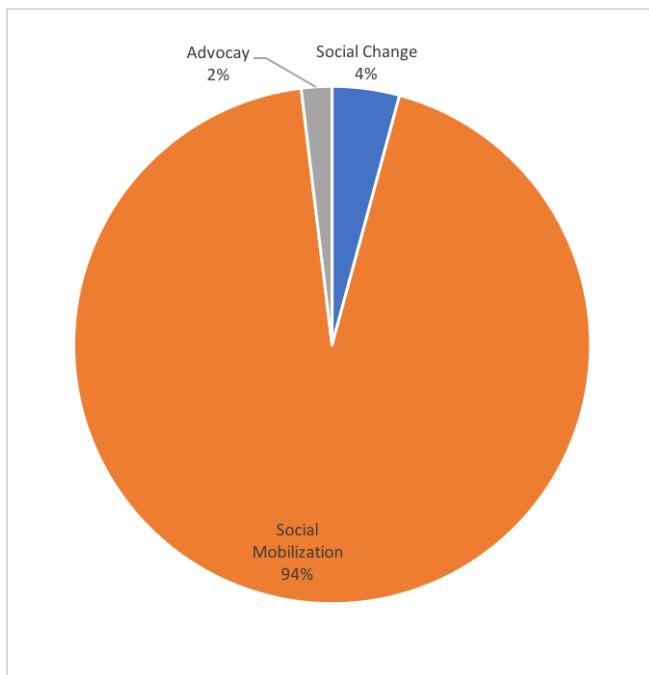


Figure 37: Individual - Theme

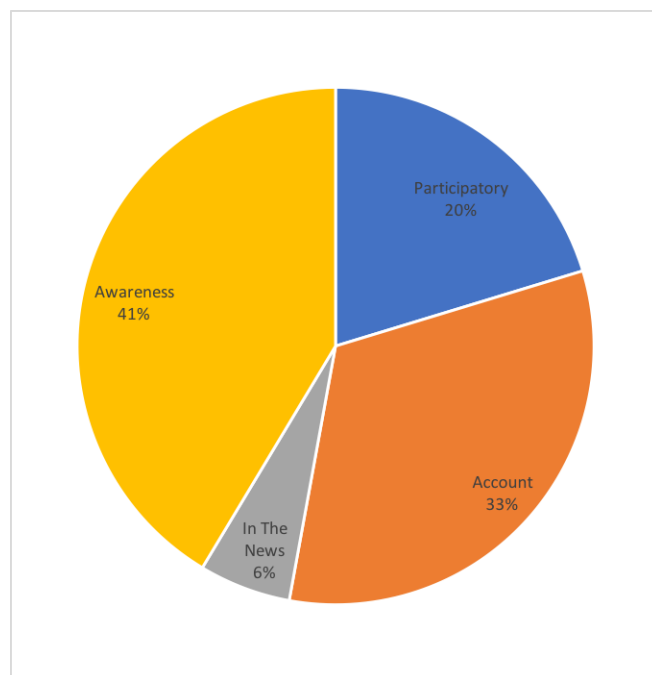


Figure 37: Individual - Message Type

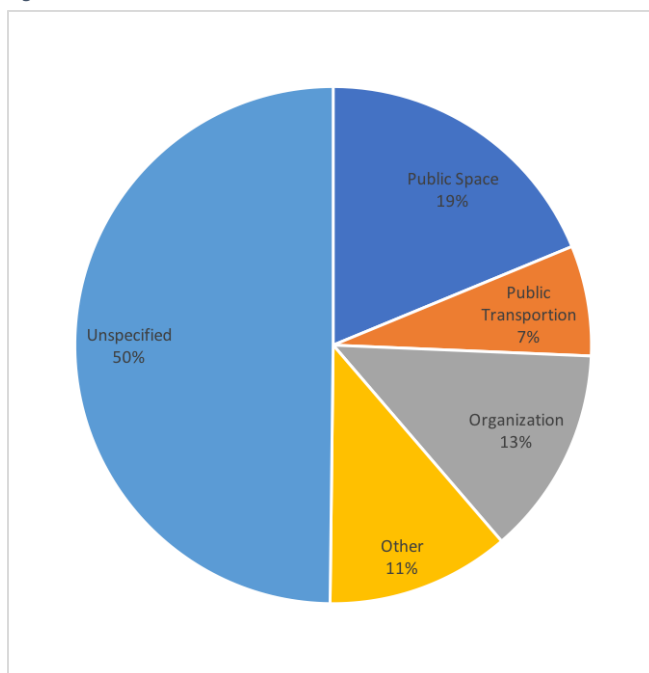


Figure 37: Individual - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.3.2 Interpersonal

Content targeting the Interpersonal SEM level targets persons with interpersonal connections to women who are or may be subjected to sexual harassment. Almost all content under this category focuses on encouraging bystander intervention, with a few posts targeting survivors' families explaining that they have a role in supporting survivors and encouraging

them to take an action rather than blame them, or explaining how families may encourage perpetration of violence. Additionally, one post under this category is about sexual harassment taking place in homes, where the perpetrator is a relative (e.g. father, brother). Content under this category thus focuses on raising awareness about reasons for intervening to help victims or prevent harassment when witnessing it. This is communicated through campaigning material as well as accounts with positive impacts of intervention. Content under this category is either:

- Campaign material that shows excuses bystanders may give to themselves for not intervening, such as such as “maybe she does not need help”, “It’s none of my business”, or “I’m busy and don’t have time for this” and responses as to why these excuses are wrong, such as “if you’re not sure if she needs help, maybe you should ask”, “It is your business to help someone in need”, “intervening can take a minute, and you will be helping someone”.
- Campaigning material explaining to bystanders what intervention can do in terms of supporting the person being harassed and combating harassment in general by using phrases like “when you intervene to stop harassment enough times, harassers will fear doing anything and you’ll have a role in combating harassment”
- Published or shared accounts on Facebook and the Map’s reports where people intervened to stop harassment and made a positive impact.
- Website content explaining how bystanders can intervene to support victims.

Notably, HarassMap’s content under this category is in many cases gender neutral, showing that bystander intervention is needed from both men and women. It also highlights the difference between “protecting” and “supporting” victims with the aim of differentiating between “guardianship” of women by men and intervening to support victims. The idea here being that framing bystander intervention as the man’s role of protecting women may lead to gender-role stereotyping and giving the man an upper hand as to deciding what women should and should not do/wear/go.

Figures 38, 39, and 40 show the division of content under the interpersonal SEM level category upon the different themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. Similar to the individual level content, the majority of the content (93 percent) under this category fall under the social mobilization theme. Content under this category includes the campaigning material and accounts encouraging bystander intervention as well as the website content explaining how intervention can help. This is followed by the social

change category with 6 percent. Content under this category includes posts targeting survivors' family members or family members who normalize harassment from their sons, and content aiming to correct wrong beliefs that would stop bystanders from intervening. Finally, advocacy content make 1 percent (1 post) which describes a law that charges any man who stares at a woman for more than 14 seconds. The post discusses what would happen if this law is applied in Egypt, how it will affect harassment and interpersonal connections.

In terms of message type – similar to all categories – the category with highest number is awareness (64 percent). Content under this category includes the campaigns for intervention, as well as the website content. This is followed by the accounts category with 23 percent. This category includes intervention accounts published or shared on Facebook or on the Map's reports. Next, comes that participatory category with 8 percent, which includes posts with debate questions targeted at bystanders or families of survivors, or posts encouraging people to share stories of bystander intervention. Finally, items from the news and trending social media posts make 6 percent and includes news about how bystander intervention helped support victims.

For sexual harassment setting, again, the majority of the content (65 percent) does not have a specified setting. This includes some campaigning content, as well as the website content. A few of the campaigning content have a specified content, as well as the accounts. The division between the different settings is as follows: 21 percent for public spaces, 9 percent for public transportation, 3 percent for organizations, and 2 percent for other settings.

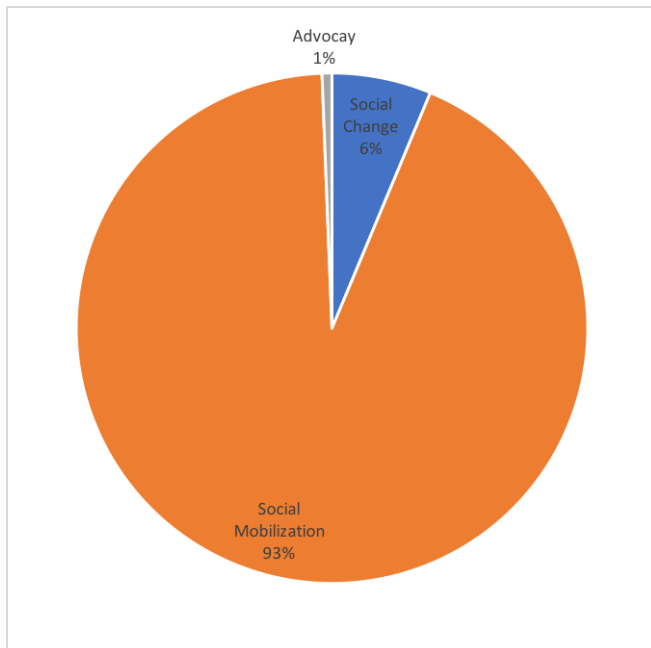


Figure 40: Interpersonal - Theme

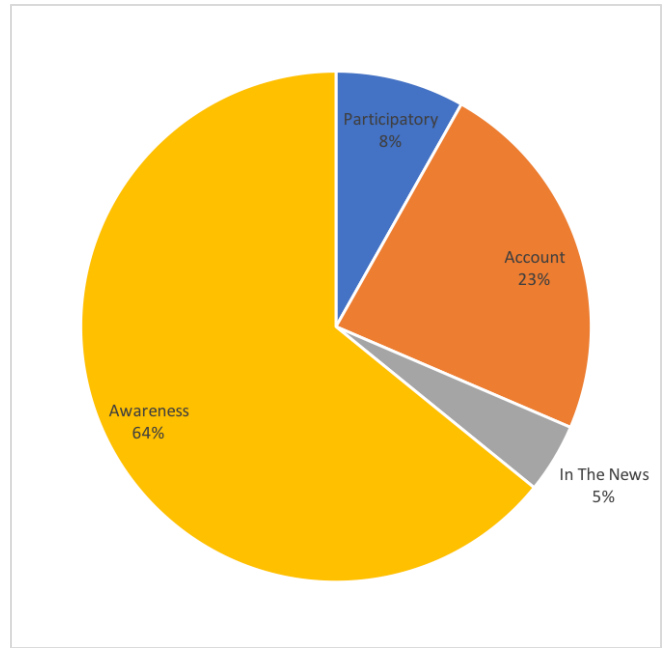


Figure 40: Interpersonal - Message Type

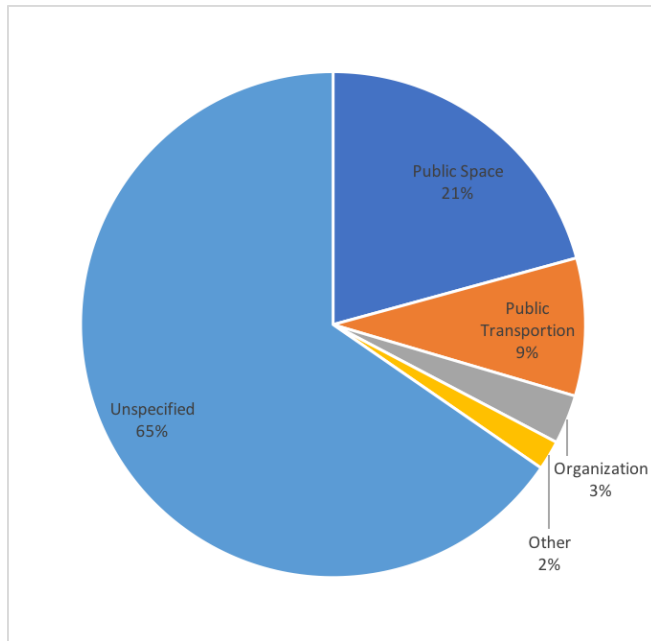


Figure 40: Interpersonal - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.3.3 Community

Content targeting the community SEM level targets the Egyptian society at large. It aims change views and beliefs leading to the social acceptability of harassment, as well as destigmatize it and acknowledge that it exists. It also aims to highlight assignment of responsibility and attributions, showing that it is not the victim’s responsibility, and is a crime. Since changing the social perception and beliefs is essential to combat sexual

harassment, content under this category is intense, diverse, and highly repeated. It includes different items with different messages such as:

- Campaigning material, including statistics about the prevalence of sexual harassment in Egypt, places and time where harassment takes place, the attire of victims, etc.
- Accounts of sexual harassment reported on the Map
- Definition of sexual harassment and its types
- Campaigning material explaining what sexual harassment is, who's responsible for it and what it is attributed to
- A detailed description of the Law
- Posts seeking the participation of the society members in debates, or responding to questions or surveys, including questions about the Law

Figures 41, 42, and 43 show the division of content under the community SEM level category upon the different themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. The majority of the content (76 percent) falls under the social change theme, this includes statistics, definitions, campaigning material, and the Map's reports that do not include a description of a positive action. Content under the social mobilization theme makes 20 percent of the content under this category. This includes participatory content for debating or responding to surveys and content to change the society's behavior toward harassment. Finally, advocacy content makes 4 percent, mostly including debates about the law and different laws around the world.

In terms of message type, 44 percent of the content fall under the awareness category. This includes the campaigning material as well as the definitions. The account category includes content reported on the Map and not including any positive actions either by the survivor or a bystander, making 33 percent of the content. The participatory content comes next with 16 percent and includes debates and surveys. Finally, items from the news make 7 percent of the content under the community category, including news about popular harassment incidents or trending social media hashtags, such as #MeToo and #ItWasMe.

For sexual harassment setting, 61 percent of the content does not have a specified setting – this is mostly definitions and some campaigning material, while 23 percent cover harassment in public spaces, 9 percent in other settings, 4 percent in public transportation, and 3 percent in organizations – this is mostly the Map's reports and some campaigning material.

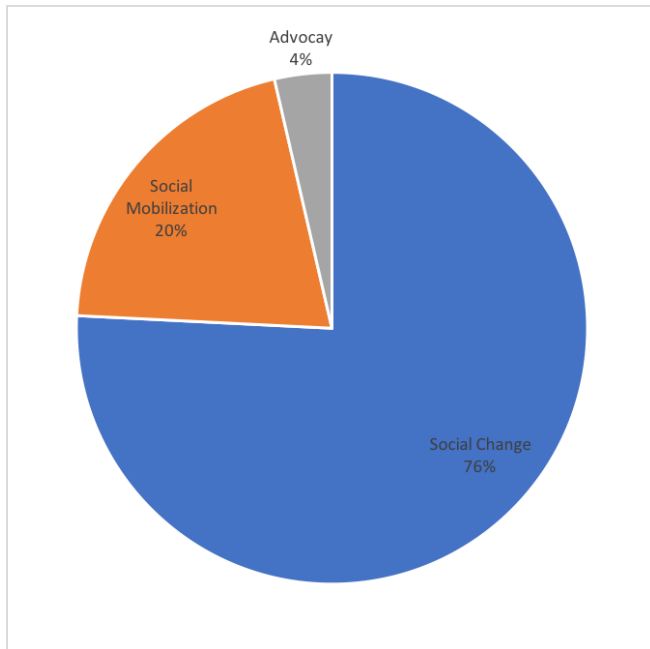


Figure 43: Community - Theme

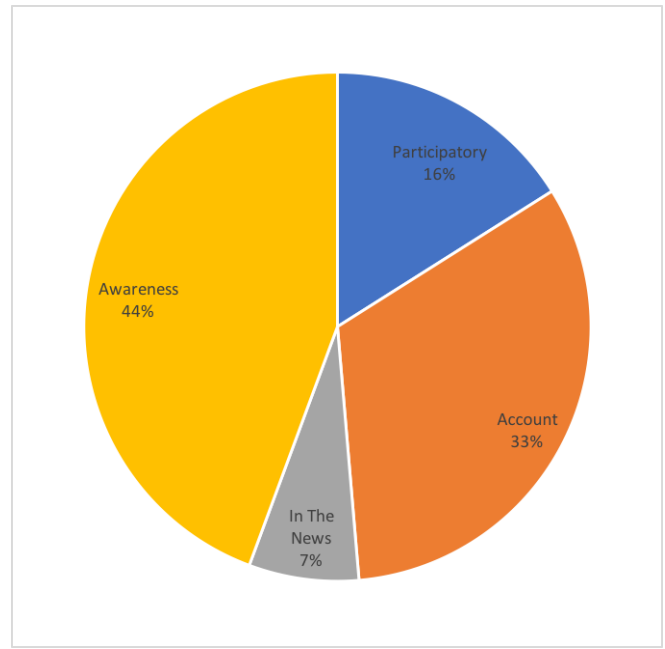


Figure 43: Community - Message Type

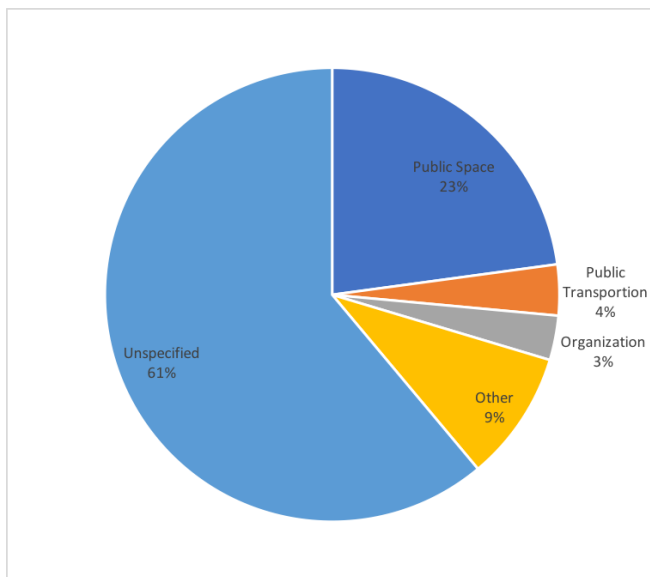


Figure 43: Community - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.3.4 Organizational

Content under this category primarily focuses on promoting HarassMap’s work for Safe Corporates and Safe Universities as well as mobilizing organizations to fight harassment. To do so, it also does campaigns to show that sexual harassment exists within workplaces and educational institutions. A few posts also target other organizations that can join the Safe Areas program, such as malls, supermarkets, or even kiosks. Content under this category thus includes:

- Content promoting the Safe Corporates, Safe Universities, and Safe Areas programs.
- News about businesses or universities who joined the programs, shared to encourage other institutions to join.
- Campaigning material about sexual harassment in organizations.
- Accounts of sexual harassment in organizations where the policies or management did not support the victim.

Figures 44, 45, and 46 show the division of content under the organizational SEM level category upon the different themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. As shown in the figures, more than half the content (52 percent) are under the social mobilization theme. This includes posts encouraging businesses to join the Safe Corporates Program, as well as content promoting the Program. It also includes content encouraging educational institutions to join the Safe Universities Program, and other organizations to join the Safe Areas Program. Furthermore, 41 percent of the content fall under the advocacy category. This mostly includes content calling for anti-harassment policies and systems in universities and businesses. Finally, social change content make 7 percent and includes campaigning material highlighting that sexual harassment exists in businesses and educational institutions.

For the message type, the majority of the content falls under the awareness category (76 percent). This includes promotional content, information about the programs, advocacy content, and posts highlighting the existence of sexual harassment within organizations. Items from the news come next with 14 percent. This includes news pieces about businesses joining the Safe Corporates program and universities adopting the anti-sexual harassment policies and establishing anti-sexual harassment units. There are also a few accounts – making 5 percent of the total content – that tell stories of incidents where the lack of policy or sexual harassment-aware staff made the situation worse for survivors. Finally, participatory content also makes 5 percent, and includes questions related to anti-sexual harassment policies within organizations.

Finally, for sexual harassment setting, naturally, 97 percent of the content is under the organization category. One post (1 percent) is under the unspecified category, which speaks to media institutions about the attitudes in some media outlets that encourages sexual harassment by speaking negatively of women based on their appearance and attire. No certain media institution was identified, thus it was not categorized under organizations. Two posts

(2 percent) are accounts of sexual harassment in malls, which could join the Safe Areas Program and thus were categorized under other.

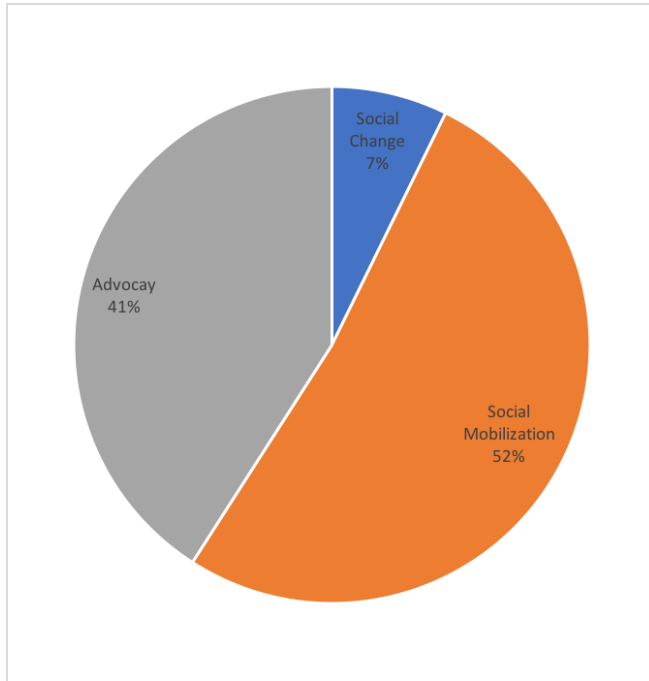


Figure 46: Organizational - Theme

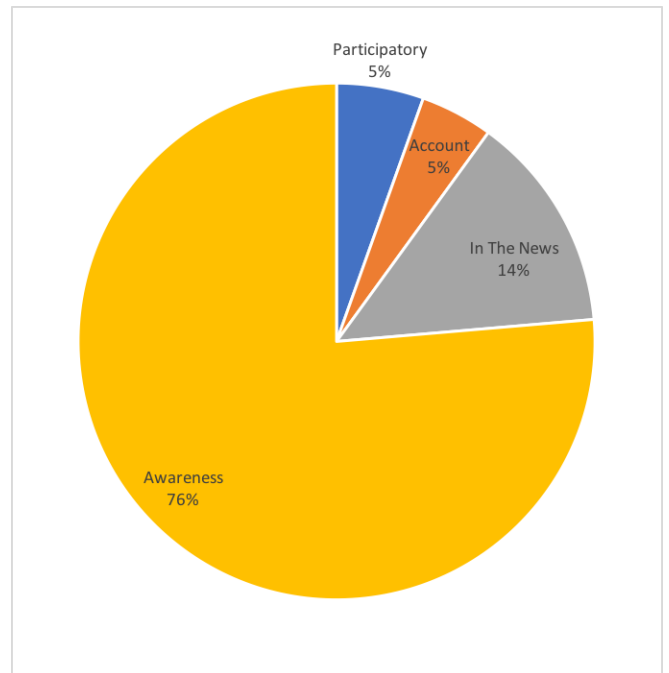


Figure 46: Organizational - Message Type

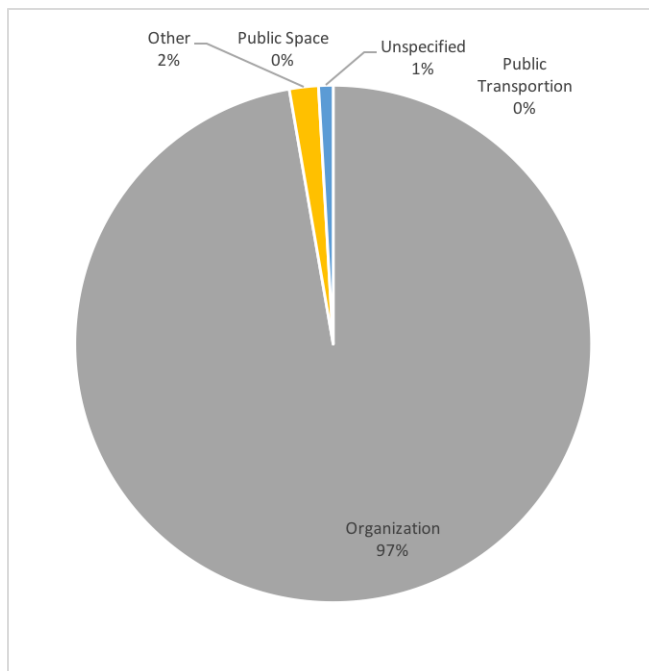


Figure 46: Organizational - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.3.5 Policy/Enabling Environment

Content under this category focuses on advocating for stricter laws, and is limited to ten Facebook items. It includes posts about the laws in different parts of the world, as well as

debate questions about what the law should be. Figures 47, 48, and 49 show the division of content under the policy/enabling environment SEM level category upon the different themes, message types, and sexual harassment setting respectively. As shown, all content is under the advocacy theme. It is however divided between the message types as follows: 70 percent are under awareness – which are the posts about laws in other countries, 20 percent from the news – which includes news about laws in other countries, and 10 percent are participatory – which includes debate questions about the Egyptian Sexual Harassment Law and ideas for how to modify it in the future. Finally, for the sexual harassment setting, while 70 percent do not have a specified setting, two posts (20 percent) are under the public transportation category since they are about laws in governmental public transportation companies, and one post (10 percent) is under the other category because it is about online harassment.

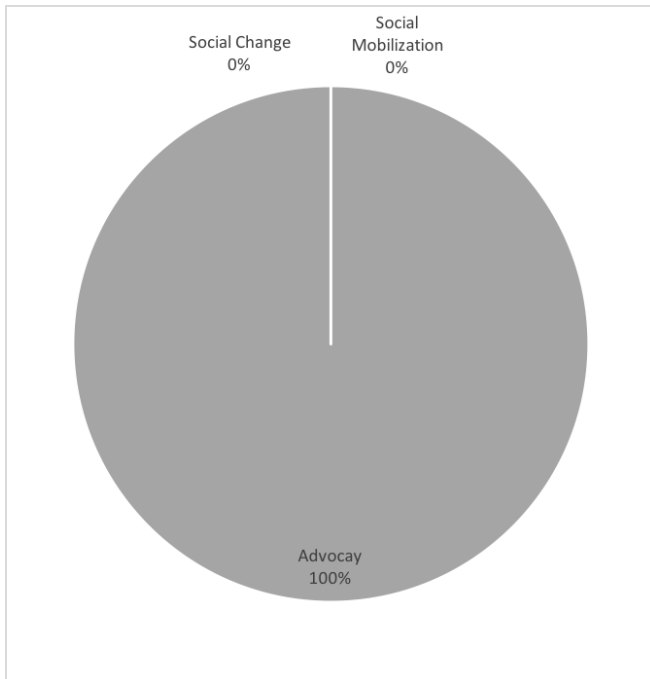


Figure 49: Policy/Enabling Environment - Theme

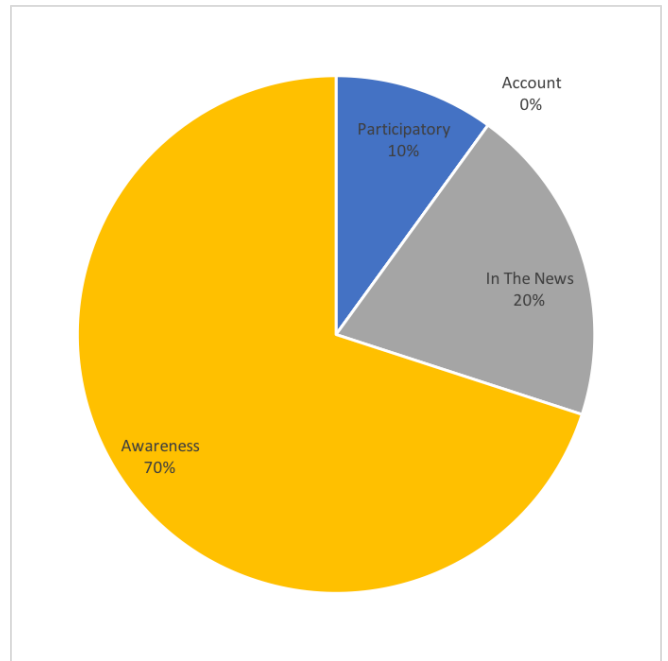


Figure 49: Policy/Enabling Environment - Message Type

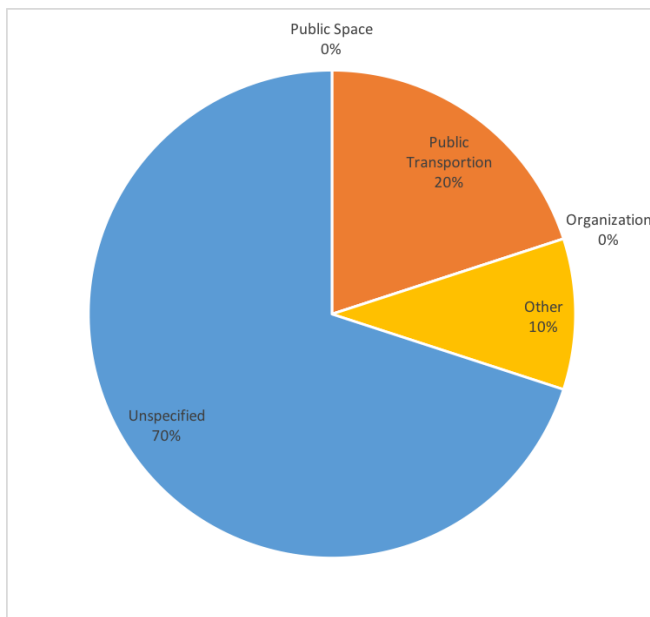


Figure 49: Policy/Enabling Environment - Sexual Harassment Setting

5.2.2.4 Theme

Since the majority of content targets the society at large or society members, it is more focused on the social change and social mobilization themes, rather than advocacy – which would have increased had the focus been on the two outermost SEM levels (organizational and policy/enabling environment). As shown in Figure 50, content under the social mobilization theme makes 55 percent of the content, content under the social change theme makes 37 percent of the content, while content under the advocacy theme makes only 8 percent of the total content.

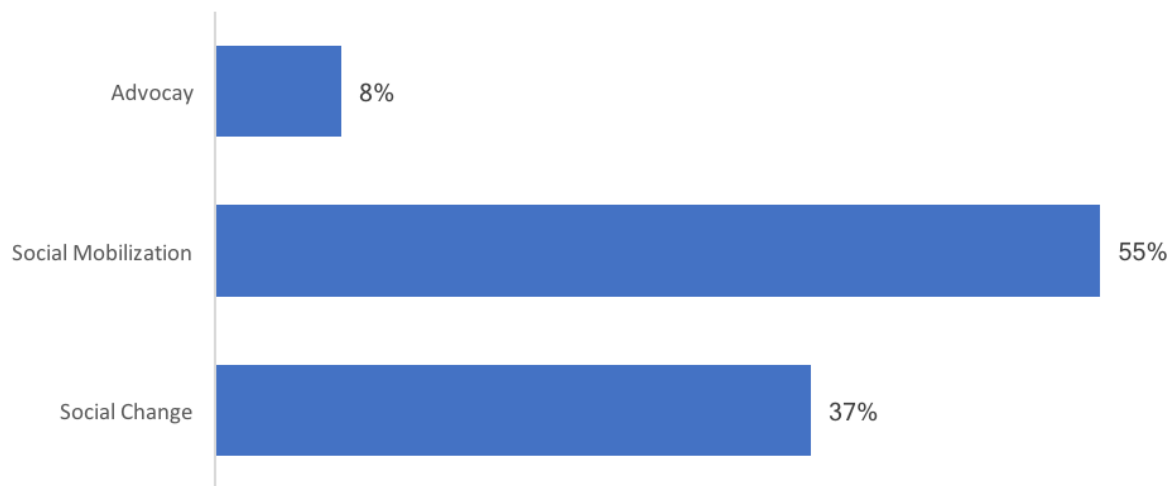


Figure 50: Theme

5.2.2.4.1 Social Change

Social change content aims to change views, attitudes and beliefs about sexual harassment as a means of combating it through turning the society against it. Social change content is built on the idea that the Egyptian society has gotten used to sexual harassment being something that women are subjected to everyday, everywhere, thus becoming an accepted norm that women must live with. And since it has become a norm, people stopped talking about it and have turned it into a taboo that some even would not prefer to say or hear the word harassment. It is also built on the idea that society members have several wrong beliefs as related to sexual harassment. This includes: only unveiled women or women with revealing clothing are harassed, only young women are harassed, harassment only happens at night in dark areas that women can avoid, only young low income boys harass, harassment must involve touching, women ask for harassment, etc. Such beliefs lead to the society not being aware of the size of the problem, and more importantly to wrong assignment of responsibility and attributions. Content under this category thus includes:

- Accounts of sexual harassment reported on the Map aiming to show that harassment is widespread, could happen to anyone, anywhere, and at any time of day.
- Campaign content aiming to correct the wrong beliefs about sexual harassment
- Definitions of sexual harassment and what it entails
- Campaign content highlighting the difference between sexual harassment and consensual words or acts.
- Campaign content highlighting that harassment – in all its forms – is a crime punishable by law

Figures 51 and 52 show the division of social change content upon the targeted SEM levels and message types respectively. As shown, most of the social change content targets the community level (92 percent) aiming to change attitudes and beliefs. Social change content that target the individual and interpersonal levels make 3 percent for each level. Such content is more focused on certain beliefs. For example, for the individual level it is focused destigmatizing harassment and the idea that survivors cannot respond to harassment, while for the interpersonal level, it focuses on the role of the survivor’s family in supporting her, the role of parents in ensuring that nothing in their children’s upbringing would encourage them to sexually harass, and the role of bystanders in combating harassment. Finally, 2 percent of the content targets the organizational level, aiming to highlight that sexual harassment exists in workplaces and educational institutions.

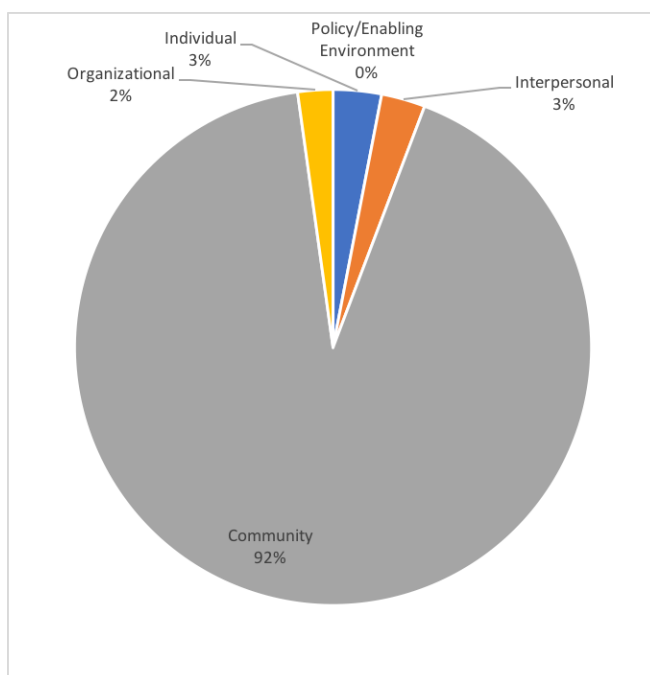


Figure 52: Theme - Targeted SEM Level

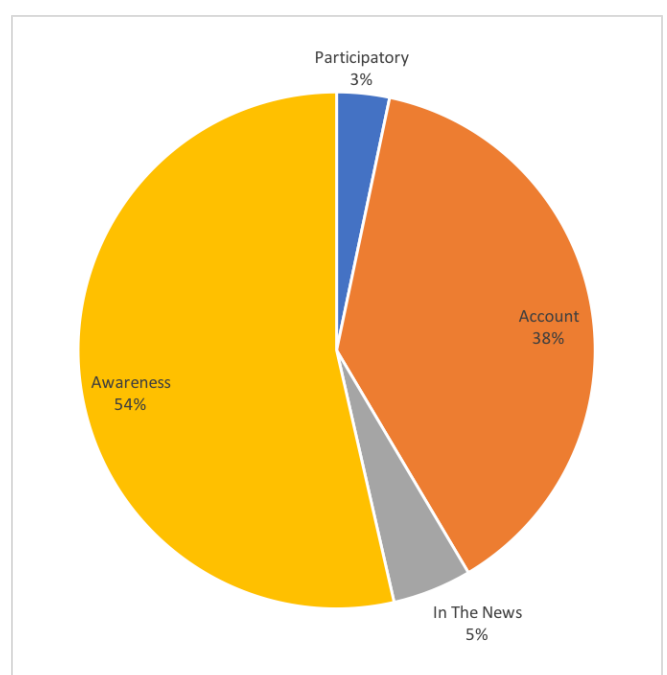


Figure 52: Theme - Message Type

In terms of message type, more than half the content falls under the awareness category (54 percent), this includes the definitions and the campaigning material, and 38 percent falls under the account category, which includes map reports targeting the community. In addition, 5 percent of the content is from the news or trending social media content, this includes news pieces about different types or harassment that took place in different places. Finally, 3 percent of the content fall under the participatory category, this includes hashtags that were trending at the time of publishing and could be joined or visited for more information, and debate questions aiming to change views.

5.2.2.4.2 Social Mobilization

The Social Mobilization theme includes content that calls for action from the society or society members. It is based on two main research findings: (1) survivors rarely report sexual harassment or seek help; (2) bystanders rarely intervene to support survivors. Thus, while social change-themed content aims to combat harassment through changing views or beliefs, social mobilization-themes content aims to do so by encouraging society and society members to taking an action against harassment. Actions that need to be taken to combat harassment include responding to harassment when it happens (by the victim and bystanders), reporting it to the police and HarassMap, talking about it and sharing stories, and participating in debates about it to fight its social acceptability and normalization. Content under this category includes:

- Accounts shared on the Facebook Page about harassment and intervention aiming to encourage more people to share their accounts, and to show how taking positive action can help stop harassment.
- Some of the accounts reported on the map that include a positive action that succeeded in stopping harassment.
- Campaigning content encouraging women to stop the harasser, seek support, report, and speak out against harassment.
- Campaigning content encouraging bystander intervention.
- Campaigning material to encourage businesses to join the Safe Corporates program.
- Participatory content debating sexual harassment issues, call for submissions on the blog, or call for responding to questions or surveys.

Figures 53 and 54 show the division of social mobilization content upon the targeted SEM levels and message types respectively. As shown in figure 53, the greatest focus is

given to the individual SEM level (45 percent), mainly by encouraging them to take an action and share their stories. The interpersonal level comes next with 27 percent all focused on bystander intervention, either through campaigning material or reports. The community level falls in the third place with 17 percent, which is mostly participatory posts for debates and survey aiming to fight social acceptability and normalization. Finally, the organizational level falls in the fourth place with 11 percent and includes posts encouraging companies to join the Safe Corporates Program.

For Message type, awareness makes almost half of the content (47 percent). This includes content that explains why an action should be taken, which is mostly campaigning material. Accounts published or shared on Facebook, as well as accounts including a positive action that succeeded in stopping harassment fall under the accounts category and make 24 percent of the total content. Participatory content, on the other hand, makes 23 percent of the total content and includes all Facebook posts encouraging survivors to tell their stories, call for submissions on the blog, and posts including debates, questions and surveys. Finally, items from the news make 6 percent of the total content, and focuses on news pieces or trending social media content that show how positive action could help combat harassment.

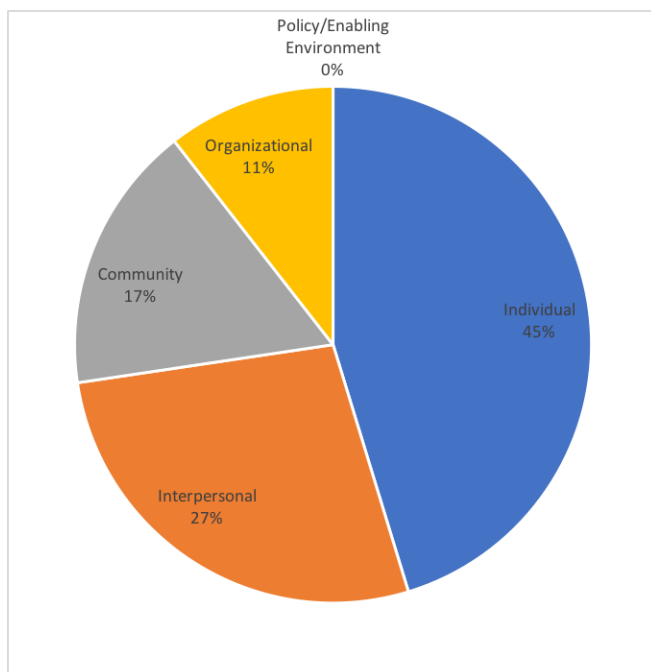


Figure 54: Social Mobilization - Targeted SEM Level

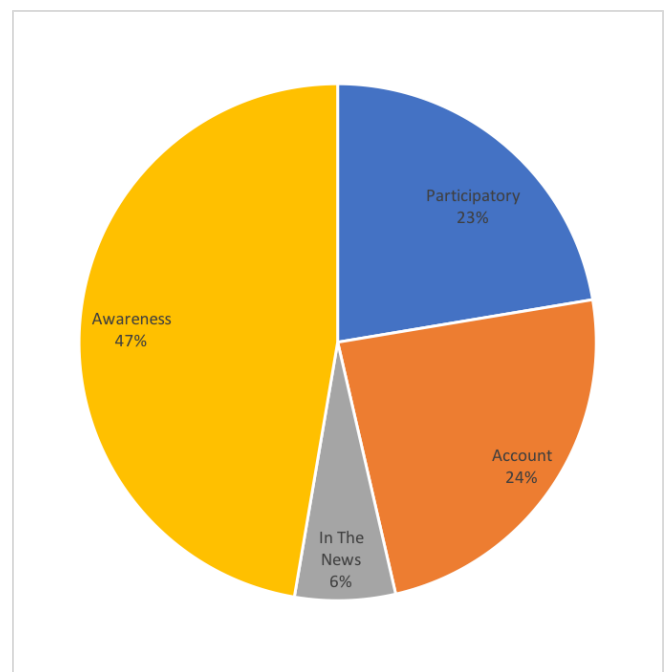


Figure 54: Social Mobilization – Message Type

5.2.2.4.3 Advocacy

Advocacy themed content is the least published type of content. This is partially because HarassMap’s mission is society-related rather than law-related, but also because law-related content focuses on putting the law in effect – through encouraging survivors to report to the police – rather than modify the Law. Content under this category, thus, gives little focus to the law, but focuses more on anti-sexual harassment policies. Content under this category includes the following:

- Debates about how the law should be
- Campaigning content about laws in other countries
- Campaigning content advocating for anti-harassment policies in educational institutions, businesses, and other organizations
- Content encouraging society members to advocate for anti-harassment policies within their organizations.

Figures 55 and 56 show the division of social mobilization content upon the targeted SEM levels and message types respectively. As shown in the figures, 58 percent of the content targets the organizational SEM level, which is the content advocating for anti-sexual harassment policies in organizations. Furthermore, 21 percent of the content targets the community SEM level, which is the content calling for community members to advocate for anti-harassment policies within their organizations, as well as content aiming to engage community members in debates about suggestion for modifying the Law. Next, is the

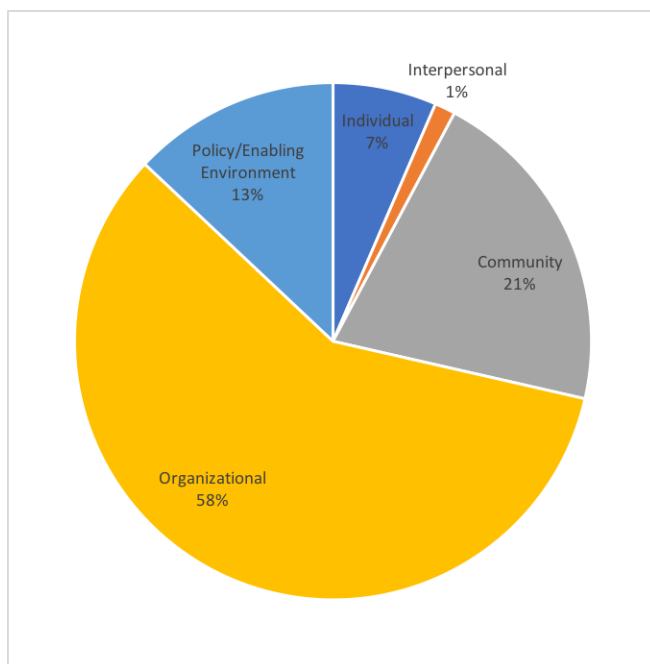


Figure 56: Advocacy - Targeted SEM Level

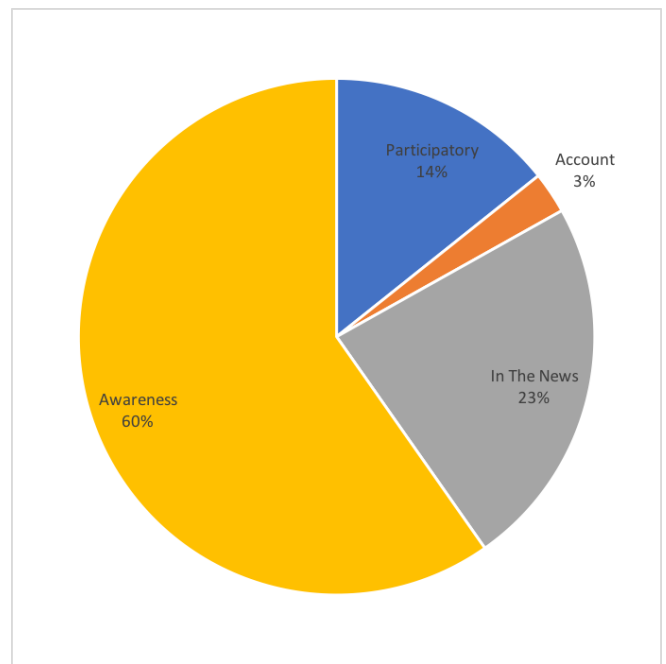


Figure 56: Advocacy - Message Type

policy/enabling environment, with 13 percent, which is the content about harassment laws around the world. Content targeting the individual SEM level makes 7 percent of the total content, and it encourages women to report as a means of enforcing the law and explains to them how to ensure sound law enforcement. Finally, one post (1 percent) targets the interpersonal level, which describes a law that charges any man who stares at a woman for more than 14 seconds. The post discusses what would happen if this law is applied in Egypt, how it will affect harassment and interpersonal connections.

In terms of message type, 60 percent of the content is under the awareness category. This includes the campaigning content and content encouraging society members to advocate for anti-harassment policies. Items from the news come next with 23 percent. This includes news about entities that adopted an anti-harassment policy, as well as news about laws and law enforcement around the world. Participatory content makes 14 percent of the total content and includes content discussing the Law and how it should change to better serve its purpose. Finally, accounts make 3 percent (2 posts) and covers an account calling for more stringent laws and another highlighting the importance of sound law enforcement.

5.2.2.5 Message Type

The message type category shows that more than half (51 percent) of the content published by HarassMap is awareness content, aiming to change attitudes, beliefs, and behavior, as well as encourage taking an action. Furthermore, the Map’s reports and other accounts on Facebook make 28 percent of the total content. Participatory content which aims to create debates and collect answers from society members, makes 15 percent of the total content. Finally, content shared from the news or trending social media content makes 7 percent of the total content. Figure 57 summarizes the division of content among the different message types.

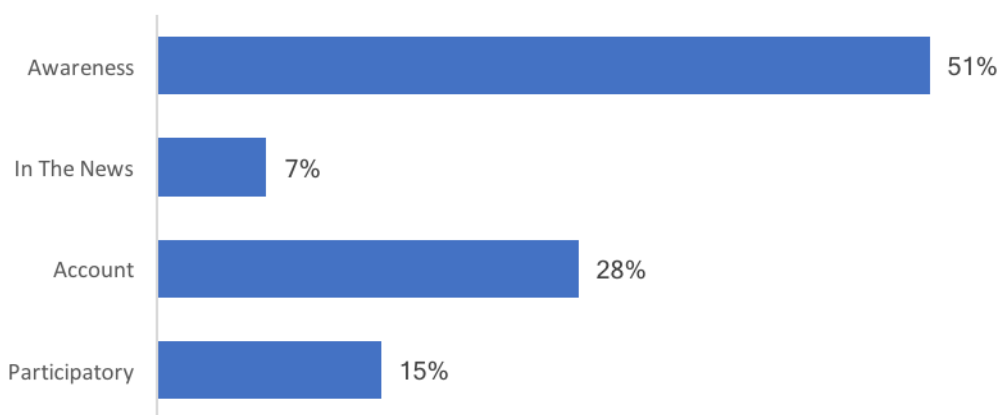


Figure 57: Message Type

5.2.2.5.1 Participatory

Participatory content is content primarily seeking answers to questions, encouraging sharing accounts, or debating from the Facebook Page visitors. The objective of this type of content is to encourage people to speak about harassment, encourage women to tell their stories, or collect data for research purposes in an effort to destigmatize it. Content under this category includes:

- Content calling for survivors to share their accounts either on social media or the Map
- Call for submissions of blog posts, either of accounts or speaking about certain cultural beliefs.
- Content encouraging users to join trending hashtags.
- Content debating certain ideas related to sexual harassment, such as: “do you think it is right for women to use violence in defending themselves against harassers?”, “what is the role of family members in combating sexual harassment?”, “What do you think of [this] hashtag?”, “do you think schools should have an anti-harassment policy?”, or “What do you think is an article that should be added to the Sexual Harassment Law to better serve its purpose?”
- Call for responding to surveys or open-ended questions through different mobile applications that allow anonymous responses for research purposes.

As mentioned earlier, this category includes content that focuses primarily on participation, and not all content that includes questions following an awareness message, an account, or piece of news – which could make almost all content published on the Facebook Page. This categorization, as such, is not to be considered as one for counting posts calling for the Page’s visitors to interact, because most of the content on any social media account will aim for this. It rather highlights content calling for participation in terms of encouraging telling stories of harassment to break the taboo around it, participate in responding to research related questions of surveys, or debate ideas that people would otherwise prefer not to talk about. So, the aim here is to analyze content encouraging visitors to speak up rather than interact.

Figures 58 and 59 show the division of participatory content among the different SEM levels and themes respectively. Almost half of the content (49 percent) target the community at large. This includes questions, debates, calls for blog submissions and responding to surveys. The individual level comes as a close second with 37 percent. This includes content asking specific questions to survivors or encouraging them to share their stories. The

interpersonal level comes in third place with 9 percent and includes content asking questions related to the role of families or bystander intervention. Content targeting the organizational level makes 4 percent of the total content and includes debates about anti-harassment policies in organizations. Finally, Policy/Enabling Environment content makes 1 percent, which includes debates about the Law.

As for the theme, the majority of the content (84 percent) has a social mobilization theme. However, some content is also under the social change theme (8 percent). This content is of participatory nature, but aims to change views or beliefs of the participator this includes questions for debating that are built on some research findings that are shared. For example, the question starts with a statement taken from an interview in a research study then the questions follow. Finally, advocacy content also makes 8 percent, and is in the form of posts debating law-related questions.

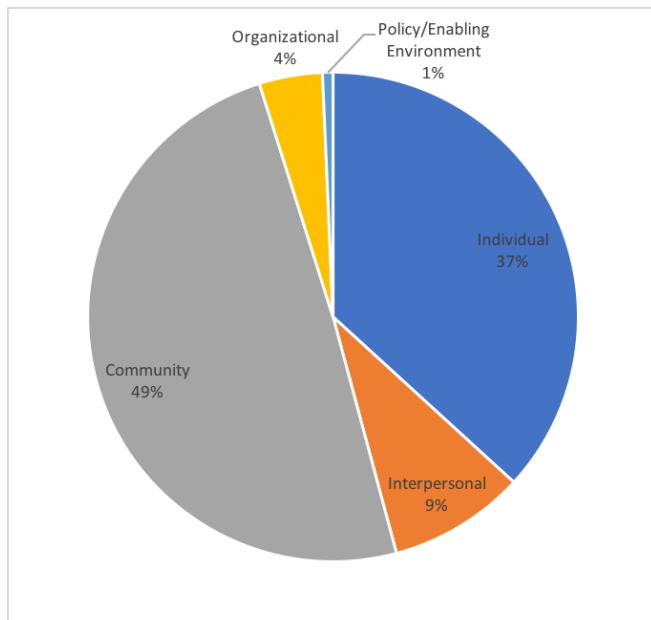


Figure 59: Participatory - Targeted SEM Level

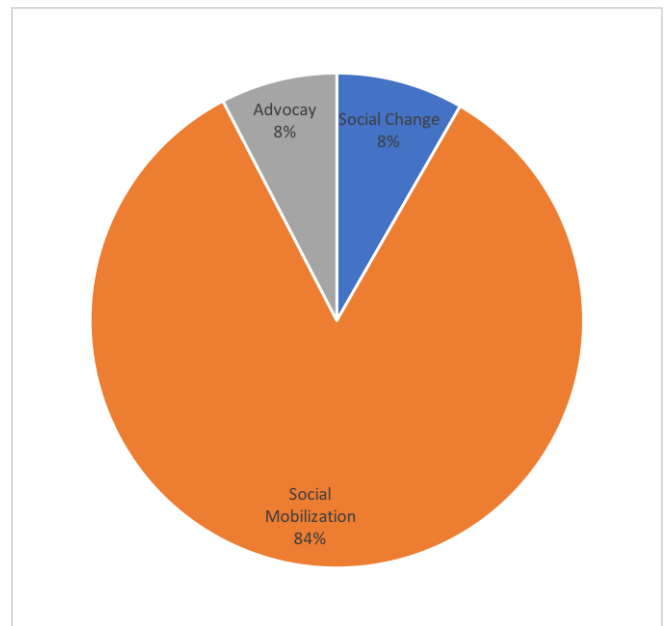


Figure 59: Participatory - Theme

5.2.2.5.2 Account

Accounts are shared by either survivors or bystanders, and are of an incident or an incident with intervention. Accounts are of two types – those shared on Facebook or published anonymously, and those reported through the Map. Accounts include the following content:

- Map reports shared by survivors about incidents.
- Map reports shared by survivors who took a positive action and succeeded in responding to harassment.

- Map reports shared by survivors or bystanders about incidents with intervention, where intervention succeeded in supporting the harassed
- Stories of incidents published anonymously on Facebook
- Stories of incidents with intervention published anonymously on Facebook
- Stories of incidents or interventions shared from other Facebook accounts or pages.

It is important to note that accounts shared on Facebook are analyzed differently from those entered through the Map's reports. While the Map's reports aim to show the extent and prevalence and harassment with the aim of changing the social perception towards it, accounts shared on social media are worded differently and are framed in a way to encourage more victims or bystanders to share their accounts. Thus, there is a difference in the theme of both accounts (social change for the website and social mobilization for Facebook), and a difference in the targeted SEM level (community for the website and individual or interpersonal for Facebook).

Figures 60 and 61 show the division of accounts among the different SEM levels and themes respectively. As explained above, the content that aims to change the community's attitudes and beliefs about sexual harassment prevalence, time and location of incidence target the community SEM level. This makes 53 percent of the whole content and includes most of the Map reports. The individual level, on the other hand is targeted by 31 percent of the content, which includes accounts published or shared on Facebook to encourage more women to tell their stories, as well as map reports that include a positive action that succeeded in stopping harassment, as to encourage more women to respond to harassment. The interpersonal level is targeted by 14 percent of the content, which includes map reports with successful intervention and stories of successful intervention shared or published on Facebook. Finally, the organizational level is targeted by 2 percent, which are accounts of harassment that took place within an organization, where the survivor did not have any policies or procedures to support her in reporting.

In terms of theme, 51 percent of the content is under the social change category, which is the content targeting the community. 48 percent is under the social mobilization category, which is the content calling for survivors and bystanders to take an action, be it by sharing their stories, shouting at the harasser, or intervening. This includes all Facebook posts and Map reports where an action was taken and succeeded. Finally, 1 percent is under the advocacy category, and it includes reports calling for anti-harassment policies or stricter laws.

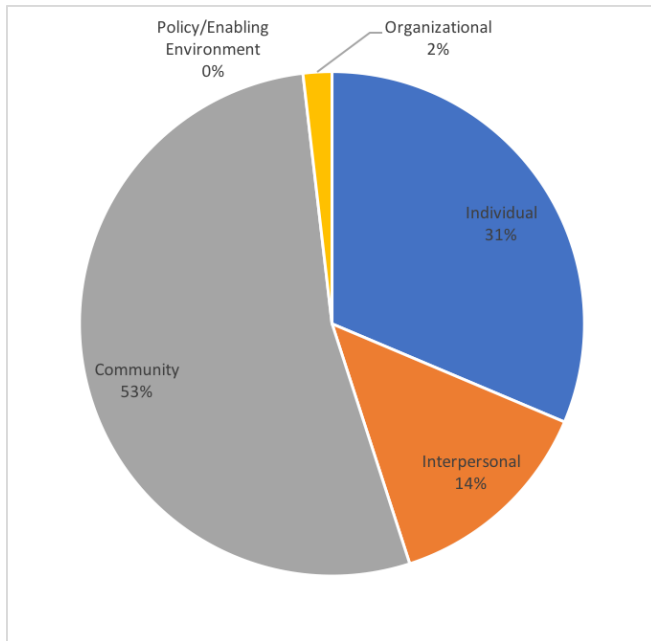


Figure 61: Account - Targeted SEM Level

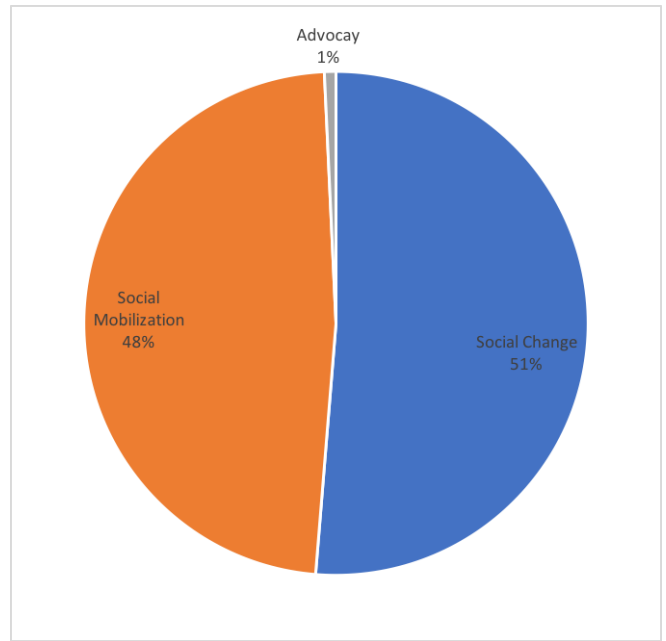


Figure 61: Account - Theme

5.2.2.5.3 In the News

A repeated pattern in Egypt and worldwide takes place when a sexual harassment incident gains popularity and reaches mainstream media. Whether or not this popularity was fueled by social media, the stories would then go back to social media when different users start to share it and speak about it, making it gain even more popularity. If the news is shocking enough to trend on social media (e.g. the Zagazig incident or the Harvey Weinstein story), it strikes online activity against sexual harassment in general, and usually a hashtag is created about sexual harassment, its prevalence and impacts, and continues to trend for several days (#TheFirstTimeIWasHarassedMyAgeWas [Arabic] for the Zagazig incident and #MeToo for the Weinstein Story). HarassMap Facebook page makes use of trending hashtags and news through sharing it to highlight the severity of sexual harassment in Egypt and the world.

Other content under this category includes news about successful interventions or actions taken to combat harassment, such as news about the anti-sexual harassment unit and policy at Cairo University, or Uber joining the Safe Corporates program. It also includes interviews with the HarassMap team and press releases. about their work to combat sexual harassment. Content under this category, thus, includes:

- Content about popular sexual harassment incidents that either reached mainstream media, went viral on social media, or both. Such content includes messages showing that sexual harassment is a serious threat to the society, as to change views about it.
- Content about trending hashtags of sexual harassment accounts or anti-sexual harassment hashtags to show the prevalence of sexual harassment, and encourage survivors to tell their stories.
- Content sharing news pieces about convicted perpetrators to show that sexual harassment is a crime and encourage more survivors to report.
- Content of news about successful interventions or initiatives that play a role in combating sexual harassment to show what can and should be done to fight harassment.
- Content sharing news about sexual harassment laws in other countries to advocate for stricter laws in the future.
- Interviews and press releases about HarassMap’s work, explaining why and how the society should fight harassment.

Figures 62 and 63 show the division of items from the news among the different SEM levels and themes respectively. As shown, content from the news targets all SEM levels, with the community level having the highest share (41 percent). Content under this category includes news of popular sexual harassment incidents and interviews and press releases about HarassMap’s work. The individual level is targeted by 22 percent of the content, including

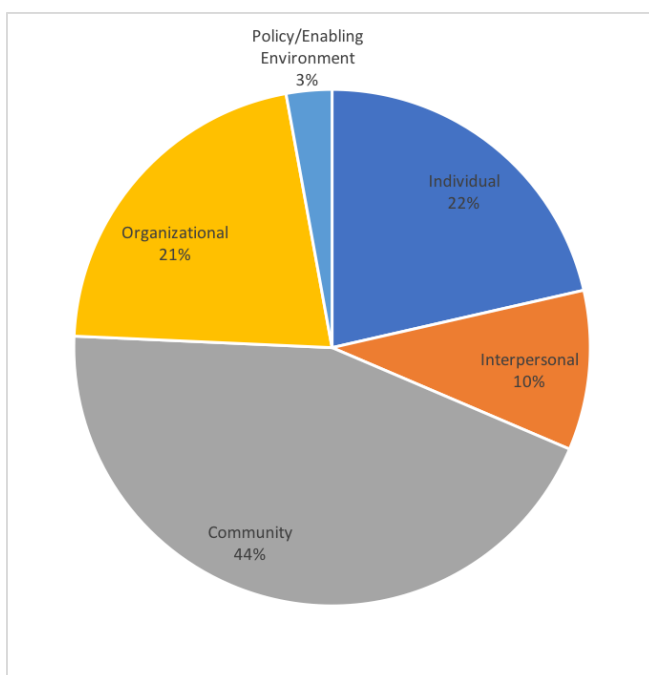


Figure 63: In the News - Targeted SEM Level

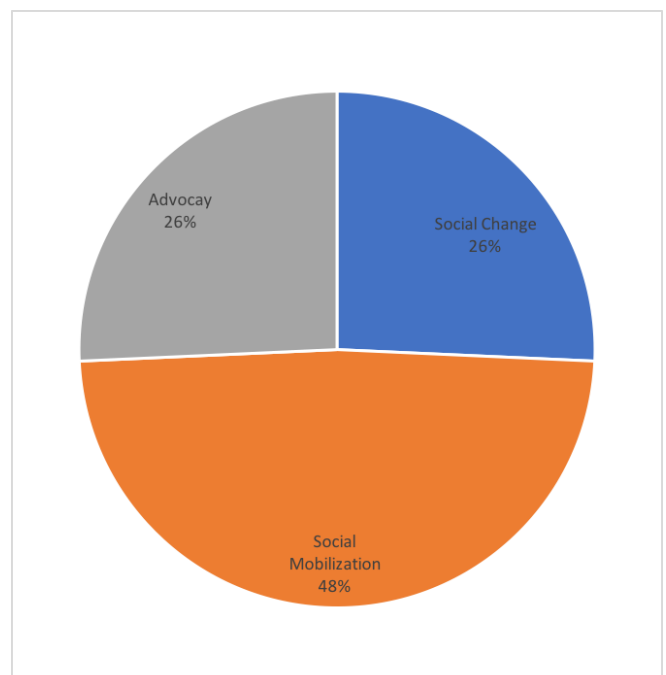


Figure 63: In the News - Theme

news of convicted perpetrators, and trending hashtags. The organizational level is targeted by 21 percent of the content, which includes news about successful interventions that have been applied in other organizations. Finally, the policy/enabling environment level is targeted by 3 percent of the content, which includes news about sexual harassment laws in other countries.

In terms of theme, 48 percent of the content from the news is under the social mobilization category. This includes content encouraging survivors to share their stories or report to the police, or encouraging organizations to take a positive action through the Safe Corporates and Safe Universities Programs. Social change content makes 26 percent of the total content, which includes content aiming to correct wrong beliefs and change views. Finally, advocacy content makes 26 percent of the total content and includes news about anti-harassment policies and laws in other countries.

5.2.2.5.4 Awareness

Awareness content makes most of the content under HarassMap. This content covers all targeted SEM levels and themes. It varies from definitions and descriptions shared on the website, to responses to myths and excuses for not intervening, to information about laws and policies to fight sexual harassment. Content under this category includes:

- Website content that includes definitions and descriptions of sexual harassment, intervention, HarassMap's work under the Safe Areas Program, and the Law
- Campaigning material that:
 - Encourages women to speak up and report
 - Explains why bystanders should intervene and responding to any excuses they may think of
 - Corrects wrong societal views about harassment, who is harassed, by whom, where, and when
 - Advocates for policies to fight sexual harassment in organizations
 - Highlight laws in other countries to show how the law can change in the future.

Figures 64 and 65 show the division of awareness content among the different SEM levels and themes respectively. As illustrated in figure 64, awareness messages cover all five SEM levels, with the highest share going to the community level (31 percent). Messages targeting this level mostly aim to correct wrong views through giving information – either statistics, research findings, or responses to myths. Next, comes the individual level with 22 percent. Content under this category focuses on giving reasons for speaking up or reporting, or highlighting that victims are not the ones to blame for sexual harassment. The

interpersonal level gets 21 percent of the content, which mostly focuses on reasons why bystanders should intervene, as well as responses to any excuses they might give to themselves for not intervening. The organizational level is targeted with 17 percent of the content which focuses on reasons why organizations should join the Safe Corporates Program or have anti-sexual harassment policies. Finally, the policy/enabling environment level gets 1 percent of the content, which covers how the law should be enforced when a survivor reports sexual harassment to the police.

In terms of theme, social mobilization gets the highest share of the total content (52 percent), which includes reasons given to survivors to speak up, seek help and/or report, as well as reasons given to bystanders to intervene to support those being harassed. Social change comes next with 39 percent of the content, and this includes information and campaigning material aiming to change the society’s beliefs of harassment. Finally, advocacy content makes 9 percent of the total content, and focuses on why organizations should have anti-harassment policies and procedures.

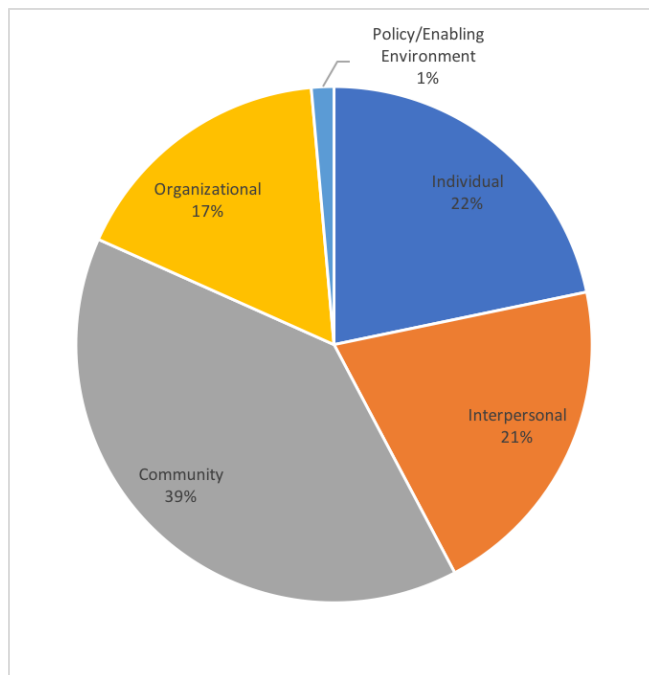


Figure 65: Awareness - Targeted SEM Level

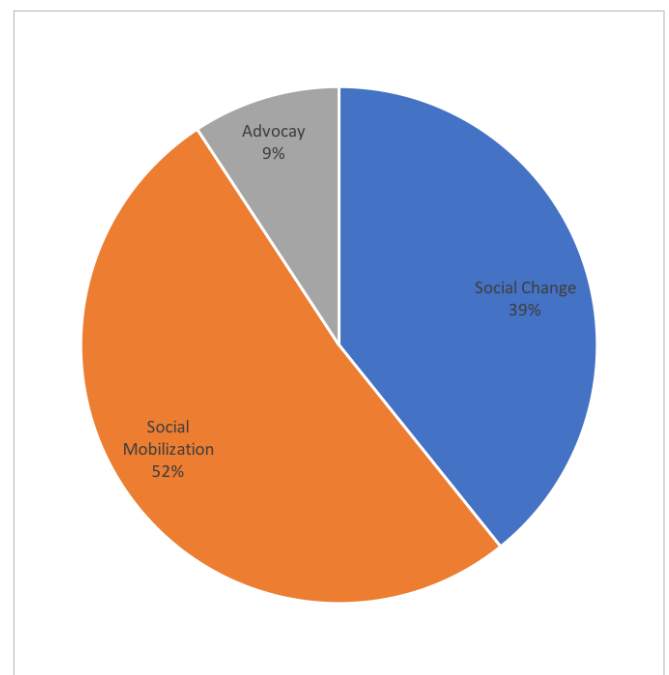


Figure 65: Awareness - Theme

5.2.2.6 Sexual Harassment Setting

HarassMap’s content generally does not give special focus to sexual harassment taking place in a specific setting, with more than half the content not having a specific setting. The only type of setting having a special focus is the organization setting, which includes campaigning

content targeting organizations to have anti-harassment systems. Content under the rest of the settings on the other hand is mostly accounts, as well as a limited amount of campaigns that show harassment taking place in such setting. The content is divided upon the different categories as follows (Figure 66):

- 52 percent of the content does not have a specified setting. This includes most of the campaigning content, as well as news and participatory posts not focusing on a specific location
- 19 percent of the content focuses on public spaces. This includes accounts where the location is a street or any public space, or campaigning material where the harassment takes place in a public space.
- 16 percent of the content focuses on organizations. This includes accounts as well as campaigning and advocacy material focusing the Safe Corporates and Safe Universities programs and the anti-sexual harassment policy.
- Public transportation content makes 5 percent of the total content, and includes accounts and a few campaigning material.
- The other group makes 8 percent of the total content and includes accounts and a few campaigning material. Other settings include: malls, homes, telephone, and online platforms.

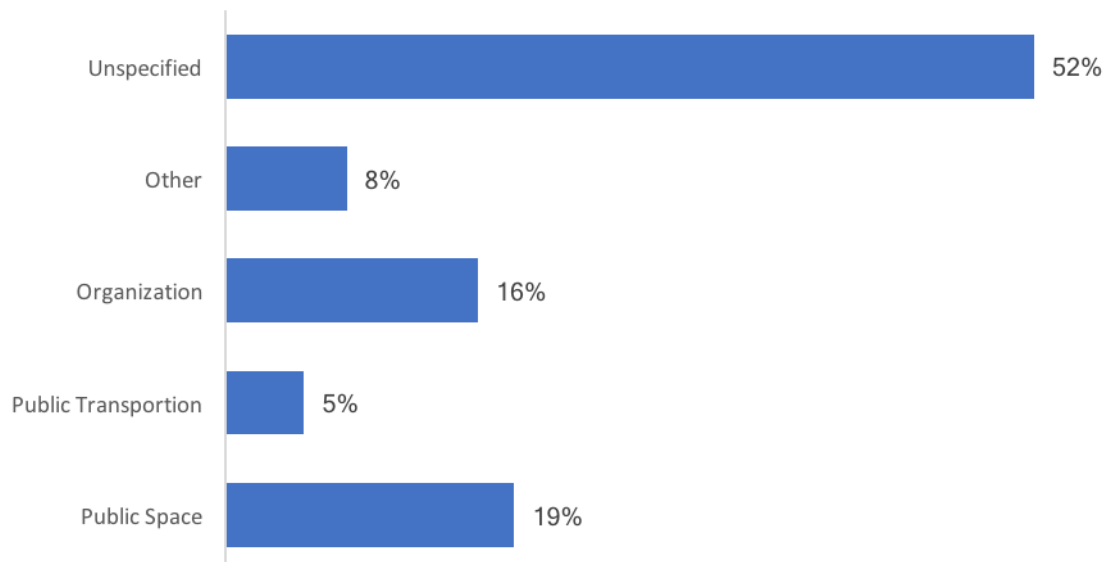


Figure 66: Sexual Harassment Setting

6 Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis is concerned with identifying how sexual harassment in Egypt could be combated and prevented through development communication methods using online and social media. Based on the Social Ecological Model for prevention of violence (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; Krug et al., 2002; UNICEF, 2009), research questions were developed to identify how each level can be targeted in the Egyptian context through online and social media to combat harassment. The study, as such, seeks to answer the following five research inquiries as to how online and social media can be used on the following five levels:

- **Individual:** through social change and social mobilization methods to support sexual harassment victims, fight self-blaming, and encourage them to take positive action.
- **Interpersonal:** through social mobilization methods to encourage bystander intervention.
- **Community:** through social change methods to fight the social acceptability of sexual harassment and avoid victim blaming.
- **Organizational:** through advocacy and social mobilization methods to create safer, harassment-free environments for women in public spaces, public transportation, educational institutions, and workplaces.
- **Policy/Enabling Environment:** through advocacy methods to advocate for stringent sexual harassment laws and law enforcement.

To answer these questions, the exploratory case study of HarassMap was taken as a single case study in the Egyptian context. Theoretical propositions were thus developed and a qualitative content analysis of HarassMap's website and Facebook content from 2015 to 2017 was conducted. Through explanation building, these theoretical propositions are revisited and modified based on the content analysis results, with the aim of being used as hypotheses for future studies. In addition, the study also looks into the development communication model used by HarassMap on its online and social media activities to identify how to make use of online and social media in development communication for combating sexual harassment. Together, these theoretical propositions provide a framework for combating sexual harassment in Egypt using online and social media. The following sections shows the modifications made to the theoretical propositions based on the explanation building process.

While there is no methodological way of assessing the impact of HarassMap in combating sexual harassment in Egypt, it is important to note that the organization has grown in the past seven years. For example, its Facebook Page currently has more than 65 thousand Likes, which is more than any of the other anti-sexual harassment organizations. There are also interactions and comments by the Page visitors on almost all its posts. This shows that HarassMap and similar organizations may have the potential of playing a role in combating sexual harassment through online and social media.

The theoretical proposition for the development communication model is:

The participatory nature of online and social media makes it a good platform for participatory communication campaigns that aim to combat sexual harassment.

Results show that Facebook content is interactive in different ways and forms. While the content of message type participatory makes only 18 percent of the content, it is important to highlight that both awareness messages and messages about items from the news also calls for participation through ending with a question or a call for participation. In addition, accounts published on Facebook also encourage more participation from other survivors to share their stories. Finally, allowing and replying to comments on all posts, as well as using hashtags that encourage the audience to share their views or stories is a form of participatory communication.

While the website's content in general is not as participatory as the Facebook Page, the Map – which makes 81 percent of the total website content, however, is of participatory nature. The idea of the Map is to use crowdsourcing to show the prevalence of harassment, its types, etc. Not only is reporting in itself a participatory act, but also the reports shared create a sort of social network for survivors as will be explained below.

6.1.1 Participatory Communication

HarassMap's online communication is closest to the Participatory Communication Model. This is evident from the dialogic nature of its content and the strong focus it gives to grassroots and the different society members (McPhail, 2009; N. Morris, 2003). By using the interactive nature of social media, HarassMap aims to create dialogues and debates about different issues related to sexual harassment. The idea of continuously having societal feedback through comments can help the Organization understand how and what needs to be changed in their communication to better convey their messages, which is an important aspect of participatory communication. Furthermore, by adding questions to most of its awareness content, it aims to encourage an active consciousness and critical thinking, aiming

that its visitors think and discuss their content rather than take it for granted (Freire, 1970; McPhail, 2009).

Finally, the idea of reporting harassment in itself is participatory. By encouraging survivors to share their stories it creates an environment where harassment is not stigmatized or normalized. It thus gives a role to the society members – be it survivors or bystanders – in communicating the Organization’s developmental objectives and ideas. HarassMap’s participation is, thus, considered to be *functional participation*, since it calls for discussions about its pre-determined developmental objectives and ideas (Mefalopoulos, 2008).

6.1.2 The Developmental Approach

HarassMap’s approach is based mostly on theories of social change and social mobilization. It uses both the direct and indirect routes (Bandura, 2004). In the direct route, it communicates social change and mobilization through awareness messages and information given through campaigning material or website material. The indirect route, on the other, hand, is used in Map reporting and sharing stories, where an informal-social network is formed through showing women that they are not alone, and where a social network of survivors could be organically formed. In addition, it also includes informal social networks created about certain debates or questions published by the Organization. The significance of using the indirect route lies in the fact that sexual harassment is a sensitive issue that needs more of personal interaction and reassurance that the survivors are not alone. The creation of social circles – even if they are anonymous as is in the case of the Map – gives survivors support and encourages them to speak up, they show them that many other women are facing the same problem and that by taking an action they may have a role in combatting it.

Additionally, HarassMap uses an approach that is closely related to Bandura’s Social Modeling approach for change (Bandura, 1986, 2004). Through social prompting by publishing and sharing reports of sexual harassment incidents, incidents where the survivor responded to harassment, or incidents with intervention, it aims to transmit such behaviors to its audience, thus encouraging more survivors to report or share their stories, respond to harassment, or bystanders to intervene when they witness harassment. Furthermore, through social construction, it aims to build negative constructs about harassment in the mindset of its audience through reports and campaigning content.

6.1.3 Conclusion

The above discussion points show that using participatory communication through social media and the Map can play positive, but different roles in communicating anti-sexual

harassment messages. Indeed, the use of social media allows for a participatory platform where grassroots are involved, a dialogue is created and immediate feedback is received. In addition, the use of functional participation in map reporting or sharing stories and opinions on Facebook gives a role to society members in combating harassment, which may give them a sense of ownership and encourage to do more to combat it.

While both are using a participatory model for communication, the developmental approach differs. Both the Facebook Page and the Map use an approach similar to the social change and social mobilization theories, however, they differ in that the Facebook Page mostly follows the direct route through its awareness and news content (campaigns, information, responses to myths, etc.) – which together make 66 percent of the total content – while the Map, as well as the Facebook published accounts and participatory content, follow the indirect route through creating social networks. As such, the above theoretical proposition was modified, more specified, and divided into two propositions to reflect these conclusions to be as follows:

The participatory nature of social media platforms allows its use in functional participatory communication campaigns to combat sexual harassment in Egypt through social prompting, using the direct route for social change in online campaigns, as well as the indirect route through sharing stories and debates, creating social networks of survivors and people who actively fight harassment.

Crowdsourcing plays a positive role in combating sexual harassment in Egypt through a functional participatory communication approach, using the indirect route for social change by allowing the creation of informal social networks of survivors, encouraging positive action through social prompting.

6.2 SEM Theoretical Propositions

6.2.1 Individual

The theoretical proposition for this SEM level is:

Victims sharing their experience with sexual harassment may encourage other victims to share their stories, change the self-blaming mindset, and encourage them to act against harassment

One of the main issues around sexual harassment is the social taboos built around it that make victims often ashamed of harassment, or choose not to speak about it out of fear, or hurt, and consequently, they also don't respond to harassment or take any action against

perpetrators (UN Women, 2013d). HarassMap encourages women to think of themselves as survivors rather than victims by increasing their self-efficacy and changing their views about their role in combating harassment (Cortina & Wasti, 2005). Based on this, it encourages them to take a positive action and respond to harassment, which could be in the form of telling their stories, asking about anti-harassment policies at employers, seeking help when harassed, responding to harassment on their own, or reporting to the police.

To do so, HarassMap publishes incidents either through the Map's reports, anonymous Facebook posts, incidents shared from other social media accounts, or news. These incidents' content – when targeting women – include messages mobilizing women to share stories, explaining that having the courage to speak about the incident is not only a means of changing the society's beliefs and actively placing the blame where it belongs, but also a means of fighting harassment through destigmatizing it. By giving them a platform to tell their stories – either under their names or anonymously – they empower them and increase their self-efficacy, which would in turn encourage them to take an action (Cortina & Wasti, 2005).

To achieve this, HarassMap targets survivors with messages that are mainly along two themes; (1) social change content that aims to define what is sexual harassment is and that it is a crime by law in Egypt in order to change their views about it and consequently destigmatize it; and (2) social mobilization content that aims to increase self-efficacy and encourage them to take a positive action to combat sexual harassment. Both themes are closely related and complete each other. Social change content aims to change views, which is a prerequisite for increasing self-efficacy and changing mindsets, which in turn will lead to taking an action; by knowing that they should and they can, survivors would be ready to know what they could do to combat sexual harassment (Bandura, 1997, 2004; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015; UNICEF, 2009). The third line – which is more limited – is the advocacy line, which encourages survivors to address the “power gap” through calling for anti-harassment policies in businesses or educational institutions (Dorfman, 2010; Wallack, 1994)

6.2.1.1 Social Change

Social change content is limited (4 percent), and is more covered under the community SEM level. Items such as attributions and assignment of responsibility and sexual harassment prevalence are more extensively covered through content targeting the society at large as explained below. Content under the social change category is awareness content that

gives definitions and information. It is concerned with changing attitudes and beliefs that would build the basis needed for behavior change (Fishbein, 1980) which is targeted by the social mobilization content.

6.2.1.2 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization content makes the majority of the content targeting survivors (94 percent), the objective being to encourage as many survivors as possible to respond to harassment which would in turn fight the its social acceptability and normalization (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Applying Backer (2001) model for behavior change on the micro-level on the analyzed content suggests the following:

- HarassMap publishes campaign content highlighting why survivors should take an action against sexual harassment, as well as destigmatize the idea of sexual harassment, which is one of the main reasons why survivors don't speak about it, respond to it, or report it (UN Women, 2013d).
- HarassMap publishes information about the Law and anti-harassment policies to highlight that there are no legal constraints that would hinder the survivors' willingness to take an action. It also provides them with a platform for sharing their stories anonymously through the Map or social media accounts.
- HarassMap works on increasing self-efficacy among survivors through publishing accounts on social media, encouraging more survivors to share their stories. It also describes the different ways a woman can respond to harassment, starting from telling her story, to reporting to the police, showing that everyone can take an action against harassment.
- HarassMap uses the Safe Areas concept, which describes their ultimate objective of creating a safer environment for women, where they can move safely without fearing being harassed.
- HarassMap highlights that combating sexual harassment won't be possible without survivors responding to it, it speaks positively of survivors who take an action, as well as has a campaign titled "Don't Surrender your Right" showing that those who don't respond to harassment are being passive.
- HarassMap shows that those who respond to harassment are positive and active, they do not accept insults or attacking of their personal space.

- HarassMap highlights the negative impacts of sexual harassment and the positive impacts of responding to it, which can build a positive reaction among the audience toward responding to harassment.
- HarassMap highlights that responding can be done in different ways and under different circumstances – when harassed by seeking help, responding in person, or reporting to the police, before it happens by asking their employer or educational institution for anti-harassment policies, or after it happens by speaking about it to their social circle, on social media, or through the Map.

6.2.1.3 *Advocacy*

Advocacy content targeted at the individual makes only 2 percent, and is concerned with encouraging them to demand anti-harassment laws in businesses and educational institutions, and highlights their role in enforcing the law through reporting, i.e. if no one reports sexual harassment it will be impossible for the law to be enforced. Such content, thus, encourages women to pressure decision makers to have anti-harassment policies within their organizations, or to enforce the law through reporting (Wallack, 1994).

6.2.1.4 *Conclusion*

The above sections show that the individual level is targeted by different types of content with different themes, yet the most common is content calling for action. Content under this category aims for behavior change and conveys this message through content with several different objectives, these are: (1) changing views and destigmatizing sexual harassment; (2) highlighting that there are no constraints to taking action through describing the legal framework and the possibility for reporting on the Map anonymously; (3) explaining all the ways a survivor can respond to harassment; (4) showing the benefits of responding; (5) framing the survivor who takes an action as a positive and active person; (6) highlighting the self-image of those who take an action as more empowered; (7) building a positive picture of taking an action and its benefits; and (8) showing all the ways a victim can respond when the harassment takes place, before, or after it (Backer, 2001). A limited content also is advocacy themed, calling for survivors to ask for anti-harassment policy and play a role in enforcing the law through reporting.

Content targeting survivors, however, is not just accounts or content calling for them to share their accounts, it also includes awareness and news messages conveyed through campaigns, website content, or items shared from the news. The theoretical proposition for this level, thus, has been modified to be more inclusive as shown below:

Online and social media play a positive role in encouraging sexual harassment survivors in Egypt to take a positive action and respond to harassment through social change and social mobilization content aiming to change views, increase self-efficacy, and change behavior, as well as social prompting through the published accounts where the survivor succeeded in responding to harassment.

6.2.2 Interpersonal

The theoretical proposition relevant to this SEM level suggests that:

Sharing incidents where bystanders have a positive role in helping victims may increase self-efficacy for potential bystanders and encourage them to intervene in similar situations.

Content under this category is focused primarily on bystander intervention, with only four posts focusing on the role of families in encouraging harassment and discouraging survivors to take a positive action. The focus here will thus be on bystander intervention content. Two important aspects related to bystander intervention are agency and bystander-efficacy; in order to intervene when they witness harassment, individuals must believe that they have a responsibility to do so, and have the ability to do so. Research suggests that bystanders may not intervene when they witness harassment – or violence in general – because they feel that there is always someone who can help the victim better. It also shows that once one person intervenes people will have the courage to join to help the victim (Darley & Latane, 1968; Latane & Darley, 1969). To address this, HarassMap has several campaigns including awareness content aiming to correct myths about the role of bystanders and respond to excuses they may think of as to not intervene when they witness harassment. It also includes accounts of bystander intervention where the intervention had a positive impact on helping the survivor.

Content related to bystander intervention thus focuses mainly on social mobilization (93 percent) with a limited amount of content focusing on social change, and only one post with advocacy focus. Similar to content targeting survivors, the content under this category aims to change views and beliefs highlighting that bystanders have agency in combating sexual harassment, based on which bystander-efficacy is built and bystanders are encouraged to intervene (Banyard et al., 2007; Cortina & Wasti, 2005).

6.2.2.1 Social Change

Social change content aims to change attitudes and beliefs about the role of bystanders in combating harassment, which would in turn build the basis for behavior change (Fishbein, 1980). The idea is to show individuals that they have a responsibility to respond to

harassment when they witness it, and that it is not just the survivor's and police's responsibility. Content under this category is thus mostly awareness content following the direct route of social change explaining why and how bystanders should intervene.

6.2.2.2 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization content makes the majority of the content targeting bystanders, the objective being to encourage as many individuals as possible to take a positive action and intervene to support survivors and stop harassment (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Applying Backer (2001) model for behavior change on the micro-level on the analyzed content suggests the following:

- HarassMap publishes campaign content highlighting why bystanders should intervene take an action against sexual harassment when they witness it.
- HarassMap publishes information about what bystanders should do to intervene without risking their own safety, as well as different ways of intervention that can be followed depending on the situation.
- HarassMap works on increasing bystander-efficacy through publishing accounts on social media where bystander intervention succeeded in stopping harassment. It also encourages bystanders to seek help from others if they fear for their safety.
- HarassMap uses the Safe Areas concept, which describes their ultimate objective of creating a safer environment for women, where they can move safely without fearing being harassed.
- HarassMap highlights that combating sexual harassment won't be possible without bystanders taking an action, it speaks positively of bystanders who take an action, as well as has a campaign titled "Why you Should intervene" showing that those who don't take an action are irresponsible.
- HarassMap shows that those who respond to harassment are positive and active.
- HarassMap highlights the negative impacts of sexual harassment and the positive impacts of responding to it, which can build a positive reaction among the audience toward responding to harassment.
- HarassMap highlights that responding can be done in different ways and under different circumstances, based on the situation and power the bystander has.

6.2.2.3 Conclusion

Content targeting the interpersonal level focuses primarily on changing beliefs and the behavior of bystanders and encouraging them to intervene when they witness harassment.

Their message is that if enough intervene when witnessing harassment, harassers will fear harassing and thus sexual harassment will be limited. To do so, awareness content and accounts are published to encourage more bystanders to intervene using social change and social mobilization. By changing attitudes and beliefs they aim to convey to individuals why and how they should intervene (Fishbein, 1980). Then by increasing bystander-efficacy, they aim to encourage them to intervene (Banyard et al., 2007; Cortina & Wasti, 2005). Using the accounts of successful bystander intervention, they also rely on social prompting to encourage more people to intervene (Bandura, 1986, 2004). The theoretical proposition has been changed to be as follows:

Online and social media play a positive role in encouraging bystander intervention in cases of sexual harassment in Egypt through the use of social change and social mobilization content aiming to change views, increase bystander-efficacy, and change behaviors, as well as social prompting based on published accounts where intervention succeeded in stopping harassment.

6.2.3 Community

The theoretical proposition for this level is:

Sharing incidents of sexual harassment would change the views of the society about sexual harassment and fight victim blaming.

One of the main issues that hinder combating sexual harassment is societal views and beliefs about it. In many cases, sexual harassment is normalized and is a taboo that people have stopped discussing. The fact that almost all women are sexually harassed at one – or many – point in their lives has led to it being part of their daily life, and has thus become normalized (UN Women, 2013d). In addition, assignment of responsibility and attributions is another important aspect in combating sexual harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995). In Egypt, victim-blaming and attributing harassment to the attire of the victim, where she is, the time of the day, and many other aspects unrelated to the perpetrator is evident (UN Women, 2013d), this increased the social acceptability of sexual harassment in the society (Pryor et al., 1995).

To address this, HarassMap uses a mix of social change and social mobilization content aiming to change attitudes and beliefs about sexual harassment, assignment of responsibility, and attributions. Using awareness campaigning material and items from the news, HarassMap corrects the wrong beliefs related to sexual harassment, based on research findings or responses to myths. In addition, it uses the Map as a means of showing how widespread sexual harassment is, and that it happens in different locations and settings, in

different times of the day, regardless of the woman's attire, or the perpetrator's income level or marital status. It also uses participatory content to create dialogues and stir discussions about sexual harassment and means of combating it.

6.2.3.1 Social Change

Social change on this level is macro-level social change that aims to change cultural beliefs and fight certain norms/taboo (Leat, 2005). It does so through its campaigning material that aims to correct wrong views and respond to myths, as well as the Map which shows that sexual harassment is a widespread issue. This type of content aims to change attitudes and beliefs of sexual harassment through changing the assignment of responsibility and attribution beliefs. By knowing and believing that sexual harassment is the perpetrator's fault, and is not attributed to the victim in any way, HarassMap builds the basis for mobilizing the society against harassment (Fiske & Glick, 1995).

6.2.3.2 Social Mobilization

Social mobilization here relies on collective-efficacy (Bandura, 2004), through debates and discussions HarassMap aims to increase the collective-efficacy of the Egyptian society in combating sexual harassment. The idea is to break the taboo of sexual harassment and encourage debates about it and means to combat it within the society. This in turn will fight the normalization of sexual harassment and the social acceptability.

6.2.3.3 Advocacy

Advocacy content under this level is concerned with encouraging the society to advocate for anti-harassment policies in workplaces and educational institutions (Fiske & Glick, 1995). The objective is to move the advocacy effort from only social media to the society and such institutions, which shall in turn support the idea of anti-sexual harassment policies (Wallack, 1994).

6.2.3.4 Conclusion

Content under this level is concerned with changing assignment of responsibility and attributions' beliefs, as well as increasing the Egyptian society's collective-efficacy with regards to the role of the society in combating sexual harassment and fighting its social acceptability. This is done through awareness content and the Map's report which aim to change the wrong beliefs, as well as participatory content that aim to increase the collective-efficacy, and fight social acceptability. The theoretical proposition was modified to be as follows:

Online and social media play a positive role in changing attitudes and beliefs toward the attribution and assignment of responsibility of sexual harassment in Egypt through macro-level social change and social mobilization content that seeks to change cultural beliefs, as well as increase the collective-efficacy of the Egyptian society to fight its social acceptability.

6.2.4 Organizational

The theoretical proposition for this level is as follows:

Promoting safe culture, and sexual harassment-free workplaces/educational institutions would encourage more companies and institutions to take such actions for marketing purposes, to be viewed as a company/institution with zero tolerance toward sexual harassment.

Content under this level is concerned with advocating for anti-harassment policies in workplaces and educational institutions. More often than not, sexual harassment in the workplace or educational institution happens and survivors cannot find a formal mechanism to submit their complains about it. In such cases, women would have to follow an informal path for reporting harassment within their organizations. The results of such complaints, however, will be highly dependent on the personal views and acceptability of harassment of the person looking into the complaint (Fiske & Glick, 1995). To address this, HarassMap works on supporting businesses and educational institutions to have anti-sexual harassment systems. It uses Facebook to promote these programs, and promote the institutions who joined the program. It also advocates for such systems and policies through its campaign and participatory content (Wallack, 1994).

HarassMap uses different means of achieving organizational change. Through promoting its programs to the organizations' management, it builds on the traditional school of organizational change, which argues that change should come from within the organization. Its advocacy work, on the other hand, relies on the modern school through calling for the society to demand such policies, thus changing the organization's surrounding environment, leading to it having to change (Leat, 2005).

6.2.4.1 Conclusion

Content under this level works along two main lines. The first works along the traditional line of organizational change and aims to develop such systems through decisions from the organizations. The second line, on other hand, relies on advocacy and follows the modern school for organizational change; through online and offline advocacy it aims to change the surrounding environment of the organizations into a sexual harassment intolerant

environment, which would in turn lead to changing the organization. The theoretical proposition has been modified to be as follows:

Online and social media play a role in organizational change to have sexual harassment-free workplaces/educational institutions, through promoting it to organizations, as well as advocacy efforts to achieve such change by changing its surrounding environment.

6.2.5 Policy/Enabling Environment

The theoretical proposition for this level is:

Online and social media platforms could be thought of as an advocacy tool for more stringent laws and law enforcement

Content under this category is significantly limited, mainly because a legal framework criminalizing harassment exists. Prior to 2015 – before the Sexual Harassment Law was enacted – different organizations aiming to combat sexual harassment had strongly focused on advocating for stringent sexual harassment laws. Yet, when the law was enacted – although some still believed it is insufficient and lacks some important elements as indicated earlier – the majority of such organizations have decided to limit their advocacy efforts related to modifying the Law and turned to encouraging its implementation through survivors’ reporting and encouraging society members to support survivors and ensure law enforcement by the authorities (El-Rifae, 2014; HarassMap, 2015e, 2015h; Kingsley, 2014). Furthermore, HarassMap in particular did not give a strong focus to advocating for sexual harassment laws even before the law was enacted, their reason being that other organizations are already targeting changing laws and thus HarassMap would focus on social change, which is essential for combating sexual harassment, even with having stringent sexual harassment laws (HarassMap, 2015e).

HarassMap’s efforts to modify the law are limited and not focused on identified modifications. Content under this category are limited to advocacy efforts that involve sharing laws from other countries or creating debates about how the law should change.

6.2.5.1 Conclusion

Since the content under this category is insufficient to make conclusions, the theoretical proposition remains the same:

Online and social media platforms could be thought of as an advocacy tool for more stringent laws and law enforcement.

7 Future Work

This thesis concluded six theoretical propositions for combating sexual harassment in Egypt using online and social media. The six propositions cover the development communication model and methods of communication along the five levels of the Social Ecological Model. Together, they can form a framework for combating sexual harassment using online and social media that could be built on and replicated. However, it is important to note that these theoretical propositions were modified and verified based on a single exploratory case study. To be able to build such model, these theoretical propositions should, thus, be verified. The six theoretical propositions, as such, should be used as hypotheses for future studies and verified using different research methods.

In addition, while news content about incidents – similar to the Zagzaig incident – were studied under this thesis, content under this category was insufficient to make a conclusion. However, there is evidence that such content plays an important role in combating sexual harassment through social media by stirring discussions and mobilizing the community to further advocate against sexual harassment through hashtags. As such, this could be an interesting topic for future research.

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