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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

**MEDIA ADVOCACY AND POLICY MAKING IN EGYPT:
SEXUAL HARASSMENT AS A CASE STUDY**

A Thesis Submitted to the

Public Policy and Administration Department

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Public Policy

By

Aya Sami Mohamed Shata

Fall 2014

*All thanks due to Allah for all his blessings in which
this thesis is just one among many*

Dedication

*Because thank you does not seem enough to express my
appreciation and gratitude to my family and because I owe
them much of who I'm today; I dedicate my thesis to:*

*My beloved Father soul, Dr Sami Shata who despite
his absence, his teachings and wisdom in pursuit of
excellence, still accompanies me in everything I do and
say. I hope this work makes him proud.*

*My amazing Mum, Dr Dorria Mohamed whom her
unconditional support, love and patience gave me the
strength to keep working and my spirit up all the way.*

*My wonderful Brother, Dr Sherief Shata whom his
understanding, support and help made my day and
made this thesis come to life as well.*

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The American University in Cairo
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy
Department of Public Policy and Administration

MEDIA ADVOCACY AND POLICY MAKING IN EGYPT:
SEXUAL HARASSMENT AS A CASE STUDY

Aya Sami Mohamed Shata

Supervised by Dr Khaled Amin

ABSTRACT

Egypt is undergoing many reforms and advocates seek to get policy makers to adopt some policy changes that can resolve many of the social problems faced by the nation. Sexual Harassment (SH) is a serious problem that needs integrated efforts among advocates, media, policy makers and the public to fight it. Media advocacy incorporates them altogether; the media direct the light on the advocates' policy goals and solutions to influence policy makers and generate favorable public debate. The objective of the study is to examine to what extent media advocacy on SH issue in Egypt is strategically employed. It reviews the planning, implementation, media and policy outcomes of the media advocacy campaign on SH issue as well as its influential factors. This study is an attempt to bridge the gap between media and policy studies. For the methodology, the study employed the qualitative method using case study approach on SH. It conducted eighteen in depth interviews using the triangulation approach among three main segments; advocates, media experts and policy makers. Focusing events proved to be an effective media access strategy and the corner stone behind the outcomes of the media advocacy campaign. These outcomes were translated in some policy changes including legislative amendments and security policies. However, advocates did not address all dimensions of the problem definition of SH. Coalition building is necessary for advocates to unite their efforts and strengthen media advocacy. The unprofessional media performance negatively influenced media advocacy. There was no opposition to the SH issue, but rather a strong cultural barrier. Media proved to be influential on policy makers especially when reinforced with the public support. Overall, the communication strategy of the media advocacy campaign on SH had its strengths and weaknesses.

Keywords: media advocacy, agenda setting, framing, focusing events, coalition, media campaign, sexual harassment

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List of Abbreviations

SH	Sexual Harassment
NCW	National Council for Women
Initiative	I saw harassment initiative or Shoft Ta7rosh
PO	Public Opinion

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Introduction

Think of any public issue that one encounters, poor healthcare or education, unclean streets, or congested traffic. In order to solve such problems, there is a role to be played by both, the public and the policy makers to overcome it, while the media provides the required support. For example, which is more effective, doing a media campaign to create awareness of the dangers of drunk driving or promote passing new laws that penalize it? Both count as solutions, both have a positive impact and both reinforce one another. The first targets the public (social marketing) and the second targets the policy makers (media advocacy), but the impact of the media advocacy is quicker, cheaper and more influential because the results of raising awareness might varies from one to another, however, the impact of law is unified among all. Advocates acknowledge the strong potentials and the influence policy makers can have to solve a social issue and advance a social change. They also acknowledge the role the media play to promote and communicate solutions and good practices. Thus, they utilize the media to direct their efforts towards policy makers to influence the policy process in order to bring about the necessary policy change.

Advocacy is the process of building and gaining support towards a particular issue through speaking up and defending one's right. It seeks to influence the public, policy makers and all stakeholders to support, change or implement a policy or program (Ross, 2007).

Media Advocacy is the strategic use of the media as an advocacy tool to advance a social or public policy initiative (Wallack, 1994; Cohen et al. 2010). It targets policy makers, generates support for an issue and creates the pressure needed to bring about the necessary social and policy change. Since, the focus is on the general public rather than individuals, it seeks to influence policies and practices to make real changes in the social environment within which individuals act.

The power of media advocacy is derived from the power of media. Media advocates understand the role of the media to inform and raise awareness about an issue; it can easily reach the public and get the issue on the media, public and policy agenda. Also, media advocacy recognizes the role of media to shape and frame the debates to form favorable public opinion and generate public support towards the issue. Another important media function is the power of targeting; media advocacy

seeks to reach the decision makers with their messages about issues of public concern to influence policy and to call for a policy initiative or a policy change, in order to achieve a social change. Therefore, advocates need to start with the media to push for a change and to bring the issues to the forefront of the policy agenda.

The efficiency of media advocacy lies in its effective planning and implementation. Before measuring what impact it can have, we should understand how it is planned, prepared and implemented; good application of media advocacy can yield good results. This requires an understanding of media advocacy and its components like; problem identification, policy goals, agenda-setting, framing and policy recommendation. It is also important to take into consideration the stakeholders, message, medium, target audience, timing and monitoring/evaluation; because satisfying such criteria fulfils media advocacy objectives and ensures its success and optimum influence. It identifies where we are and where we want to be regarding an issue and how to use media efficiently for advocacy purposes. Success of media advocacy relies on its better understanding and application.

Media advocacy not only influences the policy maker, but also the policy process in an indirect sense. It moves beyond calling for certain demands to promoting solutions that satisfy these demands. Through my study of public policy and reading about media advocacy, there is a similarity between the stages of the policy making process and the media advocacy process. Media advocacy starts by (1) identifying the issue and goals as found in *agenda setting or problem identification* stage of the policy process, and then it (2) identifies the target, develops the message and its frame as well as policy recommendation as in *policy formulation* stage. It (3) develops a plan to promote those policies, gain media access, send the message and pressure for change as in *policy adoption* stage (Jann & Wegrich, 2007). This means that media advocacy can contribute one way or another in the policy process.

The importance of studying media advocacy is that many studies are calling to integrate media and policy disciplines. In the media advocacy literature, there is a media-policy disconnect, where many scholars rarely connect or neglect to link media effects back to policy or agenda change (Wolfe 2013; Eissler 2014). Therefore, this thesis attempts to merge media studies and policy studies, by studying the influence of media agenda on policy agenda with the help of media advocacy.

In the framing literature, most studies of framing measure the immediate effect of framing whereas few measure the long term effects (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009) and few studies address the frame building or frame production (Borah, 2011). Future research on framing should connect frame building and frame setting (De Vreese, 2005) and focus on the interaction between social movements and the news media (Carragee & Roefs 2004). Thus, the nature of this study shall contribute to the above shortages by studying the long term effects of framing particularly on policy makers as well as the frame production process used by media advocates.

In Egypt, after the 25th of January revolution, media advocacy is becoming of significant importance for many reasons. First, there is an increasing need to have many reforms in many areas which requires new policies or policy changes. Second, Egypt has been through frequent calls for group or factional demands as a result of the lack of policies or inefficient policies. Third, the spread of injustice and corruption for years is because of older regimes. Fourth, Egypt is undergoing a transitional phase which seeks to set the foundations and policies in all fields to build a democratic nation. Fifth, it suffers from instability, frequent changes of leaders causing public frustration and moving away from civic engagement in the political life and policy making process. Therefore, it is important to study the role the media plays to advocate for a reform-calling issue in Egypt, by raising awareness, engaging the public and decision makers to be part of the policy change.

The media and advocates play an integral role in the future of public policy environment in Egypt. Therefore, this study will examine and analyze the role of media advocacy in the Sexual harassment (SH) issue in Egypt. This is because SH has witnessed a dramatic increase in Egypt, in 2012, 51.6% of women have been subjected to verbal harassment, while 31.8% were subjected to physical harassment (ECWR, 2012). The SH rates after the revolution increased due to the country security conditions (UN, 2013). The reasons of SH are numerous and overlapping and can be attributed to ethical crisis, culture barrier, lack of security, poverty and unemployment (Komsan, 2009). The intensity of SH obliged the researcher to evaluate the media advocacy efforts that took place to fight it. This intensity also captured the attention of the media, policy makers as well as the public, reinforced by the calls of advocates through the media to consider a policy change that would limit its presence for a better future.

Research Problem

Egypt is undergoing many reforms and policy changes. Advocates from all fields and disciplines are trying to get policy makers' attention to adopt policy initiatives or recommendations. The media plays an integral role in promoting and creating the pressure needed to push the policies and reforms forward using media advocacy. That's why there is an increased importance to study media advocacy nowadays.

Understanding and studying media advocacy in Egypt particularly on a pressing issue like sexual harassment (SH) and the role media advocacy played to limit this issue, is crucial. It is important to know how media advocacy in the SH issue influence policy makers to adopt the policy change needed to achieve the necessary social change. This can lead towards a better understanding of the best practices for media advocacy in Egypt which can help to solve social issues, contribute to the society's welfare and ensure social justice.

Therefore, this study seeks to examine to what extent media advocacy is strategically used in Egypt. It aims to assess the media advocacy processes (planning and implementation), outcomes in terms of media and policy outcomes to evaluate how influential it can be in reaching the required objectives and examine what are the influential factors that strengthened or weakened media advocacy pertaining to the Egyptian context .

Research Objectives

The main objective is (1) to examine to what extent media advocacy is strategically used on the sexual harassment (SH) issue in Egypt. This involves the need (2) to assess the effectiveness of media advocacy campaign for SH, by examining the planning and implementation processes as well as the communication strategy. The success of media advocacy can be determined by (3) evaluating the impact of SH media advocacy in terms of media and policy outcomes and (4) examining message framing and agenda setting for the advocated SH issue. The context in which media advocacy is practiced can differ; thus it is vital (5) to outline the factors for the success or failure of media advocacy of SH.

Research Questions

The major research question of this study is:

RQ: Based on the sexual harassment (SH) case study, to what extent media advocacy is strategically used in Egypt?

To answer this question, the below investigative research questions are grouped into few categories:

Preparation and Planning

RQ1: How effective is the media advocacy for SH prepared and planned?

Implementation/Theoretical foundation

RQ2: Was the advocated SH issue present on the media agenda and policy agenda (agenda setting)?

RQ3: What is the communication strategy? what was the message frame communicated (framing)?

Outcomes

RQ4: what effect did media advocacy have on the policy maker (policy outcome) and on the media (media outcome)?

RQ5: To what extent does media advocacy contribute to policy process?

Influential Factors

RQ6: what are the factors that influenced media advocacy activities?

Chapter one: Literature Review

The literature review starts by covering the conceptual part about media advocacy that revolves around basic definitions on what is media advocacy and discusses the difference between the information gap versus the power gap in relation to media advocacy. Then, it discusses how media advocacy should be conducted; its function, stages, strategies and techniques. The second part covers real life media advocacy field cases in detail; their points' of strength and weakness. The third part involves the consideration and influential factors on media advocacy. It differentiates between media advocacy and social marketing and discussing focusing events; what they are and what role they play in media advocacy. Afterwards, it reviews the stages of the policy process and link to the media advocacy process and stages. Then, it examines coalition building and its importance to media advocacy to create a social change. It ends up emphasizing why the need to carry out this study and what gap it is supposed to fulfil and its expected contribution to the field and literature.

From my analysis, the literature review on media advocacy reflects how it combines between media and policy fields. However, a large portion of media advocacy papers are secondary studies. There is a media-policy disconnect, where many scholars rarely connect or neglect to link media effects back to policy or agenda change (Wolfe et al. 2013; Eissler 2014). Most of the primary studies took place in different context and countries away from Egypt and the Middle East. In addition, since media advocacy emerged from public health field, most of the case studies are focusing on the health sector, increasing the need to focus on other areas. In addition, in the framing literature, most studies of framing measure the immediate effect of framing whereas few measure the long term effects (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Future research on framing should connect frame building and frame setting (De Vreese, 2005) and focus on the interaction between social movements and the news media (Carragee & Roefs 2004).

Therefore, this study represents one of the primary studies to address and study media advocacy in Egypt. It integrates media and policy study by studying the influence of media agenda on policy agenda with the help of media advocacy. It contributes to the above shortages by studying the long term effects of framing particularly on policy makers as well as the frame production process used by media advocates for their cause. It chooses a new interesting case out of the ordinary health

sector cases, which is sexual harassment; that satisfies the social justice aspect and demands a policy change to limit the issue achieving a social change in some sense.

1.1. Conceptual Media advocacy

Advocacy

Advocacy is speaking up for yourself or others when other people with power over your life are ignoring your needs. Sometimes it is hard to speak for ourselves, relying on advocates to speak on our behalf (Nixon, 2010; Ross, 2007). Advocacy is a core process for addressing inequity and disparities; according to UNICEF (2010) advocacy can be defined as “the deliberate process, based on demonstrated evidence, to directly and indirectly influence decision makers, stakeholders and relevant audiences to support and implement actions that contribute to the fulfilment of children’s and women’s rights” (P.3).

Malcolm (2012) defines advocacy “as action aimed at changing the policies, position and programmes of governments, institutions or organisations involving an organised, systematic influencing process on matters of public interest” (p.9). Advocacy is about trust, speaking up, building partnership, making choices and getting people to listen (Ross, 2007). Advocates can organize demonstrations, get media attention, organize petitions (Ross, 2007).

Media Advocacy

Media advocacy as a discipline appeared in the late 1980s where its origin emerged from public health, to use the media to promote health goals (Wallack, 1994). Media advocacy is “the strategic use of mass media to advance public policy initiatives” (Wallack, 1994, P. 436). Gardner (2010) argues it is a way for advocates to craft and disseminate media messages to attract the policy makers and public attention to the issue. Media advocacy is “the process of disseminating information through the communications media where the aim is to effect action, such as a change of policy, or to alter the public’s view of an issue” (Lane & Carter, 2012, P. 281).

Media advocacy is a hybrid mix that uses the media as an advocacy tool to promote change in the social environment. It seeks to influence public debate and pressure decision makers to support public policy changes. Community groups use media as a strategy to encourage social change (Wallack, 1994). Media advocacy

“conveys messages designed to exert pressure on the government to reconsider the new policy” (Leurer, 2013, P.89).

According to Wallack (1994), one of the founders of the discipline, “Media Advocacy recognizes the importance of the social and political environment” (P.433), thus it defines the problem in terms of public policy, rather than individual behaviour. Media advocacy shifts the focus from individual based messages to society based messages.

It is important to differentiate between traditional media campaigns that seek to change individual habits from media advocacy that seeks to change the environment that determines these habits (Wallack, 1994). In order to define a problem from a social change perspective, this requires “shift the focus from individual problems to the social and environmental context in which these problems occur” (Nixon, 2010, p. 143).

“The ultimate goal of media advocacy is to create changes in policies” (Wallack, 1994, P. 430). Therefore, it is important to articulate messages in terms of providing policy solutions and reach out for policy makers with this policy oriented message. Overall, the success of media advocacy depends on problem identification, good understanding of the media and its needs, careful planning of message framing and presenting policy solutions (Wallack, 1994).

The target audience of media advocacy is any “person, group, organization or body who has the power to make the desired change” (Dorfman, 2010, P. 161). Therefore, media advocacy targets policy makers and those who can be mobilized to exert pressure on decision makers; it could be a legislator, elected official, a regulatory agency or a business owner (Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014; Dorfman, 2010). The success of media advocacy depends on how the advocacy efforts are rooted in the community. Although the public is considered a secondary target, they are perceived as prospective advocates who can use their resources to advocate the issue and the change (Wallack, 1994).

Media advocacy combines the mass communication functions with community advocacy (Wallack, 1994). In terms of Lippmann’s image of mass media, Wallack identifies three core functions of media advocacy; first, it seeks to put the issue on the top of the agenda, called the agenda setting theory, in order to highlight it

and bring it to light and attention. Second, to frame the issue based on upstream causes, called the framing the theory. Third is to advance a policy change or adopt a policy initiative as a solution to the problem. For more details about the theories in relation to media advocacy, kindly refer to the theoretical foundation section.

Information gap versus power gap

The primary focus of Media advocacy is on the power gap, not the knowledge gap. Information gap occurs when there is a lack of individual knowledge of the problem, so media intervention in the form of public campaigns takes place to fill the gap by providing the required information that is perceived to solve the problem (Wallack, 1994; Dorfman, 2010). However, a problem is not necessarily caused by the lack of knowledge but there could be other social factors. Wallack (1994) simply puts it “the context of the problem is part of the problem” (P.423).

The power gap refers to the lack of power with regard to problem definition, policy approaches and social change creation, thus, media advocacy steps in to fill the gap by providing alternative definitions of the problem and policy approach solutions (Wallack, 1994; Dorfman, 2010). In other words, information gap focuses on the individual behaviour and personal knowledge, while power gap focuses on defining the problem from a societal perspective using a policy oriented approach.

Media Advocacy breaks from traditional public campaign that seeks individual change to yielding a social change. Media advocacy shift the focus from individuals to groups, from personal health message to public policy health messages. It simply transfers an individual issue into a social issue. The premise of media advocacy is to improve social conditions, rather than personal knowledge, in order to improve the overall health status (Wallack, 1994; Dorfman, 2010).

Media Advocacy is used more frequently on topics like alcohol, health diseases, tobacco and violence (Wallack, 1994). One clear example that Wallack (1994) gives about fighting drugs; if people knew how bad drugs are, then they would not use it. They see drug as an individual problem, not a governmental problem, they exclude social factors like family, school, law enforcement, poor education etc. that can be part of the rise of the drug problem. Wallack (1994) emphasizes the power gap approach of the problem, if we tackle such factors as reasonable causes, it might be more effective in solving the problem.

Media advocacy Campaign Process

It is crucial to understand how media advocacy works. From a strategic perspective, there are four layers of strategy or four basic steps for developing an effective media advocacy campaign. The first step is to develop an overall strategy to identify the ultimate goal of the media advocacy campaign. Second step is to develop a media strategy depending on the first step. Third, the message strategy where advocates identify what they want to say, how and to who. Fourth, is the access strategy which identifies how to attract news attention (Dorfman, 2010 and Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014).

Media advocacy can be regarded as a process with certain steps. According to Wallack (1994) the first step is establishing a policy goal to determine what you need and how to reach it. Second step is identifying the target to whom the goals should be communicated; and should have the power to make the necessary change. Third step is to design the message and the frame the issue, both are concerned with how the goals will be communicated to the target. Fourth step is to develop a comprehensive media advocacy plan for sending the message and making pressure for change. Fifth step is to evaluate your activities and work.

Strategies

“The most important part of media advocacy is developing strategy” (Dorfman, 2010 P. 173). Well-defined communications strategies can guide the media campaign efforts towards success (Taha, 2009). In order to conduct a successful media advocacy campaign there are four layers of strategy or four basic steps for developing an effective media advocacy campaign: an overall strategy, a media strategy, the message strategy and the access strategy (Dorfman, 2010 and Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014).

It is important to develop an overall strategy for media advocacy before the media strategy. The overall strategy is about what is the desired change or policy change and involves identifying the problem, the solution and the targets in terms of who has the power to make the change and who can be mobilized to apply the pressure (Dorfman, 2010 and Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014).

Media strategy entails how and in what ways we can reach the audience with the message. Media advocacy is “the best media strategy choice when the overall

strategy involves changing policy” (Dorfman 2010, P. 163). If the desired change is policy oriented, thus media advocacy shall be employed, if it is knowledge oriented, then public information campaign shall be used.

The media strategy starts by asking whether using the media will help to reach the required overall strategy. If yes then developing a media strategy means “thinking through which modes of communication and which news outlets will be most effective” (Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014, P. 298), in other words, identifying the media channels to be used. The media strategy includes how to use the media to send the message to the target audience by creating news or taking advantage of certain events/existing news or buying time (Wallack, 1994).

The message strategy involves what we want to say and how it is said to the target audience, who has the power to make the change. The message should include the problem, the solution and the importance of issue (Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014). The importance of message strategy is that it can generate public discussion depending on the message’s argument, metaphors, story lines, facts, values and images (Dorfman, 2010). In media advocacy, Dorfman (2010) argues that the message is delivered through the news media, which requires an understanding of how the news media present and interpret an issue, this is called framing. She continues when the message is more issue oriented not event oriented; it can yield the required response in favour the desired change.

Issue oriented stories take a broader view; it can include events but linked to a more broad social and economic conditions, yet also presented in an interesting and compelling way. This requires framing and shifting the content from an individual issue to a social issue. The components of the message include clear and concise statements, new and interesting angles, link to the social and contextual variables, relate to other news stories, prevention methods, supported by data and examples, identify the problem briefly and emphasize the solutions. This can be summarized in three basic elements; clear statement of concern, value dimension and policy objective (Dorfman, 2010).

The media access strategy is about attracting the journalists’ attention. In order to frame the issue for access advocates need to select parts of the issue that makes a good story and emphasize those parts. According to Dorfman (2010), media access

relies on three main elements; media monitoring, media relations, and newsworthiness.

First, monitoring media for any articles that directly/indirectly relate to the advocated issue can provide opportunities to address the issue. Media monitoring contributes to media advocacy as it determines the frequency of coverage, content of articles, identify journalists who are interested in the issue, helps to evaluate the media advocacy efforts and improve the advocates' skills to apply journalistic convention to tell the story. Second, building media relations facilitates the access and helps to attract journalists. Third, newsworthiness involves turning an issue to a story and make it more attractive by fulfilling newsworthiness elements (Dorfman, 2010; Drofman and Krasnow, 2014). "Media advocates gain access by interpreting their issue in terms of newsworthiness" (Wallack, 1994, p.427).

Another four strategies to gain media access identified by Dorfman (2010) are: first "creating the news" strategy which involves doing something that is newsworthy like releasing new data or make an announcement. For the success of this strategy, it should be made public, emphasize why it is newsworthy, invite the media and develop a briefing or a news conference. Second, "piggybacking on breaking news" strategy involves identifying a connection between the issue and the news to make it clear to the journalists. Third, "paid advertising" strategy that involves buying media space used when there is media resistance to cover certain news. Fourth, "editorial strategies" involves meeting with the editorial board to discuss if the newspaper will take a position on the issue. If not, advocates can write op-ed about their issue or a response to a previous article with support or objection (Dorfman, 2010).

Among the challenges of media advocacy is to have a 'Murky strategy' which is an unclear strategy. The lack of a well-established and a well-defined strategy might weaken the advocacy efforts or make it ineffective. Thus, it is crucial to simplify the problem to reduce complexity, define clear objectives, define mechanism on how to put to practice and update the strategies when needed (Dorfman, 2010).

Media advocates use a variety of techniques or story elements in framing for content to help provide reporters with an interesting story that supports the policy goal. There are four common story elements or techniques which are social math, authentic voices, visuals and media bites (Dorfman & Krasnow 2014; Leurer 2013;

Dorfman 2010). First, social math, are the use of numbers or statistics to make comparison, emphasize a problem and thus the need to solve it and make it “interesting to the journalist, meaningful to the audience, and helpful in advancing public policy” (Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014, P. 300). Second, Media bites, involves using few concise statements to reflect and summarize key position. Third, authentic voices, are presenting a story from the perspective of a victim or someone who experienced or affect by the problem for credibility and attention purposes. Fourth, visuals are the use of pictures, images or scenery to convey or support you claims (Dorfman & Krasnow 2014; Leurer 2013).

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is one form of violence against women, it constitute any unwelcomed words or actions of a sexual nature that invades women’s privacy, body or feelings making her feel uncomfortable, insecure, scared or violated (NCW, 2013). Reasons of SH are numerous and overlapping and can be attributed to ethical crisis, culture barrier, lack of security, poverty and unemployment (Komsan, 2009). The study operational definition of SH encompasses verbal and physical harassment that Egyptian women face in the streets or work.

1.2. Media Advocacy Field Cases

It is crucial to review some of the primary studies about media advocacy as in the section below. Lane and carter (2012) discuss the success of an evidence-based media advocacy tobacco control campaign in Mexico to support a tobacco tax increase. They emphasize the importance of taking advantage of evidence based messages when communicating with media, public and legislators to support the overall campaign’s goal. Evidence based means demonstrating reasons and benefits behind the policy change. Another success story, Leurer (2013) explains the media advocacy campaign of nursing stakeholders in Saskatchewan in Canada that succeeded to create public pressure on the government to reconsider its policy and consult with nursing community which resulted in a compromised solution.

Media and policy outcomes

Among the policy outcomes of the media advocacy campaigns were a policy change for a tobacco control program (Niederdeppe et al., 2007) or increasing the policy makers’ and public awareness of key policy issues in a clinic consortia

(Gardner, 2010) or reconsider a government policy related to the nursing profession (Leurer, 2013). Wakefield et al. (2005) argues that using a smoking related legal case with the human factor, causing media to promote smoke free policies, can influence the process of policy formulation.

The common media outcome of the media advocacy efforts of food insecurity, tobacco control and 19 clinic consortia was generating media coverage (Rock et al., 2011; Niederdeppe et al., 2007; Gardner, 2010). Gardner (2010) reported another outcome is influencing the media agenda and generate print media coverage as decision makes rely heavily on print coverage.

In the tobacco control campaign, Lane and Carter (2012) report that the media outcome was a coverage *worth an ad equivalence* of 1.5 million USD which is far more than the actual cost of the paid media. Its policy outcome was the voting of legislators, in the Mexican Federal congress, in favour the tobacco tax increase, which is expected to reduce the tobacco consumption by 17.3%. This was the largest tobacco tax increase since 1985 and brought the tax to 69.2% of the total retail price of cigarettes causing an increase in the price of a pack of cigarettes by 34.8% (Lane & carter, 2012).

Communication strategy

The media strategy of both the nursing and tobacco control campaigns included the use of press releases, letters to the editors, media interviews and creating events (Leurer, 2013; Lane & carter, 2012). Adding to the above, the nursing campaign created a media event (rally protest) and presented policy options or solution (Leurer, 2013). In the case of tobacco control campaign, the media strategy used both earned and paid media. Earned media include academic and political forums, letter to officials, press conferences, public demonstration and responding to opposition arguments. Paid media included the use of banners, billboards, social media and blogs (Lane & carter, 2012).

The message strategy in the nursing campaign included messages disseminated via the media carrying values like fairness, gender equity and responsibility to the public. Messages continuously emphasized the need for a policy solution among all stakeholders like nurse educators, nursing organization and nursing students; each from their own perspective (Leurer, 2013). The tobacco

campaign relied on evidence based message communicating smoking risks using country-specific data, health benefits, economic impact and revenue benefits. The paid media messages targeted legislators to vote for health not for tobacco industry with a slogan “yes to the tobacco tax increase...for the health of those we love the most” (Lane & carter, 2012, p.284).

Wakefield et al. (2005) argue for the effectiveness of using a legal case with the human interest story, like a patient suffering lung cancer due to second hand smoking, to frame media message in favour of tobacco control and smoke free policies. Gardner (2010) message targeted both the policy makers and the public to increase the visibility and highlight the key issues about clinic consortia. Tafesse (2011) argue that the lack of a key consistent message and the focus on episodic rather than thematic messages, resulted in fragmented messages with no compelling argument, thus the message strategy was one of the deficiencies of media advocacy.

A successful access strategy in the nursing campaign was the media event (student rally) which was a key turning point in gaining media attention. After listening to the students the media took their side and gained public sympathy towards the nursing students (Leurer, 2013). Rock et al. (2011) confirms that message framing, personal narratives and visual imagery are good access strategy in persuading media outlets to carry stories about poverty. The media is more willing to present such stories “when a story is packaged to meet journalistic needs” (p. 957).

Gardner (2010) argues that front page coverage is an effective access strategy to raise the policy makers and public awareness about the policy issue. Wakefield et al. (2005) argued that using a legal case to bring a human face, like a lung cancer patient because of second hand smoking, to promote smoke free policies is a good access strategy to bring media attention, generate coverage and frame media messages favourably especially that it satisfies the news values. Min and Kim (2012) argues that new communication technologies proved to be more superior to traditional media for public mobilization by issue advocacy groups. The success of tobacco control campaign is because of advocates’ media monitoring to track legislators’ response and react accordingly. Advocates worked to create a favourable media environment (Lane & carter, 2012).

The common methodologies employed in the media advocacy literature relied on content analysis to evaluate the media outcomes and coverages (Vicari, 2010; Leurer, 2013) but did not agree in terms of the time frame selected. In additions, most of the studies rely on the case study approach in studying media advocacy (Land & carter, 2012; Leurer, 2013).

A clear evidence based message, spokespeople, polling, message testing and collaboration and coalitions among various sectors of society led to the success of media advocacy tobacco campaign (Lane & carter, 2012). A variety of media advocacy tactics were employed by the nursing stakeholders like social math, media bites, authentic voices, symbols, shaming, and visuals to influence public opinion and policy outcome (Leurer, 2013).

Taking into consideration the relevant influential factors can lead to the success of media advocacy campaign. Tobacco control advocates took into consideration seven factors; the context, the evidence on the international and national level that supports an increased tobacco tax, the media environment, target audiences, tobacco industry tactics (opposition), credibility of spokesperson and the support of significant experts e.g. medical doctors or legislators and finally the funding in case of using paid media; which lead to their success (Lane & carter, 2012).

In conclusion, media advocacy is a dynamic and powerful tool to advance policy change, generate coverage and gain public opinion support (Leurer, 2013; Niederdeppe et al., 2007; Rock et al., 2011; Lane & Carter, 2012). But Gardner (2010) believes it is effective in raising awareness but cannot solely result in a policy change as its impact varies depending on the policy issue and the media market. Niederdeppe et al. (2007) emphasize the need to be more cautious in choosing policy solutions that can actually contribute in solving the issue.

1.3. Considerations and influential factors

Below is a discussion of few considerations when planning media advocacy and a number of factors that externally influence the practice of media advocacy campaign.

Social Marketing

The conceptual foundation of media advocacy and social marketing come from different disciplines (Slater, 2000). Social marketing emerged from marketing

and media studies discipline, while media advocacy emerged from public health (Wallack, 1994). Media advocacy and social marketing share some similarities and differences; It is important to differentiate between them for better practice and application of both. Social marketing focus on motivating a change in the individual behaviour (Farid, 2006), while media advocacy look into the social and political context; in which the individual behaviour takes place (Slater, 2000). Social marketing sometimes referred to as public information campaign, fulfil the information gap while media advocacy fulfil the power gap (Dorfman, 2010; Wallack, 1994).

Social marketing change personal behaviour while media advocacy change policy (Dorfman, 2010; Dorfman & Wallack, 2012). If the desired change is policy oriented not knowledge oriented, thus media advocacy shall be employed rather than public information campaign. Overall, social marketing defines problem at the individual level, perceive a social problem as an individual issue, has a short term focus and is used to change behaviour (Abd el Fattah, 2013; Farid, 2006). Whereas, media advocacy define the problem at the policy level, perceived health as a social issue, has long term focus and seeks to influence public policy (Dorfman, 2010; Dorfman & Wallack, 2012). Both complement each other's efforts by creating awareness and involvement with the topic.

Focusing events

Focusing events are tied to agenda setting or issue attention cycle (Wolfe, 2013; Birkland, 1998; Corbin, 2010). A focusing event is “a sudden event that can generate attention to the public problems or issues, particularly issues and problems that are actually or potentially harmful” (Birkland, 2011, P. 101). Focusing events bring media attention, increase news coverage of the issue and speed access to media and influence agenda setting process (Wolfe, 2013). It can influence government leaders, news media and public to pay attention to the problem and search for solutions (Birkland, 2011). Focusing events are “sudden, relatively rare events that spark intense media and public attention because of their sheer magnitude or sometimes because of the harm they reveal” (Birkland, 2011, P. 118).

Focusing events are tied to policy change (Wolfe 2013; Birkland 1998; Corbin, 2010; Wood, 2006). It provides a mobilization opportunity for the interest

groups to take advantage of increased attention for the issue and call for change (Birkland, 2011). Media plays a crucial role in influencing the policy making attention and outcome where it uses the event to help setting the policy agenda and generates a positive feedback (Wolfe 2013). “Focusing events can and often do shift the attention of the media, refocusing attention to problems or issues that are either novel or were previously unattended or under attended” (Wolfe, 2013, P.180). Focusing event can be a reason to call for a policy change leading policy maker to revisit the policies and laws, where it acts as a catalyst for change by playing a major role in agenda setting stages of the policy process (Wolfe 2013; Birkland 1998; Corbin, 2010).

In media advocacy, the importance of focusing events is that it provides an opportunity to link the event with the advocated issue especially if dramatic and needs interpretation. “Focusing events can thus provide a “window of opportunity” for the strategic use of the media by issue advocates seeking policy change” (Wolfe, 2013, P.181). Advocates can take advantage of the focusing events to defend their cause, redefine the problem, frame media coverage, offer policy solutions and demand a policy change (Wolfe, 2013; Birkland 1998; Corbin, 2010).

According to Birkland (1998), the effect of focusing events is influenced by the nature of the event and policy community. Four elements of post-event mobilization identified; a change in the agenda, a change in policy, group mobilization, group attempt to contain the issue.

Policy Process and Media Advocacy stages

The policy process cycle remains a helpful and a structural way that contributes to our understanding of policy making (Birkland, 2011). Although the number of stages and their designation varies, the policy cycle consists of five commonly known stages; first is agenda setting or problem identification which involves understanding the problem, putting it on agenda and setting the goal. Second is policy formulation which involves doing the research and data collection to develop the policy strategy that can achieve the required goals. Third stage is the policy adoption, this step is sometimes excluded or integrated in the previous step, refers to what needs to be done to adopt and initiate the policy strategy. Fourth stage is the policy implementation which is executing the policy. Fifth stage is the policy evaluation which involves using various methods to evaluate its implementation and

measure the efficiency and effectiveness of policy in achieving the goals (Jann & Wegrich, 2007).

It is important to reference that there is no agreed set of stages for media advocacy, some people combine or divide the stages, but all revolve around few main components and elements. The media advocacy cycle involves defining the problem/issue, identifying policy goals and target audience, design the message and its framing, develop a policy solution, gain access to media and monitor and assess the advocacy program activities (Dorfman 2010; Pannu & Tomar, 2010; Wallack 1994).

According to the above, media advocacy and policy process intersect in many ways. One can observe similarities particularly in the first three stages; agenda, policy formulation and policy adoption. First, media advocacy starts by issue identification similar to the problem identification or agenda setting stage in the policy process. Then, the second stage identifies policy goals, target audience, and develop the message and the policy solutions similar to policy formulation stage of the policy process. Third is developing how to gain media access and frame the issue similar to policy adoption stage of the policy process (Dorfman 2010; Pannu & Tomar, 2010; Wallack 1994). This propose if media advocacy can contribute or participate peripherally in the policy process and if the closer the media advocacy to the stages of policy process, the more efficient the media advocacy efforts. This is being addressed as one of this study research questions.

Many scholars argue that most issues and policy ideas may not reach every stage or the end stages of the policy process cycle (Baumgartner et al. 2009; Birkland 2011). Therefore, it is essential to know what constitutes a policy change. Policy change “occurs when there is a change in the way a policy is framed, as noted by rapid changes in media coverage or in the hearing environment of congress” (p.33) or “when new legislation affecting a given policy area is enacted” which is a more prominent definition (Hall 2004, p.34). While De Lovinfosse (2008) build their definition of policy change based on Peter Hall’s approach to include policy change at the level of policy goals and the policy instrument.

Coalition building

A coalition is a union or affiliation of people, groups or organizations with a shared purpose working together to influence outcomes on specific issue (Cohen and

Wolfe, 2010; Farid, 2006). Among the many benefits of coalition is its ability to generate broad-based support, to combine forces to resolve a problem, to minimize duplication of efforts, to better understand the community needs and provides different angles and perspectives to the problem in order to achieve “policy victory that no group could achieve alone” (Cohen & Wolfe, 2010, P. 118).

One of the reasons for the success of tobacco control media advocacy campaign in Mexico is the coalition among various entities like government, civil society, academia, international and multilateral organizations (Lane & Carter, 2012). One of the deficiencies of media advocacy for ART treatment for HIV is the lack of coalition among stakeholders, thus emphasizing the need for collaboration as it can contribute to the first and second level agenda setting (Tafesse, 2011).

Policy initiatives are a powerful tool to create social change. Nixon (2010) explains how to develop a policy initiative in which media advocacy takes place in the fourth stage when organizing with other organizations to build support around a specific issue (Nixon, 2010), this coalition not only help to generate support but to achieve policy goals.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

This study utilizes two main theories; agenda setting and framing. These theories are core to the practice of media advocacy. It provides an understanding of the nature and the power of the media and how to utilize it in a way that is favorable towards the advocated issue. Figure 1 shows where agenda setting and framing fit into media advocacy. They take place during the implementation phase of media advocacy which helps to lead the campaign to yield the desired media and policy outcomes.

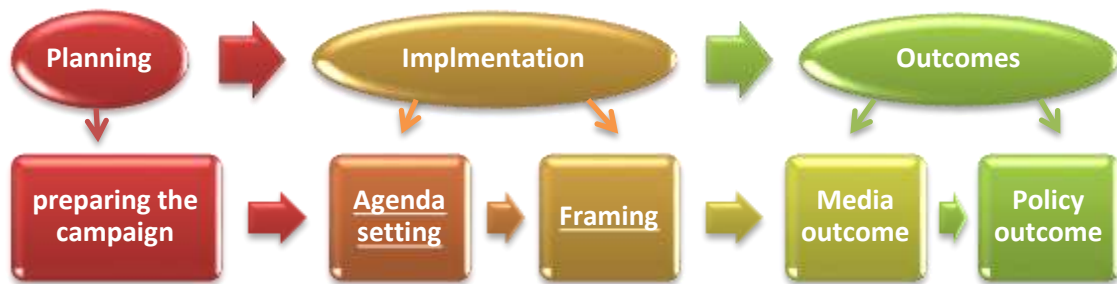


Figure 1: Agenda setting and framing in media advocacy

In media advocacy, agenda setting entails how to get the issue and message on the media and policy agendas and influences between the agendas; access strategy. Framing involves how you present and communicate your message to the target audience; message strategy.

2.1. Agenda setting theory

Agenda setting is one of the prominent media theories in the study of media effects that discusses the powerful influence of the media. The origin of agenda setting started by Lippmann's work in 1922 that news media filter reality (McCombs, 2005), then, McCombs and Shaw landmark study in 1972 about agenda setting effects. It states that media has the ability to influence the salience of issues/topics from the news agenda to the public agenda, referred to as agenda setting function and summarized in the well-known agenda setting phrase 'mantra': It is not what to think, but 'what' to think about (McCombs, 2005).

It helps to set the public opinion and the public's priorities by focusing their attention and influence their perception of the importance of the issues using the media to construct pictures of reality. There is a second level agenda setting referred to as attribute agenda setting, which is closely related to framing; how they think

about an issue or how it is portrayed, is called the attribute of the issue (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009; Griffin, 2006).

A key question in agenda setting research is, who sets the media agenda? McCombs and Reynolds (2009) reports it is influenced by external and internal factors. External factors are the external news sources like politicians, public officials, public relation specialists. The internal factor is intermedia agenda setting which is the influence of media on one another especially by bigger prominent media firms or online media. Interest aggregation and media events are two other factors added by Griffin (2006). Government, advocacy groups and public try to push their agenda on the media depending on the more powerful group. For example, in Rwanda, government dictate media agenda through its state owned media and censorship (Cruikshank, 2013).

Agenda building is used to study the interchange between media, policy makers and public, with focus on media effects as an independent variable commonly studied (Denham, 2010). In an attempt to organize and clarify the inconsistent agenda building scholarly literature, Denham (2010) divided the agenda building literature into 3 types: media agenda building, policy agenda building and public agenda building to indicate the direction of the study. There are many factors that shape each agenda and it all revolves around the interaction or relationship among different agendas public, policy and media, issue salience and stakeholders.

There are numerous agenda setting studies addressing how the media affect the public, but few and limited studies address the influence of the media on policy. The development of agenda setting research focused and shifted attention to the influence of media agenda on the policy agenda. The media can influence setting the policy agenda (Wolfe et al., 2013; Soroka, 2002; Cook et al., 1983; Tan Y. & Weaver D. 2009). This is the essence of media advocacy; media and policy process intersect. There is a media-policy disconnect (Wolfe et al., 2013). She argues that most of agenda setting studies rarely connect or neglect to link media effects back to policy or agenda change. Eissler et al. (2014) argues it is vague to know 'how' media influence the policy process. Thus, this study attempts to fulfil this gap as it is considered one of the papers that represent an integration between media and policy studies.

Media and advocacy are two central and influential factors to the policy agenda setting (Hinchcliff et al., 2011; Baumgartner and Jones, 1993). Media can influence the policy process and thus the policy agenda, by shaping policy makers' and public' views of an issue importance causing the policy change. Moreover, policy makers gain their understanding of public opinion from the media and then act to make the policy change (Cook et al., 1983).

Policy process scholars argue that media is one of the causes of policy. Media and policy concepts intersect to explain policy and agenda change in terms of understanding of the following effects; focusing events (triggering event), issue identification, attribute processing, alternative venue and framing, which are considered policy relevant information that can lead to a positive feedback in the form of policy change (Wolfe et al, 2013). The kind of issues covered (e.g., obtrusive versus unobtrusive), the specific media outlets and the sort of coverage (positive or negative) are also factors that contribute to the political agenda setting by the media (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006).

In terms of agenda measurement, the position, number and length of the story are two main criteria used to determine the prominence of the story as well as the headline and lead of the story to measure the media agenda (Griffin, 2006). The policy agenda can be measured in five ways; congressional hearings, official press releases, speeches, legislation or legislative initiatives, government spending and parliament debates (Soroka, 2002).

Public agenda building depends on media, issue salience and relevance, advocacy groups (Denham, 2010). The policy agenda building depends on a number of factors; the issue' significance and relevance, public opinion response to an issue, building media agenda and investigative reports. While media agenda building relies on source, issue and news value, intermedia (prominent media), public and society's culture, characteristics of journalists, and extra-media information distributed by organizations and government agencies.

2.2. Media advocacy and Agenda setting

In media advocacy, agenda setting plays an integral role. Wallack (1994) argues that if your issue or event does not make it on the media, then the issue might not reach the public and hard to make it on the policy agenda, as if it does not exist

and thus, no action will be taken against it. Setting the media agenda involves bringing the issue to light by the frequent exposure and discussion of the issue in the media (Borah, 2011).

Agenda setting is the first step in media advocacy process; it involves bringing the issue to light by setting the media agenda. In order to set the agenda, media advocates need to gain access to the media. According to Wallack (1994), the importance of gaining access is twofold, first, the more the issue receives media coverage, the more likely to become a public concern and be on the public agenda (public issue). This is the agenda setting function in which the media agenda shapes public agenda. Second, the ability of the media to reach the influential decision makers (policy maker, government, politicians, opinion leaders) who has the power to make the change, and to give importance and urgency to the issue to become part of the policy agenda and to create the pressure needed for policy makers to address the issue and respond to the public concern (Wallack 1994). That is why getting media attention to the issue is necessary to become part of the public and the policy agendas.

The key question is ‘how’ to get access to the media? This requires an understanding of how news is constructed and its selection process. “Media advocates gain access by interpreting their issue in terms of newsworthiness” (Wallack, 1994, p.427), the key word is newsworthiness which involves many elements. Some elements of newsworthiness like timely, relevant, public's interest and human interest and use Shoemaker and Mayfield’s extensive list that includes “sensation, conflict, mystery, celebrity, deviance, tragedy, and proximity” (Wallack, 1994, p. 427).

It is important to know where the issue fall in media attention intervals. Wallack (1994) relies on Anthony Downs ‘issue attention cycle’; the first stage is called the pre-problem stage where the problem already exist but it is being discovered and did not receive enough public attention. The second stage, the problem got both the media and public attention and the media reinforced and framed it as solvable. The third stage realizes that in order to solve the problem, it requires work and sacrifice but the public interest in the possibility of change may decline. The fourth stage is called the post problem stage when the problem continues to exist but receives little media and public attention.

The media can be a cause of fading attention and being away from public debate and not perceived as an urgent concern or it the media can be an effect as the public is no longer interested in the issue especially with the emergence of more pressing issue (Wallack, 1994).

2.3. Framing theory

Framing is one of the renowned media theories for interpreting the ‘how’ aspect of media effects. Entman (1993) in his landmark article titled “Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm” defines framing as “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, P.52), Frame is not necessarily to include all functions. The most effective frames are based on or built upon the previously mentioned Entman’s four criteria (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009).

Framing is concerned with ‘how’ the issue is framed or ‘how’ it is presented in the media. Framing is the selection of key aspects of reality to make them more salient or ignore them. De Vreese (2005) defines a frame is “an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic” (P.53). Framing is defined by its inclusions and exclusions of information. Thus, it focuses our attention on certain aspects, and directs our attention away from other aspects.

Framing works depends on two main essential components; selection and salience. Selection is the information chosen to be highlighted than others. In other words, what is displayed and what is repressed. Salience means “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (P.53). The more salient information, the more it is recognized, processed and remembered by the audience. There are several ways to achieve salience; text placement, repetition or symbol/value association (Entman, 1993).

Framing shapes and transfers the salience of issue’s attributes. Attributes is what the one “have in mind when they think or talk about an object ...it is the characteristics and properties that describe an object” (P.6). There are two dimensions of attributes; a cognitive component (information) and an affective component (image) (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009).

There is a difference between agenda setting and framing. Framing is referred to as attribute agenda setting. Agenda setting focuses on the ‘What’ aspect, while framing focuses on the ‘How’ aspect of a message. The first level Agenda setting transfers the salience of issue, while framing known as second level agenda setting transfers the salience of issue’s attributes. This alters the agenda setting mantra into “no just what to think about, but to How to think about it” (P. 402) and sometimes what to do about it (Griffin, 2006). Media effect does not stop at setting the agenda, it influence the way we think and how we act (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009).

Entman (1993) argues that frames are found in four locations in the communication process; in the *communicator* who conveys a frame deciding what to say, in *text* that contains the frame through the presence and absence of information, in the *receiver*’s way of thinking guided by some frames that might or might not be in line with the communicated frame, in *culture* represented in common frames.

There is a wide typology of frames. Two types of frames are; aspect and central themes. Central is the dominant frame/attribute used in the news story, while the aspect is number of frames identified (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). Frames are more effective when it resonates with existing schemata (Shen, 2004; Entman, 1993). Schemata are the individual’s pre-existing attitudes and values, belief system that guides how they interpret the message and accept or reject a frame (Entman, 1993).

Media frames can be used as a dependent variable in the study of frame building which is defined as how the frames get established and the factors that influence the structure of news frames (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; De Vreese, 2005). Factors can be divided into internal and external factors to journalism (De Vreese, 2005). According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996) there are five factors that influence how the journalist frame an issue; societal values as well as culture and norms, organizational pressure, external pressure from policy makers or advocates, journalist ideological orientation and professional routine. Adding to the above, Borah (2011) identifies the ability of a frame to dominate the news depends on complex factors “economic and cultural resources and the journalistic routines and practices or the frame’s resonance with political and cultural values” (p.256).

On the other hand, media frames can be used as the independent variable in the study of frame setting which is the “interaction between media frame and

individuals' prior knowledge and predisposition" (De Vreese, 2005, p.52). Frame setting is considered an applicability effect; which is building association between an issue and interpretation. This issue-interpretation link can be created in two ways; first in emerging issues, link the issue with relevant considerations, second in familiar issues, link the issue with existing values and beliefs. Frequent exposure to the issue framing should strengthen the applicability link (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009).

Although framing is measured by analysing text meaning and elements, identify frames through content analysis (Entman, 1993), Borah (2011) recommends the use of interviews and survey with all potential frame sources to better understand the framing production process. News Frames can be measured using the inductive approach takes place during the content analysis, or using the deductive approach involves preparing a set of frames prior to investigation (De Vreese, 2005).

Most studies of framing measure the immediate effect of framing and exposure to the news, whereas few studies measure the long term effects of framing, although "framing effects are, almost exclusively, conceptualized as long term in nature" (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009, P. 29). In the framing literature, few studies address frame building or frame production process (Borah, 2011). Future research on framing should connect frame building and frame setting (De Vreese, 2005). Framing research should focus on the interaction between social movements and the news media. "Studies need to examine how social movements develop these frames, how journalists evaluate and define them, and how readers and viewers interpret them" (Carragee & Roefs 2004, P.228). Therefore, the nature of this study shall balance and contribute to the above shortages by studying the long term effects of framing particular on policy makers as well as the frame production process used by media advocates for their cause.

2.4. Media Advocacy and Framing

Framing is essential for the success of media advocacy. Although gaining access to the media is important but it is not enough, it is also important to identify 'how' the issue is presented and framed in the media and how the message is portrayed. The media description and depiction of an issue can influence the public and the decision makers' response to that issue (Wallack 1994).

How the issue is defined in the media can contribute to how it shall be solved. Wallack (1994) quotes Henrik Blum, a well-known health planner "how a society views major problems ... will be critical in how it acts on the problems" (p. 428). Sometime the problem is complex and is hard to define. Media advocacy relies on an upstream definition of the problem; it views the problem from a large context in terms of social and economic aspects, underlying causes and conditions rather than individual aspects (Wallack 1994).

It is important to articulate messages in terms of providing policy solutions and reach out for policy maker with it. "The ultimate goal of media advocacy is to create changes in policies" (Wallack, 1994, P. 430). The content of the message is responsible for how the problem is addressed. Thus, media advocates should plan ahead their angle, related causes, conditions and suggested policy solutions; which should be taken into consideration before reaching out for the media (Wallack, 1994).

It is easy to get access to the media but it is difficult to construct and convey the frame in the media (Wallack, 1994). In media advocacy, media coverage of a tragic event is not enough but coverage should include how to avoid it. This involves not just individual action on part of the public but more importantly an environmental action, thus media messages should carry policy oriented messages and articulate solutions to move the policy forward (Wallack, 1994).

Framing process and collective action frames helps in understanding social movements' dynamics. Collective action frames are "action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization" (Benford & Snow, 2000, P. 614). It has an interpretive function that attempts to interpret frames and produce meanings in ways that tends to mobilize proponents and adherents to take action and gain their support and to demobilize the adversaries and antagonists and not leave it to the individual's perception (schemata) (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Frame development rely on three core framing tasks of collective action frames, identified by Benford and Snow (2000), which involves identifying problem (diagnostic), identifying the solution (prognostic) and the motivation/rationale (motivational). First, diagnostic framing is about problem identification. Second, prognostic framing is articulating the solution to fit the problem depending on how

the problem is defined. Third, motivational framing is about the motivation or rationale to engage in collective action, which helps to gain support towards the issue (Benford & Snow, 2000; Vicari, 2010). Success of media advocacy depends on problem identification, good understanding of media, careful planning of message framing and presenting policy solutions (Wallack, 1994).

Chapter Three: Research Design

This study address media advocacy; which is a ripe new field in Egypt. This research is qualitative in nature; it seeks to answer the ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions pertaining to understanding media advocacy and its best practices in Egypt. The study was designed to explore the processes of planning and implementation, outcomes and influential factors. Thus, this study utilized the qualitative approaches to examine the “how” aspect, in terms of how media advocacy is prepared, used and implemented, how the messages are developed and framed. In addition to the ‘what’ aspects; what influence does it have on the policy makers and media and what are the factors influence media advocacy using a thorough analysis of rich data obtained from the case study.

3.1. Case study

Case study methodology guides the study and employs in-depth interviews as it is main qualitative method. The case study approach is used because it provides a wealth of information, in-depth details and description about the research topic. It helps to investigate a social phenomenon and examine individuals’ perceptions and experiences as well as events (Gravetter & Forzano, 2003).

Case study: Sexual Harassment (SH)

This study will study the media advocacy campaign of sexual harassment (SH) in Egypt because of the richness of the case study, clear presence in the media, information accessibility and memorability. Lately, it has been a rising concern to the public, in 2012, 51.6% of women have been subjected to verbal harassment, while 31.8% were subjected to physical harassment (ECWR, 2012). In addition, it satisfies the social justice aspect as it aims for equality and security (Dorfman & Krasnow, 2014).

Reasons and relevance of Case study to media advocacy

First, it seeks to answer the question of who is the advocate and does having numerous advocacy organizations working on the same issue differently, strengthen or weaken the media advocacy? Usually it is easy to identify one source of advocates, but in case of SH, there are many entities addressing SH issue. This study investigates if advocates work together or compete and conflict each other. Does the numerous

number of advocates make it harder for the reporter to get information or it helped to generate more media coverage.

Second, on the same manner, who is the policy maker? In some cases, the issue falls under the jurisdiction of one clear and easily identified policy maker, but in the case of SH there is no one particular policy maker, but rather a number of relevant policy makers.

Third, SH originated as a societal issue. Opposite to media advocacy literature, SH issue does not seem to face opposition because it receives the sympathy of the public and it is not a controversial topic. However, it is vital to investigate if it encountered other obstacles or not.

Fourth, does coalition building matters? Does it influence media advocacy positively or negatively? Bringing together supporters who believe in the same issue to work together would strengthen or weaken the case or will act as competitors, each in favor their organization.

Thus, studying SH case would yield significant results that provide good insights towards the best practice of media advocacy in Egypt. The above reasons are addressed in the research questions.

3.2. Methodological Framework

This study will utilize Stead et al. (2002) et.al Framework in Appendix 1, as a guideline to evaluate media advocacy. The framework proposes a series of indicators and methods to evaluate media advocacy on three levels; formative, process and outcomes. The formative evaluation examines the planning and preparation phase of media advocacy. The process evaluation checks if the implementation relates to what was planned and progressing towards the required destination. The outcomes generated from the media advocacy campaign and it is divided into five outcomes; media, policy, PO, community and Advocacy.

Exclusion Justification

This study will use the formative evaluation, process evaluation, media and policy outcomes. But due to time limitations, lack of resources to generalize the PO results and desire to have rich and high quality data, it shall exclude the last three outcomes highlighted in grey.

Inclusion Justification

Stead et al identifies communication strategy as a necessary element of media advocacy. But the framework overlooks the various types of communication strategies. Therefore, after reviewing the literature, the communication strategy shall be viewed and examined in light of Dorfman and Krasnow (2014) four strategies of media advocacy. The strategies include; overall strategy, media strategy, message strategy and access strategy.

Figure 2 represents an outline for media advocacy evaluation developed based on Stead et al. (2002) framework, literature review and Dorfman and Krasnow (2014) strategies. It is the study outline that guides the design of the interview questions, appendix 3-5, and inspects indicators under each phase. The findings of this study follows the below outline in terms of the five steps and its specified elements.

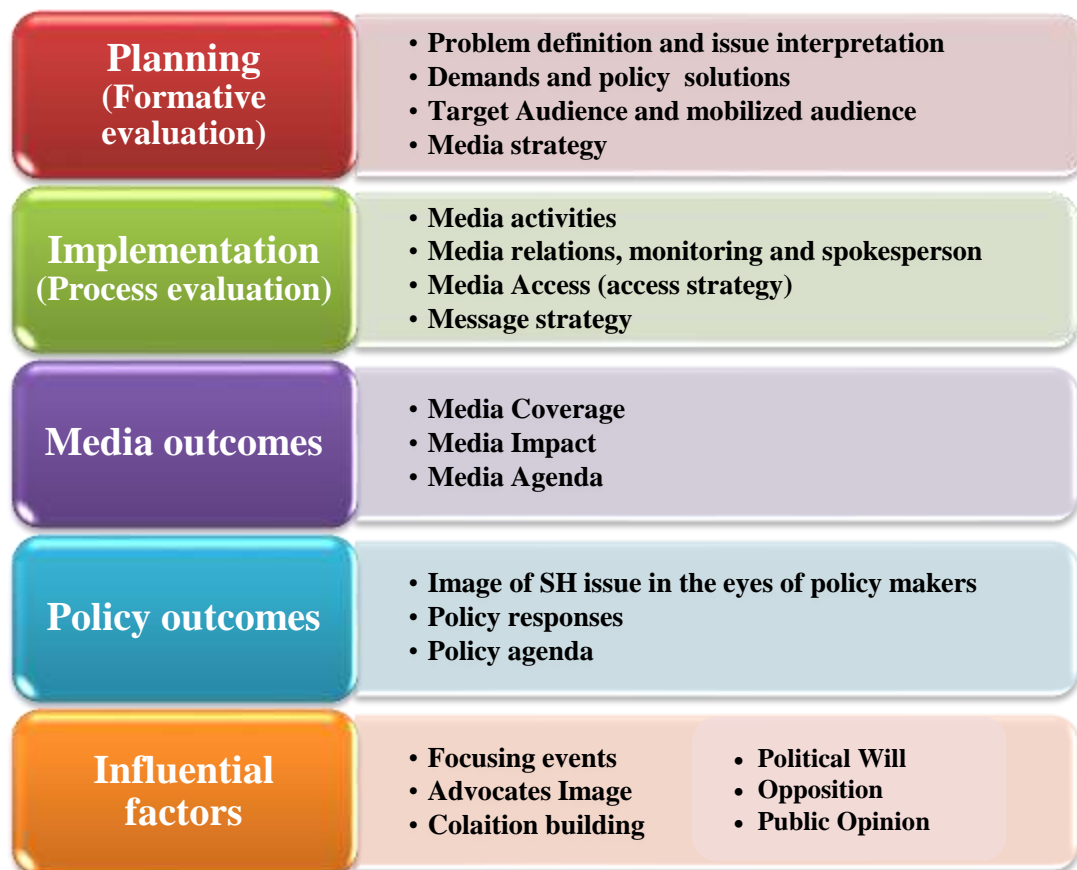


Figure 2: Study outline for media advocacy evaluation

3.3. Methodology

Data Collection and Sampling

In depth interview

The study will use semi-structured in-depth interviews using a non-random purposive sample to examine the media advocacy campaign on SH planning and implementation processes conducted by advocates, media and policy outcomes, influential factors and the views of media experts and policy makers in light of the efforts exerted.

Triangulation

This research relied on the triangulation approach that entails looking at issue from multiple perspectives to improve accuracy (Neuman, 2011). This study examines media advocacy campaign on SH from the advocates, media experts and policy makers' perspectives. This variation is valuable as it ensures validity and reliability of data and its accuracy.

A. Advocate

In-depth interviews were conducted with National Council for Women (NCW)¹ and 'Shoft Ta7rosh' or 'I saw harassment' (initiative)². The main criterion for advocates' selection depends on choosing media managers or media planners responsible for media advocacy campaign. A purposive non-random sample was composed of a total of six interviews; four with the media advocates at the NCW and two with the media advocates at the initiative. For a detailed list about the interviewees, see Appendix 2.

B. Policy makers

In-depth interviews were conducted with key policy maker representing the ministry of justice, ministry of interior and a president's consultant for women affairs. The main criterion for selection depends on the target audience specified by advocates in the media advocacy campaign. A purposive non-random sample of six policy makers;

¹ **Overview: The National Council for Women (NCW)** was founded in 2000. It is an advisory body to the government on all matters of women. Its responsibilities include; empowering women, raise awareness about women issue, work with NGO and civil society, representing Egyptian women in international arenas and review and suggest policy solutions to the policy makers.

² **Overview: 'I saw harassment' or 'Shoft ta7rosh'** (initiative) was founded on 2012. It is a pressure group that works on monitoring and documenting sexual harassment crimes against women and providing legal and psychological support to victims. In addition, it has a clear presence in the streets to protect women from sexual harassment save victim.

two from the ministry of justice, two from the ministry of interior and one president consultant. For a detailed list about the interviewees, check Appendix 2.

C. Media Experts

It was vital to talk to media experts not only to provide a feedback on the media coverage but rich insights about the reasons behind coverage and how to improve it. Thus, In-depth interviews were conducted with different media experts; journalists, TV presenter/host, editor in chief, producers and executive editors. A purposive non-random sample of six experts representing of four TV channels (Al Hayat, Al Nahar, Dream and OnTV) and representing three newspapers (El Youm7, EL Watan and El Masry el Youm). For a detailed list of interviewees, check Appendix 2.

The advantage of in depth interview over content analysis

The advantage of employing in depth interview over content analysis in my study is because the data the researcher was looking for has been validated by the findings of the in depth interviews. This is because, although content analysis and in depth interviews with media experts both can provide media trends, the interviews have the advantage of additionally providing the reasons and the justification of such trends. Also, increasing the media experts' interview sample to represent different affiliation of the most prominent media channels and newspapers in Egypt has better verified trends and maximized accuracy of the results. The triangulation method using in depth interview rather than the classic content analysis of coverage provided new angles and significant results.

3.4. Pre-test

To validate the in-depth interview questions; three pre-tests were conducted with advocates. First, with Mr M.AA. a junior advocate at the Medical Doctors union and a member at the 'Atba2 bla Hkok' movement. Second with Ms A.H. a senior media specialist at the media department at the NCW. Third with N.A, the head of a department at the NCW. Overall, questions were quite realistic, clear and workable and for further improvement; pre-test resulted in minor modification in terms of changing order of some questions, removing few and rewording others.

Chapter Four: Findings

There are three levels of analysis in the study as shown in the below Figure 3. At the broad level, there are the detailed findings regarding the interviews conducted with each group of advocates, media experts and policy makers. In the middle level, there is a comparative observation to reflect trends and inconsistencies under each element of each category, because there is inconsistency within each category, arrow themed. At the top level, there is the overall discussion and analysis encompassing all advocates, media experts and policy makers results connected together to evaluate the media advocacy campaign performance in SH from different perspectives and to point out reasons of success and failure to help practitioners enhance and maximize their media advocacy effectiveness.

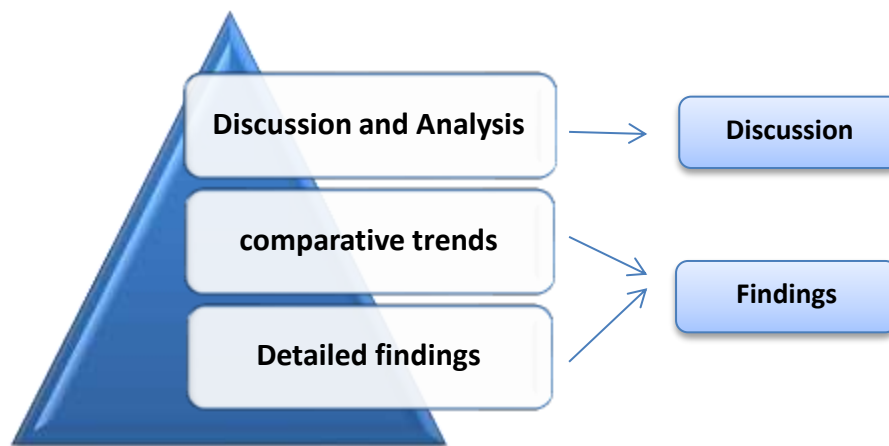


Figure 3: Levels of Analysis

The following part starts with the detailed findings with the observations i.e. the first and middle parts. It is divided into three main sections; advocates, media experts and policy makers respectively. Each section covers five main steps to evaluate the media advocacy, guided by Stead (2002) framework, literature review and Dorfman (2010) strategies, as shown in figure 4 (modified). Underneath each phase there are a number of elements that inspects and helps to evaluate it. Then, it is followed by an overall discussion i.e. the top part.



Figure 4: The five steps of media advocacy

4.1. Advocates In depth Interview Findings

It is crucial to start with how advocates plan and execute their media advocacy campaign to be used as a reference when addressing media experts and policy makers to get their feedback on the campaign and outcomes in light of what advocates did.

4.1.1. Preparation and Planning phase (Formative Evaluation)

Problem identification and issue interpretation

- Despite the various definitions among the advocates, the majority agree that the SH issue is multidimensional in which the cultural and societal dimension is the prevalent one. There is a consensus that the SH issue is a phenomenon. Regarding issue interpretation, advocates agree that the lack of security, the unfavourable position and inferior image against women, the use of SH for political purposes and the erroneous behaviour of the community are common reasons for the problem.

The “I saw harassment/Shoft ta7rosh” (initiative) defines the problem as multidimensional. While they agree that it is derived mainly from the cultural dimension, one identifies that it has an additional political dimension and another identifies that it has an additional security dimension. They all agree that it is a social phenomenon; while F.F., senior official at the initiative, sees it as a “safe crime”.

The National Council for Women (NCW) perceives the SH issue as multi-fold with many dimensions. The cultural dimension is the prevalent one, other dimensions ranged from economic, political, security and religious. The political dimension was

associated with group harassment during protests and there is a consensus it is a phenomenon.

The initiative's interpretation of the problem includes lawlessness that spread after the revolution caused people to do whatever they want, the increasing numbers of gatherings (millionia), the use of 'sexual violence' for political purposes, some extreme procedures that worsens the case and the cultural aggression against women for speaking up.

The NCW interprets the spread of SH because of the stereotype inferior image of women, "Men are always right, girls have no rights" said Mohamed, head of Media Department at the NCW. After the revolution, the lack of security, no governmental presence and moral collapse caused confusion and gave the people the freedom to do whatever they want and to take authority over the streets. As a result, the society was detached, went apart and lost the unity that held it together. "The streets were dispersed and the society got disintegrated ...The whole system crumbled and deteriorated" said Karima, the head of Media Committee at the NCW. Other reasons are the use women for political purposes, the economic situation and religious extremist.

Demands and policy solutions

- There is a consensus among advocates on the legislative demand and the majority agree on the security demand. In terms of policy solutions, there is a major consensus on having a comprehensive deterrent legislation as their primary solution followed by the role of ministry to provide female officers, establish a division for violence against women and to have qualified forces on the streets. There were other inconsistent secondary solutions among advocates, like the role of media and other entities.

The initiative's demands focus mainly on the legislative and security roles. The legislative demand involves up-to-date comprehensive amendments, based on the perspective of the civil society not of the ministry of justice. The security demands has more emphasis on the role of the ministry of interior which involves training and qualifying all police officers to maximize the efficiency of the security forces, changing the doctrine or code of the police to be more based on gender equality and Increasing the number of female police officers. Finally, setting an inclusive

mechanism/system of reporting a case by a victim; which includes the presence of female officers, a psychiatrist and forensic to facilitate case reporting.

The NCW agreed on a main demand which is the legislative demand to punish and criminalize the act of SH and to include the term SH and its definition in the law. This demand was aroused to support the security efforts because earlier when a harasser was caught, the legal grounds were weak to punish him. However, their demands varied in terms of depth and detail; one identified short-term demands (legislative and security) and long-term demands (religious speech, education for cultivating values and culture through drama), some identified only the legislative demand and another identified none.

In the initiative, there is confusion between demands and solutions; they both seem to be the same thing. Despite the different solutions mentioned by the initiative's members, they agree on a comprehensive legislation and law enforcement that supports the reporting mechanism. Law implementation can be attained through having qualified forces and an organizational change in terms of perception and attitudes of dealing with the victim. Other secondary solutions involve an inclusive law that tackles all types of violence against women. Also, the role of different ministries; ministry of justice for legislation, ministry of interior for implementation, ministry of health for medical and psychological care for victims and ministries of culture and youth and the media to enlighten the people, spread the teachings of equality and changing attitudes and perception. Moreover, change the stereotype culture of blaming the victim and sending consistent messages on the official state media. There were some attempts to execute or fully prepare the solutions from simple suggestions to detailed solutions.

The NCW policy solutions revolved around the legislative solution followed by a security one. For the legal solution, they developed a draft of law (bill) for violence against women which includes SH. The security solution emphasize the role of ministry of interior to have female officers for ease of reporting cases, to have a division dedicated for violence against women and to have more street presence especially during the Eid or in front of schools. Other solutions were the role of media to adopt the issue, role of religious speech, education and culture and making hotlines to encourage victims to report. There were some attempts to execute or fully prepare the solutions like making a draft law.

Policy makers (Target audience) and mobilization

- Among the advocates, there is a consensus that the primary policy makers are the ministry of justice and the ministry of interior. Secondary targets are the ministries of education, health, culture and religious endowment. In terms of mobilization, there was no consistency on who to mobilize, except few reported men and few reported ministries. Despite the various mobilization suggestions, they did not agree on any.

There is a consistency in the initiative that the primary targeted policy makers are the ministry of justice and ministry of interior. Secondary target are the ministry of health and ministry of education. The parliament is perceived by Dr Azza, the founder of the initiative, as the main policy maker.

According to the NCW, the SH issue has no one policy maker but joint partnership. “The ministry of interior and the ministry of justice are the main ones” said M. R., senior member at the NCW. Secondary target of policy makers are the prime minister and ministers of education, religious endowment and culture. It is worth noting that at first Abeer Abou el Ela, head of press office at the NCW, regards El-Telawy, chairman of NCW, as one of the policy makers because of her strong influence and connections, which shows the importance of leadership. “Without exaggeration, Mervat El-Telawy can, because of her personality and power of influence” said Abeer.

From the initiative perspective, they should mobilize men to gain their support. For pressure and influence, they should mobilize women victims because they receive much attention and credibility that creates societal rejection to this type of violence. In addition, mobilize relevant ministries to emphasize their role in sexual harassment and the media because “the media is a key player to influence the policy maker, public opinion and change the culture” said Dr Azza.

The NCW has mixed review on who to mobilize for support and pressure. One believes they should mobilize all civil society organizations and initiatives. Another one believes it should be men and ministry of religious endowment due to the religious nature of Egyptians. Another believes that the ministry of interior to fasten case reporting, legislation to maximize punishment and the public.

Media strategy, message strategy and frame

- There is consistency among advocates to use official correspondence to communicate their demands to the policy makers. Although many advocates strongly agree on using the media to communicate demands, some were uncertain how. The NCW relies on focusing event and escalation method for media pressure, while the initiative relies on their field work and creating media fuss. Regarding the message, there was no consistent message among the advocates; both the initiative and the NCW, in addition, there was no clear frame. Advocates agree that talk shows, facts and media fuss works best to influence policy makers, whereas simple credible words from the heart and drama works best for the public.

The initiative forwards its demands to the policy makers directly through personal scheduled meetings and via reports or statements and indirectly through the media by creating a media fuss and taking advantage of their field work they do in the street. Azza says “we rely on the media to make a media fuss and generate coverage that influence the policy makers and speeds up their response”. They generate this media fuss mainly through their field/street work and maintaining good media relations. “If we have no field work, we will not have media presence!! Therefore, we do a good job with our field work to appear in the media, not to discuss it but to discuss what I want (I feel is important) and why I do this field work and convey my demands accordingly” said F.F. However, one argues that forwarding demands is not crucial because it’s well received by policy makers.

The NCW communicates their demands to the policy makers by relying primarily on official correspondence with different entities like ministries and presidency and through direct meetings. However, NCW members are evenly divided between whether to use media or not: those, who did not see the media as a method to communicate demands, focus on the media role to reach the public opinion and raise awareness about the issue for all including policy makers. And those who use the media to communicate the issue and their demands take advantage of focusing events and use the escalation method to exert the required pressure. This method includes focusing on a certain aspect of a problem and trying to communicate it with the relevant policy maker, and if no action is taken, they escalate and spread this via the media to create media and public pressures. However, one argues that forwarding

demands or message is not crucial because policy makers are already interested in the issue.

The initiative's message that they attempt to convey in the media was not unified. Dr. Azza's message is the respect to women and her right to walk freely in the streets whatever she is wearing without being annoyed. F.F.'s message is to speak of sexual harassment as a crime, change/remove the societal blame and stigma that has been shed upon the SH victims and thank all volunteers.

There is no consistent message conveyed by the NCW in the media. There was mixed reviews about their media message; one said it is reporting that harassment constitute a danger to the society not just to women, another reported it focus on the harasser and highlight the importance of the issue, another believes "every event has its own message" said Mohamed but the broad message is to stop and reject harassment and finally, one said "believe me, I would like them to be quiet and not publish anything about SH nowadays because they are becoming against, despite the media in the past was a must and reason for success for the SH issue"

The way the initiative frames and communicates this message in the media is not uniform. On one hand, Azza believes it is through having a unified message in all media and generating field awareness. On the other hand, F.F. believes it differs based on the target audience; if it targets the general public then it is all about credibility, simplicity and words coming from the heart but if it targets policy makers then it is through confrontation and facts supported by details and also through the talk shows. Dr Azza believes that the most convincing way to reach policy maker is through the media fuss, but should be done in an artistic and a clever way, it should not attack them but convey what economic, social and political influences of the issue.

The way the NCW frames and communicates this message varies; one report using different media activities like press releases, conference or TV shows, another did not see the importance of directing the media message to the policy maker! as the importance of the SH issue is already established, one reported it depends on what is to be communicated; if it is a draft law then it is aimed for policy makers while awareness is aimed for the public. Mohamed believes that Talk Shows are the most effective way to reach the policy maker, while drama is influential on the public.

Media department

- The NCW has a much bigger and older structure compared to the initiative. The NCW has a media committee, media department and press office, while the initiative just established a media department. However, the NCW seems to have some internal problems in terms of poor communication and connection between media planners and media executives.

At the time of interview, the initiative did not have a media department especially that it is kind of new and small but it was undergoing structural changes and after their elections in November they will have a media department. Its responsibility involves the website, social media, campaign and arranging media presence.

The NCW has a media committee, media department and press office. The media committee is concerned with the setting the policies, strategies and goals. The media department has an executive nature that implements the committee's policies and goals and it is concerned with all media activities of the council, raising awareness about an issue or campaign for it. The press office is concerned with the electronic division but it has problems with its inception and did not have much power, thus it is currently present on paper but not activated. It is worth noting that the link between the committee and department is weak; there is poor communication, perception and each seems to work on their own without the required coordination, for example, the committee is not sure if media monitoring takes place and not quite familiar with the media department activities in depth.

Strategy and Plans

- There is confusion among advocates between what constitutes a strategy and a plan. However, it seems there is no long-term strategy tailored to SH issue and the mediak. The initiative might have a short term SH plan while the NCW has a general annual media plan.

It seems the initiative has an unclear inconsistent long-term strategy, or under construction if not absent. Despite Azza arguing there is a strategy, it seems their work rely more on context, strategic goals/objectives and famous women-related dates (8 March, 16 March, 25 November-10 December). They set short-term plans and activities for the coming dates.

There are mixed reviews about strategy and plans adopted by the NCW regarding the media for SH issue; some argue there is none “there is no strategy, rather than event coverage ...strategy with time limits and detailed plans and activities did not exist” said Abeer. Some argues there is an annual plan for the media department, which covers violence against women and SH is part of it; it includes creating intensive media coverage and highlighting the issue in different ways, while another consider this plan as a strategy.

4.1.2. Implementation phase (process evaluation)

Types of Media channels

- Advocates use all forms of media for communication. Their preferences differ; the initiative relies on social media and favours foreign media for influence, while NCW uses radio for financial reasons.

The initiative relies on all forms of the media with emphasis on social media which is the essence of their work. They use print media for reach and influence because policy makers perceive it as important; all TV and radio is used except Sada el balad, al Jazeera and el fara3een. F.F. points out that foreign media are a milestone and powerful when they address the issue; British news is particularly influential on the policy makers especially telegraph followed by CNN Arabic. Locally, satellites TV are deemed helpful particularly Lamees.

The NCW relies on all media forms; TV, radio, press and website. On one hand, Mohamed argues that radio proved to be quite effective because it is not as costly as TV and with a good coverage that can reach other governorates. On the other hand, all media complete one another but the TV is the fastest with highest viewership rates.

Spokesperson, media monitoring and media relations

- There are mixed reviews between advocates about who is the spokesperson. However, there is consensus that media monitoring takes place along a response whenever needed. Also, there is an agreement among advocates on having media list and good media relations, but the NCW seem to have the advantage of being assigned a delegate from each newspaper despite its ineffectiveness sometimes.

In the initiative, there is contradiction among who is the spokesperson. One says it is F.F. and another says they rely on turns until they have an official speaker after the elections. Media monitoring takes place and they wait to respond back at the right time, part of their monitoring is done by Fouada-watch which is a sister initiative that monitors the media. They establish good media relations that qualify them to argue the space, location and quality of news.

There is disagreement in the NCW among who is the spokesperson. Some argue there is none, one argues it is Dorria Sharf el Din, one explains the position exists but it is not activated and another says it is Mervat el Telawy (Chairman) or Mona Omar (General Secretary). On another side, Mohamed claims that the media prefers if not insist to host or interview EL Telawy since she is the highest official member at the NCW. They conduct media monitoring; in which they follow the press and website but not so often for TV and radio. They respond back whenever needed and write a monthly report about it. In addition, they have a detailed database for the media people along with their specialization. Moreover, each newspaper assigns a representative who follows and covers their news and activities. But despite all of this, not everyone seems to fully cooperate and give the needed space.

Media access (access strategy)

- Advocates have different methods and perspectives on how to attract the media attention; for the purpose of media access and putting the SH issue on the media agenda. There is a consensus among advocates that focusing events are influential in attracting media attention as well as the nature of issue to impose itself on the media because it is full of excitement. The initiative has the advantage of using and relying on their field work to attract the media attention, while the NCW use an escalation method. Other ways involves media fuss and being innovative in the messages.

The initiative attracts the media attention through creating a media fuss, using focusing events, using their field work, relying on the nature of the issue and being innovative. Media fuss is created through taking advantage of focusing events, their field work and their media relations to generate media coverage. The field work is the work they do in the street to help protect women against harassers which usually attracts the media. The nature of the issue is about how the issue forces itself in the

media and policy scene. Innovation means the design of the message; the content and the tone should all be out of the box away from traditional methods. Other methods include generating street awareness through using promotion materials and rely on volunteers and their belief in the cause to help spread awareness.

There is a unanimous agreement by the initiative that focusing events are more influential in attracting the media attention. Nonetheless, there is confusion between creating an event and managing an event; they assume that sexual harassment in the streets and their field work is creating an event. Nonetheless, they master how to use and employ focusing events of all sorts in addition to their field work to gain media access.

The NCW proposes different methods to attract the media attention for the SH issue. First, one argues that focusing events have a major attractive force for the media and thus they use to escalate events. “An event! Events are the driving force that pushes everything forward ... without an event, media would not take any steps” said Karima. Another reason for the importance of focusing events is timing and context. “The problem is discussing a social issue in a time of presence of major political issues, terrorism and people dying. Nevertheless, focusing events can impose itself and attracts attention” reports Karima. Second, some argues that the nature of the issue carrying the element of excitement was enough to attract the media. Third, escalation method includes focusing on a certain aspect of a problem and trying to communicate it directly with the relevant policy maker, and if no action is taken, they escalate and spread this via the media to create media and public pressures. However, one argues that the NCW failed to attract the media attention because “our rational decent style doesn’t attract the media” said Abeer, but because the SH issue got aggravated; it got some attention by the media.

- In order to reach the policy makers; advocates can rely on the NCW because of their affiliation to the government or through media and public opinion pressures.

Azza argues that the initiative relied on the help of NCW to reach the policy makers; Azza argues the NCW was helpful in this matter because of their ease of accessibility to the related officials. However, this did not matter much to another member at the initiative because they are consultants not executives.

Media activities/efforts

- Advocates use numerous media activities; both prepare press releases, statements, workshops, research and reports, but no paid advertising. NCW relies on press conferences and symposiums, while the initiative focuses on social media and stickers. Despite NCW organizes more diverse activities compared to the initiative, some of it are directed towards violence against women in general, which includes SH. For a sample of media activities, check appendix 6.

The initiative heavily uses press releases on a regular basis either to communicate activities or respond to a case or reflect a certain position. They rely on one format of media events which is press conferences, however although one member said they held press conference regularly, another stated they held none! Publishing a statement reflecting their position on a case or responding to someone is more effective than conferences in F.F.'s point of view. Most of the workshops they conduct are for training their teams. Their promotional materials involve using stickers distributed to the general public; some with a message aimed to women and another message aimed for men and some carrying their contact in English or Arabic. They also have car stickers and one mini-informative brochure about SH. They do not have newsletter or magazines because it is costly with low coverage compared to flyers, but they have one booklet called Hakawy discussing stories of SH victims.

The initiative does not use paid media because of the budget and because they share this belief if they have good media relations, they will not need paid advertising. They met with the editorial board member of two newspapers (El Shorouk and EL Watan) attended by Magdy el Galad to adopt favourable position towards the cause; it makes a difference and influential particularly on the long-run as it leaves a good positive impression about the initiative. Social media is the mother media channel for the initiative in which they use Facebook and Twitter heavily. Regarding supporting materials, they produce reports, monitor SH rates and reported cases to use these numbers in their statements and releases and come out with statistics outlining the number of SH assaults in Eid.

The NCW has done numerous media activities including press releases regularly covering events or statements and few workshops and training; one given by Wael el Ebrahsy about how to deal with violence against women. They organize

press conferences and symposiums about SH or violence against women. No speech, but they coordinate with el Azhar to unify a Friday prayer's speech to be about violence against women. The media event was a big conference involving NCW and their branches, ministries and female officers. Although most reported no paid advertising used for budget limitation purpose, one stated using paid radio spots. As for their promotional materials, they have flyers and brochures about violence against women distributed in conferences and once via mail or prepare a file for the media people. Contradiction about meeting with the editorial board of newspaper, Karima argues it is not quite effective because "despite the common demand to meet the editor in chief, it is a problematic because they are very busy, usually not in favour the issue and neither respond nor adopt the issue".

Regarding the social media, which is currently run by the IT department, they use Facebook, NCW's website and Egyptian Women Gate (EWG) website to publish caricatures about all forms of violence against women and making polls, but did not use twitter or YouTube. On the other hand, Karima argues the social media was very effective in the SH issue because of how the public, not the NCW, used social media on this issue. As for the NCW regular publications, they have weekly bulletin, monthly newsletter and a magazine which has stopped issuing after the revolution and just got resumed. They use statistics and supporting materials in their media message from the NCW or other research centres. Other efforts included drama in which they analysed women portrayals in Egyptian Ramadan drama and discussed it with writers, directors, cinema people and journalists. It is worth mentioning that the media committee is not very familiar with all media activities of the media department. However, within the media department, there are some inconsistencies about their media activities.

4.1.3. Media Outcomes

Advocates Media Presence/Appearance

- Whether the media is approached by advocates or vice versa is contradictory. The NCW approaches the media, while the initiative is usually approached by them. From the advocates point of view, it seems newspaper like el Masry el Youm, El Watan and el Shorouk are interested and concerned with the SH issue. Meanwhile, the initiative has more rigid rules with the media people concerning victims.

As a result of the initiative work and media efforts, usually the media comes to them and they only approach it whenever needed. From the initiative's point of view, their media presence in the print is high in El Watan, el Shorouk and el Masry el Youm in order. While for the Television channels, On TV and Orbit are the highest to host and follow their updates. "It is important to build real partnership with the media" said Azza. The initiative would sit down and negotiate their message with producers or reporters. however, the initiative set guidelines on how to deal with the media while they are quite in charge; for example no victim contacts' will be given to the media people and they should respect their privacy; the initiative claims that this proved to be successful, maintained the media attention and built respect for victim and her privacy.

The NCW usually approaches the media more than the media approach them, "we urged the media to come and when they did, it was not as expected" said Abeer. This is due to contradicting reasons, one argues it is the negative image of the council, but another believes it is because the media department is active and does not wait for them. From the NCW point of view, they have good presence in the print in el Masry el Youm, EL Watan and El Shourouk.

Media Coverage

- Advocates agree that the media coverage was seasonal based on the event. There is consensus among advocates that the content of the coverage was in favour of putting the SH issue to an end, except some *backward* views. Advocates agree that the media coverage was influenced by the political environment. In order to improve the media coverage; the initiative believes that it requires an improvement in the overall media system, while the NCW believes dedicating more time and presenting positive women portrayals is needed.

There are two opinions among the initiative regarding media coverage of SH; one believes that it is seasonal and another believes it is an intensive one but they both believe that the media coverage was very helpful. Regarding the content of the coverage, they all agree it was in favour fighting SH. However, there was some coverages that tends to blame women. To improve the media coverage, F.F. argues it requires more media professionalism and abiding by the media standards of objectivity, transparency, code of conduct and media ethics; an overall change in the

media system would improve the media performance. While Azza thinks the state should air quick messages through the TV to raise awareness continuously.

From the initiative perspective, the media coverage was affected by the political environment; coverage of incidents was high during Morsi and fall back during Adly, while during Sisi the media coverage did not maintain victim's privacy.

Most of the NCW believes that the media coverage was seasonal, except one argues it was intensive and another thinks it was Normal. The reason for perceiving it as seasonal is because it focused on certain events intensively. Karima argues "If it is a phenomenon, it might get reported by some, but if it is an event, everyone will cover it. TV is all about events". There is a consensus that the content of media coverage was in favour of putting it to an end. However, they complained about the presence of some persons, media or public, who still blame the women or would like to make it a low profile issue to avoid making a scene. In order to improve the media coverage, M.R. believes the media need to give more time, more talk shows discussing the issue with experts, while Mohamed believes that the media should unite together and present more positive women portrayals in the media is needed.

From the NCW perspective, the media coverage of SH issue was influenced by the political environment. Coverage was low before Morsi presidency, but after, it was high and maintained this high profile during Adly and until the president Sisi's visit to the Tahrir victim, afterwards it started to diminish bit by bit.

Media Impact

- There is a consensus among advocates that the media proved to be powerful and influential on the policy maker in the SH issue. They believe the media indirectly obligates the policy makers to take action to please the public and maintain their good image. The initiative argues that how the civil society uses and shapes the media, is what made it so successful.

The media proved to be influential on the policy maker in the SH issue. "The media is very important and does influence the policy makers for sure" said Azza. "If there is media, then they (policy makers) are all yours" said F.F. There is a unanimous agreement among the initiative that the media does influence policy makers; one example "security forces do not take serious actions without the media motivation because they deeply care about their media image" said F.F. They believe the media is

an influential factor beside the NGOs' efforts; Azza argues it is about how the civil society use and shape the media. They believe it is even more influential than Public Opinion. "Let's agree that those people (policy makers) will not care with whatever you are saying unless it is said in the media" said F.F.

There is an agreement among the NCW members that media was successful in influencing the policy maker. "The media had a big role in influencing the policy maker" said Abeer. This is because "when you really focus on an issue, the policy maker feels the need to take action so the public believes he is interested and concerned" argues Karima. "In the past the media was a must! Without the media and media pressure in the last period, we wouldn't succeed ... media had a vital role ... if you want to succeed, you succeed with the media...anyone with the power and the support of the media will definitely succeed" argues Abeer.

4.1.4. Policy Outcomes

Policy response

- There is consensus among advocates that the policy responses were in partial fulfilment of demands. Advocates agreed on two main responses: first legislative policy change through amendments. Second the presence of female police officers and the establishment of a unit to combat violence against women in the ministry of interior. Other responses includes, preparing a long-term national strategy to combat violence against women.

According to the initiative, there were policy responses with partial fulfilment to their demands. The types of policy response include; first a legislative policy change by amending an article and introducing a new article in law # 306. Second the presence of female police officers. Third is the preparation of a national strategy to combat violence against women. Fourth, the acceptability of some places (hotels and touristic location) to fight SH; a political will. The initiative believes all of this is a good start with good steps, despite some reservations.

According to the NCW, there were partial to full fulfilment of their demands. The types of policy responses include; first the establishment of a unit to combat violence against women in the ministry of interior and the presence of female police officers in streets or police stations. Second, passing and amending laws and the speed of issuing sentences in SH cases. Third, Al-Azhar responded by writing a paper to

support the legislation and dedicated religious speeches in mosques and to raise awareness. Fourth, the ministry of education added part in the curriculum for awareness and helped the NCW to make a campaign. Despite all of this, “their response came late when things got worse” said Mohamed.

Image of SH issue in the eyes of the policy makers

- From the advocates’ perspective, policy maker did not perceive the issue as important in the beginning, but that changed later because of the increasing urgency of the issue and with the help of the media. Moreover, few advocates argue that policy makers’ perception of the issue is linked to their actions; if they think the issue is important then it is expected to see some actions and vice versa.

There is an inconsistency in the initiative in terms of how they think the policy makers perceive the issue. Despite being not important at the beginning, Azza believes that the image is clear enough now and is perceived as an important issue. On the other hand, F.F. argues they are not concerned by it because “it shows in their actions”; he continues the actions they took (law) was not because of their concern with the issue but because of the harassment of a British tourist.

At the beginning, the NCW agreed that policy makers neither perceive the SH issue as neither important nor quite believed in it especially that they are busy and it is a quite complex issue. But when things got worse, the issue became more urgent and got the media attention; they felt the need to be involved. However, one argues what kinds of measures were taken against it; their concern and perception of issue importance should be translated into actions.

4.1.5. Influential Factors

Public Opinion (PO)

- Advocates agrees that the PO has mixed attitudes on the SH issue, but the majority agrees it was not favourable because the widespread culture that blames women still prevails. Other reasons are male dominated society, cultural contradiction among different generations and mistakenly link the punishment of the harasser to the political sanctions. Nevertheless, advocates disagree whether PO has an influence on the policy makers; the initiative perceives it does not while the NCW believe it does influence.

The initiative believes that the PO has mixed reviews; with the majority being not in favour of the issue because of a culture that still blames the women, questioning ‘what is she doing there?’ and following old-fashioned and *reactionary* thoughts and habits. Also, people mistakenly link the punishment of the harasser to the sanctions and tough political penalties that took place in the recent years which generated a reverse unfavourable reaction that made people feel pity towards the harassers. Moreover, cultural contradiction among different generations; women above 40 blame girls despite the freedom at their time to wear what they want compared to the increasing number of veiled ones. Meanwhile, the initiative claims that the PO has no influence on the policy maker; the media is more influential than the PO. “Let’s agree that those people (policy makers) will not care with whatever you are saying unless it is said in the media” said F.F.

The NCW believe the public opinion is divided between supporters who believe in the rising importance of the issue and opponents who believe in the widespread culture that still blames women. However, some agree that the public opinion changed when things got worse and with the spread of shocking SH events. However, others disagree and believe that this culture still prevails among men and women, and “this support is only on from the outside, but actually they believe she is responsible” said Mohamed. This is because women do not encourage other women and “as long as Arabs remain a male dominant society, this inferior image will not change ... eastern culture will remain eastern” argued Abeer. All of this could influence the policy makers.

Image of advocates

- There are different images for the advocates. The initiative believes that it has quite a positive image in front of the media, PO and civil society and varies in the eyes of policy makers from positive to Negative. The NCW believes that it suffers a negative image because of its affiliation to the old regime that affects their credibility and undermines their efforts.

Azza believes the image of the initiative is good among the policy maker, the media, PO and civil society. While F.F. thinks the image of the initiative varies in the eyes of the policy makers; some perceive them as important and their presence matters, some deal with them because they have to and others perceive them as just making a

scene for money purposes, image of civil society. The initiative claims that they are being perceived by the civil society as a turning point in the volunteer work. In the eyes of the media they have good presence, coverage and credibility. In the eyes of the PO, the T-shirt leaves an impression, worth respecting with good field presence in which the number of volunteers is increasing.

From the NCW point of view, its image in front the PO, media and policy makers is influenced by its affiliation to Suzan Mubarak as she was the head of the council and was run by her and some ladies. Thus, it was foreseen as the “Ladies council مجلس الهوانم” for so long and was considered part of the old corrupt regime. This negative image follows the council and creates an obstacle or a gap between the council and other entities. However, the majority agreed that with the presence of Mervat el Telawy as the chairman, this negative image started to change. The NCW claims that civil society believes there is some sort of competition and conflict with the council. In the eyes of PO, they are divided between those who are in favour the council, and those who believe it is not doing a good job because it is governmental and the civil organization would do a much better job.

Coalition building

- Among the advocates, there is no real coalition building; it is more likely to take the shape of cooperation and coordination with some other relevant civil society organizations. There are different opinions on whether such cooperation has a positive or negative impact. The NCW council suffers a negative image that hinders proper cooperation and relation building creating an unsolved gap between itself and other civil society organization.

Coalition building is weak if absent; it is more of coordination or cooperation than coalition. F.F. frames this as “don’t call it coalition but call it coordination because coalition is such a big word”. The initiative does not have coalition except with entities that provide legal and psychological support for victims. They cooperate with other relevant initiative like “Passma, Harassmap, Karama” and with the national council for women and the human rights sector at the ministry of interior.

In the NCW there is no coalitions, but they cooperate with many civil society organizations and initiatives that work on the SH issue like Fouada watch, Hoda Badran and Shoft ta7rosh. The result of this cooperation is arranging joint meetings,

making protests and visiting victims. However, some perceive the impact of this cooperation as weak if not negative since it is not influential enough; others thought it has a positive impact. This is because “there is a gap between the NCW and the civil society, in which the council cannot fix” said Abeer. According to Karima, Egypt lacks the culture of team work and the NCW is perceived negatively by the civil society as part of the old regime which is a narrow point of view because everyone has an indispensable role. Karima argues “civil society organizations work on project, whereas the NCW works on strategies and policies ...Everyone has a role to play with no conflict”. But, there is a problem with the image of council and its relation to other organizations, which influenced coalition building. “Some organizations and initiatives agree to cooperate with the NCW, while others felt they are against each other and refused to cooperate” Abeer reported.

Opposition

- There is a consensus among advocates that there is no opposition towards the SH issue, except few extremists.

The initiative perceives there is no opposition towards the SH issue except some people on the social media and some religious extremist.

NCW believes that there was no opposition towards the SH issue, except the presence of some extremists. Mohamed argues that despite the absence of opposition, there was also absence of interest and actions on part of the policy makers, and wonders is it an artificial support!

Multiplicity of policy makers

- There were opposing views among advocates about the influence of multiplicity of policy makers. NCW believed it influenced them and their activities negatively, while the initiative believes it did not even influence their performance.

According to the initiative the multiplicity of policy makers did not influence their performance. they managed to proceed to talk with the present policy makers using logic especially that they emanates from old established a human rights organization ‘ACT’ which strengthen their position. However, the political context and the security situation influenced the societal culture creating some division in the street, which in turn influenced their field work restricting their presence especially

that the people after 30/6 fears organized activity in the street. Thus the initiative was influenced by a political reality.

The majority of NCW agreed that the multiplicity of advocates influenced them negatively; as a result they had to start all over again. “This multiplicity negatively influenced all of our efforts and performances ... and caused distractions of efforts among policy makers” said Abeer. However, M.R. believes all policy makers who came along were quite interested and welcoming to help.

Negative/Positive factors

- Advocates did not agree on one negative factor that influenced their work, each had their list. The initiative list included personalities with an antagonistic position against SH victims, demonstration law, and harassers using sharp tools. The NCW list included the negative image of the council, multiplicity of policy makers, lack of financial resources, some policy makers with unfavourable positions.

From the initiative perspective, the negative influential factors are the presence of personalities with high social status that take antagonistic positions against SH victims, as a result, their beloved followers tend to follow and embrace this misperception. The demonstration law is another factor because of routine that all the time they have to report if they will arrange a stand or protest. The use of sharp tools by harassers endangers the lives of volunteers.

The NCW did agree on certain negative factors, each offered some, which includes; the negative image of the council, multiplicity of policy makers, lack of financial resources and Morsi presidency’s policy makers were against them.

- Advocates agreed that one main positive factor were the strength and the power of women to speak up and show her political presence which helped to prove herself and change her image, in addition to gaining the support of the media and the people on the issue. Other factors included focusing events and Mervat el Telawy.

The positive influential factors, from the initiative perspective are the fact that many women, victims of SH, spoke about their harassment story in the media in different programs (the power to speak up) was indeed a turning point. Another unfortunate yet effective factor is the focusing events or harassment cases; because of this factor and the power of victims to speak up gives the initiative more strength to the work they do and why they do what they do. Moreover, the increasing number of

volunteers and the more sympathetic people and the media with the issue is another factor. All of the above gave reasons why the initiative exists and does what it does.

The NCW did not agree on the positive influential factors but each mentioned some which include; first, recent events emphasized the role of women who successfully proved herself with her strong presence in the elections as a reliable force and succeeded to change her image. Also, second, the SH issue received the media and the society support and finally Abeer states “Mervat el Telawy with her strong personality, influence and strong belief in women qualifies her to be quite influential”.

Political will

➤ Advocates agree that president Sisi’s visit to the Tahrir victim was an evidence of a ‘political will’ in the SH issue. Political will is crucial to place the issue on the policy agenda. Advocates agree that when the political will comes from a higher authority, it influences those of lower authority to take actions regarding the issue. However, the initiative argues that they had higher expectation from lower authorities and believes political will gets weaker as we go down.

“The political will play a big role in the issue” said Azza. The initiative believes that the ‘political will’ started to appear after president Sisi’s visit to the sexual violence victim in the hospital as his first presidential visit. It was the key that paved the way towards taking actions and policy responses and was considered a message to all governmental entities to seriously address sexual violence against women. However, compared to this high impact visit, the procedures that took place did not live up to the initiative’s expectation. The initiative expected much better and faster measures and claimed that some measures were made out of formalities to please the authority more than putting an end to the problem. “The Sisi’s visit to the Tahrir victim was a watershed in the standoff against sexual violence because the state declares confrontation! ... but we expected more” said F.F. From the perspective of the initiative, the ‘political will’ appeared during the sisi, before that it was minimal.

From the NCW perspective, policy makers did not show enough interest or concern in the issue because they do not believe in it. “Policy makers have an unfavourable position against women’s issue in general not just SH” said Abeer. This is because they do not believe in the importance of women’s issue, feels it is

exaggerated by advocates, is busy with no time to handle it and it can wait. However, the “Sisi visit pushed it all forward” said Mohamed. The NCW agree that the Sisi’s visit to the Tahrir victim created a ‘political will’ that directly placed the issue on the policy agenda and encouraged others policy makers to take actions. Karima argues that the “Sisi’s visit sent a clear message among all policy makers working beneath him”, about the importance of women. Abeer supports this saying “Since the Sisi’s first day; he stood next to women, supported her and believed in her”.

Performance evaluation

- There is no professional performance evaluation mechanism tied to objectives or results that took place by advocates; both rely on self-evaluation or performance review. Most of advocates are quite satisfied with their efforts. However their needs differ; the initiative needs volunteers, more financial resources and full time employees. The NCW need a strategy, national media support, proper issue management, financial resources. In terms of what advocates want to add/change, the initiative want to take better advantage of situations, while the NCW wants to use TV spots and social media.

There is no systematic evaluation mechanism. The initiative relies on self-evaluation or performance review that takes part during regular meetings or on a Facebook group to discuss problems or obstacles they face. The initiative periodically conducts performance review for their field work (field work evaluation) based on the context, then respond accordingly. However the initiative did make a SWOT analysis.

In the NCW, there were different views regarding evaluation, the majority claim that performance evaluation does not take place, the few who claim it happens, reported it takes place during regular meeting where each present his/her views (like a self-evaluation). One claimed that they look into the number of reported SH cases.

The initiative’s perception of their performance alternated between being quite good and gaining the respect of various entities despite their weak resources in a short time, while another is not quite satisfied by their efforts because the crime is still there. They expect more from themselves. What they need is more volunteers, more financial resources and more fulltime employees. What they would like to add/change is to use some situations better.

The NCW perceive their efforts to be quite good and a success because they believe the media coverage was good and they worked on effective solutions. However, one believes the role of NCW media was kind of weak because of external and internal problems and evaluates the NCW performance on issues of violence against women and SH to deserve a score of 2 out of 10. Nonetheless, what they would like to add to their efforts is using spots and broadcast them on national TV and to focus on the internet and social media, particularly YouTube and Twitter. What they need include; first “to have a strategy along with objectives and directions to have results and be able to evaluate it in order to succeed, but covering day to day events and being random is not a proper way to address the issue from the media perspective” Abeer argues. Second, proper issue management in terms of all council’s committees working together on the issue is crucial. Third, “National media needs revisiting ... because it is expected to cooperate with the council by broadcasting spots for free as both are national mechanisms that is supposed to serve the country” argues Karima. Fourth to have better financial resources and emphasize the role of drama in the SH issue.

Future

- For the future, advocates agree on working on the national strategy to combat violence against women. The initiative focus on raising awareness among younger generations, while the NCW focus on raising awareness through the media.

The initiative plans to focus on schools and universities and on the national strategy to combat violence against women and develop a campaign for the 16 days of violence against women and human rights from 25th November to 10th December. Also, they plan to expand their activities in 5 governorates by the end of 2014.

The NCW will focus on supporting their draft law until it is approved, escalate media messages to raise awareness and to keep the issue on media agenda and continue working on an international strategy to combat violence against women.

4.2. Media Experts In depth interview Findings

4.2.1. Preparation and implementation phase

Problem identification and Issue interpretation

- There is an agreement between the media experts and advocates that SH is multidimensional with focus on the cultural and social aspects. As for its interpretation, they agree that the inferior image of women, society conditions and the political influence are all common reasons. The media interpretation was close to the NCW interpretation.

The majority of media experts confirmed that SH is a multidimensional issue with focus on the cultural and social aspect. “SH issue has many reasons, the main reason is the cultural dimension” said H.M., editor in chief of al Hayat el Youm Talk Show and head of Op-ed at El Watan Newspaper. They reported other relevant dimensions as ethical, political, economic and educational.

The most common issue interpretations are, first, the absence of law. “The quickest way to see a change in SH is a deterrent law” said Mona Salman, TV broadcaster at Masr fy Youm Talk Show. Second the society perception of women that involves the inferior image and the tendency to blame the women. H.M. argues that the perception of women is affected by the community cohesion, when the society is strong and coherent; SH decrease, but when the society disintegrates; the inferior image grow thus SH increases. Third, the society conditions including cultural and economic constraints. “He did not become a harasser all of a sudden but started since childhood” argued H.M.

Fourth virtual reality; some argued that the society impose strong constraints, at the same time there is a huge freedom offered in the virtual world, which can result in cultural shock. “All these restrictions in the real world created some sort of sexual depression, compared to the permissions and freedom available in the virtual world, which might cause this inhibition to explode especially with the lack of legal, social and religious adaptation” said Khaled Salah, Editor in chief of el Youm7 newspaper and TV broadcaster at Akher el Nahar Talk Show. Other interpretations include ethical degradation, the political influence, the lack of coalition, media ethics and the weakness of the state.

Demands and goals

- Some media experts did not know the advocates' demands in the SH issue. Among those who knew; some reported the legislative demand and few reported the security demand. One argues that this is as a result of bad media performance that focused on the problem rather than how to address it.

The media were divided between; those who knew about the advocates' demands and those who did not. Some reported the demands were legislation and tougher sanctions, one reported the presence of security forces and one reported to change the culture of blaming women by defending victims. However, another argues that media did not perform its required role, meaning that the media focused on what happens in details rather than what needs to be done to solve the problem.

Policy solutions

- Many of the media experts reported the security solution in SH issue, others did not know the advocates' solutions.

Some of the media reported not knowing the solutions provided for SH issue, many reported the security solutions and one reported condemning this practice and the harasser, defending victims and emphasize social rejection.

Message strategy, frame, target

- Similar to advocates' lack of consistent message, there is no one message reported by the media. Many argued there is no proper planning of a message to a particular target audience through the proper medium. Also, many believe NCW focuses on policy makers while the initiative focuses on going down in the streets for the people.

Most of the media experts could not report a message because some believe there was none and some did not know it. "There is no one organized message needed to be conveyed in the media" said Hawary editorial secretary of Al Masry el Youm newspaper and managing editor in ONTV. This might be because "there was no scientific planning in terms of choosing the right message and the right medium with the highest viewership among my target audience" said Adel el Sanhoury, Executive editor for el Youm7 newspaper argued. On the other hand, one said that the message is women are facing injustice in the society, silence is a crime, the state should play a

more vital role and have more media presence and that the harasser are insane, bullies, thugs or murders. Another reported that the initiative message used to focus on numbers of victims, security measures and law implementation procedures. Overall, “The message is too general and I believe there should be a specified message to a certain target with the appropriate medium” said Adel.

Regarding the target audience, there is no clear target audience. “Because there is no campaign, there is no target audience” said H.M.; he continues that there is no SH campaign that took place away from eid or large gatherings. Mona claims that “The initiative directs its message to girls and women about the importance of speaking up and condemns the harasser actions, while the NCW directs its message to the policy makers”. Many of the media experts believe that NCW directs its role, efforts, message to the policy makers while the initiative directs its role, efforts, message by going down in the streets for PO.

Media activities

- Many of the media experts argue that advocates conducted a good share of media activities, however, they question its outcome and impact and if it achieved the required objectives. There are opposing views divided between the NCW and the initiative regarding who did a better job; initiative believed to perform its role in the street and have a good media presence, while NCW focus on policy outcomes.

Many media experts argue that advocates conducted a good share of media activities, but they question the quality, impact and the follow up of these efforts. H.M. argues that their efforts does not constitute campaigning, has no clear target audience and question the impact it has. Mona believes that all NCW efforts rely on pressuring policy makers and the impact of this pressure varies depending on the political will, while the initiative efforts are on the grounds.

There are opposing views about what the media think of the advocates’ media activities. One reported that the initiative has more media presence because of their presence in the street, is of interest to the media; media wants to know what happens more than how to avoid it from happening (poor media performance). Another reported that the council did a more comprehensive job on the issue and resulted in policy outcomes, but still lacks the follow up.

The media's recommendations are accurate monitoring and analysis of the phenomenon, avoid unilateral extremism perspective of its interpretation, design a specific plan, cooperate with relevant entities, need creativity and innovation, maintain continuous efforts and avoid it being seasonal, different ways of addressing the issue, needs more professionalism in their media departments, build real interest in the SH issue among media experts for better media performance

Media access

➤ Media experts confirmed what the advocates said, that focusing events attract the media attention. They also reported that social media, the political dimension, nature of the issue and the presence of strong political will can easily attract the media attention, in addition to the newsworthiness elements of a story. The initiative relies on their fieldwork for attention. As for the policy makers' attention, media experts confirmed that media is influential on policy makers, supporting the literature and advocates. Some emphasize the need to mobilize PO, as PO and the media reinforce one another in influencing policy makers'. Visual media, victims' testimonials and electronic journalism represent the best ways to reach policy makers.

In order to attract the media attention, most of the media experts did not agree on one method but offered valuable insights; some emphasized the role of focusing event in attracting the media attention. Another argued that social media has an attractive force for traditional media. "People interests in social media is reflected in Television... social media is one of TV's sources... what is present on social media, attract the media attention" said H.M. Another said that the political dimension associated with an event or news, raises questions why and who behind every case, which attracts the media. Mahmoud Saad, TV broadcaster at Akher el Nahar Talk Show, argues that the nature of the topic attracts the media attention because of its excitement component and being important and annoying at the same time. Moreover, the strong presence of political will and the president's actions and reactions succeed to attract the media attention. Mona believes that initiative relies on their field work for media attention while the NCW relies on official correspondence. Hawary argues the presence of triangular factors; crime, sex and religion are widely spread in Egypt and developing countries Other factors like importance, relevance, influence and

modernity seems to matter to the people and the media. Meanwhile, Adel presents another three factors: human aspect, sex and morality for getting media attention.

There is a consensus among the media experts that the media remains influential on the policy makers and able to attract their attention. Media has the power to directly influence policy makers or indirectly shape the PO, which influence policy makers. “You are always present day and night, at the policy makers through the media ... media is the best way to reach policy makers and advocates know it” said H.M. Some argue that the PO has an influence on policy maker as well and is stronger when used with the media. H.M. explains that the media is very influential in the presence of a political will to act, but PO is more influential to create the political will to act, thus it is important to mobilize PO because Media and PO reinforce one another. “It is the political will that creates the change ... policy makers don’t make changes unless pressured by public needs” said H.M. The best method to reach policy makers are visual media (TV); “TV has an enormous coverage and influence” said Mahmoud Saad, like Talk Shows or videos, victims’ testimonials, internet and electronic websites and when there is crisis or breaking the law. In addition, Mona argues that establishing and maintaining good relations with the policy makers, by advocates, can facilitate communication later on.

4.2.2. Media outcome

Media Agenda

➤ Despite the different views about the status of SH issue on the media agenda, ranging from yes to seasonal to no, revolved around the same reasons. Who said yes was because it was linked to political purpose and the nature of issue is hard to ignore. Who said seasonal is because it was event related. Who said no is because it is event related covered for nature of issue and political association, not out of interest for the issue. It is worth mentioning that media experts’ gender influence their interpretation.

There are all types of views about the status of SH issue on the media agenda, from it is present to seasonal presence to it is absent on the agenda. One argued it is clearly present on the media agenda because “it was associated with a political purpose and the desire to defame Tahrir square from its utopian characteristics. In addition it was a phenomenon that is hard to ignore.” argued Mona. Many argued it

was kind of on the media agenda; seasonal presence. “The SH was of medium importance among other media interests” said H.M. because it was seasonal, depending on the events and political will. Also, sometimes because the media was busy with other issues or the political environment. The one reported it is not because the media covered it when there was an event or large gatherings because of the excitement of component and was addressed from the political perspective, rather the social perspective.

Media Impact

- Media experts and advocates agree that the media is powerful and influential on the policy maker in the SH issue. This is because it highlights the issue, emphasize focusing events and its presence in all media which motivated and obligated them to listen and take actions.

There is an agreement among the media experts that the media can strongly influence the policy makers in the SH issue. That is because spotting the light on issues make them listen and highlighting focusing events kind of obligate them to take action. Also, Adel believes presenting and talking about SH by many broadcasters at the same time intensively is influential while Hawary believes because they want to maintain their image because there is a lot of pressure on the system.

Media coverage

- Both the media and advocates reached the same conclusion that the media coverage was seasonal and the content of the coverage was in favour of putting the SH issue to an end. However, most of the media experts question the quality of the content and the poor media performance in terms of abiding with the media standards and how the SH issue is being addressed. Media experts agree with the advocates’ recommendation on improving the media coverage using positive portrayals of women, abiding by media standards and an improvement in the overall media system.

There is a consensus that the media coverage was seasonal, and event related. Hawary explains that the media coverage for the SH issue is characterized with an overdose during an event, then after a while, there is no dose what so ever.

Regarding the content of the coverage, they agree that most of it was in favor fighting SH. However, they question the quality of the content and media

performance in how the SH issue was addressed. “It is all related to defects in the current media performance, in general, not in SH” said Mona. First, some believe there is a problem with abiding with the media standards; many violations to the victims’ privacy, lack of knowledge about the issue and focusing mainly on viewership. “The idea of scoring points at the expense of the issue by not abiding by the media standards is not heroic, heroism is the commitment to the media standards that leads to change in favour the issue” stated Mona. Second, others believe there is a problem with how the SH issue is being addressed; many focused on what happened exactly (i.e. SH cases) and blaming the victim, rather than discussing the problem, reasons, consequences and solutions. “The content did not focus on the essence of the issue but on how it looks, it used to reflect the events more than discussing the phenomenon” said H.M. Meanwhile, Adel believes that Television provides more coverage especially private satellites.

In order to enhance the media coverage and performance, the media needs to provide positive presentations of women, maintain victim’s privacy, commit to the media ethics and standards, approach the SH issue from differ perspectives and provide creative journalistic coverages, bring relevant experts and have a better understanding, management and marketing of the SH issue. There are also calls for an improvement in the overall media system. Because nowadays “the media is moving in the same direction of the society; if the society is degenerate, then I’m degenerate and if the society is sophisticated then I’m sophisticated” stated Hawary, the media needs to direct the public rather than being directed, by working on developing the public, educating them, raising their awareness and encouraging them to be more classy.

Journalist role

- Many of the media experts showed interest in the SH issue reflected in their coverage.

Most of the media experts reported covering or writing about the SH issue either because of a belief in the importance of the topic or part of the political coverage after the revolution or a new issue that previous generations did not encounter much. However, one claimed not writing about the SH issue as a matter of chance because it is a seasonal issue.

4.2.3. Policy outcome

Image of the issue in the eyes of policy makers

- From the media perspective, some policy makers perceive the SH issue as important, others do not believe it is a priority or acknowledge the presence of the problem.

There are opposing views, among the media, on how policy makers perceive the problem. Some think it is perceived as important with an interest and a political will to handle it, opposite to this, others believe it is not perceived as a big crime compared to other crimes, not a priority on their policy agenda, do not acknowledge the presence of the problem and do not fully understand all its dimensions.

Policy response

- The media agree that policy makers responded to the SH issue either to a great extent or only partially in terms of legislation, verdict, the presence of female police officers as well as establishing units for fighting violence against women.

From the media perspective, policy makers responded to the SH issue either to a great extent or only partially. H.M. argues that some of the policy outcomes remain stimulated by the event while proper planning is needed. The policy responses reported include the legislative dimension; law and tougher sanctions, deterrent verdicts and the security dimension; presence of female police officers and establishing a unit for fighting violence against women at the ministry of interior. However, some argue that such responses did not address the roots of the problem.

4.2.4. Influential Factors

Advocate image

- According to the media, both of the NCW and the initiative have good images, but each have some deficiencies. The initiative has an antagonistic approach towards some policy makers and a narrow perspective in their logic, while the NCW is focusing on communicating with the policy maker rather than the PO, rely on theoretical work and suffers lack of planning. Opposite to what advocates believe, NCW image is not as bad and it is starting to change after the revolution. However, both need to form coalition and partnership and focus on raising awareness and changing culture misconceptions.

Initiative Image

The initiative is perceived as good and important from the media experts' perspective. Many believe they are doing good efforts regarding going down in the streets and have a good social and security roles, but Mona argues there is no proper coordination and have an antagonistic approach towards the ministry of interior and have seasonal effort and seasonal media presence. Moreover, their logic behind the SH issue to womanize the case, "women are sole victims and men are sole accusers" said H.M.; he explains that rejecting many human and psychological interpretation to the harasser status and perceive him as a criminal and reject critique presented to women as unfair to women will not work for the problem. H.M. argues that they cannot handle the problem as having a unilateral reason but there are always two parties. Media recommendation is that they need to build partnership and not antagonize state institutions, despite the differences and to present better messages and quality content for youth, change their unilateral logic to the SH issue and provide more street awareness

NCW Image

The image of NCW is good in the eyes of the media. Many media experts believe that the NCW started to change their negative image. "I admire that lately they are trying to get rid of the image that got stick with which is the ladies council" said Mona. Before 2011, the NCW image was "An event council that never shows up except on international women day" said Adel. After the revolution, their image is "its inception started after 30 of June not January; inception here means their presence and influence" said H.M. Regarding their performance, most of the media experts believe that despite the NCW is doing a lot of efforts, but it suffers from lack of resources and abilities, no real planning is present, conducting a lot of theoretical work, the remains of a negative image, focus on communicating with policy makers more than with the PO which is not enough, thus there is no change in culture. "The weak position of NCW, weakens the position of women herself" argues Hawary and Khaled Salah believes "No rural women can pronounce their name". Therefore, the NCW need to put a time frame for their demands, they need to follow up their work, go down in the streets to raise awareness, build coalitions and focus on empowering unfortunate women who need serious help.

Efficiency of advocates

Many of the media experts believe that NCW focus on the policy makers while the initiative focus on going down in the streets for PO which is why “coalition building is needed because they complete one another” argued Hawary.

The views of the media experts are equally divided between the NCW and the initiative about who is more influential or powerful. Those who believe the initiative is better because the work of the semi-official institutions still suffers some problems and it is generally known that NGO’s in general is more powerful than all types of human rights organization like NCW. Another reason is that those who have presence on the street are more powerful because direct communications always wins. On the other hand, those who believe the NCW are better because it is strategic and better on the long run by governing legislation and policies, while NGOs’ work is temporarily. Also, after the revolution, the NCW is more influential opposite to before the revolution the NGOs had a stronger influence. Overall, the initiative seems to have a quite higher media presence but in terms of influence both.

Coalition building

Most of the media experts are calling for building partnership and coalition with other advocates in the SH issue to settle on a comprehensive plan or strategy and unify and integrate their efforts to fight SH in order to become more influential and a stronger pressure group. Many emphasize the need of building partnership and coalitions not only with the advocates, but also with the media, policy makers and relevant stakeholders in the SH issue to become a societal power and a driving force to combat SH. Mona explains that such partnerships can help to create a political will among the policy makers towards the issue, especially when supported with a persuasive justification for the other party, for example legal, economic and religious justifications. She emphasizes the need for the initiatives to coordinate with the ministry of interior, rather than having an antagonistic approach towards them. Hawary explains since the NCW focus on the policy makers, while the initiative focus on going down in the streets for awareness, then coalition building is needed because they complete one another.

Political will

- There is consistency between media experts and advocates on the presence of a political will to act on the issue. Media experts agree that the political will at the higher authority influence those at lower authorities, but they argue it is easier to have a political will at the higher authority than to change the culture of lower authorities.

There is conformity among the media that there is a political will reflected in the president Sisi's visit to the Tahrir victim. "In order for policy makers to take an action or a reaction, it needs a political will" said H.M. Political will is the essence that motivates policy makers to take actions towards the issue and motivates executives to take the issue seriously. It also makes it easier for advocates to influence policy makers to adopt policy recommendations. H.M. asserts that the political will at the higher authority travels down to influence those at lower authorities. Whereas, Mona argues it is easier and faster. Focusing events helps to create a political will as it puts the issue on the policy agenda.

Focusing events

- Similar to advocates, focusing events proved to be influential in attracting the media attention and imposing pressure on policy makers.

There is an agreement among the media that focusing events easily attract the media, policy makers and the public attention towards the SH issue. It helps to put the SH issue on the media agenda and policy agenda. In addition, it can pressure the policy makers and indirectly obligate them to take action. "Policy outcomes is stimulated with focusing events" said H.M. However, Hawary argues that the media used to present focusing events in a political context away from its own social context. Meanwhile, Mona believes that events that happen in masses are more attractive than individualistic ones.

Social media

- Media experts emphasize the role of social media in the SH issue, despite some disadvantages, and asserts its high influence on traditional media.

Most of the media experts argue that the social media was influential and played a positive and a negative role in the SH issue. The positive side includes

representing one of TV sources of news, emphasizing and highlighting the SH issue, as it was the reason behind the media fuss created about el Tahrir case which shaped PO, and more important “the presence of an issue on the social media attracts the attention of traditional media” said H.M. On the other hand, the negative aspects are the lack of time and evaluation, no legislative framework to organize its work, unreliable information, lack of standards and uncontrolled freedom and frequent publishing of cases representing violence against women can encourage SH making the PO less sympathetic towards women. Moreover, some believe that the social media has so much influence on the traditional media, more than on the policy makers. However, “Policy makers in Egypt, despite their attention to social media, are still more influenced by the traditional media” said Mona. Meanwhile, Adel believes that electronic journalism has a higher influence on the policy maker.

Public Opinion (PO)

- Media experts and advocates agree that the culture of blaming women still prevails. They also agree that policy makers are influenced by the PO, who is influenced by the media.

Most of the media experts agree that the culture of blaming women and holding her responsible still prevails. One believes the PO varies; it sympathetic at one point, especially during an event, then gets occupied with other issues, which changes their perspective again.

Some argue that media influences the PO who in turn influences the policy makers. “The media influence the PO, creating a large pressure group on the policy maker” said Adel. H.M. explains that the PO is not greatly divided that is why it is easily influenced by the media.

Opposition

- The media and advocates reached the same conclusion that there is no opposition to the SH issue. But few argue the stereotype image, unfavorable comments and silence can indirectly support the issue.

There is a consensus among the media that there is no opposition towards the SH issue. However, some argues the presence of unfavorable comments from the public as a result of widespread culture of blaming women. Another believes that not doing anything about it supports SH.

Positive and Negative Factors

- Media experts and policy makers agree that the media, public opinion and the power of women to speak up was among the positive factors, but not constancy in any of the negative factors.

Regarding the positive factors, some argued it was the media attention on the issue. Mona argues that focusing events, despite being so unfortunate and ugly, it succeeded to attract the attention to the SH issue. Some agree on the strength of Egyptian women and their power to speak up. Other factors include the legislation, the PO and the advocates' role.

Regarding the negative factors, some argue it is the lack of addressing the roots of the problem and the lack of vision or a systematic plan to fight SH. "change does not take place except through a continuous plan and accumulated work" said H.M. Other factors include the culture and views that indirectly supports the issue in addition to the insufficient role of advocates and the mistaken belief that security solution is always the way out.

Better media, better advocacy

For a better media access and coverage, media experts provided some recommendations in which remarkably most of it, if not all falls under media advocacy. Many emphasized setting goals and a plan with a time frame and tools needed and to create events that are organized, innovative and capable of reaching target audience. "The media goes after an event, thus create an event" argues Mona. Other recommendations include being creative, encourage editorial adoption of issue by making them believe there is a comprehensive campaign, fulfil diversity by forming coalition working on a variety of activities, set short term objectives and pressure accordingly, understand what motivates each medium, understand the phenomenon, accurate monitoring and analysis, answer the question why would it attract the people, new ways of looking at or addressing the issue, innovative content through addressing new dimensions practically through trials and finally the use testimonials because the victim is the key for credibility. However, one argues that better media access requires an enhancement in the overall the media system, interests and performance.

4.3. Policy makers in depth interview Findings

4.3.1. Preparation and implementation phases

Problem identification and Issue interpretation

- There is a similarity among advocates and policy makers in terms of defining the problem as multidimensional with focus on the cultural dimension. However, regarding issue interpretation, there is no consistency except religious perception, large gatherings and country conditions, which is similar to the NCW interpretation. Meanwhile, policy makers representing justice regard SH as a phenomenon, while those representing interior perceive it as a big problem.

The majority of policy makers define the problem as multidimensional and particularly focus on the cultural and social aspect. Skina Fouad, former president's consultant for women affairs, argues "The SH issue has overlapping dimensions and overlapping solutions". Other dimensions included political, religious, ethical and educational dimensions. There is a contradiction between the justice and interior ministries on regarding it as a phenomenon. "It was not a phenomenon until the media turned it into a phenomenon; it was just a big problem" said M.A. As for the issue interpretation; the majority agrees on the religious reasons either due to religious trends, extremists and religious misconceptions. Representative of justice include cultural misconception about how to be manly especially among children. Whereas, representative of interior argues that it is due large gatherings, blaming women, technological revolution and porn, busy parents and unethical drama. Skina argues that other reasons include the absence of family role, economic conditions, lack of ethics and values and all types of poverty.

Demands

- The demands reported by policy makers are consistent with what was conveyed by the advocates. The main demand is legislative amendments followed by security measurements.

There is a consensus among the policy makers that the core demand is legislative amendments in terms of harsher punishments and inclusion of the term SH in law. Followed by security intervention and increasing the number of female police officers. "Their demands were good and fruitful" said Judge O.S., a senior official at

the ministry of justice. However, one policy maker believes that the NCW has no right calling for demands due to its government affiliation. “The NCW has no demands, it is supposed to implement them as it is an active executive unit in the state” said Judge Ahmed el Nagar, Head of the department of countering violence against women at the ministry of Justice.

Policy solutions

- Policy makers report the policy solutions given by media advocates like legislation and security.

There were different views about the advocates’ policy solutions; one believes it is harsher punishment in law, another claimed it is increasing the number of female women officers and another believes there are no solutions suggested.

Media strategy and message strategy

- The majority of policy makers agree that advocates demands were communicated among direct meetings or media. But, there is no consistent message among policy makers, similar to the advocates.

Policy makers get to know the advocates’ demands through the media and direct personal meetings. Some favoured personal meetings, others did not. Regarding the advocates’ message in the media, there were different views among the policy makers; one reported it is “to stop this phenomenon and for women to be safe in their movements without pressures” said Judge O.S. and another argued not to know. But a representative of interior argues there is none because media was shallow in its issue presentation to convey any message and advocates intentionally reflected the negative aspects of ministry of interior.

Media access

- Opposite to what advocates perceive, many policy makers do not watch TV except rarely because of poor media performance. The best method to reach policy makers is quite subjective and differs from one to another based on the nature of their job, but some agree that the media still has the ability to reach the policy makers

Many policy makers report no longer watching TV or getting exposed to the media except rarely because of lack of objectivity, accuracy, credibility and the

quality of messages and methods of addressing or following up an issue to solve it. “I recently stopped watching media because the media coverage that abides by objectivity is very few. A media person is the one who address the issue, present opposing views and analysis without giving their opinion, but most of the times the broadcaster is the host” said Judge Ahmed el Nagar.

Representatives of interior, M.A. reports that “I was expecting solutions and sending messages to encourage youth to be more ethical but reality is they are sometimes filling airtime rather than serving the SH issue” while R.A. says “I don’t watch media because I feel no sense of objectivity and when the media intensively present an issue, where is the follow up....Media seeks high viewership rates rather than addressing an issue. However, one reports that what attracts his attention in the media is when it is objective and packed up with evidence because “As of a judge’s nature, we favour evidence and proofs not just words, you can get my attention when you support your claim with evidence, regardless of how good your claim is” said Judge O.S..

However, some policy makers reported that the media is the best and quickest way to communicate with the policy makers. Judge O.S. argues having incidents or evidences that support one’s claim, reported through the public opinion or media or any method. On the other hand, General Abu Bakr Abdel Karim, assistant minister of interior for human rights, reported that it is easy to reach policy makers but the problem lies in the routine and bureaucracy.

4.3.2. Media outcome

Media impact

- Policy makers claim that media does not equally influence them, but it varies from one to another. Media have all sorts of impact on the policy maker from influential to semi-influential to no influence. Media is perceived as influential because it motivates actions and gives trend of public opinion. Semi-influential because of the presence of other important factors. Not influential due to poor media performance and reliance on their job experience to get a trend.

Policy makers varying views about the level of media impact ranging from influence to no influence. Some argue the media is influential; it has a big role and provides a sense of public opinion trends. “The media has an influence to make us

move and take action but it didn't force us to do ... the media conveys the picture and we responded when we felt the need to respond" said Judge Ahmed el Nagar. Another reported it is semi-influential because of the presence of other influential factors. In addition, a representative of justice claims "Media does not have a strong influence because it tends to exaggerate, follows an agenda and be prejudiced". Finally, a representative of interior argued it is not influential because they rely on sensing trends from their job experience, thus they do not rely on the media and claim that the media relies on them. However, Abu Bakr, assistant minister of interior said the "media can be helpful in presenting and framing issues that did not reach us or requires our attention".

Media coverage

- There is a consensus among policy makers that the media coverage is seasonal whenever there is an event, similar to the advocates' perception. There was a harsh critique on the content of the coverage that it lacks a comprehensive approach of presenting the problem, reasons, consequences and solutions from different angles followed by a follow up coverage. Advocates and policy makers claim that it can improve by abiding by media standards, emphasize public service over viewership rates and provide a comprehensive creative coverage.

There is conformity among all policy makers representing the ministries of justice and interior that the media coverage is seasonal; it is quite intensive when there are incidents (focusing events) then it fades out and disappears until a new event takes place. "I did not see anyone (media practitioner) who discusses the issue, for the sake of addressing it, without any reason or incidents" said Judge Ahmed el Nagar.

Regarding the content of the coverage; there is conformity among policy makers that it tends to focus on the case rather than the approach of solving the problem. "The media does not describe the problem, its reasons and dimensions, its solutions, its economic, political and human consequences or specify relevant entities to act... just coverage not a solving approach to the coverage" said Abu Bakr, assistant minister of interior. Also, policy makers report a similarity of the content among all media, thus it needs to employ different angles for issue presentation. "All media are saying the same thing and sending the same message, no creativity or new perspectives in presenting the issue" said Judge O.S.

Moreover, policy makers claim there is not enough follow up coverage to the issue and wonders “As there is coverage for an event, there should be coverage for its results” said R.A. representing interiors. “If the media doesn’t like something, I would like them to report what exactly and how they would like to make it better and suggest solutions...rather than just giving judgments” said M.A. Policy makers from the ministry of interior emphasize that the media covers the issue for the purpose of viewership or if there is an available air time to fill in time slots, not out of concern about the issue. In addition, M.A. argues that the media sent a negative message about Egypt globally “because when you spot too much light on a subject, it gets exaggerated...this turned SH from a problem to a phenomenon”

In order to improve media performance, Judge O.S. argues it should be objective, free from personal purposes and avoid exaggeration. While Judge Ahmed el Nagar argues the media needs to have better communication with the policy makers, only if they really seek the truth, public service rather than high viewership. Also, General Abu Bakr argues that the media should expand its methods of coverage, present it from different perspectives and bring more qualified experts to discuss and solve the problem to improve its dialogue management. For an influential coverage, one claimed the social media can help whereas Skina argues it is an organized campaign in which an issue is adopted in a series of articles from different angles to avoid boredom or repetition.

4.3.3. Policy outcome

Policy agenda

- The issue was on the policy agenda as desired by the advocates. This is because of media influence, political will to take actions and the nature of their job.

The majority of policy makers agreed that the SH was on the policy agenda but comes as second priority due to the country conditions and the presence of more urgent issues and comes as part of the increasing violence against women.

Policy response

- The policy outcomes are the legislative amendments, establishing the unit of combating violence against women and working on a national strategy to combat violence against women, similar to advocates.

The majority of policy makers agree that SH issue is a concern in which they responded to. “We are fighting it on both the legislative and social levels” said judge O.S. However, Judge Ahmed el Nagar reported it was a partial fulfillment to demands because some of the advocates’ demands are inapplicable or extreme.

The ministry of justice responses included passing a new law, article 306 repetition A and B, and amendments regarding SH. “This legislation cover nearly 99% of various SH acts” said Judge O.S. Also, they established an administration for countering violence against women in October 2013 which its responsibilities include conducting a number of workshops with relevant entities, training police officers and district attorneys and participates in international conferences representing Egypt. However, it seems there is poor communication among few departments at the ministry of justice because one judge was not quite sure about the presence of the new administration.

The ministry of interior responses included establishing a department of combating violence against women in every police headquarters in July 2014 to have more police presence in the street especially female police officers during large gathering for deterrence. Also, establishing an administration for following crimes of violence against women in May 2013 responsible for providing legal and psychological support to the victims as well as raising awareness about this new administration and sending message to women about how and what to do when they face violence by attending conferences, symposiums and workshops with coordination with other ministries, NCW and civil society. However, it seems there is an overlap among some of the responsibilities of different department related to women at the ministry of interior like which department file a complaint. Also, the newly established department to combat violence against women is quite activated due to the lack of sufficient numbers of female police officers

Skina Fouad said she established a committee to combat violence against women in 2013 but it ended with the end of the transitional phase. Now, a number of relevant ministries, religious institutions, NCW and civil society started working on the National strategy to combat violence against women since August 2014 until now. It is a long term and a short terms strategy and it is adaptable to change whenever needed.

Reasons for policy response

- There are a variety of reasons attributed with the policy responses like the rising need among the public and advocates, political will for women's issue, sense of societal change, focusing events, job experience and public needs.

Policy makers representing justice, reported that among the reasons for the policy response is the rising need nowadays to address women's issue increasing rate of SH, political will regarding violence against women in general, public opinion and job experience, the presence of a legislative gap as the phenomenon changes by time and negative consequences of SH. Judge O.S. argued there was a misconception among advocates that the SH punishment is minor, but "it has what is called a legislative gap ...no crime, no punishment without a law article".

Policy makers representing interior, claimed that reasons for policy responses are the interest and belief in the role of women, the civil society, public opinion and councils demanding to have a police unit that defend women and the violence practiced against her. Also, focusing events and having a sense of societal changes and needs.

4.3.4. Influential Factors

Advocates image

- The initiative was good at analyzing their image, while the NCW as mistaken because the ministry of interior has a positive image about NCW, opposite to the ministry of justice who has higher expectations and recommends easing their tone and involving men. As for the initiative, the ministry of justice are divided between it is doing a good job and did not hear about them. The ministry of interior has many reservations in terms of their exaggerated influence, mixed roles and their antagonistic approach towards them for focusing on negative aspects, never acknowledge their good work. Overall, it seems the relation is kind of sensitive or tensed.

Initiative Image

Judge Ahmed el Nagar believes that the initiative is quite good with a good idea but needs to have a system and become more organized especially in their field

work rather than random work. On the other hand, Judge O.S. is not familiar with the civil society and did not hear about the initiative but thinks, it is a very good idea.

Representative of the ministry of interior said “I’d rather not say” but later explained that all initiatives’ role is supposed to revolve around societal awareness, but their roles and responsibilities got mixed up sometimes. General Abu Bakr argues they have no legal jurisdiction or authority to catch criminals or the power to defend themselves and the victim. Thus, their influence is not as strong as they claim because it is irrational that 30-40 individuals in few streets conquer SH compared to the large number of police forces troops. Also, M.A. believes they look at violence against women from a very narrow perspective. Some initiatives are blamed for linking any women-related crimes to SH and insist to blame and punish police officers. Whereas R.A. has a different perspective, that the initiative does what it does for the sake of ‘Fund’, thus they focus on exaggerating the negative aspect and never acknowledge the good work. However, they coordinate and work together with regard to their fieldwork.

In order to improve their performance, Abu Bakr assistant minister of interior advises them to identify the roots of the problem to identify the solutions and to understand that “it is social problem not a security problem” in which security is one of many aspects. This phenomenon is against our values, comes as a result of degradation of morals and emphasizes public interest over anything.

NCW Image

“No comment!” Said Judge Ahmed el Nagar because he has much higher expectation than what they do especially that they deal with each other more frequently. Whereas, Judge O.S. argues that “NCW has more negative than positive” because it consists mainly of women and adopt solutions that come from women and do not listen to men’s views, which creates an unjustified racism and partiality because men can better defend women. He adds their tone is always harsh which gets rejected and face resistance from the other side; they claim that women have no rights at all which is not true. He continues that everyone who heads the council come with this tone and calls for extreme demands or nothing else.

M.A. representative has a positive image and a high appreciation to the exemplary NCW efforts calling them “Number one representative of women in

Egypt". The NCW is an official organization that addresses all women issue and there is a cooperation protocol in which among its provisions is sharing information and facilitating the NCW work. Whereas, General Abu Bakr believes that the NCW does a lot of campaigns, conferences and workshops, thus their influence is in the field of awareness not fighting and preventing SH in the streets.

Efficiency of advocates

- Most of the policy makers believe that they have a good role but none is quite efficient enough. The ministry of justice justify it as they did not live up to the expectations and still way behind. However, few representing interior believes the NCW is more influential.

As for the overall impact of advocates over the SH issue, some believe they have an impact. "Advocates have the credit for spotting the light on the SH issue intensively reflecting all its negative aspects which made an impact ...Advocates and focusing events have a big role" said Judge O.S. On the other hand, many believe it has no impact because "we rely on our sense of public needs... we don't take orders from them" reported M.A. Another reason is because their performance did not live up to the expectations. "Sometimes we were calling to sit down with the civil society and advocates...and when we met to discuss violence against women, I was shocked! Because we are ahead of them with many steps and I expected to hear what needs to be done, but I realized that our thoughts and ideas is more advanced than theirs... but this for some organizations only" said Judge Ahmed el Nagar.

The NCW is supposed to be more efficient than the initiative but reality speaking neither the NCW nor the initiative is influential and effective, argued Judge Ahmed el Nagar. But he does not know why or how exactly. Whereas, General Abu Bakr, tends to agree that each has a role but it is not activated enough, it is not about how many efforts you do but how influential it is. On the other hand, M.A. believes the NCW is more influential because it is widely spread on a large scale with 27 branches compared to the narrow scale of the initiative in addition it focuses on all women aspect while the initiative focuses on SH only.

Skina appreciates all the efforts done by advocates and advise to build and maintain good relations. She recommends having more profound united efforts that is

not event related because our core problem lies in taking something seriously for a while then we lose interest.

Coalition building

There is a rising need among policy makers about the importance of solidarity and coalition building between advocates to have more united and integrated efforts. The problem of advocates is that “each one is working on their own, no unity no coalition, which is a big problem because on their own they won’t achieve anything and when one attempts to unite them, they do not get along which is quite skeptical” said Judge Ahmed el Nagar. Moreover, Skina argues that the problem lies in the presence of numerous but non-integrated efforts; there is no coalition building or unity of efforts. In order for advocates to be more involved with the policy makers, like in the states, they should form coalition, work together and trust one another, argued by Judge Ahmed el Nagar.

Political will

- There is consistency between policy makers and advocates on the presence of a strong political will to act on the issue evident in Sisi visit and the policy response.

Skina argues that President Sisi’s visit to the Tahrir victim and the actions and policy responses are a reflection to a serious political will. Representatives of the ministry of justice and interior confirm that among the reasons for responses is the political will regarding violence against women in general.

Focusing events

- Similar to advocates claims, focusing events proved to be influential and one of the reasons that encouraged policy maker to respond out of public interest.

Skina argues we always wait until disasters happen to do something without proper preparation on how to handle it or follow it up. Advocates and the media should not wait for focusing event because our problem lies in taking something seriously for a while then we lose interest. Representatives of the ministry of justice and interior confirm that focusing events that took place were influential and one of the main reasons that got our attention. “Focusing events have a big role ... although public opinion had an influence on the policy maker, but focusing events are more influential” said judge O.S. The reason the media coverage is seasonal because it is an

event-related; intensive when there are incidents (focusing events) then it fades out and disappears until a new event takes place. “I did not see anyone (media practitioner) who discusses the issue, without any reason or incidents” said Judge el Nagar.

Public Opinion (PO)

- Both policy makers and advocates agree that the culture of blaming women is still widely spread among the public. PO can influence the policy maker as reported by NCW and opposite to the initiative.

All policy makers agree that the public opinion is influenced by our culture and traditions that still blames the women, despite rejecting the issue. “The misconception that the victim is the accused ...blame the media for not discussing an emphasizing that the woman is a victim” said Judge Ahmed el Nagar. The religious trend has a big influence on the PO, argued Judge O.S. and continues saying the PO can have an influence on the policy maker, but focusing events are more influential. Skina argues “there is a contradiction between SH and Egyptian values attributed to lack of morals and economic situation that comes as a result of previous years”. Representatives of the ministry of interior argued that PO is taking favorable positions and more understanding to the ministry efforts.

Social media

Regarding the impact of social media, one argues it can be influential because it represents a public opinion voice which matters to policy makers providing a sufficient reason to change policies and can influence both the policy makers and the media.

Positive/Negative factors

- The media and policy makers agree that the media, public opinion and the power of women to speak up was among the positive factors, but not constancy in any of the negative factors.

Among the positive factors, the media and the public opinion played a big role, argued Judge Ahmed el Nagar. Skina and others argues it is the presence of political will to act and the strong position of Egyptian women and her power to speak up.

Among the negative aspects, there is a consensus among policy makers from both ministries that it is the routine and time. Judge O.S. argues also the presence of many issues on their agenda and the country conditions. Whereas, Skina argues societal consideration that worsens the SH issue like economic situation, poverty, lack of attention to youth, degradation of ethics and extremist religion.

Future

In the future, in order to reduce SH, Judge Ahmed el Nagar argues that each has a role to play and everyone should work together to fight it. Skina argues that solution and elements are overlapping and inter-related, law, religious trends, government, media, youth, culture, education and family and they all need an integrative performance. Judge O.S. emphasizes the role of religious speech, while el Nagar emphasize the need to communicate better with the media to provide coverage for an event, provide coverage for results so the public would know that these kinds of actions are punished.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Analysis

Planning and implementation (formative and process evaluation)

The first research question revealed that the advocates' planning and implementation phases for media advocacy for SH have its strengths and weaknesses. Regarding problem definition, there is a consensus among advocates, media experts and policy makers that SH is a multidimensional issue with focus on the cultural aspect. Despite the various interpretations given about SH such as cultural barrier, political influence, the economy and country conditions and many others, they did not agree on an issue interpretation.

What is more important is that the advocates' problem definition did not match with the suggested solutions; solutions were a partial fulfillment of the problem with focus only on two dimensions; the legislative and the security dimensions. This makes media advocacy incomplete and reduces the possibility of having a noticeable impact in terms of a reduction in SH cases. As a result, many policy makers and media believe that advocates have a narrow perspective and their efforts are not quite influential because of failure to address other relevant dimensions.

One of the strengths of their preparation lies in the uniformity of the advocates' demands, policy solutions and target audience identification (policy makers); which are core to the media advocacy plan and a reason for success. Needless to say that what was consistent among advocates, was also consistent among policy makers and vice versa. For example, consistency in demands and policy solutions among advocates resulted in consistency among policy makers. This proves that when the different advocates spoke with one voice, their advocacy messages are well conveyed and absorbed by the required target.

However, the weakness to convey the advocates' demands and policy solutions in the media can be attributed to two reasons; first, the poor media performance that focus on what happens rather than what should happen, as reported by media experts. Second, a weakness in their media advocacy efforts in which advocates seem to rely on the media not to convey demands or messages, but to influence and pressure policy makers to take action.

One key aspect of media advocacy is being strategic. According to Dorfman and Krasnow (2014) strategic steps of media advocacy, advocates developed a good

overall strategy. They identify the problem, solutions and target audience to achieve the desired policy change. Overall targeting was good but detailed targeting lacked depth. Despite the good suggestions on who to mobilize for support and pressure, they did not agree on any except men and did minimal effort to attract them. Most of the media experts and policy makers recommend mobilizing other advocates and stakeholders; emphasizing the need for coalition building to be more influential.

The advocates' media strategy, according to Dorfman and Kransow (2014), was good in identifying modes of communication used by advocates, which include personal meetings and the media. Policy makers confirmed these channels as methods of receiving demands. On the other hand, despite using the media, the idea of using it to communicate demands to the policy makers, which is crucial to media advocacy, was a controversial issue among some advocates. This reflects lack of understanding of what and how to conduct media advocacy and explains why demands were not well conveyed in the media; advocates use the media for influential purposes more than communicative purposes.

As for the message strategy (RQ3), it was a key point of weakness in the media advocacy efforts. This is because there is no one key consistent message, if any, in addition to no clear frame to convey it. Thus, there was a consensus among media experts and policy makers of the lack of a consistent message; in which inconsistency among advocates results in inconsistency among the media and policy makers. The media experts attribute this to no proper campaign planning with no clear message directed to a certain target audience. In addition, the weakness of the message strategy and the lack of a consistent message justifies again why demands and policy solutions were not conveyed in the media supporting the fact they use media for its influential/pressure purposes.

Regarding access strategy, advocates have established good media relations, conduct media monitoring and the initiative has the advantage of using their field work for media access. Yet, the most powerful and successful access was because of the presence of some focusing events in which advocates took a good advantage of.

Their access strategy was not quite good for two reasons. First, advocates access was highly dependent on certain access strategies that are seasonal and uncontrolled. They rely on focusing events, the nature of the issue with its excitement

component and the media fuss generated around an event; all which might not always be present (seasonal) and cannot be controlled. This dependency does not guarantee maintaining the SH issue on the media agenda for an effective media advocacy and raise doubts about how to put it on the agenda in the absence of focusing events or later in the future. Second, the overall poor media performance and weaknesses in the media system, for not abiding by media standards, was quite disappointing to some policy makers leading them to quit watching TV sometimes, making the job harder for advocates. This is not due to the inefficiency of media advocates but a problem with the media system in general.

In order to answer the main research question, media advocacy campaign in SH issue were not quite strategic. Based on the analysis of Dorfman and Konsow (2014) strategic steps of media advocacy, advocates developed a good overall strategy and a good media strategy, but poor message strategy and not quite good access strategy. In addition, there was no time frame linked to the strategy with focus on short term plans. As a result, media advocacy efforts in SH issue were not quite strategic, which is expected to weaken their media advocacy performance. This is not solely due to lack of planning but the presence of other factors and obstacles, discussed later, that limited its effectiveness.

As for the implementation of media advocacy campaign, advocates rely on all media forms for communication, conduct media monitoring, establish a proper media list and conduct numerous range of media activities from press releases, statements, workshops, research and reports, but no paid advertising. Meanwhile, the NCW relies on press conferences and symposiums, while the initiative focuses on social media and stickers and has the advantage of using their field work to gain media access. All of the above are very good attempts to build the foundation of good media advocacy.

However, there are a number of limitations that influence their performance for internal purposes; first poor communication and weak connection between media planners and media executives at NCW, the small size of the initiative with very few personnel working and the recent establishment of media department. Second there is no agreement on a certain spokesperson for each of the advocate organizations. Third, the depth and the focus of their media activities; despite NCW various media activities compared to the initiative, it is sometimes generalized to violence against women rather on SH in specific, while the initiative's efforts are focused on SH issue.

As a result, most of the media experts acknowledge the advocates' media efforts and activities. However, they question what impact or outcome did it has, was there a follow up and whether it achieved the required objectives. This will takes us back to problem definition and to what extent the policy solutions fulfil the problem definition in order to get a noticeable impact.

Adding to this, the lack of systematic evaluation mechanism used by advocates during and after conducting media advocacy does not guarantee that their work is being strategically managed and moving towards achieving the required goals and demands. It can also weaken their ability to cope with changes, makes them vulnerable to mistakes and results in no learned lessons for future media advocacy. Moreover, the weak media performance, as argued by the media experts, did not foster the media advocacy efforts because the media interest was in what is happening rather than how to stop it from happening again, which is out of the advocates' hands.

Despite all of this, some of the advocates are quite satisfied of the efforts that took place. However, some are not quite satisfied because the crime rate is still high and they still await law approval by the parliament. In order for advocates to improve their performance, the initiative needs volunteers, more financial resources and full time employees, while the NCW need a strategy, support from the national media, proper issue management mechanism, financial resources and the help of drama.

Remarkably, media advocacy proved to be needed and indirectly demanded by media experts and the advocates to enhance their efforts and to have an impact. This was clear from the media and advocates suggestions that involve being more strategic, having goals and plans, better understanding of the issue, more cooperation with the media, accurate monitor and analysis of the issue, creating event for better media access and better issue management.

Media Outcomes

This section partially answers the fourth research question about media outcomes. The presence of SH issue on the media agenda was because of focusing events, the nature of the issue with its excitement component and its political perspective, which proves the weakness of the advocates media access strategy due to heavy reliance on events and explains why it was seasonal. This partially answers the second research question on agenda setting. Although media experts have a good

image about advocates, they seem to approach the initiative slightly more than NCW because they have the advantage of the field work they do in the streets to gain media access, because the media is always interested in what is happening in the streets.

There is an absolute consensus among advocates, media experts and policy makers that the media coverage of the SH issue was seasonal. The fact that the media coverage was seasonal, particularly event related, proves the strength of focusing events as a major attractive force and its ability to place itself on the media agenda instantly. Moreover, from an advocates' perspective, the political environment seem to influence the media coverage and in accordance influences media advocacy.

One of strength points of media advocacy in the SH issue, is the media coverage and its favourable content that spot the light on the issue and provided the needed attention, thus placing the issue on the media agenda. However, advocates did not take into consideration that the quality of the coverage matters significantly to the policy makers. Although the media experts and policy makers agree that there was a favourable media coverage with a shared goal of limiting SH, but they disagree with regard to the quality of the content of the coverage and believe the media performance in the SH issue in terms of how the issue was presented and addressed, was poor.

This is because it did not abide by media standards and did not address the issue from different angles or attempt to provide solutions. The coverage was about the details of the case, in which some argue it was for viewership purposes. In other words, the media interest was in what is happening rather than how to stop it from happening again. As a result, this poor media performance in addition to the poor message strategy on part of advocates, negatively influenced media advocacy campaign. In addition, the fact that policy makers emphasize the absence of the follow up coverage of the results, which points out their good and bad performances, has derived many of them to stop watching TV sometimes. Therefore, it is evident that better media performance can be part of a successful of media advocacy.

One of the reasons behind the success of media advocacy, that advocates and media experts unanimously agree that the media proved to be quite powerful and influential on the policy maker in the SH issue to motivate them to take action, evident in the policy outcomes, which supports media advocacy claims. However, the strength of the media impact on the policy makers varies by the policy makers'

preferences; some rely on the media for facts or evidences or to get trends of PO, others rely on their job experience and policy agenda, in which advocates succeed to put SH issue on, others do not pay attention to the media because of its poor performance. Thus, the strength of the media impact is influenced by policy makers' preferences and perceptions of media performance.

Media experts not only emphasize the role of the media to influence policy makers but its importance to mobilize PO because both reinforce one another and are stronger together in influencing policy makers.

Policy Outcomes

This section partially answers the second and fourth research question about policy agenda and policy outcomes respectively. The SH issue succeed to be on the policy agenda, as a second priority, due to country conditions and the presence of more urgent issues. The presence of SH on the policy agenda paves the way towards having some policy outcomes, which is the aim behind media advocacy. Advocates argue that with the help of focusing events and media pressure, the policy makers' image about the SH issue changed from not so important to urgent and needs their attention or involvement.

The success of media advocacy lies in its partial fulfilment of advocates' demands. There are numerous policy outcomes in response to the SH issue, legislation amendment is the first policy change; it includes passing a law 'article 306 repetition A and B' about SH. Second is establishing an administration to counter violence against women in each the ministry of interior and justice. Third is the presence of female police officers in the newly established division to combat violence against women in every police headquarters. Fourth is preparing a long-term national strategy to combat violence against women in Egypt.

In the SH issue, policy responses took place because of a number of factors which relate to media advocacy. Focusing events was key at attracting the policy makers attention which helped to place the SH issue on the policy agenda and motivate them to take action. Political will to address women issue and take serious action in SH was clearly present especially at the upper hierarchy. Advocates themselves were ready with their demands and solutions in SH to present it to policy makers. Media pressure as a part of media advocacy and the intensive coverage of

focusing events. Public Opinion rejection towards some horrible focusing events that was stimulated and conveyed by the media. Finally, the nature of policy makers' job was helpful in sensing society's needs.

Policy process

In order to answer the fifth research question, both the NCW and the initiative participate peripherally in the policy process in research and strategy formulation. Because of the initiative field work which is similar to the policy implementation, it is the reason that the initiative to grow in influence despite its recent inception in 2012.

Policy makers should understand that advocates and the civil society are not rivals or barriers to deal with but rather a strong force that can be used, because of their in depth knowledge about the issue and their devotion on single issue compared to the numerous issues on the policy makers' agenda.

Influential Factors

This section answers the sixth research question that discusses factors that reinforced and strengthened media advocacy as well as the negative factors that weakened the media advocacy campaign on SH.

Focusing events

Focusing events are the cornerstone behind the limited success of media advocacy or policy responses in the SH issue. Similar to the literature, result showed that focusing events has the ability to easily get media access, gain public opinion support, attracting the attention of policy makers and generate intensive media coverage; all which helps to put SH issue on the media and policy agendas.

There is a consensus among advocates that focusing events are the driving force that pushed the policy outcomes forward. This is because of its major attractive force on three levels, the policy makers, the media and the PO. First, policy makers confirmed that focusing events and the public outrage it caused, was one of the reasons that captured the policy makers' attention and encouraged them to take action.

Second, focusing events are powerful in attracting the media attention and constitute a strong media access strategy. The fact that media coverage was seasonal, particularly event related, proves the strength of focusing events to place itself on the media agenda. Advocates argue focusing events impose itself on the media especially

that it has the excitement component that comes from the nature of the issue which strengthened its media presence. Third, despite the widespread culture of blaming women the PO, the shocking focusing events made the PO get over this stereotype culture and demand protection. Thus, Focusing events proved to be quite influential on PO and stronger than the stereotype culture.

The strong influence and success of focusing events are because advocates took good advantage of it to exert the required pressure on policy makers and were ready with their demands and solutions. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that most of the focusing events were not harassment events but either rape or attempted rape “Hatki 3erd” in which all goes beyond SH and considered advanced forms of sexual crimes.

Coalition building

There is no coalition building among advocates. This is a wasted opportunity that could strengthen their media advocacy efforts and form stronger pressure group on policy makers. Most of the media and policy makers reached the same conclusion about the necessity to build coalition between advocates to be more influential.

The rising need for coalition became a concern for many reasons, first, due to the numerous number of advocacy organizations working on SH each on their own with only little coordination here and there. Second is to settle on unified plan and integrate their efforts to speak with one louder voice to attract the policy makers’ attention and be more persuasive. Third, the media emphasize the need to build partnership and coalitions, not just with fellow advocates, but with relevant stakeholders who should be mobilized for pressure or support. Fourth, many of the media perceive that the NCW’s focus is on the policy makers, while the initiative’s focus is on going down in the streets for awareness, thus coalition building is needed because they complete one another. Similar to the literature, policy makers and the media experts believe that coalition building is crucial to make advocates’ efforts more influential since the fragmented efforts was a weakness of their advocacy.

Opposition

Opposite to the literature, opposition was not a threat to media advocacy in the SH issue, simply because there is none. However there is one obstacle that is stronger than opposition, which is culture. In a male dominated society, the stereotype

perception that blames women and holds her responsible for SH still prevails. This acts as a strong barrier for a number of reasons; PO, who is supposed to be mobilized for support, and policy makers can be affected by it. It negatively influences the environment in which the media operate. And it is harder and takes a long time to change attitudes and behaviours rooted in culture.

Political will

Political will is required for a successful media advocacy. It paves the way towards having some policy responses, which is the ultimate aim of media advocacy. Earlier before there was no interest to act on women issue but now because of media pressure and president concern, it was one of the reasons behind their policy responses. Although many perceived the president Sisi's visit to the Tahrir victim as evident of the presence of strong political will, this was not sufficient to ensure the devotion to act and address SH issue on all levels of authority.

Political will at higher authority is crucial but not sufficient. Although, political will at higher authority can travel down to lower authority to take actions, but it can also indirectly influence or obligate them to take actions regardless their views on the importance of the issue which may result in some measures taken out of formalities more than putting an end to the problem. Thus, the presence of a genuine belief in the issue can lead to a serious political will among all levels of authority that can be initiated and maintained by continuously communicating various reasons via the media and advocates. It should be made clear that media advocacy does not create a political will, rather foster or emphasize a present one and encourage translating it into actions.

Public opinion (PO)

There is a consensus among advocates, media experts and policy makers that the public opinion shares the widespread culture of blaming women and holding her responsible. This acts as a serious obstacle in media advocacy because it is harder and takes longer time to change attitudes rooted in culture. However, the outrageous focusing events made the PO get over this stereotype and demand women protection.

PO and the media are the common factors that influence policy makers. PO directly or indirectly influence policy makers. PO and media reinforce one another and are stronger together on the policy makers. But media experts and advocates

believe that the media is more influential as it can mobilize PO. In other words, policy makers are influenced by the PO, who is influenced by the media.

Social media

Policy makers agree that social media played a role in the SH issue, it helps them by giving trends of PO as it represents a voice of the public. Social media has proved to be a strong media access method and has an influence on the media agenda. Media experts emphasize the strong influence of social media on traditional media in which the public's interest on social media is reflected on the traditional media.

Image of advocate and their impact

The advocate image has a direct influence on their media advocacy campaign as it influences their credibility, which can undermine or emphasize their efforts. The NCW's perception of their negative image, because of their affiliation to the old regime, is much better than what they think in the eyes of the media, as some believed it changed after the revolution. The ministry of interior have a positive image and believes it carries out numerous activities, opposite to the ministry of justice who believed the NCW did not live up to the expectations and are womanizing the issue. Also, some media experts believe the NCW is not as efficient as other civil society organization and is focusing on communicating with the policy makers rather than PO and suffers lack of planning.

The initiative was good at analyzing their image in which the media has a good image while policy makers have opposing views. The media and the ministry of justice have a good image about the initiative, but the media denounce the narrow perspective in their logic that womanize the case. Moreover, the ministry of interior and some media experts share the same concern of the initiative's antagonistic approach towards the ministry of interior rather than cooperating with them. Thus, their relation seems to be kind of sensitive, which is expected to weaken their media advocacy performance in the future.

The media experts are equally divided between who is more influential or did a better job. From the policy makers' perspective, both play a good role but none of them is quiet efficient enough. This can be because of incidents rates or awareness level did not change because they did not address all dimensions of SH issue. Thus, the media is expecting advocates to focus on more awareness raising, stereotype

change and coalition building to be more influential in the SH issue. Many media experts and few policy makers believe that the NCW work focus on policy maker because they are affiliated to the government and the initiative focus on the people because of their field work, despite both share common responsibilities.

Multiplicity of policy makers

There were opposing views about the influence of multiplicity of policy makers on advocates; NCW believe it influenced them and their activities negatively, while the initiative believes it did not have any Influence on their performance.

Positive/Negative factors

Advocates, media experts and policy makers agree that the power of Egyptian women to speak up in SH issue was one of the positive factors in the issue; her political presence helped to prove and change her image. They also agreed that the media and PO played a big role. This shows that the media and public pressures proved to be quite influential elements of media advocacy. Moreover, advocates and the media experts believe that focusing events was a crucial element in the success of media advocacy. Meanwhile, it is worth to mention that the NCW reported Mervat El-Telway, head of NCW, is a positive factor because of her personality, influence and connections which shows how good leadership can be aspiring to others.

Regarding negative factors, each category has its own set of negative factors. Policy makers reported routine as the main barrier, the presence of many issues on their agenda and the country conditions. For advocates, the initiative and the NCW each has their own list of different negative factors that influenced their performance which can be attributed to the absence of good coordination, integrated efforts or coalition building. The media reported the lack of vision or plan, lack of addressing the roots of the problem and culture views that indirectly supports the SH issue.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1. Conclusion

Focusing events proved to be the cornerstone for the limited success of the media advocacy campaign on SH. It has a major attractive force on the media, the policy makers and the PO: on the media to get easy access on the media agenda and generate intensive media coverage, on the policy makers to take action, and on the PO to impose the required pressure and overcome cultural misconceptions. Focusing events are efficient access strategy and the driving force that helps to push policy outcomes forward.

For an efficient media advocacy, it is important to stress that policy solutions fully matches the problem definition. One main weakness of the SH media advocacy campaign is that its policy solutions were a partial fulfilment of a multidimensional problem by focusing only on two dimensions; the security and legislative ones.

Advocates should not only rely on the media just for its influential power and pressure on policy makers, but also for its communicative power to convey demands and policy solutions clearly to the targeted policy makers, the media and PO.

When advocates speak with one voice, it strengthens the media advocacy campaign. Consistency of demands and solutions among advocates might achieve consistency among the media and policy makers, but inconsistency among advocates usually leads to inconsistency among the media and policy makers. Their fragmented efforts can weaken media advocacy. Thus, unity among advocates' communication and activities can make their campaign more persuasive. This is the essence of coalition building. Results demonstrated that most of media experts and policy makers are calling for solidarity, coalition and unity of efforts among advocates and more efficient mobilization of the relevant stakeholders. This shows coalition building proved to be crucial for an effective media advocacy

The favourable media coverage of SH is not enough; the quality of the content of the coverage and the media performance has a direct influence on media advocacy. The more professional and better media performance, the more effective the media advocacy and the more influential the media can be on policy makers. This is because the power of media advocacy is derived from the power of the media.

One of the reasons for the limited success of media advocacy of SH is that the media proved to be influential on policy makers; it attracts their attention and motivates them to take actions, especially when supported with focusing events or reinforced with PO. However, the strength of the media impact varies based on several factors such as media performance, policy makers' preferences, policy agenda and unity among advocates.

Media advocacy campaign with the help of focusing events, media pressure, PO and the presence of a political will, results in some policy outcomes that satisfy their legislative and security demands. It involves a policy change in terms of legislative amendments and issuing a new law to fight SH, establishing a specialized division to combat violence against women and providing female police officers.

The presence of a political will is crucial for the success of media advocacy. It helps to put the SH issue on the policy agenda and paves the way towards having some policy outcomes. While many of the interviewees perceives Sisi's visit to the Tahrir victim as an evidence of a strong political will, this political will is not sufficient enough to address the SH problem.

The reasons for the weakness of media advocacy campaign include the poor message strategy, which is due to the lack of key message and no clear frame, and the insufficient access strategy which is due to the heavy reliance on focusing events and a poor media performance.

Opposite to the literature review that every media advocacy campaign has opposition, in case of SH, there was no clear opposition but a strong cultural barrier. This entails a widely spread culture that blames the woman and holds her responsible for SH. It negatively influences PO, policy makers and media and it is harder to change or challenge ideas and attitudes rooted in culture.

Overall, reasons for the strength of media advocacy campaign on SH include focusing events, political will, media pressure, supportive PO, consistent overall strategy and good media strategy. On the other hand, reasons for the weakness of media advocacy campaign include strong cultural barrier, lack of coalition and unity, poor message strategy, insufficient access strategy and solutions that offers a partial fulfilment of the problem definition.

6.2. Recommendations

This section covers recommendation for advocates, media experts and policy makers pertaining to resolving SH issue. For advocates, it is vital for the success of media advocacy to build coalitions and mobilize relevant stakeholders. It is also necessary to fulfil the problem definition by policy recommendations that tackle other related dimensions. Advocates need to have a more strategic media advocacy with emphasis on message and access strategies. Advocates should not wait for focusing events to happen in order to get media access and should agree on a key message. The initiative needs to tone down their antagonistic approach towards the ministry of interior and have better relations with policy makers. The NCW needs to keep enhancing their image, have more presence and interaction with PO and have better issue management.

As for the media, they need to deliver a more professional media performance by abiding to media ethics and professionalism, maintaining a follow up coverage of the actions that took place, if any, and addressing the problem, solutions and consequences of an issue. Dr Gihan Rashti, veteran professor in the field of media, assured that media maintains responsible freedom that gives people what they need not what they want. This reflects the rising need to establish the National Media Council as the independent regulatory authority that organize the media and ensure its commitment to the media standards, similar to the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in the USA and the Office of Communication (ofcom) for UK.

For policy makers, they should understand that advocates and the civil society are not rivals or barriers but rather a strong assistance that can be utilized, because of their in depth knowledge about the issue and their devotion on single issue compared to the numerous issues on the policy makers' agenda. Moreover, it is vital to resolve the misconception that advocates and civil society role is limited to raising awareness.

6.3. Future Studies

Social marketing needs to be employed in line with media advocacy for a significant impact as both reinforce one another. It is better to start with media advocacy because it narrows the scope of social marketing making it more effective.

It is vital not to constrain media advocacy to health related issues like tobacco, drugs and smoking. There are other social problems that can influence one's health

and welfare, that if tackled by media advocacy, will yield better results as long as it satisfies the social justice aspect and provide policy solutions.

Further studies are needed to address the contribution that media advocacy can have in tackling other dimensions of SH such as the cultural, educational and economical ones.

Not all policy outcomes will yield the expected results in resolving a social problem addressed by media advocacy. Therefore, it is important to assess the efficiency of thesis policy outcomes.

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Appendix 1

A framework for evaluating media advocacy (Stead, et al. 2002)

Phase	Research objectives	Possible research methods	Research questions
FORMATIVE EVALUTION	To clarify media advocacy objectives	Secondary research Interviews with stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – What is the ultimate public health goal? – What policy change will contribute to this? – Who needs to be influenced to bring about the policy change?
	To identify and understand the needs and characteristics of target groups	Secondary research the needs and characteristics Analysis of local print and of Interviews with journalists and broadcasters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Who are key target groups among: the public? local opinion formers/policy makers? – What are their characteristics and needs? – Which media outlets are the best channels for reaching them? – What are the characteristics and needs of these media outlets?
	To develop appropriate communication strategies	Pre-testing research Interviews with target group journalists Reviews of messages and frames used in previous advocacy activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – What techniques and stories will be most effective in gaining access to local media? – What messages and framing strategies will be most persuasive with target audiences? – Do messages and frames communicate the desired message? – What images do target groups have of the advocacy organization and/or the opposition?
PROCESS EVALUATION	To document implementation of the initiative	Monitoring and audit of activities Descriptive analysis of press releases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – How many and what press releases were issued? – What other news events were held (e.g. press conferences, photo-opportunities)? – What accompanying material was provided to journalists and broadcasters? – What requests for interview were made, and how did the advocacy organization respond?
	To examine the extent to which implementation was consistent with what was planned, and to identify factors influencing implementation	Monitoring and audit of activities Interviews with advocates Interviews with journalists/ broadcasters Interviews with policy makers and analysts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Were participants in the advocacy effort satisfied with the goals and actions undertaken? – Did the advocacy organization have sufficient: time? resources? skills? – Was the advocacy organization constrained in its activity in any way – Was the advocacy organization assisted in any way? – Why did journalists/broadcasters decide to cover or not cover a particular story? – What was the influence of competing news events? – What might have improved media response? – What circumstances and factors influenced policy makers' response? – Were some types of media coverage more influential than others? – What influence did perceived public opinion and concern have on policy makers' response?

A framework for evaluating media advocacy (Stead, et al. 2002)

Evaluation	Research objectives	Possible research methods	Indicators
OUTCOME: Media Outcomes	To assess how effective the media advocacy initiative was in gaining access to the media	Descriptive quantitative analysis of coverage	Number/volume of stories generated by the press releases and news events Requests for interviews made by media producers Number/volume of any spin-off stories generated Number of stories appearing in key targeted media Prominence of stories as indicated by: size, location in paper, photos, bylines
	To assess the extent to which the themes and frames in the coverage contributed to the public health goals of the initiative	Content analysis Discourse analysis Framing analysis	Use of desired messages and frames Whether desired media advocacy or opposing frames dominated Language Imagery Tone/favourability Sources and authorities quoted
OUTCOME: Policy Outcomes	To assess the influence of the media advocacy initiative on policy makers	Individual interviews with policy makers Analysis of key documents (e.g. minutes of meetings, reports, speeches)	Indications of the issue increasing in importance on the policy agenda, including: mentions in official documents changes in official vocabulary speeches and statements increased funding new policy or legislation increased enforcement of policy or legislation increased opposition of policy or legislation
OUTCOME: Public Opinion Outcomes	To assess target group awareness, comprehension and response to media coverage	Quantitative surveys, including longitudinal cohort studies, cross-sectional before and after surveys, tracking monitors, omnibus surveys Qualitative focus group research	Spontaneous and prompted awareness What messages did coverage communicate to target group, and were these as intended? What emotions or feelings did target group experience on reading/listening to the coverage?
	To assess the influence of the coverage on public perceptions of the public health issue	Quantitative surveys, especially public opinion polls Qualitative focus group research Monitoring	Changes in salience of the issue to general public Changes in public perceptions of causes of and solutions to the issue Indicators of public concern, including letters to newspapers, calls to helplines, requests for information, complaints, signing petitions, joining action groups
OUTCOME: Community Outcomes	To assess whether the media advocacy initiative enhanced the community's capacity to control the determinants of its health	Audits (e.g. of tobacco advertising, of tobacco sales to minors) Individual interviews Observations	Changes in community conditions (e.g., reductions in tobacco advertising or sales to minors) Increase in community resources Formation of pro-health coalitions and alliances Increased action among existing groups Increased skills within community groups
OUTCOME: Advocacy Outcomes	To assess whether the media advocacy initiative enhanced the capacity of the media advocacy organization(s)	Individual interviews	Increased skills within the organization(s) Increased use of the organization(s) as a source for journalists Indicators of recognition of the organizations(s)' input into public health policy debates, including: mention in reports, invitations to join appropriate forums, contact from policy makers

Appendix 2

List of interviewees

Advocates interviewees

1. Ms Karima Kamal (head of media committee),
2. M. R. (NCW),
3. Mr. Mohamed Abd el Salam (head of media department)
4. Abeer Abou el Ela (Ex-Head of journalist office and electronic media).
5. Dr Azza kamel (Head of ACT center and founder of the initiative)
6. F.F. (senior official and coordinator at the initiative)

Media Experts interviewees

1. Ms Mona Salman (TV broadcaster at Masr fy Youm Talk Show at Dream 2)
2. H. M. (TV editor and journalist)
3. Mr. Khaled Salah (Editor in chief of el Youm7 newspaper and TV broadcaster at Akher el Nahar Talk Show at Al Nahar)
4. Mr. Mahmoud Saad (TV broadcaster at Akher el Nahar Talk Show at Al Nahar channel)
5. Mr. Adel el Sanhoury (Executive editor for el Youm7 newspaper)
6. Mr. Mohamed el Hawary (editorial secretary of Al Masry el Youm newspaper and ex-managing editor in ONTV)

Policy Makers interviewees

1. Ms Skina Foad (president's consultant for women affairs).

Ministry of Justice

2. Judge O.S. (Senior official at the ministry of justice)
3. Judge Ahmed el Nagar (Head of the unit of countering violence against women at the ministry of Justice)

Ministry of interior

4. General Abu Bakr Abdel Karim (assistant minister of interior for human rights division)
5. M.A. and R.A. (senior officials at the ministry of interior)

Appendix 3

In depth interviews questions for Advocates

Preparation & Planning	F = Problem identification	What is the problem definition? Is it a phenomenon?
	Issue interpretation	What is your interpretation of the issue? How widely spread is it?
	Demands (goals)	What are your policy goals/demands in order to solve the problem?
	Policy solution recommendation	What are the suggested policy solutions to overcome this problem, if any?
	Target (PO or PM)	Who is the target audience or who has the power to respond to demands/solutions or make the desired change? Who should be mobilized to apply the required pressure?
	Communication strategy (message and media strategies)	How do you plan to communicate your demands to the policy makers? If mentions media: then how will you use the media to communicate demands? If media is not mentioned: are you going to take the media into consideration?
		What is the message you would like to convey via the media? To whom?
What kind of media outlets are you using? Which is the best and why?		
What is the role of media department in your organization? Do you have a communication strategy or a media plan?		
Implementation Phase (Media efforts)	spokesperson	Is there a spokesperson?
	Media monitoring	Does media monitoring of issue takes place? Do you respond?
	Media relations	Do you have a media list or good media relations?
	Media access	How do you attract the media attention? What did you use or relied upon?
	Press Releases	Did you issue any press releases? How often?
	Media event	Did you plan a media event? About what?
	workshop	Did you conduct any relevant workshops? About what?
	Press Conf.	Did you make a press conference? About what?
	Speech	Did you make a speech? What is the occasion?
	flyers	Did you produce any flyers/brochures?
	Paid media	Did you use paid media (advertising)?
	Editorial board	Did you meet with the editorial board to adopt your position?
Social media	Did you use social media? What exactly?	

	Publications	Did you issue magazines or newsletter (regular publication)?
	Supporting materials	Do you have or conducted any studies, reports, surveys, statistical data?
Media Outcome		Who represent you in TV show or newspaper interview? Do you usually go after the media or the media come to you?
	Media coverage	What do you think of the media coverage (heavy/normal/slight)?
		What do you think of the content of the media coverage (pro-neutral-against)?
		If it is bad coverage, what should be done to improve it?
Policy outcome	Media Impact	In your opinion, did the media play a role to impact policy maker?
	policy response	From your point of view, how policy makers perceives the SH issue? (image of the issue in the eyes of policy makers) In general, did they respond to your demands? What is the policy response?
Influential Factors	Public Opinion	From your point of view, how public opinion perceives the SH issue? (image of the issue in the eyes of PO)? Did it influence the policy makers or media?
	opposition	Any opposition to the SH issue?
	coalition building	Did you build any collation with relevant partners? Who? Why? Did have a positive or a negative influence?
	Multiplicity of policy makers	Did the multiplicity of policy maker affect your performance or the issue? How did you handle it?
	Positive and Negative	What are the positive and negative factors that influenced you?
	Performance evaluation	How do you evaluate you performance so far? Anything to add, change or remove?
	Future	What is your next step in the future?

Appendix 4

In depth interviews questions for Media Experts

Problem ident. & Issue interpret	What is the problem definition? What is your interpretation to the problem?
Media agenda	In your opinion, was the issue on the media agenda? Consider competing events, how important was the issue on the media agenda at the time?
Media access	What attracted the media attention towards the issue? Why did the media cover it?
Advocate image	What is your image about the advocates? How do you see the advocates efforts & potentials? Did they have media presence? Who is more influential?
goals	What are the advocates' demands?
Policy solution	What are the policy solutions recommended by advocates?
message	What is the message advocates conveyed via the media? To whom?
Media activities	Did you attend a press conference or media event? What media activities your familiar with were conducted by advocates?
Social media	Did the social media play a role?
Journalist role	Did you host or interview or wrote an article about the issue? Why?
Media coverage	What do you think of the media coverage?
	What do you think of the content of the media coverage (pro/con)?
	If bad coverage, what would improve the media coverage?
Policy outcome	Did the media have an impact on policy maker? How?
	Did the policy makers respond to the goals and demands?
Access	In your opinion, what is the best way to reach policy makers? And, what is the most convincing format to policy makers?
Public opinion	What do you think of the public opinion views towards the SH issue? Did it influence the policy makers?
opposition	Was there opposition to the case?
factors	What are factors that influenced the issue positively or negatively?
effective advo Better access	From your experience, how (advocates) attract the media attention? What are the required criteria to get media coverage?

Appendix 5

In depth interviews questions for Policy Makers

policy agenda	What were your priorities after the revolution? Was the SH issue on your policy agenda?
Policy response	In your opinion, was there a policy response? What type of response? Why or what are the reasons for response?
Problem identification Issue interpret.	What is the problem definition? What is your interpretation of the problem?
Influences impression	In your opinion, do you think the media was influential on the government regarding the SH issue? In your opinion, do you think the advocates was influential on the government regarding the SH issue?
Advocate image	How do you see advocates? What do you think of their efforts and potentials? Did you meet them? Who is more influential?
Demands	What are the advocates' demands/goals?
Policy solution	Did they suggest any policy solution?
Communicate the message	How were you familiar with their demands? What is the message they want to convey via the media?
Access	What attracts your attention in the media? Any particular coverage you perceive more important? In your opinion, what is the best way to reach and communicate with the policy maker?
Impact on policy makers	Who does the ministry listen and give attention the most? (media, public, advocates)
Media coverage	What do you think of the media coverage? What do you think of the content of media coverage?
Social media	Did the social media played a role in the issue?
Positive/Negative	What are the facts that influence you response positively/negatively?
Public Opinion	In your opinion, what do you think of PO views towards SH issue?
Performance evaluation	Do you think the measures taken are sufficient or there is room for more?

Appendix 6: Sample of media advocates activities

