AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

"LISTEN TO THE ADVERTISING PEOPLE:" REPRESENTATIONS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN NGO CAMPAIGNS

by
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Saly El Wazze   for   Master of Arts
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Title: "Listen to the advertising people": Representations of Gender-Based Violence in NGO campaigns

In this research I examine representations of gender and gender-based violence in some of the most prominent campaigns produced by women's non-governmental organizations in the past decade in Lebanon. I explore the publics these representations address and how they engage them, what gender meanings these representations construct in relation to dominant gender norms, and how the rhetoric they develop reflect on social change in the Lebanese and feminist public spheres.

Lebanese NGOs operate in a public sphere colored with a prevalence of patriarchal and sectarian structures, neo-liberal market relations, and an industry reliant on donor funding. In turn, this context affects campaigns and representations of gender commissioned by these NGOs. It also affects the movement for gender rights in general in regard to questioning or challenging the existing hegemonic beliefs and systems of oppression.

I posit my research in the literature on NGOization and examine six campaigns on GBV against women produced in the past two years by three Lebanese NGOs: KAFA, Abaad, and Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality. A visual and textual examination was conducted on these campaigns including their representations and variant elements, then analysed with a feminist rhetorical criticism. In addition, semi-structured interviews were conducted with communication officers in both NGOs and advertising agencies who produced these campaigns.

Research findings indicate that, first, half of the campaigns address their public by striking relatability. However, their relatable address is based on variant assumptions including reproducing middle-class experiences which reflect the campaign authors' own middle classness. The other half of campaigns engage their public through the dramatic appeal of sensationalized classist stereotypes of womanhood and difference. Comparatively, these campaigns are not meant to address women who had been subjected to GBV, but donors with a concern for reach. Third, all campaigns in this research utilize gender in a utilitarian manner. Themes like victimhood, agency, and gender order are manipulated to construct normative to more defiant meanings for the service of campaign aims. Finally, many of the rhetoric developed in these campaigns reflect a refeudalization of the feminist public sphere for the service of private interests in relation to donors. This translates into campaigns accountable to attainable goals rather than intersectional actionable social change. Whether utilizing relatability to portray what is or dramatic

appeal to introduce what could be, these representations address many aspects of dominant norms and structures, while also reproducing other aspects.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

GBV: Gender-based Violence

MDW: Migrant Domestic Worker

UN: United Nations

AFE: Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality

To every woman trying to find her place in the world.

To every person struggling with mental health. May your days change from making due to effortless content.

"At the end of the day, we can endure much more than we think we can"
                                                                    -Frida Kahlo

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As an undergraduate marketing student, I was taught that to make people buy a product, a brand needs to be relatable, it needs to give them something fresh, exciting, but ultimately relatable. That is why many marketing students, which ultimately become those who produce much of the media content we see around us, train hard to become experts on what people like and don't like. If something sells then we make more of it, the same goes for communications, if something clicks then we make more of it. As more of the same kinds of representations are reproduced, the more normalized they become.

In 2004 after the assassination of Prime Minister Rafic Hariri, Lebanon found itself in turmoil as the multitude of political and sectarian differences ever-growing since the civil war advanced to the forefront. The two central political coalitions, March 8th and March 14th, took to advertising agencies to "shepherd the war-weary citizenry back to their appropriate flocks" (Riskedahl, 2015). As a result, advertising agencies launched mass campaigns to produce these partisan identities for the service of their paying clients from a sectarian businessmen ruling class (Majed, 2017; Traboulsi, 2014). As more of the same kinds of representations were produced, the more normalized they become.

That is why I wonder that since all sorts of campaigns - commercial and non-commercial - are primarily produced by these same advertising agencies, then do

campaigns produced by NGOs - these organizations that we look up to introduce very important social change - disrupt the familiar or do they also reproduce it?

In this research I explore six of the most wildly viewed campaigns on GBV produced in the past decade by three of the most prominent Lebanese NGOs working on gender equality: Abaad, KAFA, and AFE. I analyze the representations they put forth considering the larger context of the Lebanese and feminist public spheres within which they operate. I examine two campaigns from each NGO that overall handle different aspects of GBV. Shame On Who and Life For Life by Abaad campaign against victim blaming and incestuous rape and rally viewers around sensationalized viewings of victimhood without introducing paths for their active participation; Think About It/Think About Her and Raise The Age by KAFA examine the Kafala system and child marriage with almost opposing understandings of agency without addressing the bigger structural constraints on gender at play; Consent and Sexual Harassment in the Workplace by AFE portray sexual consent and harassment with a focus on reach and middle class representation as part of professionalized attainable goals on the expense of impact and defiance of the underlying gender order of GBV. Let us first review some background information.

A. NGOs in Lebanon

In Lebanon, NGOs have become one of the main agents pushing for reform of GBV issues and deifying the hegemonic systems imposed on women. These NGOs are a vital constituent of the Lebanese public sphere and its civil society, considering that many

achievements could not have been possible in terms of gender equality without their advocacy. In fact, GBV crimes are prevalent in Lebanon in their different variation such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, child marriage, and aggressions against MDW's rights. NGOs have had a critical part in tackling these issues through their continuous campaigns raising awareness and advocating for legal change (Abaad, 2016; KAFA, 2014). Although it is important to acknowledge the great achievements reached thanks to these NGOs and their campaigns, I must also address the context within which these NGOs operate. This is the same context influencing them to pursue legal reform over other social change strategies.

B. Representations of gender in the NGO context

Considering the instability of the political situation in Lebanon and the disproportionate distribution of state provisions, NGOs have been dependent on private and/or foreign funding for survival. As a result, more of the activities and limited resources of Lebanese NGOs became focused on middle-class and urban corporate arrangements than on alliance organizing (Jad, 2004; 2007; Rizk & Makarem, 2015). This shift in focus might have affected the communications and agendas pursued by NGOs to focus less on disruptive social action and more on representations in line with donors' expectations (Dogra, 2011; Dolinar, Sitar, 2013; Clissold, 2010; Kelleher, 1997). This is while considering that it is easier to play around existing gender norms than it is to face punitive consequences like losing funds which might arise from defying hegemonic structures setting these norms (Butler, 1988; Khattab, 2010).

Considering the context within which women's NGOs operate, I contribute to the literature on NGOization by asking my main research question: how do campaigns produced by Lebanese NGOs contribute to the notion of gender in the Lebanese public sphere?

While taking GBV as an example of the bigger agendas of gender equality pursued by these NGOs, I divide my main question into three: What publics are these campaigns addressing to pursue their call for gender equality and how are they addressing them? What understandings of gender are these campaigns conveying in relation to hegemonic gender norms? And more importantly, how does the Lebanese context within which these NGOs operate affect their campaigns against GBV?

I argue that, while addressing hegemonic norms and systems of oppression in relation to gender equality, many of these campaigns highlight many of their detrimental aspects, while also reproducing others.

C. Methodology

1. *Research design*

The research examines representations of gender in campaigns created by Lebanese NGOs and then posted on their Facebook pages. To collect as much accurate data as possible for this empirical research, I used a multi-method approach.

First, I conducted semi-structured interviews with communication officers in both NGOs and advertising agencies. This method offered insight into what the campaign authors considered as the purpose behind their campaigns. Moreover, this method helped us

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better understand the narrative guidelines and visual grammar selection process directing the production of the representations. Questions asked inspected the editorial decisions made to produce these campaigns, such as: the choice of characters, camera angles, representation of class, etc.

Later on, these guidelines are often passed on to the advertising agency to produce, as these NGOs are too small to have their own in-house production. Therefore, interviews were also conducted with the respective advertising agency employees to better understand their application of these guidelines and their experience in producing the campaigns.

The interviews were analyzed thematically to identify implicit and explicit concepts within the data. The analysis process included inspecting the interview data, codifying it, then thematically organizing and analyzing the themes that may arise in common/contrast between the different interviews.

The second method is visual and textual analysis of the campaign representations (Ali, 2012; Frey et al, 1999). This method examined and analyzed the different elements that constitute the campaigns. For example, the characters, their disposition, their portrayal, their interactions, the campaign message, the video description on Facebook, the comments, the events taking place offline, etc.

Through this research method I investigated the visual grammars used to construct the gender notions in these images and contextualized them within the literature discussed. As a result, I posited my findings in relation to gender norms, hegemonic structures, and the Lebanese context. As for the analysis method for interpreting the visual and textual findings, I used rhetorical criticism with a focus on feminism. Through rhetorical criticism,

I examined the components of the campaigns as content, structure, and function in order to understand the interaction between the text/visual, the author, and the audience (Nordquist, 2018). In other words, I used this method to understand the meanings the visual/textual elements tried to convey to the audience, but also what those elements conveyed about the authors themselves, in this case the NGOs (Foss, 1989). Particularly, feminist rhetorical criticism was used to understand how the communications were used to constrain gender, or resist those constrains and create non oppressive identities (Griffin, 2009).

2. *Sampling*

When it comes to sampling, I selected the NGOs based on their campaigns. I surveyed Lebanese NGOs working on gender issues through their Facebook pages. Then I examined the number of likes each page had as it is a measure of the NGO's presence in the public sphere. Abaad, KAFA, and AFE had the highest number of page likes with 155,846, 144,386, and 33,103 likes respectively.

Then, I examined these NGOs' pages for campaigns produced in the past two years, and with the highest number of views. The chosen campaigns with their views respectively were: KAFA: Raise The Age (child marriage- 380.9 thousand), فكروا_فيا (domestic workers- 308.9 thousand), Abaad: Life For Life (Incest rape- 903.5 thousand), مين_الفِلتان؟ Shame On Who (Victim blaming- 2.5 Million), and AFE: When should s/he have stopped? Also known as Consent (sexual consent- 122.6 thousand), Sexual Harassment in the Workplace (Workplace sexual harassment- 916 Thousand).

3. *Limitations and biases*

Limitations which might have arised during this research relate to the interview stage. Interviewees might have refrained from sharing some information during the interview due to variant reasons.

First, they could have simply forgotten some information since the campaigns were developed some time ago (Belson and Duncan, 1962; Mathiowetz and Ouncan, 1988). To tackle accurate retrospectivity, I requested the interviewees watch the campaign videos before the interview takes place. During the interview, I rephrased many of the retrospective questions and asked them multiple times to check for differing answers. I also actively referenced variant elements from the campaign videos to facilitate the interviewees' memory recall of the visuals. In addition, NGO and advertising agency employees were asked similar questions to account for consistency.

Second, interviewees could have omitted sensitive information for fear of jeopardizing their employment. Considering that the interviewees occupied specific positions in their organizations, then they could be easily identifiable. Therefore, the participants were offered an oral consent form, as opposed to a written one, as that would be the only document identifying them. Moreover, no names were mentioned in the research or its data.

In terms of biases, the types of bias which might have arised are response bias and confirmation bias. First, response bias arises when participants give misleading answers, feel pressured to give socially acceptable answers, or give answers they believe the researcher might be seeking. Moreover, this bias might arise if interview participants

thought their organizations might have access to their interviews and so they don't express their opinions truthfully. Before and during the interviews all interview participants relayed a relaxed vibe and some even expressed they have no problem being recorded or their names mentioned. Although this might reflect that participants might have shared information pre-approved by their organizations, it also reflects that they shared information they felt comfortable sharing.

Moreover, I managed my positionality as an academic researcher by clearly explaining that participation in this research is on a voluntary basis. Participants were offered the choice to conduct interviews where they felt comfortable, to not answer any question they didn't wish to answer, and if a request was made to not quote any information then the request was respected. I also shared my background in marketing with the interviewees to establish familiarity with the nature of their work. All of my interviewees except for one were Lebanese women which minimized potential unbalanced gender relations.

Second, confirmation bias occurs if the researcher looks for and uses information that supports her ideas, while disregarding information that either doesn't support or refutes them. This potential bias was combatted first by making sure no conflict of interest existed. Second, effort was made to let both research data and analysis direct the findings wherever it took them. Moreover, interview data was coded and analyzed through NVIVO to assure a reliable research process.

D. Roadmap

In the following chapter, I go over relevant literature which should set the ground and contextualize the research. I move from an examination of NGOization as a project-based mode of operation to representations of gender and the role of the media to finally reach the wider theoretical framework of the public sphere. The following chapters each answer one of the research questions. Chapters III and IV examine relatability and dramatic appeal respectively as approaches to addressing a public, particularly a middle class one. Chapter V explores the representations of gender constructed in the six campaigns and analyzes the different understandings of gender they introduce. The last chapter posits analysis from the three previous chapters against the larger Lebanese and donor-dependent context with which NGOs operate. It does so through a feminist rhetorical criticism of the rhetoric each campaign constructs in relation to hegemonic structures and systems of oppression.

CHAPTER II

NGOs AND THEIR REPRESENTATIONS IN THE PUBLIC

SPHERE

In order to start the examination I shall first undergo an overview of relevant literature which would deem itself helpful in guiding the analysis. I start with a contextual review of GBV and the NGO field to then move to representations of gender, and finally reach the broader literature on the public sphere and its refeudalization.

A. Lebanese feminism and the rise of GBV within Lebanese NGOs

Historically, the Arab world in general and Lebanon in specific have had a long history with women's movements. The condemnation of women's status as second class citizens in the Arab world can be traced back to the early nineteenth century and particularly to the rise of al-Nahda or Arab Cultural Renaissance (Traboulsi, 2003). In Lebanon, women have been organizing since the movement for national independence, which was followed by their exclusion from the right to vote and to be elected to parliament (Shoukeir, 2002). With the rise of developmentalist reforms during the 1960s, Lebanese feminist mobilization developed from demands for political rights to pursuing political agendas and establishing a correlation between the feminist cause and the socialist one (Daou, 2015). After the Lebanese civil war had come and gone from the 1970s to the 1990s, a third wave of feminism came about in Lebanon to address legal, social, economic,

and political gender discrimination. This wave emerged as Lebanon ratified the Fourth

World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995 and the Convention on the

Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1997 (Stephan,

2014; Civil Society Knowledge Center, 2020).

These international conferences brought about new organizations like the National

Committee for the Follow up on Women's Issues (CFUWI) and the National Commission

for Lebanese Women (NCLW), along with a new vision, cause, and jargon such as

"positive discrimination", "gender-based violence" and "full citizenship" (Daou, 2015). In

fact, although GBV and Violence Against Women (VAW) are now used interchangeably,

in 1993 the UN introduced the first ever definition of the term 'gender-based violence' in

its Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) as:

> *"Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life."*

Later in 1995 Beijing, it expanded this definition to recognize women more likely

to be marginalized: "the elderly and the displaced; indigenous, refugee, and migrant

communities; women living in impoverished rural or remote areas, or in detention" (UN,

1995). In parallel, general recommendation No.19 on VAW adopted by CEDAW in 1992

defined GBV as "violence which is directed against a woman because she is a woman or

that affects women disproportionately" (CEDAW, 1992). Ever since these definitions came

to be at these conventions, they became standard language to be used when addressing

international organizations and were adopted by Lebanese NGOs.

Since then, Lebanese NGOs have increasingly adopted internationally approved concepts and procedures. From there emerged an institutionalization of women's movements and the professionalization of non-state actors (Daou, 2015). As the third wave of feminism, internationally and locally, turned its focus to important issues like domestic violence and the abuse of MDWs, Lebanese NGOs tackled these issues through a project-based structure focused on policy change and legal reform (Civil Society Knowledge Center, 2020). More recently and as the fourth wave of feminism in Lebanon addresses LGBT, sexual, and bodily rights, this structure continues to be the dominant mode of operation for Lebanese NGOs.

B. NGOization and women's movements

The NGO field, especially in Lebanon, is highly reliant on foreign donor funding for operations and sustainability (AbouAssi, 2012, El-Gawish, 2016, Rizk & Makarem, 2015, Daou, 2015, Salameh, 2014). Keeping in mind that most NGO funding is project-based, and although donors might not directly cut off the financial lifeline of an NGO, they would however determine which projects will channel in the most effort and attention. Rizk and Makarem (2015) mention the changing agendas of women's organizations to attain sustainable relations with bigger funding agencies. Through an interview with Riwa, a veteran queer feminist organizer in Lebanon, the two authors bring to light that many NGOs prefer to partner with large funding institutions who push for cooperation with a masculinist state rather than projects challenging this state (Rizk and Makarem, 2015). This containment of activism within project-based social engagement limited by funding is due

to the NGOization or the professionalization of women's movements and their shift into a field of middle-class corporations in lieu of active open participation. On one hand, the authors explain that, aside from reliance on foreign funding, this shift in Lebanon comes in parallel with the absence of a welfare state, the increased adoption of neoliberal markets, and the retreat of political powers from social issues, like gender rights in this case.

1. *NGOization as a mode of operation*

Researchers like Islah Jad (2004, 2007) further explore the concept of NGOization and look at women's movements in the Arab world. A historical recapitulation on the condition of the Arab states during the 70's indicates the absence of a welfare state which made the struggle for women's rights much harder and much reliant on foreign funding. This is not to paint the picture of an evil foreign puppeteer controlling an NGO through funds important for organizational continuity, nor do NGOs only respond to donor's commands. Nonetheless, NGOs act as what Cohen and Comaroff describe as "brokers of meanings" (1976, p.88). In other words, NGOs convince the donors of the meaning and worth of their projects to receive funding. As a result, NGOs compete amongst themselves for donor funds, acquire the project-logic structure seen within most NGOs nowadays, and eventually certain kinds of projects become more prominent than others (Jad, 2007, Daou, 2015, Salameh, 2014).

In general, this mode of operation is the NGOization of women's movements, Jad (2007, p.626) mentions that "if donors are driven by the logic of efficacy of their funds, then NGOs are driven by the imperatives of professionalism and delivery". Although

NGOs are not passive in their relationship with donors, NGOization indicates that their mode of operation is problematic. Jad explains that NGOization and civil society have become quite different concepts and practices in Arab society. Whereas the latter deals directly with the affected parties, the former is more likely to expand upward vertically as opposed to downward horizontally. In other words, the professionalization of civil society and grassroots movements has turned them into organizations (NGOs) functioning as per project logic. They run with timetables, a projected plan, and a limited budget reporting back to funders in place of communities (Jad, 2007, Mitri, 2015). What came about is a mode of operation relatable to the donors instead of the local community, a separation of professional from political (Jad, 2007, p.625).

Jad (2007) also accredits relying on modern communication tools like media, workshops, and conferences, tools traditionally used by commercial companies, rather than local tools to address the project's targets of interest. Therefore, the projects taking place are marked with an elitist vibe and are not able to reach the public as a whole, create any impact, or take effect long enough to leave a disruptive impact. In this thesis I will explore the campaigns these projects produce and examine if they reflect this project logic.

Jad (2004, p.6) pushes this problem further and looks into the structure of NGOs as 'issue-oriented' groups in the Arab world; whereby this orientation prevents NGOs from addressing the bigger context of the problem they might be attempting to solve. For example, in Lebanon this happens when the masculinist state and hegemonic religious powers controlling many facets of gender relations such as child marriage, or domestic violence are not addressed. This structure prevents NGOs from contextualizing and

politicizing the inequalities they set out to tackle. Jad (2004, 10) believes that this prevents these organizations from creating any real change or really challenge any authority.

Moreover, Jad (2007) explains that NGOization is a culture favoring new modes of consumption. In many ways NGOization has created a public only accessible to those who have the budget and the specific skill sets; therefore, more or less using capitalistic values as a condition to partake in the public of women's rights and gender issues. She mentioned the example of many organizations that hold their conferences in fancy hotels with fancy food and fancy brochures offered by good looking well-attired individuals. In turn, this reflects an elitist consumer vibe which NGOization introduces.

2. *Relationship with the state*

Dalya Mitri (2015) agrees with the concept of NGOization and develops it by introducing a legal dimension and looking into the relationship between Lebanese NGOs and the state. In Lebanon women's organizations were active as a reaction to an absent state concerned only with political matters and sectarian differences. However, they have found themselves forced to collaborate with that same contested state to advocate for policy and legal reforms. Mitri (2015) refers to this paradoxical relationship after looking at two campaigns. First, KAFA's 2014 demonstration to adopt a law against domestic violence, during which they used social and mainstream media to "name and shame" concerned parliamentary members. Second, Abaad 2012 *Nu'min* (We believe) campaign which is a series of dialogues between women's organizations, civil society organizations, and religious leaders to end GBV in the Lebanese society. In spite of the fact that these two

campaigns worked to raise considerable awareness concerning women's struggles in Lebanon, they reinforced the authority and validated the importance of the patriarchal state and the religious institution as governing in the matters of women's lives. On the one hand, Mitri explains that there are smaller organizations who argue that legal advocacy is useless in the Lebanese context, and so denouncing the importance of the state should not be as challenging. On the other hand, larger NGOs have become dependent on state interaction in their pursuit to cover for its absence, while setting aside more defiant endeavors like grassroot mobilization and collective action (Miri, 2015, Salameh, 2014).

3. *On the issue of funding*

In general, NGOization and the lack of self-reliance in these organizations have crippled women's movements in Lebanon. On the topic of funding, researcher Lara Khattab (2010) sheds light on USAID support for a 2010 campaign encouraging women to participate in municipal elections; while explaining that the donor community shies away from supporting confrontational topics such as the personal status law. This is an example of how donors can have an influence on the choice of campaigns and projects NGOs engage in, leading to a lack of address of the patriarchal state and sectarian structures at play.

The types of campaigns donors do support are the likes of the 'We Believe' campaign which ABBAD explains isn't a simplistic approach to religion but a negotiation with the religious institution in a non-threatening manner (Daou, 2015). When the video for this campaign was released, it featured the logos of more than 10 donors, an indication of

its attractiveness to donor organizations (Salameh, 2014). Lebanese activist Riwa Salameh explains that women's organizations often opt for the donor-funded 'awareness raising' campaigns and activities reliant on international standards, concepts, and tools (2014, p.81). As a result, the women in most need for these campaigns end up excluded due to their inability to adopt these tools into their everyday lives. This is true considering that women live under different circumstances and socioeconomic constraints. In addition, the differences between these women affect the ways in which they will understand, relate to, and integrate these campaigns in their everyday lives (J. B. Thompson, 1995). Therefore, a good deal of attention should be paid to the campaigns addressing these women, exploring the representations and rhetoric they construct.

There is scarce literature on communications produced by NGOs working on violence against women and/or GBV, let alone Lebanese NGOs. This is the gap this thesis intends to fill. However, first let us examine literature on representations of women produced by NGOs, in general and not necessarily relating to GBV.

C. Representations of gender produced by NGOs

In general, the media is a discursive space of both the social construction of the visual, like visual experiences, and the visual construction of the social, where the latter employs the former to examine the mechanisms of difference (Dikovitskaya, 2005, p.58).

Representations of women in NGO campaigns have been often accused of sensationalization and construction of specific values failing to offer an accurate and contextual representation of the social realities taking place. While some researchers argue

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for the advantage of sensationalization in evoking an identification of the spectator with the suffering subject (Wells, 2013), many others have focused on the effect this sensationalization creates. Nandita Dogra (2011) looks into how representations of 'third world woman' are used by international NGOs for their instrumental and symbolic value to construct political notions of womanhood, feminization and difference. She points out the use, in these images, of what Richard Dyer describes as 'typifications' being "visually recognizable images and self-representations…with the advantage of being immediate and economical…with the character of 'literally at first glance'" (Dyer, 1993). This typification is used to show women of the third world as being right in their natural place: traditional, poor, young mothers, abandoned husbands, naturally inferior to and in need of help from viewers from the developed world. Melhuus and Stølen (1996) argue that images of young mothers are directly read as 'female-in-nature' which reassigns women to their 'natural' place being the private/domestic sphere. In addition, Kelleher (1997) discusses the feminization of famine. In looking at images of women she explains that their shocking nature works as a spectacle and places these women within the realm of 'nature'; therefore, giving them sub or superhuman attributes (Kelleher, 1997). In other words, this effect removes these images from their context and assigns them as happening by chance or haphazardly while neglecting the structures that created them. In turn, this portrayal normalizes these images as a true reflection of these women's lives.

Another hands-on approach is Robin Redhead's (2007) look into Amnesty International's (AI) 'Stop Violence Against Women' campaign. The type of images chosen by AI's photo researchers are guided by what Redhead considers a "heterosexist,

masculinist grammar that perpetuates non-agential articulations of women" within human rights discourses (Redhead, 2007, p.218). As he explains, the choice of visual grammar is problematic since they are based on an understanding of GBV that denies the victims in the pictures any agency. He calls this the 'sex-gender problematic': a misconceived direct link between sex and gender while assuming that GBV is due to the presence of a gender (woman) being weaker than the other one (man) (Redhead, 2007). By this definition, women are naturally and possibly always victims of violence due to their sex/gender. In addition, while the gender is exposed to violence, AI considers violence itself to be a non-gendered act thereby separating the violence from its political context, denying these women any real agency, and imprisoning them in victimhood. However, Redhead does not contextualize his analysis, nor does he explore the bigger effect of these constructions on agendas of gender in the public sphere.

D. Gender and the media

Gender is not static or applicable into a clear-cut guide from which gender normative acts proceed. In fact, these acts reflect a specific construction of gender that has become normative due to it being repeatedly performed (Butler, 1988). Therefore, representations of gender play a significant role in either solidifying existing gender attitudes and beliefs or disrupting them. In turn, this disruption challenges the powers and structures that solidify these norms.

Butler also informs that failure to withhold normative gender meanings would lead to punitive consequences. In the case of this research, the consequences that NGOs might face can occur when portraying notions of gender that challenge the patriarchal masculinist state and the hegemonic sectarian system contributing to the solidification of gender norms. For example, this might result in economic consequences such as the suspension of financial support and the limiting of donor funds on which NGOs rely for survival. Other sanctions could be legal such as state boycott of these NGOs' agendas and their exclusion from policy discourse.

It does not sound unfamiliar to describe the visual as used and often manipulated by hegemonic groups to construct and validate specific forms of identities and cultural values. Gramsci (1992) discusses the concept of 'Cultural Hegemony' where a dominant group, such as a ruling class, manipulates society's culture -its values, perceptions, and beliefs- to legitimize and maintain the group's worldview as the norm. Cultural hegemony is solidified when cultural texts in popular media outlets, such as newspapers, movies, songs, social media, etc, support the status quo not as obvious propaganda but through consent from the dominated public as these texts are presented to them as natural (Gramsci, 1992). Marxist thinkers, such as Gramsci, believe that the conceptions and images portrayed by the media are "distorted accounts of an objective reality" designed as such by the dominant political and economic groups (Curan et al., 1982, p.22).

Not until long ago, Arab women had been portrayed in the media stereotypically as weak, docile and subservient (Allam, 2008; Gökulu, 2013). However, "alternative discursive spaces" (Skalli, 2006, p.36) are increasingly being created by women through

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their participation in the media (Elsadda, 2010, Kraidy, 2016, Lynch, 2006, Mourad, 2014, Odine, 2013, Skalli, 2006). With the advancement of technology the chances for different publics to disseminate their own values and create their own discourses are increasing. Considering the power media has in shaping norms and worldviews, I investigate in my research those produced on GBV in communications by Lebanese NGOs.

Moreover, in the following section I examine literature on the public sphere as the theoretical framework to better understand how hegemonic power and structures can influence the development of discourse in the public sphere. In specific, this framework would help us understand how the context within which the Lebanese NGOs in this study operate affects and interacts with their communications and representations of gender.

E. The public sphere

Jürgen Habermas coined the term 'Public sphere' in his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* in 1962 which remains one of the most influential texts in its field. The concept of the public sphere has had fundamental contributions to many theories of the modern democratic society. However, as I will shortly examine, the public sphere has also casted important issues like GBV to a separate private sphere.

The notion of the public sphere refers to a social space not bounded by physical dimensions where private individuals discuss, by way of rational critique, public matters that concern the general citizenry (Habermas, 1991). The public sphere emerged during the 19th century with the rise of the bourgeois public sphere as a tool to separate between the autonomous rule of the state and the capitalistic market economy (C. J. Calhoun, 1992;

Fraser, 1990; Habermas, 1991). As a result, private individuals, or individuals separate from the state, owning private property met in salons and coffee houses to critically address the political monopoly of the state. Prior to the bourgeois public sphere, the public realm had been considered to include and be determined solely by the state and those controlling it as the ruling class. Thereafter, the public sphere redefined these participation terms to include non-state property-owning individuals emerging from the private sphere of the family to critically discuss public matters away from state control (C. J. Calhoun, 1992; Habermas, 1991).

1. *Its exclusionary nature*

With the advancement of industrialization, increase of literacy levels, and the rise of the capitalistic free market, took place the inclusion of an increasing number of private individuals. As Habermas' public sphere expanded, its exclusionary essence became apparent to many (Dahlgren & Sparks, 1991, Fraser, 1990, Benhabib, 1992). Soon after, the significance of the Habermasian public sphere became what led to its decline, as the sphere originally created for critically addressing hegemonic power had become itself a space of domination.

It became apparent that the public sphere was inefficient in its bracketing of status inequalities and dismissive of all other spheres and publics existing concurrently to it. It had led to many exclusions based on class, ethnicity, and most importantly gender on the basis that femininity was equated and restricted to the private sphere. This made gender and publicity or the public sphere an oxymoron (Fraser, 1990). In fact, historical records would

show that the bourgeois project was not the only sphere for public discourse as Habermas claimed (Eley, 1994). There emerged, in parallel to the bourgeois sphere, many others in competition and conflict with it, such as spheres relating to peasants, working class, and elite women. Therefore, I reach the conclusion that this idealized sphere emerged with a masculinist classist rule, employed a hegemonic style, and constructed the common good with the sole consideration of its own interests.

The gravity of this sphere's hegemonic influence is rooted in the long, tedious struggles for women's rights. The constructed public/private sphere dichotomy constituted the Habermasian public sphere while also marginalizing all individuals casted to the private side. Once this detrimental dichotomy was noted, it was understood that all things private also concealed dangerous categories such as domestic violence, sexual harassment and other categories considered "feminine", "familial", or "personal" (Fraser, 1990). As a result to the existing dichotomy, these matters were kept away from public discussions. Seyla Benhabib (1992) explores a feminist reading of Habermas' public sphere and argues that, in the true spirit of a critical public discussion, topics should not be assigned as what is and what isn't open for discussion.

2. *A discursive space*

As I previously discussed, the media plays a significant role in constructing concepts on a national level. The media occupies a similar role in the public sphere, whereby it is a space within which critical discussion takes place and constitutes a discourse. Fraser (1990, p.67) notes that in order to discursively interact in the public

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sphere, one aims to disseminate one's discourse with the largest scope of publicity as possible. As such, this dissemination requires the use of the media. However, as I discussed earlier, it is possible for certain groups to sometimes hold unequally power over the media. This leads us to what Pierre Bourdieu describes as powerful informal pressures that arise to marginalize the contributions of those from subordinated groups, in everyday life and in official public spheres (as cited in Frasser,1990, p.64).

This unbalanced influence over the media has been linked to influence the formation of not just the public discourse but also social identities (Fraser, 1992). Göle (2002, p.177) explains that "in non-Western contexts, the public sphere provides a stage for the didactic performance of the modern subject in which the nonverbal, corporeal, and implicit aspects of social imaginaries are consciously and explicitly worked out". Hence, the space media constitutes for discursive participation in the public sphere is important for the continuous construction and expression of social and political identities. As such and on a larger scale, the media is used to disseminate valued cultural systems held by hegemonic powers and/or others if allowed enough access to it, for example concerning mass consumption or GBV.

3. *The refeudalization of the public sphere*

As different classes of individuals with different interests and conceptions of the common good joined the public sphere, in parallel with technological advancements, the "brokered compromises among private interests replaced reasoned public debate about the common good" (Fraser, 1990). Peter Dahlgren et al (1991) explain that this replacement

steered the public sphere towards a blurring of the boundaries between public and private in relation to political and economic affairs. In turn, there took place a shifting of public discussion into an arena of mass consumption ruled by private interests.

This replacement also brought about a 'refeudalization of the public sphere'. Refeudalization meant the concentration of power and decision making in the hands of those dominating the market, the mutual penetration of the state and society, and a control over mass media (Habermas, 1991). Considering the significant economic effect NGOization has had on Lebanese NGOs in creating a donor dependent field, it is worth examining how this mode of operation might have also affected NGOs' communications and representations of gender.

F. Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined literature on a range of topics to help us frame the research question and approach it. I started with an overview on the history of GBV in Lebanon to observe how it was influenced by international organizations and conventions, leading to the institution of NCLW and the rise of jargon such as GBV. Lebanese NGOs adopted this jargon along with a professionalized and project-oriented approach, the likes of which international organizations demand from the NGOs they financially support. This leads us to a conversation on NGOization which is the containment of activism within a project-based mode of operation focused on meeting goals and limited by external funding demanding those goals be met. In the absence of a strong state, many Lebanese NGOs have resulted to this mode of operation to guarantee organizational continuity. In turn, this

resulted in their adoption of projects supported by donors as opposed to those disruptive of the hegemonic authority of a masculinist state or patriarchal gender norms closely tied with religious institutions. Moreover, the professionalization of women's movements reflected a middle-class elitist disposition whereby accountability became channeled upwards to donors and not downwards to those most in need of social change and support.

Influencing which projects are taken up by NGOs also reflects which campaigns and communications are produced and in what ways. There is little literature on campaigns addressing GBV; however, literature on representations of gender in NGO campaigns reveals that there is an incline to producing political understandings of womanhood and poverty. The literature review reveals that these understandings are constructed as such to engage viewers while also neglecting to address the contexts which gave rise to them. On one hand, these images appear as if happening haphazardly which in turn normalizes them as a true reflection of the represented women's lives. On the other hand, gender is not a confined or stable notion, it is repeatedly performed following a certain construct, for example women as weak or nurturing, which in turn also solidifies this construct and the cultural meanings attached to it. Representing gender in NGO campaigns in ways that might disrupt this construct and its meanings might hold consequences such as reduction of financial support from donors. The media holds a power in constructing social realities and identities. This power reflects the possibility for a group to hold hegemonic power over constructing and validating specific forms of identities and cultural values.

This is particularly the case in the public sphere. As a construct for participatory critical discussion, the public sphere was revealed to be based on exclusions to participation

on the basis of class and gender, among other things. As a result, important issues such as domestic and sexual violence were casted aside to the private sphere, and variant other spheres which arose concurrently to the public sphere were obscured by its hegemonic authority over public discourse and what constitutes it. Moreover, as technology advanced and access to the public sphere became more accessible, the separation between public and private interest was blurred. Thus came the refeudalization of the public sphere as it became dominated by those controlling the market and the market focused media.

The public sphere sets a theoretical framework in the research. It portrays how hegemonic powers and structures, such as big international donors, can influence the media outlets, like NGO campaigns and representations of gender, of a model originally set for the critical discussion of public discourse, for example Lebanese NGOs in civil society, and propagate these structures' values.

CHAPTER III

THE PUBLIC ADDRESS THROUGH RELATABILITY

One of the core elements of civil society are the individuals working towards social change, whether radically or through small acts of resistance in everyday life. Due to the shift toward professionalization, non-governmental organizations might have moved past their need for these individuals' participation in their mode of operation. Nonetheless, NGOs continue to address the public, whether targeted or at large, in an attempt to raise awareness and garner support. Therefore, it is first worth examining the public whom the representations of GBV in this research are addressed to.

In the coming two chapters, I will examine this public and attempt to understand its characteristics by inspecting each campaign for one of two approaches utilized for public address, relatability and dramatic appeal. I will also examine the visual elements used to develop each approach in its respective campaigns, and the sociological significances arising from this address.

Michael Warner (2002) differentiates between a public and an audience. The latter is a concrete audience or a crowd witnessing itself in a visible space such as an audience in a movie theater. Warner defines the former as much looser and as coming to exist in relation to texts and their circulation, like a space of discourse (Warner, 2002, p.50). Among the variant attributes constituting a public, let us focus on a public being self-organized, a relation among strangers, and contributing to poetic world-making. I chose

these attributes because they are essential to understanding the concept of a public as a discursive space which can be used for social action and change.

First, a public is self-organized in that "it exists by virtue of being addressed" much like the chicken-egg question (Warner, 2002, p.50). Within the social totality, Warner explains that there are infinite publics, whereby a communication, text or otherwise, can be picked up at different times by unrelated people to constitute an ongoing discourse (Warner, 2002, p.51). Separately from the state and categorical classifications such as class or religion, a public organizes itself by activity and interests, for example a public constituted of employees concerned about workplace sexual harassment.

 The second aspect of a public is a relation among strangers. A communication can address indefinite strangers, and so a public is constituted of indefinite strangers enjoying a "stranger sociability" by being part of the same public (Warner, 2002, p.56). This ability to bring together strangers is valuable for social action since it is important for an NGO's address to gather different individuals, one might say strangers, in support for its cause.

Third, a public contributes to poetic world-making. Warner explains that a public discourse does not only say "let a public exist" but also "let it have this character, speak this way, see the world in this way" (Warner, 2002, p.82). Therefore Warner (2002) argues that an address must contain within itself characteristics of the public it intends to address. The address goes out and searches for this public, whom if it identifies with the address, proceeds to share it and realize its world-making potential.

These three aspects can help us better understand which publics these campaigns are addressing by examining the public characteristics each communication has constructed

within itself. Whether through relatability or dramatic appeal, each campaign intends for its viewer to take up interest in it, circulate it, and support its cause to materialize.

A. Relatability

Relatability is constructing a campaign with a focus on characteristics to which the viewer can relate, connect with or personally identify with (Greene, 2020; Mead, 2014). This approach relies more on characterizing a public as it is, it can be achieved in many ways, including choice of character specifications such as socioeconomic class, age, and position in a certain situation. In this research, three campaigns employee relatability, Consent by AFE, Sexual Harassment in the Workplace by AFE, and Think About It/Think About Her by KAFA. I examine the elements which have contributed to relatability in each of these campaigns. Then by the end of the chapter I will examine the particular effect socioeconomic class has on relatability as a common element in all three campaigns.

1. *Consent*

Women's video: https://www.facebook.com/afemena.org/videos/1503944902974747/

Men's video: https://www.facebook.com/afemena.org/videos/1506284766074094/

This campaign is composed of two similar videos. In one of the videos, a younger woman W1 is visiting an older woman W2 in her house. As cultural customs dictate, the host offers the guest cake as a welcoming gesture. When W1 politely refuses and says thank you, W2 proceeds to attempt to feed her. The video moves from W2 insisting to

forcefully feeding W1, whose discomfort increases throughout the video. Both videos end

with the message:"حسن الضيافة ما بينطبق ع كل شي ممارسة الجنس لازم تكون برضى الطرفين"

Sex should always be consensual". For a full and detailed description of this campaign

check Appendix 1.

The authors of the Consent campaign constructed multiple elements within their

campaign to attract a public based on relatability. These elements include the norms of the

social interaction and the gender coupling of the characters.

a. A culturally relatable interaction of food and sex

The concept of the campaign is based on the interaction taking place between the

characters, a host offering their guest food as a show of good hospitality. However, the

campaign message is on the norms of sexual consent, not those of hospitality, two

seemingly unrelated categories. When asked about this choice of comparison, AFE

reported:

> "In *our culture we rarely pay attention to people's wishes when we're interacting. In our culture ljessem 3enna moubeih meaning anyone can touch it anytime, we're a very touchy culture…We also took it into other ways in which you have absolutely no agency which is something that we can all relate to which is food"* (AFE, Interview, 2019).

The above quote reflects that AFE drew an analogy between both concepts on the

basis that they share similar norms in Lebanese culture. The underlying assumption was

that if the public understands and relates to Lebanese norms around food then by analogy

they can do the same for the concept of sexual consent. In short, the norms surrounding

food and hospitality in the Lebanese culture assume a sort of negotiation between host and

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guest. When a guest visits a host, norms dictate that the latter must offer the former food or drink treats. The guest should first refuse to not seem too eager, but the host will insist. This cycle of offering and refusing might go on for some time, but then the guest must accept the treat to not seem rude and ungrateful. This interaction relies in a big part on the negotiation of rejection and approval, which in the video is used to conflate norms between hospitality and sexual consent.

For example, the hosts most significantly use repetition to pressure their guests into accepting the offering. For example in the video, W2 says to W1: أبداً, أبداً I won't take no for an answer. This is W2's response to W1 when the latter clearly states she does not want to eat the cake. Before this line, W1 was politely but indirectly expressing that she is not interested in the cake, which can be considered by cultural norms as her polite resistance as to not be perceived crude before eventually accepting the cake as she is expected to. Once W1 makes her refusal clear and direct, W2 engages in the same culturally normative behavior and insists even more when her guest refuses her invitation. The repetition here serves W2's purpose to acknowledge W1's participation in the exchange and play out her role in the game by ushering to W1 that now is when she should stop resisting and actually accept the cake.

This interaction of polite refusal met with continued offer is meant to parallel politely or subtly refusing a sexual offer only to be met with the same offer again. In other words, it's as if the participants are engaging in an unspoken chase. However, norms around hospitality are quite different from norms constituting sexual consent and harassment. The campaign attempts to bridge these differences through multiple tools such

as repetition, tone, and the actual behavior of force feeding. Nonetheless, the pursuit of relatability conflated both concepts and overlooked many of the major constituents which differentiate between hospitality and sexual consent, or more generally GBV and any other concept. The campaign concepts differ at their shared basis of power dynamic and at their consequences. In sexual harassment the power imbalance emerges through elemental categories like gender which stimulates a gender order and the physical, emotional, and psychological labor that comes with it. In comparison, the power dynamic in hospitality is more contextual and its consequences are majorly less taxing than sexual harassment. This conflation of norms carries into the second element of relatability in this campaign.

b. <u>Same gender coupling</u>

The second element through which AFE planned for this campaign to strike relatability is the same gender coupling of host and guest in the videos. In each of the two videos, the two characters present are either both women or men. When asked about this, AFE reported:

> *"Let's think about it if this was an older man feeding a younger woman. First of all this isn't culturally relevant you don't really see it. Second, you would feel it's manufactured (mrakabeh) you would feel that there's the element of rape that's clear."* (AFE, Interview, 2019).

AFE reports above that a mixed gender combination in a hospitality setting is not culturally relevant in the Lebanese culture and it might be reminiscent of rape. If the dominant gender coupling of sexual harassment elicits images of rape, then replacing it with that of hospitality largely dismisses the heteronormative gender order of the sexual

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side of the analogy between concepts. To maintain the cultural relatability of the interaction and also portray a power dynamic, the campaign uses age difference whereby the host/harasser is significantly older than the guest. In sexual harassment the harasser is powerful because of their gender as men, their power comes not just in their physical strength but in their belief that due to their gender they can impose their authority[1]. This goes beyond cultural expectations and into more elemental patriarchal beliefs. In order to mirror this power imbalance, the campaign conflates age with authority, whereby a perception of the elderly as dismissive of other's wishes reflects positively on affording them power and authority. The advertising agency elaborates on age:

> *"There's a power dynamic because there's an age difference… Because of AFE's target audience, we want to say that this is a generational issue…it's not just cultural and plus from a character perspective for someone my age (young) insisting that the other person (also young) eats, it's not common"* (AFE advertising agency, Interview, 2019).

The reference to a generational issue might work for hospitality but its problematic when exploring sexual consent. Due to the conflation of the two concepts, the choice of power dynamic translates into the disregard of sexual consent and agency becoming generational problems. Therefore, in the pursuit of relatability to change the normative view of sexual consent in Lebanese culture, this campaign reproduced hegemonic beliefs and stereotypes such as the dismissal of gender order and ageism.

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[1] Other intersections and hierarchical categories also come into play in creating an unbalanced power dynamic such socioeconomic class, relationship between employer and employee, race, age, etc. However, gender is a central basis upon which these categories overlay. Following this logic, same-sex sexual harassment does take place, but its effects might not be as detrimental as opposite sex, particularly on women.

c. <u>A public and a counter</u>

In terms of constituting a discursive public, individuals with whom the analogy resonated would positively engage with this communication and pass it on to others achieving stranger-sociability. Individuals who were critical of the analogy, or who were excluded by the campaign's ageist portrayal, would also engage with the communication to criticize it and therefore constitute a counterpublic.

It should be noted that this counterpublic operates based on attributes similar to those of a dominant public (Warner, 2002, p.81). I argue that the counterpublic created in this campaign comes about not through relatability but through dramatic appeal. This second approach to public address focuses more on dramatizing the communication than on utilizing characteristics representative of the viewers' real experiences. I will further explore this approach in the next chapter. As quoted earlier, AFE believe that the campaign would seem manufactured and similar to rape if the dominant gender coupling was used. In addition, the advertising agency stated that:

> *"That imagery is not very nice and it might be triggering for a lot of people and we didn't want to trigger we wanted to talk about the topic without showing anything sexual…We went for the subtle, we went for the feeling rather than dramatization... Real as in not exaggerated" (*AFE advertising agency, Interview, 2019).

Therefore, the campaign authors intended to address their public with representations that are "real" and elicit subtle feelings rather than dramatization. However, the tools and stereotypes used to bridge the two concepts and create a relatable understanding of sexual consent do not represent either sides of the analogy in a real manner. It's not culturally relevant for a woman to force feed another nor for a man to do

so. The conflation of norms resulted in a dramatized communication and created a public counter to the dominant one the campaign intended to address with relatability. Literature indicates that a dramatization gathers a lot of attention and creates a wide public address (Gökulu, 2013; Wells, 2013). Therefore, although the communication creates two kinds of publics, nonetheless both publics engage with the communication, albeit in the pursuit of making different worlds.

2. *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*

https://www.facebook.com/afemena.org/videos/122185288689028/

The campaign Sexual Harassment in the Workplace is also by AFE. It handles the issue of harassment from a more specific perspective, that of the workplace. This campaign two friends Stephanie (S) and George (G) as they go through a corporate office space where S explains to G the difference between flirting and harassment in the workplace. The video features multiple scenes comparing flirting and sexual harassment as it takes place between a female employee (W), her co-workers M1 and M2, and her supervisor M3. As narrators, S and G observe the different incidents in the workplace while also discussing the ramifications of sexual harassment from power relations to economic consequences. The video ends with the message: " الأمان بالشغل مسؤوليتنا كلنا   A safe work environment is our responsibility; طالبوا بسياسات بتحمي من التحرش   Demand for policies that protect from harassment". For a full and detailed description of this campaign check Appendix 1.

Whereas the Consent campaign focused on presenting a reflection of what their public currently looks like, this AFE campaign focused more on what their public might

aspire to be. This campaign's approach focuses more on the third attribute of a public, poetic world making, but it does so through first striking relatability with the viewer. The most prominent elements to achieve this relatability are George's character and the choice of work setting.

a. <u>George the role model</u>

It should be noted that Stephanie and George are not just any two actors, they are social media influencers with a food series called kazdoura and a following of around 46 thousand on Facebook and 23 thousand on Instagram. Therefore, the campaign's narrators and lead characters had an established friendly dynamic, in addition to a following, which they bring into their characters in the campaign. In the established age of social media, casting influencers as the lead actors generates a good amount of views while also creating trustworthy role models. Particularly, George's character in the video was portrayed as such. AFE describe his character as such:

> *"George is someone who physically on the outside looks like the typical manly tough guy. You know like typical Lebanese man beard and bald head but then you discover you can look like that and be a decent human being you don't have to spray your masculinity all over the place… He was the spokesperson and then eventually he gets convinced. So this is something that the audience the male audience can identify with… we're like OK this behavior is unacceptable this behavior is acceptable. And here's the man who agrees. And then you can do the same."* (AFE, Interview, 2019).

The first element which grabs attention in the quote is the term 'typical' carrying within it a specific understanding of masculinity. Typical is understood in the above quote as a man who is manly, tough, bald, and has a beard, indicating a normative binary view of

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masculinity. AFE explain that this choice of 'typical' male character representation was intended to be "standard" to "reach a wider audience" (Interview, 2019). This appearance would be particularly relatable to an Arab male public assumed to generally look like George.

AFE intends for the male viewer to relate to this appearance to first engage with the campaign message then behave as George does when dealing with workplace sexual harassment. It can be discerned from AFE's interview that this behavior is largely dependent on the relationship between Stephanie and George which AFE's ad agency describe as "approachable". One meaning for this word is accessible, as in accessible to the viewer to identify with and practice, AFE report:

> *"If you're going to tell people 'Mamnou3 tetala3 mamnou3 tehki mamnou3' (you can't look you can't talk you can't) which in all agreement we are all with please no compliments at work. But Men kind of feel 'but my compliment and myself it was well meaning'...you have to answer to that...You can't just dismiss it you have to tekhdi w te3ti (negotiate and discuss) so that you can actually gain access to this person's attention and consciousness and willingness to listen . The idea was fine we're not advocating for complete chastity. The idea is that we all live constantly in an environment where we check each other out. We talk to each other. We have to interact. Come on let's be realistic here...These videos need to have this kind of angle that is not preachy"* (AFE, Interview, 2019).

AFE also reveal that they could not overlook the most reported comment by men in their research accompanying this campaign, being "but I'm flirting with her". Therefore, the campaign authors chose an approach to the relationship between men and women and to workplace sexual harassment in general that particularly caters to male viewers. In the pursuit of relatability, George's character in the video was designed as a "typical" man role model whose behavior many other men can easily follow.

b. The corporate work setting

The second element designed by AFE in the purpose of relatability is the work setting, particularly the office space. This setting is described by AFE's advertising agency as such:

> " *If you notice the decor it's very generic, their clothes are very generic…We just wanted a very minimalistic representation of the situation, even the office with the globe and the picture of a touristic scene you don't know what kind of company or whose company it doesn't matter that was the point*" (AFE advertising agency, Interview, 2019).

In the above quote, the office setting is described as "generic" which is explained to mean minimalistic and vague. In other words, AFE consider the office space they constructed as not very telling, a standard sample of sorts. It should be noted that this campaign was based on a research conducted by AFE on workplace sexual harassment in variant work locations including universities, political parties, unions, private sector companies, public institutions, and NGOs (AFE, 2018). However, the choice of workplace representation in this campaign was a corporate setting, perhaps specifically a private one. AFE explains this choice of representation:

> *"You have to show office. This is our typical view of work. You can take this in many different directions for instance migrant workers being harassed while they're cleaning. OK. That's much more prevalent. But how much do you think that once you showed this image that the regular average Lebanese is going to relate? They don't."* (AFE, Interview, 2019).

Further explanation on the above mentioned "average" Lebanese viewer was offered by the advertising agency:

> *"if you really want to appeal to people to a general audience then you go for middle class and if you're talking about a work context they're working in a company it means they're middle class."* (AFE advertising agency, Interview, 2019).

Therefore, the campaign authors perceive the "generic" work setting to which general Lebanese viewers will relate to as corporate middle class. The chosen workplace representation does not fit with the more inclusive findings of AFE's research where sexual harassment is investigated in variant public, private, corporate, and less structured workplaces. The report research revealed that among the private sector institutions, hotels, bars, and transportation services ranked highest for vulnerability of unsolicited contact, industries which don't necessarily evoke a corporate image (OSHA, n.d., as cited in AFE, 2018, p.12).AFE's offline approach to the campaign reflects a similar interest in corporate representation. A few days after the campaign launch, AFE publicly launched its aforementioned research report in a conference held at Le Gray Hotel, Beirut, as a high-level business lunch attended by human resource specialists and key professionals from the private sector (Euromedwomen, 2018).

The professional middle-class corporate approach to both the campaign representation and the appeal to stakeholders reflects the literature discussion on NGOization or the professionalization of women's movements and the shift into a field of middle-class corporations in lieu of active open participation (Jad, 2007; Rizk and Makarem, 2015). Jad (2007) points out that conferences are tools traditionally used by commercial companies and it is favored by NGOization over local tools which would address the targets of interest examined in this campaign's research report. This mode of

operation marks the projects taking place with an elitist vibe and renders them unable to reach the public as a whole, or particularly those in need for them.

3. فكروا فيا *Think about it/her (Think About It)*

First video: https://www.facebook.com/KAFALebanon/videos/10156073641864337/

Second video: https://www.facebook.com/KAFALebanon/videos/10156086769064337/

Third video: https://www.facebook.com/KAFALebanon/videos/10156109089234337/

The second campaign examined in this chapter is 'فكروا فيا Think about it/her'. This campaign is composed of three videos featuring the same couple Leila (L) and Walid (W) as they discuss how they will manage their migrant domestic worker's (MDW) affairs. W and L are portrayed as confused between behaving as social norms dictate and doing what they feel is not okay. They encounter the three situations of keeping the MDW's passport with them, not paying her salary at the end of every month and locking their house door as they leave their house while the MDW stays inside. Each video ends with a legal message connoting the illegality of the characters' acts. For example: "حجز باسبور العاملة المنزلية: مخالف للقانون It is illegal to withhold the domestic worker's passport". For a full and detailed description of this campaign check Appendix 1.

This is the last campaign in this research utilizing relatability to attract and engage a public. During their interview, KAFA explain that this campaign is targeted at the 'good employer'. Therefore, let us examine how the campaign characterizes this good employer to address as its public. KAFA describe the good employer, this campaign's public, as such:

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"Not the bad employer, the ones who are obviously mistreating the worker or inflicting flagrant blatant violence on the worker. Rather the good the employer who doesn't want to do any harm to the worker and is actually confused about how to act. So this is why we chose a young couple who are newlyweds… Because they are new employers so you have a higher chance of opening, or this is what we assumed, opening a channel of communication with these newlyweds new generation of employers who are not necessarily this rooted already in the system and might have some hesitation…Good sort of employer but doesn't know how to deal with this system of what we call the sponsorship system… They feel they are encouraged to commit these very common violations that are not related to any physical or sexual violence" (KAFA, Interview, 2019)

KAFA perceive the good employer characteristics in relation to age, experience with employment of MDW, treatment of MDW, and troubles with handling the affairs of the MDW in their employment. The third characteristic of not physically or sexually harming the MDW is obvious and essential in making a good employer or any kind of employer. Therefore, I examine the other characteristics to better understand how they characterize the public this campaign intends to reach.

c. <u>Assumptions of Age</u>

Although age doesn't seem to be a defining characteristic of good employers, KAFA chose to represent them as young based on assumptions concerning the other characteristics. For example, young employers are new at hiring a MDW, they are not yet rooted in the normative system of harmful behaviors, they might have questions or be confused about the situation, and finally there is a higher chance of opening a channel of communication with them leading to behavioral change as per the campaign message. These assumptions relay ageist beliefs which could affect the potential public reach of the campaign. For example, young employers are not yet rooted in the normative ways of

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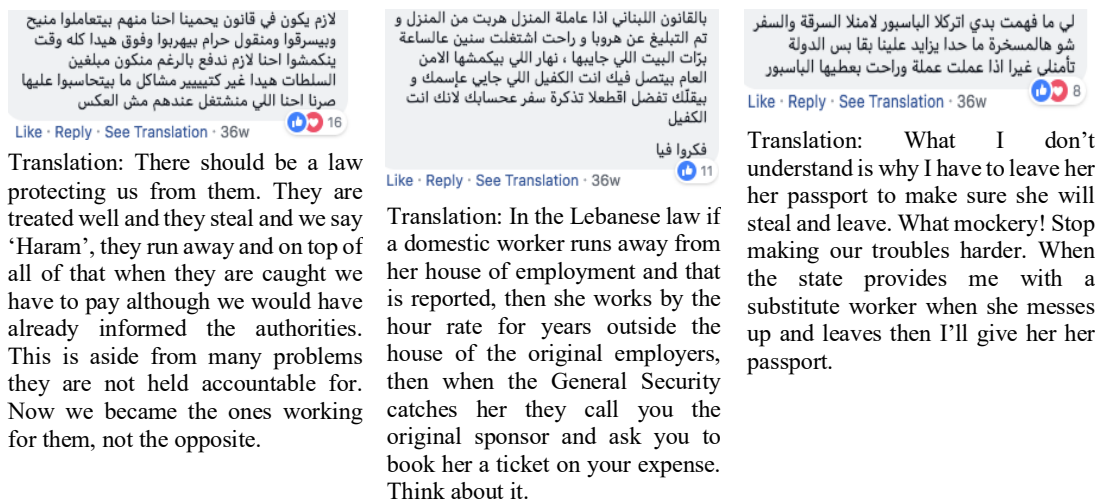
treating a MDW. Although they might not have hired a MDW themselves before, this is probably not a young couple's first experience with one. A study conducted with KAFA on employers of MDW in Lebanon reveals that, out of 1200 employers surveyed, the percentage of employers aged 41 and above is 65.7% compared to 34.3% for those 40 and below (ILO, 2016, p.5). The campaign characters Walid and Leila, referred to by the campaign authors as young and newlywed, belong to the second age category being new generation employers. However, they have most likely already experienced normative beliefs and attitudes towards MDW in their parents' houses, where the largest age category of employers lies, and they might have even practiced them themselves.

This ageist belief extends to the campaign message as its poetic world making relies on employers changing their behaviors. For example, KAFA believe that there is a higher chance of opening a channel of communication with young employers to engage them in behavioral change. One of the conspicuous negative stereotypes about older generations is related to mental decline, particularly their inability to change or learn new things (Palmore, 1999, p. 22-23; 1998, p.25). Comparatively, the ability or inability to change is not dependent on age. In the pursuit of relatability with a younger audience, KAFA chose to represent the good employer as a young employer as opposed to what research findings indicate and on the expense of reproducing ageist stereotypes, similarly to the Consent campaign. This representation might strike relatability with a younger age group, based on stereotypes as opposed to research, while also restricting the campaign public to it.

d. Assumptions of confusion

Another major characteristic of the campaign public is the feeling of confusion or hesitation when dealing with the sponsorship system, particularly when encouraged to commit socially acceptable violations. The campaign builds on this confusion as a relatable experience the campaign authors believe "good employers" uniformly go through. Therefore, visual elements of confusion can be seen throughout all three scenarios with constant sighing, hesitation, pausing while speaking, and fidgeting with pens.

In their interview, KAFA indicated that the sponsorship system is constituted f both a social and a legal aspect. Whereas in the campaign, Leila and Walid only attribute their confusion to the normalized social beliefs. Moreover, the campaign's comments section on Facebook (fig.3.1) features multiple comments by employers accrediting the lack of state provisions as the source of their challenges.

لازم يكون في قانون يحمينا احنا منهم بيتعاملوا منيح وبيسرقوا ومنقول حرام بيهربوا وفوق هيدا كله وقت ينكمشوا احنا لازم ندفع بالرغم منكون مبلغين السلطات هيدا غير كتبييير مشاكل ما بيتحاسبوا عليها صرنا احنا اللي منشتغل عندهم مش العكس

Like · Reply · See Translation · 36w   16

Translation: There should be a law protecting us from them. They are treated well and they steal and we say 'Haram', they run away and on top of all of that when they are caught we have to pay although we would have already informed the authorities. This is aside from many problems they are not held accountable for. Now we became the ones working for them, not the opposite.

بالقانون اللبناني اذا عاملة المنزل هربت من المنزل و تم التبليغ عن هروبا و راحت اشتغلت سنين عالساعة برّات البيت اللي جايبها ، نهار اللي بيكمشها الامن العام بيتصل فيك انت الكفيل اللي جايب عإسمك و بيقلّك تفضل اقطعلا تذكرة سفر عحسابك لانك انت الكفيل

فكروا فيا

Like · Reply · See Translation · 36w   11

Translation: In the Lebanese law if a domestic worker runs away from her house of employment and that is reported, then she works by the hour rate for years outside the house of the original employers, then when the General Security catches her they call you the original sponsor and ask you to book her a ticket on your expense. Think about it.

لي ما فهمت بدي اتركلا الباسبور لامنلا السرقة والسفر شو هالمسخرة ما حدا يزايد علينا يقا بس الدولة تأمنلي غيرا اذا عملت عملة وراحت بعطيها الباسبور

Like · Reply · See Translation · 36w   8

Translation: What I don't understand is why I have to leave her her passport to make sure she will steal and leave. What mockery! Stop making our troubles harder. When the state provides me with a substitute worker when she messes up and leaves then I'll give her her passport.

Figure. 3.1- Some of the comments on the Facebook video of Think About It (Retrieved from "KAFA" [@KAFALebanon] Facebook account in 2019)

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The level of employer prejudice against MDWs is apparent in the above pictures; however, so is the level of frustration with state regulations and lack thereof. Moreover, the study conducted with KAFA reveals that although neither the Kafala system nor the contract give the employer the right to retain an employee's passport, the contract does not clarify that the employer does not have the right to do so. These comments refer to one of many legal grey zones within the Kafala system. For example 90 % of employers in a survey were aware that the contract does not give them the right to withhold the MDW's passport or who are not sure about the laws report that they still engage in this practice (ILO, 2016, p.37). By constructing a relatable confusion then crediting it to the social aspect, employers much concerned with the legal aspect might not identify with the message. As a result, many employers might not partake in the campaign public and practice its message.

4. *Representation of socioeconomic class*

In this section, I examine the element of class which all the campaigns present in this chapter have more or less a similar attitude towards in terms of achieving relatability. All three campaigns feature a middle-class representation, which can be discerned from the scene settings, for example through the choice of house decorations in Consent, the office setup in Sexual Harassment in the Workplace, and the items in the Think About It house reflecting the characters' purchasing ability. Each of the campaigns describe their choice of socioeconomic class representation as follows:

> *"I always go for middle class, because everyone can identify with middle class, not everyone can identify with the lower class or the rich class… if you really want to*

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appeal to people to a general audience then you go for middle class" (AFE advertising agency, Interview, 2019)

"Yes (they're middle class)...Everyone hires (a MDW). Poor people hire. Middle class and rich people they all hire. So which class would you choose? If I choose the poor man then I'm showing that the poor man is doing the violations, if I show the rich man then we think only the rich are hiring... So you choose the least damaging one as much as you can. Again with general and the issues that come with it ...we tried not to solidify any stereotype about the couple" (KAFA, Interview, 2019).

" Yes and no, honestly we went a lot towards a regular couple, it would have been uglier/worse if we did a different couple in every video" (KAFA advertising agency, Interview, 2019)

From the above quotes a consensus can be discerned on middle class representation which is rationalized as 'regular', the class other classes relate to, and a solution to avoid stereotypes. This hegemonic middle-class media representation in NGO campaigns parallels a tradition of abundance of middle-class life representation and an under-representation of lower class experiences in mass media (Butsch, 2003; Hesmondhalgh, 2017; McAllister and Galarza, 2019; Thompson and Hickey, 2005). Historically and due to the influence of the market economy, media products have been produced with commercial and profit-making considerations in mind. This has resulted in producing media content aimed at middle and upper classes due to their purchasing abilities (Benshoff and Griffin, 2009, p.617, 618). The same logic follows for creating media representations of lower-class lives with a focus on sensationalization and reductionist stereotypes in the purpose of maximizing viewership and profits (Hesmondhalgh, 2017, p.7,8,9). Therefore in terms of mass media class representations, middle class has become pervasive and assumed as what is "normal" or 'regular' similarly to how KAFA's

advertising agency referred to its actors (McAllister and Galarza, 2019; Foster, 2005). In terms of NGO communication, there is scarce research on representations and the middle class, a topic worthy of its own research. However, considering that these communications are produced by the same advertising agencies contributing to and operating within the market economy, I suggest that this logic has permeated into the realm of NGO communications. This is particularly applicable to Lebanon, a country where advertising is one of its biggest industries. What I suggest might lend an explanation to KAFA and AFE's advertising agency's concern with reaching the general audience through the middle class, and KAFA's aversion from portraying a lower class to avoid stereotyping.

In terms of relatability, although the campaign authors chose middle class as the representation other classes would relate to, this is not necessarily the case. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, Warner (2002, p.51) explains a public as self-organizing based on activity and interest separately from categorical classifications like class[2]. However, social differences such as class affect how viewers of these campaigns will relate to and integrate them in their lives, as I mentioned in the literature (Thompson, 1995, p.112). Therefore, class plays a role in how a communication characterizes its public, and in turn how the campaign viewers partake in this public and participate in its poetic world making.

Furthermore, the over-representation of middle-class characters have created what Andrea Press calls "hegemony of middle-class realism" (1989, p.249). Whereby, working

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[2] It should be noted that socioeconomic class might affect the activities and interests based on which a public would self-organize. I refer here to Bourdieu's theory of Habitus in Distinction (1984).

class women embrace depictions of middle-class life as normative and set them as a lifestyle goal, in turn blinding them to the realities of their own classed situation in society, (Press, 1991). This indicates that lower class women might face difficulties when attempting to implement the messages put forth by NGOs into their own lives, which is a downfall often present with NGOization and its elite approach as I discussed in the literature (Salameh, 2014; Jad, 2004, 2007). Moreover, the over-representation of middle class life is reflective of the middle class identity of employees in both the advertising agencies and the NGOs (Hesmondhalgh, 2017). This could be true considering the reliance on middle class as the "normal" choice since the complexities and diversities of lower-class lives evade these employees. In turn, this also indicates the class identity of individuals working on the campaign programs in NGOs, reflecting an absence of lower-class individuals from decision making processes. This is similar to the literature discussion (Salameh, 2014; Jad, 2004, 2007). First, the experiences of lower-class individuals, especially women, might not be understood or addressed with their complexities and bigger structural contexts as different women live under different circumstances and socioeconomic restraints. Second, women from lower socioeconomic classes might find difficulty adopting these NGO campaigns into their lives. This is particularly considering that women's organizations often opt for donor funded activities reliant on international concepts and tools as opposed to being directly developed with women in need. In general and as a result, socioeconomic class will affect how different individuals especially women from different socioeconomic classes might or might not partake in these campaigns' publics.

B. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined how three NGO campaigns employ different elements to establish relatability with their viewers. A communication characterizes within itself the public it wishes to be picked up by; therefore, these campaigns have characterized their videos with elements to which their target public would relate.

In Consent, the campaign authors attempt to change cultural norms around sexual consent by correlating it with hospitality. They created an analogy by setting up a relatable social interaction governed by the norms of hospitality such as same gender coupling and age for power imbalance. However considering the core differences between these two concepts, the campaign overlooked the gender order of GBV and reproduced ageist stereotypes. As a result, both a public and counterpublic emerged.

The campaign Think About It also constructs relatability by addressing the "good employer". I have examined how this character is stereotypically perceived more or less by young age and a concern with the social aspects of the sponsorship system. These assumptions are based on stereotypes as opposed to research as most employers fall within an older age range and might be more interested in the legal aspect of the system. As a result, the public actually characterized by KAFA's campaign might be more restricted than the one they might have intended to reach for the desired impact.

Finally, the campaign Sexual Harassment in the Workplace constructs relatability by choosing a male role model character who offers practical solutions to particularly to the male viewer . Considering that the campaign message relates to the workplace, the campaign authors also attempt to relate to viewers by representing a middle-class corporate

office setting. In turn, this might result in viewers, who work in non-corporate or non middle-class work settings, to find difficulty engaging with this campaign's message and adopting it into their work.

While these three campaigns reflect the publics their authors desired to reach, they also reflect how the authors perceive their publics. This includes an inclination towards a younger more middle-class public. This was particularly true in the hegemonic middle-class representation present in all three campaigns. Warner (2002) informs us that publics are not organized by state set characteristics like class and age but by interests. Therefore to reach the potential members of a public, communications should be conscious of social differences that affect how different individuals relate to and adopt their messages.

CHAPTER IV

THE PUBLIC ADDRESS THROUGH DRAMATIC APPEAL

A. Dramatic appeal

In this chapter, I examine the second approach to public address, dramatic appeal. Whereas relatability emphasizes characteristics which reflect those of the viewer, dramatic appeal doesn't need to reflect what is and can instead introduces new imagined realities and engage viewers in them through dramatic and sensationalized representations to. One might say dramatic appeal is able to introduce more disruptive and non-normative representations. This could be through characters behaving in dramatic ways, controversial scene settings, or an overall emphasis on pain and suffering. In this research I explore the dramatic appeal as melodrama due to its emphasize on sensationalism designed to appeal to emotions, and as controversy designed to engage viewers with its message. As a result, the dramatic appeal creates solidarity among large numbers of individuals around a campaign's message. This aspect of solidarity with many reflects back on the public attribute of "stranger sociability" and reminds us of the value of strangerhood in social action.

As stated in the literature review, researchers have investigated the advantages of sensationalization in evoking an identification within the spectator with the suffering subject (Singer, 2001: Wells, 2013; Williams, 2001). Comparatively, other researchers have criticized NGO campaigns' use of melodrama for simplifying the broader structural contexts of the issues they discuss (Anker, 2005; Chouliaraki, 2010; Kakoudaki, 2002;

Siomopoulos, 2006), and reducing the subjects of representation to their sensationalized symbolic value far from agential articulations (Dogra, 2011; Dyer, 1993; Kelleher, 1997; Redhead, 2007). I examine the dramatic appeal utilized in two campaigns both by Abaad, 'Life For Life' and 'Shame On Who' and assess its sociological significance. After having examined both approaches to the public address, I re-examine whom these campaigns are addressing, including donors and international NGOs.

1. *Life For Life*

https://www.facebook.com/Abaadmena/videos/1701312106593494/

Life For Life is a campaign on incestuous rape portraying the very different experiences of the woman W.L and her father M.L. The campaign video alternates between footage of M.L in a prison cell and W.L in a house. The father is seen preparing himself to leave for example by erasing chalk markings he has made to track his days inside, wearing new clothes, and confidently waiting to be released from prison. In comparison, W.L is seen afraid and suffering, she wakes up from her sleep in fear, she showers in her clothes, and is seen backing away from and closing doors. As M.L is expected to go back to the outside world, a hand approaches his cell door and opens the lock. At that moment, W.L speaks directly to the camera and shares the campaign's message: " منطالب لما المغتصب يكون من عيلتها للضحية ب#المؤبد_إلو_الحياة_إلها When the rapist is part of the victim's family, we demand #LifeForLife", prompting the hand to close the cell door. A full and detailed description of the campaign is available in Appendix 2.

This campaign features many elements which reflect its dramatic appeal to its public. These include the female characters' pain and the socioeconomic class mirrored in the video setting.

a. W.L's representation

i. W.L's pain

The first element utilized in this campaign to deliver a dramatic appeal is W.L's pain. This includes both her general disposition and how that is portrayed to the viewer. Abaad describe W.L's representation in the video as such:

> "*It shows how her situation is and what she does in the video is exactly we took these from actual survivors they wear long sleeves hiding their bodies, they shower a lot they scratch themselves, there's a lot of symptoms that we gathered through the research…Of course this does not apply to all cases, however, the cases that were there…(the representation is) not harsh (it's) real… This is reality, it's an accurate representation of reality, even we tend to reduce the intensity of it because if we leave it as is its super harsh it hurts"* (Abaad, Interview, 2019).

Abaad describe W.L's representation as an accurate reflection of reality, as it's based on behaviors of actual survivors of incestuous rape. Comparatively, I examine how W.L's pain and its portrayal are dramatized which in turn complicates the claim to realness and constructs a dramatic appeal to the campaign address.

The most prominent, and perhaps only, characteristics portrayed of W.L's character are the immense anxiety, suffering, and horror she experiences throughout the video. Considering the lack of verbal address throughout the video, her disposition is one of many non-verbal elements used in melodrama to communicate internal struggles (Gledhill, 1987, p.23; Singer, 2001: Well, 2013). Her gestures, accompanied by her relationship with

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the camera, communicate directly with the viewer. For example, while sitting under the shower rubbing her mouth and face, W.L looks straight into the camera with empty and blackened eyes as if she had been crying for a long time. W.L's facial expressions, or the lack thereof, communicated directly to the camera reflect the deep level of numbness her pain has driven her to. Abaad describe the purpose behind this representation:

> " *You want to deliver a message that she's going to die, literally she might kill herself that's how easy it is… it is very important for us that people and society actually see this even though it's harsh"* (Abaad, Interview, 2019).

In the above quote, Abaad take back their offset of 'harsh' and 'real' and instead report that a harsh portrayal of W.L's pain was necessary to help the viewer understand her situation. Therefore, W.L's portrayal is not so much real and representative of rape victims as it is a politically constructed notion of pain to engage viewers. W.L's body becomes a cite of struggle. In melodrama, visible affliction of the body operates as a material sign to reify the disabled as suffering and thus deserving of the viewers compassion (Klages, 1999: 17, in Moeschen, 2007: 434). This dramatic style of representation operates in this campaign to evoke the viewer's emotional identification with the character and campaign message. As a mode of storytelling, melodrama invites the viewer to viscerally identify with others' experiences, particularly their suffering and the undeniable unfairness of their situation (Wells, 2013,Williams, 2001).

ii. The portrayal of her pain

In fact, there is a clear and painful lingering on W.L's suffering accompanied by distant cries and eerie music increasing in volume and intensity as the video progresses. For

example, numerous frames are devoted to depicting her inflicting pain on herself or dealing with the pain that was inflicted on her. The succession of these multiple scenes appears as if enumerating the incidents of suffering to relay a long painful process to the viewer. This haunting approach to portraying W.L's pain is reflective of moral legibility as an essential element of melodrama (Brooks, 1995; Buckley, 2009; Gledhill, 1987; Kakoudaki, 2002; Well, 2013; Williams, 2001) and informs us on how the viewer can identify with the suffering subject. Gledhill (2000, p.317) explains moral legibility within melodrama asks "how to live, who is justified, who are the innocent, where is villainy at work now?". This moral legibility designates an unambiguously innocent character, a villain, and an invitation for the viewer to rectify the immoral hurt which has fallen upon the suffering innocent. In turn, Well (2013, p.286) explains that this powerful element ensures that the viewer would recognize the response expected of them to the representation.

This brings us to a discussion on the villain within the realm of dramatic representations. In this campaign where W.L is the suffering victim, the obvious villain seems to be her father M.L; however, in melodrama good and evil are twinned not polarized. Therefore, the villain emerges as the viewer who does not respond to the campaign's call to action aimed at helping W.L (Wells, 2013). The campaign is addressed to the viewer, they are the party which can take action in regard to the heinous crime that has been committed, they are faced with a moral decision: help the weak woman in need or turn your back and choose to be heartless. The campaign enables the viewer's identification with this decision in the video by showing a hand which opens and closes M.L's cell door. The hand is symbolic of the choice any viewer who picks up this campaign must do, as the

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moral legibility of the dramatic representation demands. The response the campaign

expects the viewer to perform is ushered by the suffering subject as she voices a demand to

extend M.L's prison sentence. Other elements of the campaign similarly pose this moral

choice when addressing the viewer. This includes the campaign call to action: "Abaad-

lifeforlife.com طالبوا مع أبعاد بـ #المؤبد_إلو_الحياة_إلها على Demand with Abaad #LifeForLife on

Abaad-lifeforlife.com", and even the campaign name itself "Life For Life" comparing

W.L's life with M.L's. In a description of melodrama, Wells (2013, p.284) says:

> *"It is important that this sense of identification is not abstract or intellectual but visceral. It is the visceral sensation, the heightened emotion and its erasure of calculation that contribute to the easy moral legibility that is the hallmark of the melodramatic narrative…We <u>feel</u> the injustice."*

W.L's pain is presented on screen with a dramatic emphasis on agony and

suffering, while the campaign authors address the viewer to engage their sympathy and

demand they resolve the situation as an imperative part of their moral standing. In this

campaign the dramatic appeal emerges through both message and message delivery. In

turn, this potentially builds solidarity across strangers and furthers the campaign's

discourse and world making.

b. The socioeconomic class mirrored

W.L's character representation in this campaign was restricted to the inside of the

house she seemed to live in, including a bathroom and a bedroom. Particularly, the

bedroom, assumed to be W.L's, is telling of this character's socioeconomic class based on

the artistic choices made to decorate and design it. This is one element utilized in this

campaign to create a dramatic appeal. When discussing the element of class in relation to

incestuous rape, Abaad report:

> *" This (incestuous rape being restricted to lower classes) is also a misconception, people think that this is for a specific group of people but that's not true, because incestuous rape is happening with rich people and poor people and middle incomes, it's all over the country"* (Abaad, Interview, 2019)

I examine the representation of class present in this campaign[3], particularly in

W.L's bedroom and in an offline stunt set up by Abaad on the Beirut Cornish. First, W.L's

bedroom, as observed in the video, can be described as having a traditional simple

Lebanese décor with red wooden louver windows. The room appears fairly basic with little

possessions reflecting a modest or lower socioeconomic status. The walls of the room are

most telling of socioeconomic class, whereby the empty walls are decorated by paint

chipping off here and there and some unframed pictures hanging onto the wall with the help

of children's stickers. Compared to a setting like Walid and Leila's modernly decorated

room in Think About It, this bedroom reflects a lower socioeconomic status.

Second, a week after the release of the campaign video another related event took

place on the Beirut Cornish. Abaad held what they referred to as a stunt for a full day where

three separate cardboard rooms were set up on Beirut's Cornish. Passersby were invited to

go inside one of the houses and listen to the stories of different women who were subjected

to incestuous sexual abuse and/or rape. The three houses can be seen in the picture below

(fig. 4.1).

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[3] This will be done while keeping in mind that "Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.6), and while acknowledging this research author's own journey of social mobility in the northern city of Tripoli from lower middle class to upper middle class with the help of siblings living in the diaspora.

Figure. 4.1- 3 Homes, 3 Secrets (Photo retrieved from Abaad, https://www.abaadmena.org/media/media-5a2a7cfd128507-94951542 in 2019)

In a TV interview, Abaad's director explained that the three houses demonstrate that incestuous rape can happen in any house regardless of socioeconomic conditions like class and location (LBCI, 2017). Similar information was reported during this research's interview:

> *"What we tried to do in the houses is to show the different social classes of people, there was a modern Lebanese sophisticated house, the normal house, the poor house and all of them have the same stories"* (Abaad, Interview, 2019).

However, it is not easy to discern different classes from the above picture as all three houses look alike and all three have a rural feel to them. Two out of the three houses have brick walls, which is rarely seen in the city, while the third house features a traditional Lebanese triple arch, characteristic of old architecture.

The specific class representation in this campaign mirrors that attached to stereotypes on rape which Abaad denounced in their interview; however, it is the only class represented in this campaign. Through this class portrayal, hegemonic stereotypes

regarding gender, sexual crimes, and class are reproduced. First, sexual crimes become class specific and women from middle or higher socioeconomic classes are thought to be not susceptible to it. In addition to complicating processes related to reporting and victim blaming, this misconception reduces the elemental effect of gender in GBV. Second, these stereotypes normalize existing class specific stereotypes related to ignorance and immorality. Negative stereotypical representations of class can be employed for their symbolic value to construct political notions of difference and womanhood (Dogra, 2011, p.336). They are also instrumental in eliciting notions of 'deservedness' (Dogra, 2011), whereby the lower classes are represented as worthy of the viewer's sympathy and compassion. Therefore, the dramatic appeal of a lower class representation crystalizes.

Although this tactic forms grounds for solidarity and "stranger sociability" for collective social action, it is based on a stereotype which downplays the role of gender in GBV and solidifies rape as a crime of the ignorant poor other.

2. *Shame On Who*

https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=706309793085423

Shame On Who, also by Abaad, is similarly characterized by a dramatic appeal. In this campaign, a social experiment portrays the experience of Manal, a woman who had been subjected to rape, as she asks for help in the street. Cameras hide to record the reaction of passersby shaming and victim blaming Manal. This campaign's message is:"
حاكِم المُغتصِب.ما تِحكُم عالضحية Judge the rapist. Not the victim". For a full and detailed description of this campaign check Appendix 2.

In this campaign, I examine how two levels of shame were constructed to produce a dramatic appeal. The first shaming is exercised on the streets by the experiment participants as a victim blaming of Manal. I examine how the design of the social experiment played an important role in evoking this reaction of blame, the main attraction of this campaign. The second level of shame is produced in the video by the campaign authors at the passersby. I examine how the campaign authors utilized campaign elements to shame the shamers and engage viewers in this behavior.

a. Shame in the streets

This campaign makes its claim and message based on the results of the social experiment the campaign authors conducted. In other words, the campaign relies on the shaming of Manal to take place during the social experiment. A social experiment is a research method used to subject individuals to an intervention or event to test their reactions. However, in this campaign, social experimentation is used as a dramatic campaigning tactic to create anecdotal controversial content rather than scientific research findings. This use can be discerned from the experiment design and the controversy its lack of validity generated.

i. Social experiment design

This experiment can be described as a one-shot case study (Campbell et al, 1963, p. 6) where a single group is observed on a single occasion after experiencing an event. As a result, this experiment relies on comparison with general knowledge instead of scientific

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evidence (Campbell, 1963). This knowledge is based on stereotypical beliefs and anecdotal evidence that are typically thought of as provoking of victim blaming behavior, including location, time of day, Manal's dress, and choice of public setting. Comparatively, AFE describe the experiment conditions as such:

> " We actually had this woman on the streets in different areas in Lebanon… People usually say 'she went out at whatever late time' but this is not true the girl was shot in the video at 6 pm but it was winter so the night falls quickly…This is a social experiment so at the end of the day we had to keep her there (standing in the middle of a crowd of men by the end of the video)…She has to behave in a way to stay as long as she can so we take the content that we want" (Abaad, Interview, 2019).

The video reflects settings different from those in the quote. Most importantly, in relation to Manal's dress which is one of the first excuses used in victim blaming, AFE comment as such "The dress she was wearing that was on purpose so that people are gonna give him a reason for raping her" (Abaad, Interview, 2019). The campaign authors understood the stereotypical nature of these elements and utilized them to aid the victim blaming in taking place and in turn engaging their public. Moreover, the video shows the same crowded residential street with electricity wires hanging between the building, reflecting a neighborhood with middle to lower socioeconomic demographic. This choice of location plays on the stereotype that poor people are ignorant, so they are more likely to judge and blame Manal. The chosen time of day for the shoot is also controversial, whereby the dominant belief is that women are more likely to be raped if they are out during nighttime, which is when the video takes place. The social experiment elements tap into known rape stereotypes and reproduce a setting typically inducing of victim blaming.

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ii. The controversy generated

Many viewers pointed out this reproduction of rape stereotypes and that contributed to having 5.5 thousand Facebook comments, the highest number of Facebook comments among six campaigns. Many of these comments were interactions between individuals criticizing the experiment's design and those defending the validity of the results regardless of these conditions. As a result, both a public and a counterpublic emerged and actively engaged with the campaign and its message. Considering that the campaign strategy is to create controversy then, in contrast with Consent, the counterpublic here does not constitute a public on its own as much as it is created within the greater discursive address of this campaign. In other words, both the critics and the supporters are part of this campaign's public address since a dramatic appeal inherently aims to reach increasing numbers of viewers, as opposed to representing real experiences.

b. Shame in the video

The dramatic appeal through controversy also extends to how the campaign authors relayed the experiment results to the viewers. As I discussed earlier, the villain in dramatic communications is not the harasser but the viewer who refuses to help, and victim blaming falls within that latter category. The experiment participants failed the moral decision the campaign asked them to make. Therefore, the campaign authors utilized this controversial decision to rally the campaign viewers against these villains and against the culture of victim blaming in general. To examine this, I will look into the hype created within the campaign and the camera's gaze in the video.

i. Hyping the exposé

As part of the campaign's launch and shortly prior to the video's online release on Facebook, Abaad commissioned multimedia tactics to create a buzz before the actual launch. These tactics represent the viewers' first

Figure 4.2- The first mass SMS sent for Shame On Who (Photo by Saly El Wazze)

interaction with the campaign and can potentially hype them for the video once it is launched. Along with printing flyers with only the words " مين الفلتان Shame On Who" and placing them on cars across multiple areas in Beirut, a mass SMS (fig. 4.2) was broadcasted as a teaser across Lebanon. The sender of the message was set as " فلتانه " meaning Loose and the message only contained a short question with a surprised annotation: " مين الفلتان؟!" translating into who is loose?! Considering the lack of context, the message was meant to create a buzz, even if through negative engagement as Abaad report:

> *"Suddenly phones rang and everyone was talking in restaurants saying 'min el feltein ya 3aybeshoum min hayda yalli be3et hek, wallaw ya bala akhla2' (Who is loose, how shameful, who would send such a text message, must be someone rude) we started seeing screenshots on Instagram and Facebook, people talking 'did other people also receive this? What's the deal?'"* (Abaad, Interview, 2019)

Through this tactic, the dramatic appeal of the campaign emerges even before its release. The receiver can only engage with the message by sharing it with others as did some news channels on TV such as AlJadeed (2019), thus creating more buzz and adding to the campaign's dramatic appeal.

It should be noted that the choice of gender-based issue to campaign for along with the style of campaigning plays a very important role in attracting views. Both of Abaad's

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campaigns in this research, arguably the ones with the highest number of views on their page, discuss the more or less same morally unambiguous topic of rape. The topic is not only clear cut right and wrong it is also very sensitive and taboo to discuss in Lebanese society. Therefore, once the campaign was released, the choice of video style as social experiment conjured a scientific illusion to the results and created a shock factor as it publicly exposed controversial attitudes within this taboo topic. The anticipation then exposé of controversial behaviors contributed to making a dramatic campaign.

ii.   The camera's gaze

A video's editing style refers to how the campaign authors construct their message. In this campaign, the message is constructed with a dramatic appeal in the purposes of reflecting the authors' disapproval of the participants' reactions and portraying to the viewer that this behavior is faulty. An essential tool used to achieve these purposes, and in general contributing to the dramatic appeal, is the camera's gaze. Jonathan E. Schroeder (1998, p.208) explains the gaze as something that: "implies more than to look at – it signifies a psychological relationship of power, in which the gazer is superior to the object of the gaze". The gazer, in this case the campaign authors and their camera, hold a power over the object of the gaze, the participants in the social experiment. The participants are not aware they are being watched nor that they are being recorded for their footage to be used. This power imbalance is reproduced in the camera's angles as it looks onto the

participants to expose their behaviors. For example, the camera does not portray Manal's experience from her first person perspective, instead, the camera is often looking down at participants from afar. The camera follows Manal from the high vantage point of a nearby building and looks down at the street from behind cluttered electricity wires (fig. 4.3). This gaze reflects that of a peeping Tom with the object of the voyeur being the experiment

participants. In fact, most of the frames in this video are often shrouded with secrecy, cluttered with wires, cars, bushes, or walls. The camera hides so the gazer does not catch its gaze as it records the behavior of the unknowing subjects. This ability to record some for the

Figure 4.3- From behind the wires (Photo retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=706309793085423 in 2019)

service of viewers to see and judge reflects the power of the gazer to dramatically expose those gazed upon. Then, as the gaze "entices, inspects, fascinates" (Salecl and Žižek, 1996, back cover) so is the viewer enticed to react after the participants' faulty behavior has been exposed to them. Considering that this campaign was boosted on Facebook by one of the biggest NGOs in Lebanon, the shaming becomes a matter of public concern, further escalating the dramatic appeal and engaging increasing numbers of strangers.

From another perspective, some ethical concerns can be raised as a consequence of publicly exposing the negative behavior of participants from an underprivileged neighborhood. This is particularly true considering this campaign is a social experiment

that required a manipulation of participants and the use of their footage without their consent, regardless of the blurring of their faces. Moreover, considering the selective construction of the social experiment setting, the video can also be manipulated in a way to include and exclude specific footage and comments. As a result, the negative behavior of individuals, mostly men, from an underprivileged neighborhood is exposed and shamed, in turn contributing to existing negative stereotypes on the lower classes being ignorant and immoral. In this campaign, the dramatic construction of controversy racked up by far the highest number of views, 2.4 million, among all the campaigns in this research.

B. Addressing whom?

After examining both approaches to public address, I revisit the research question for these two chapters: what publics are these campaigns addressing to pursue their call for gender equality?

First, analysis on relatability revealed that communications utilizing this approach reproduce middle class experiences reflecting the middle classness of NGO employees. Second, analysis on dramatic appeal revealed that those communications are constructed to elicit an emotional identification from the viewer with the victim. In comparison with the first approach, here the viewer is not meant to see themselves in the victim's position, they are only meant to relate to her position. Therefore, dramatized representations don't address women who had been exposed to GBV, perhaps not even women in general, since that might be traumatizing.

Then who are NGO campaigns addressing? Their messages certainly call for social change but their calls to action don't necessarily advance social action or collective movement. In light of this, these campaigns seem to also address other NGOs, particularly donors and international NGOs. This public is characterized by being middle class, English speaking, and concerned with reach and engagement among other campaign goals. All of these are characteristics present in both approaches to public address, which in turn make the campaign accessible and legible to donors. For example, all the campaigns have English subtitles, they all either reflect middle class or differentiate it from lower class by representing the latter in a sensationalized stereotypical manner. Moreover, while relatable campaigns focus on qualitatively reaching middle class viewers, dramatized campaigns focus on quantitative reach. For example, Abaad report that Shame On Who achieved a hefty online reach estimate of 72 million (Interview, 2019). Addressing this public, who contributes to a large extent to the continuity and growth of Lebanese NGOs, encourages an examination of how this address might affect understandings of gender and more generally approaches to social action. This argument will be further developed in the coming chapters.

C. Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how two campaigns, Life For Life and Shame On Who, utilized the dramatic to appeal to viewers and invite them to partake in their public. In Life For Life, I examined how the campaign authors engaged viewers through a visceral

identification with the female character's pain and a stereotypical representation of class to construct an unambiguous moral decision to save or neglect her. In Shame On Who, I examined how the campaign authors constructed shame in a dramatized and controversial manner to engage viewers opposing and supportive of the campaign. This was done through the construction of a social experiment based on anecdotal attitudes and stereotypes thought of as typically resulting in the shaming of a rape victim and the construction of a video exposing this result as a sort of scandal.

In both understandings of the dramatic appeal, the campaign authors attempt to reach as many viewers as possible through emotional identification with and moral legibility of the campaign message. This form of identification can bring together different and multiple individuals; therefore, focusing on the "stranger sociability" attribute of the public important in social action. However, considering the emphasis of both dramatic and relatable representations on reach while reproducing classed experiences and/or stereotypes, these representations also reflect an address towards donors, the main and perhaps only financial stakeholders in NGOs' political economy.

CHAPTER V

GENDER REPRESENTATIONS AND MEANINGS

In terms of representations of gender in the general media, not until long ago Arab women had been portrayed stereotypically as weak, docile and subservient (Allam, 2008). This is true while also acknowledging that women's own participation in the media has significantly increased (Elsadda, 2010, Kraidy, 2016, Lynch, 2006, Mourad, 2014, Odine, 2013) and has led to the creation of "alternative discursive spaces" (Skalli, 2006, p.36). As one of the most prominent tools in the public sphere, the media plays an important role in constructing rhetoric of and in relation to gender in both the public and private spheres. As a result, representations of gender can be constructed in certain ways and, on one hand, reproduce existing hegemonic and normative discourses aiding in the process of their internalization and naturalization. On the other hand, they can constitute strategies of disruption (S. K. Foss, 1989) which challenge hegemonic gender beliefs and create new possibilities for thinking, acting, and being in the pursuit of scenarios of liberation. In this chapter, I examine the understandings and representations of gender in NGO campaigns and how they make use of variant degrees of normativity and disruption. Then I examine how these variant understandings and representations reflect on the role of NGOs as claim makers.

A. Closer to the norm

This approach to representing gender relies more on replicating dominant ideologies and traditional understandings of gender than on imagining new ways of being. In this study, the campaign Life For Life by Abaad falls within this category.

1. *Life For Life*

Although a dramatic appeal was utilized in this campaign to attract a mass public and support a demand for social justice, I examine how the focus on pain and suffering produces W.L's representation as a stereotype. Then I examine the implications of this representation in relation to understandings of victimhood.

a. A stereotype

In this campaign, the main elements characterizing the lead female character are pain and suffering. Packaging this pain within a low socioeconomic class in the campaign creates stereotypical and hegemonic representations of difference and femininity as weak and non-agential (referring to individual agency). This is similar to sensationalized representations common in the NGO world as discussed in the literature (Dogra, 2011; Dyer, 1993; Kelleher; 1997; Melhuus and Stølen; 1996). I argue that the stereotype produced by this campaign is a typification of victimhood which I identify as ' M3attara معترة'[4], carrying a composite meaning of both poor and weak. I make this argument while

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[4] The word ' M'attara معترة' is an adjective of the noun and verb 'تعتير Te'tir' meaning of low value and comes from the Arabic root 'عير 'Eir' meaning to assess the value of something (Maajam, 2020).

also acknowledging the complex location that typifications occupy in the negotiation between collective and individual agency.

W.L's representation in the campaign can be identified as a stereotype as it matches the factors contributing to a stereotype's strength. Identified by Perkins (1997, p.78) as "simplicity; immediate recognizability (which makes its communicative role very important), and implicit reference to an assumed consensus about some attribute or complex social relationships". All three of these factors can be observed from the first scene where W.L, her disposition to pain, and her classed surrounding are introduced to the viewer. The scene setup is simple and easily recognizable, while also referring to a supposed consensus about poor and weak women.

To place this negative stereotype attached to gender in the cultural context of Lebanon, I note that in parallel to many advancements made in the name of gender equality, hegemonic gender beliefs persist in the public sphere. Here I reflect back on the performative nature of gender by Butler (1988) to argue that the repeated performance of gender in its normative form in this campaign solidifies hegemonic norms combining both gender and class. On one hand, dramatized representations of violated women make visible the hidden injustices they experience due to structural constraints (gender and class), and are able to garner collective agency based on this victimhood.

On the other hand, a stereotypical understanding of gender, first, runs the risk of solidifying hegemonic gender norms. Interestingly, these are the same norms which Abaad claim, in their Gender equality programme, need to be addressed and resolved since they "limit the autonomy of women and girls and increase their vulnerability to violence"

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(Abaad, 2011). Second, it reduces W.L's experience to a typification non encompassing of the 'messiness' of the lived realities and individual agency of women subjected to sexual violence (Donileen R Loseke, 2001). The understanding of victimhood as such has been the center of much research particularly in comparison with that of survivor (Dahl, 2009; Kelly et al, 1996; Spalek, 2006; Holstein and Miller, 1990; Andrews, 1992; Furedi, 1997; Faith 1993; Barry, 1979; Dobash & Dobash, 1997). Two problems often arise when discussing such a victimhood are its association with passivity, and its contrast with agency often associated with survivor. In this research, I agree for Sandra Walklate's (2006) understanding of victimization as a process in place of a state or character. She considers that at different points in time for different events the same individual can be "an active victim, a passive victim, an active survivor, a passive survivor, and all the experiential possibilities in between" (2006, p.27). Considering that Abaad is one of the biggest NGOs in Lebanon working on GBV with multimedia marketing budgets, their contribution to the understanding of GBV and gender equality is considerable.

b. Implications of this representation

Simplifying W.L's representation without interjections portraying other aspects of her lived reality reduces her experience into that of a suffering victim. Her representation falls along with what Abaad report: "You want to deliver a message that she's going to die, literally she might kill herself that's how easy it is" (Interview, 2019).

Nils Christie's conception of ideal victim might offer some insight on the implications of such an understanding of victimhood. Christie (1989) explains that an

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"ideal victim", perceived as one who had no role in or by no means can be implicated in what has happened to them, will therefore receive assistance based on this status. In comparison, individuals whom in any way can be attributed responsibility for their misfortune, including ways through which individual agency was practiced, are not considered worthy of help. Christie explains that as a result of the harsh criteria of what constitutes a victim, many real victims are judged and unable to receive support.

NGOs utilize this typification of "ideal victim: similar to W.L's to make their claim and garner support for their campaign. However, this representation is problematic as it creates a "typification of idealized victims" setting a normative expectation that many actual or real victims cannot meet (Lamb, 1996, p.43). In turn, this complicates how and if individuals who have been victimized by structural constraints or systems of oppression such as poverty or patriarchy can claim this victimhood while also being agential actors. As a result, it complicates more realistic representations of victimhood featuring an interplay between victimhood, individual, and collective agency.

B. Negotiating normativity and defiance

These communications utilize both normative and disruptive understandings of gender. This kind of representation acknowledges hegemonic attitudes such as those imposed by normative societal pressures while also introducing new defiant ones. The campaigns Think About It by KAFA and Consent by AFE feature this representational approach. The use of normative understandings of gender fall within the bigger approach to relatable public address utilized in these campaigns.

1. *Think About It*

       The main normative understanding of gender in this campaign is the erasure of the MDW from the screen. The MDW, Mseret, is at the center of this campaign's concern and one of its main beneficiaries as the pronoun in 'Think about her' relates to the MDW. However, Mseret is never shown on screen and the viewer only learns her name in the third video of this campaign when W and L's daughter asks why her parents locked the door while "بعدا مزيريت جوّا" Mseret is still inside". On the choice for this MDW representation, KAFA report:

> *"There was no active decision to exclude the domestic worker…We have domestic workers featured in other campaigns...So if you if you're asking about the representation of domestic workers, we have other campaigns where domestic workers are featured in them"* (KAFA, Interview, 2019).

KAFA also report they did not want to put the particular face of a MDW on display in this national campaign to protect these women (KAFA, Interview, 2019). Mseret's erasure from the screen reflects the normative view on her absence from the decision making process when it comes to her own affairs. As a result of this erasure, her character develops through Leila and Walid's control over her situation. For example, in their exchanges they say "we decided, we're kidnapping, we pay, we'll get". When the MDW is referred to, it is within a gendered normative view of her employment. For example, when discussing withholding her passport Leila says "كرمال ما تهرب" it's the way it should be so that she doesn't run away". This erasure from decision making lies at the heart of the constraints and injustices associated with the sponsorship system. It reflects a dominant discourse and understanding

of gender and GBV within social imagination as passive. That can be seen in the way the campaign's advertising agency describes Mseret's character:

> *"We (the viewer) know what we (campaign authors) are talking about (in the video)...There's no need to show her, she isn't the one who will find a solution and talk about the topic to have a law and regulate the relationship, on the opposite I prefer more for the couple to show"* (KAFA advertising agency, Interview, 2019).

The above quote highlights how even the advertising agency working on a campaign that delegitimizes the normative attitudes violating the worker's individual freedoms and agencies believes in the same attitudes. Moreover, it reflects a disconnect between the campaign message and those producing it. This is especially true with advertising agencies which, as I discussed earlier, make their communication decisions based on addressing those with power, whether purchasing power in the case of the middle class or decision making power in relation to employers, donors, and the state. While MDWs in Lebanon have organized and continue to mobilize for their rights, the normative view is their lack of agency, personal and collective, and this campaign's understanding of gender representation highlights and reproduces that.

2. *Consent*

The second campaign utilizing normative beliefs on gender to introduce more defiant ones is Consent by AFE. By using the heteronormative gender coupling dominant in social interactions of hospitality, the campaign problematizes the stereotypical belief that a sexual offender is an unknown stranger and instead introduces the perspective that the harasser and harassed are familiar with each other. This representation problematizes the

sensational image of a strange offender, and in turn expands the perception of sexual violence in public discourse into more realistic understandings of familiarity and forced negotiation.

Setting up a home visit based same gender coupling is more culturally relatable to viewers; however, it reflects an understanding of gender where the patriarchal gender order inherent in gender-based and sexual violence is underplayed. This understanding is also reflected in the understanding of sexual consent put forth in the final message "حسن الضيافة ما بينطبق ع كل شي ,ممارسة الجنس لازم تكون برضى الطرفين", accurately translated as hospitality does not apply to everything, sex should be consensual between both parties. This message calling for accepting rejection and not negotiating it when it comes to sex is reminiscent of 'No means no' (CFS, 1990), one of two major approaches to sexual consent. The second approach is 'Yes means yes' (Women of Antioch, 1992) and focuses more on affirmative consent than on the aspect of rejection which this communication highlights.

'No means no' is what its name implies, if one of the parties involved refuses to engage in or continue engaging in sexual activity then the interaction becomes no longer consensual. However, this approach is not without criticism (Bennett, 2017; Colb, 2014; Hess, 2014), in this study I am mainly concerned with how rejection to participate is subject to complication and constraints. This is particularly true when considering different socio-structural constraints imposed on women in relation to gender order and expectations. This consent approach places the burden of consent on the woman, while in many cases expressing 'no' might be complex. Journalist Jessica Bennett (2017) describes "gray zone sex" where a woman might say yes but she actually means no and so she engages in

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"begrudgingly consensual sex" because saying yes is easier than saying no. For example with marital rape, a woman's refusal to participate might not be given much weight, she might be physically, mentally, or verbally abused if she refuses. Alternatively, she might not even refuse as sexually engaging with her husband is considered part of her wifely duties while her personal agency and bodily rights take the backseat.

In this campaign, the underlying understanding of gender reflects an oversight of the gender order, an important gender-based constraint needed to introduce more defiant viewings of gender, sexual, and bodily rights.

C. Pushing the boundaries

These representations of gender undermine normative and hegemonic understandings the most. They might also envision empowering scenarios, or "aim at producing a different hearing and a renewed viewing" (S. K. Foss, 1989) of gender and gender issues where dominant structures are not reproduced. The campaigns featuring such representations are Raise The Age by KAFA, Shame On Who by Abaad, and Sexual Harassment in the Workplace by AFE.

1. *Raise The Age*

https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10154376399009337

In this campaign, different pre-adolescent girls stand in an empty room, look straight ahead at the camera, and explain to the viewer the absurdity of child marriage. The girls take turns asking about situations they are expected to engage in as wives and mothers

but impossible for them to engage in as children. Therefore, highlighting the absurdity of

child marriage. For example, they ask "بالقانون ممنوع سوق، بس مين بوصّل ولادي عالمدرسة؟"

According to the law I can't drive, but wait, who will pick up my kids from school?". For a

full and detailed description of this campaign check Appendix 3.

The girls' representation in this campaign reflects an understanding of gender as

actively disruptive of hegemonic norms and beliefs. This understanding comes in contrast

with that in Think About It, the other KAFA campaign.

a. <u>Strong characters in the face of child marriage</u>

The main and only characters in this campaign are pre-adolescent girls directly

addressing the camera with a strong attitude and a cynical tone. KAFA's advertising

agency reports on the girls' representation as such:

> *"Giving them some sort of authority and an empowering position and to speak
> directly to the people… The strategic decision was to stop talking on behalf of
> teenage and little girls…They are the ones who are going to be protected from child
> marriage and they are the ones who are in danger of being married."* (KAFA
> advertising agency, Interview, 2019).

First, setting the girls as the main and only characters empowers them to play a

visible agential role in disrupting hegemonic discourses and attitudes around the issue of

child marriage. Second, their direct address to the camera introduces their own often

unheard perspective on the issue and helps them reclaim the power and agency taken away

from them when forced into early marriage. Third, the cynical tone they use in their address

reflects an active questioning, even undermining, of the laws allowing for child marriage to

take place and violate their freedoms. For example, when one of the girls states that her

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signature is not legal she pauses to say 'Great' before asking who should sign on her behalf. Finally, the girls' rhetorical questions highlight the absurdity of the laws validating child marriage and in turn enabling social expectations of motherhood and wifedom duties from children. The girls' representation actively and visually disrupts the authority of the texts legalizing child marriage. Engaging in an attitude of empowerment and self-determination reflects their enactment of the reality they desire to have, one where the dominant ideology validating child marriage has no power over them.

b. <u>In comparison between KAFA's campaigns</u>

The representation of gender in Raise The Age comes as a contrast to Think About It; therefore, the same NGO adopted almost contradicting understandings of gender in relation to agency. Although both campaigns draw attention to the lack of agency their female characters suffer from, the first campaign addresses it through an active refusal of this lack whereas the second one reproduces it. Both MDWs and children are at a power disadvantage in relation to state laws and social norms allowing for the violations against them to take place. However, Mseret was not given the same opportunity as the girls to address and disrupt these hegemonies herself. Her agency was not represented with as much value since she was considered as not the one who will change the law. Considering that MDWs' activism does take place in the public sphere and by MDWs themselves, then race has intersected with gender to reproduce hegemonic understandings of gender in Think About It.

2. *Shame On Who*

Both Life For Life and Shame On Who utilize a dramatic appeal to garner mass support for their campaign message. However, they introduce almost contradicting understandings of gender in relation to agency, similarly to KAFA's campaigns. Whereas Life For Life reproduces a dominant stereotypical understanding of victimhood, Shame On Who portrays a more realistic representation of a victim defiant of the same one solidified. This reflects how the same NGO can adopt different understandings of gender to serve its claim-making, even if both claims call for collective agency. For the most part, Shame On Who is a campaign centered around exposing the culture of victim blaming plaguing existing gender norms in Lebanon. I examine how this campaign defies these hegemonic beliefs, then I also examine how, in another aspect, the campaign does utilize normative representations.

a. Exposing victim blaming

In this campaign, Manal was not portrayed as a stereotypical victim, instead she was portrayed with some level of individual power and agency and as a result she was judged and blamed. Claiming victimhood, as I mentioned earlier, stereotypically includes the victim presenting absolute innocence (Christie, 1986). In other words she cannot present anything that might assign some or all of the responsibility to her. This includes stereotypical beliefs on why rape might take place, the same stereotypes utilized by the campaign authors to elicit reactions denouncing her innocence. For example, Manal's way of dressing reflects some of the individuality and personal agency she might enjoy in

relation to societal norms and structural constraints including those facilitating GBV. Many of the comments she received from passerby revolved around her dress. Such as " بس لبسي اختي أكيد ما بتضهر هيك، أكيد ما لح تكون لبسه هيك أصلاً ;Here, put this on هاي بالاول My sister would never dress like that; حجي وحده تضهر مع شب هيك؟ A girl looking like that?".

Due to the temporal aspect of victimhood (Walklate, 2006) mistakenly reducing it to a character as opposed to a process, Manal's character was compared to the stereotypical powerless victim and was therefore judged. Her portrayal "violated a cardinal rule of victimhood: the acceptance of compassion 'on condition of meekness'" (Van Dijk, 2009, p.18, as cited in Stringer, 2014, p.10). Christie explains that with more power a victim has the more they become "real", as opposed to "ideal", and in turn receives less attention/understanding when victimized (1986, p.28). Whereas W.L's portrayal solidifies this relationship between power/agency and victim, Manal's portrayal highlights its harsh and unrealistic nature. In turn, not only is the dominant understanding of victimhood revealed to include a powerlessness to structural constraints, but also a powerlessness in individual agency. In turn, the campaign authors utilized this dissonance to expose the existing culture of victim blaming and invite viewers to question and refuse it.

b. Ideal victims call for ideal offenders

Comparatively to Manal's portrayal in the video, another element in this campaign in relation to offenders and their relationship with victims furthers normative understandings of GBV. Similarly to the typification of an "ideal victim", Christie (1986, p.26) explains that there exists the typification of an "ideal offender", one who emerges

from the darkness, morally resembling a monster lurking in the shadows awaiting to prance

at a weak prey. Abaad explain their plan to disrupt this stereotypical viewing and report:

"we wanted to show that he (the rapist) can be anyone anywhere everywhere…we wanted

to show that they're humans" (Interview, 2019). Therefore, three graffiti murals of rapists'

faces were commissioned in different areas in central Beirut. Abaad explain that variant

women rape survivors described their rapists to different sketch artists who then sketched

these three portraits.

However, the murals (fig. 5.1) appear as overly-shadowed generic men's faces

resulting in portraits shrouded with sensational mystery reflecting less realistic personas.
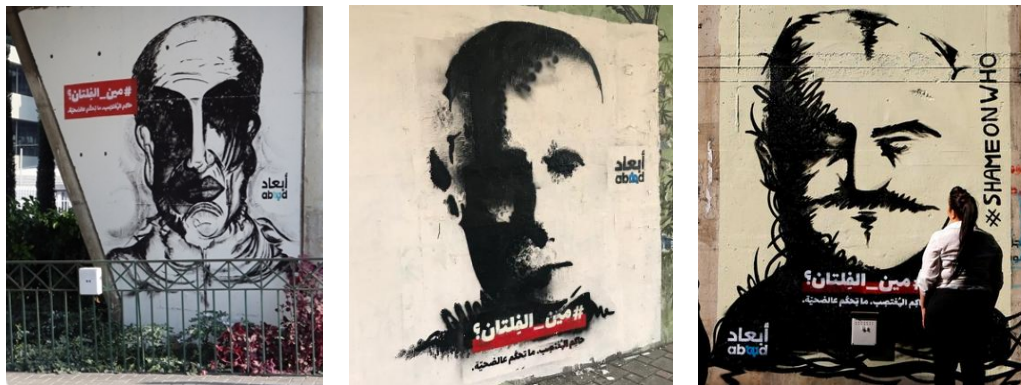
Figure 5.1- Offenders (Photos retrieved from
https://www.abaadmena.org/programmes/advocacy-and-policy-development/project-
5be006e706f5e7-37966773 in 2019)
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On one hand, this understanding of offender glorifies them as a sensational stranger

and in turn problematizes the more common cases of sexual violence where the assaulter is

someone familiar with or in a relationship with the assaulted such as incestuous or marital

rape, or any sexual violence including a power dynamic (WHO, 2003, p.6, p.11). On the

other hand, although the murals might further existing normative beliefs on GBV, they also

materialize a new way of being for assaulted women involved in this campaign's project or catching the murals on the street. By sharing the men's descriptions with the artists, the women engage in a liberating practice. Whereby, they expose the men who assaulted them and are able to relinquish some of the shame and stigma attached to sexual assault instead of being shamed themselves for what had happened to them. Therefore, the same campaign tool might further hegemonic understandings of GBV while also imagining liberating ones.

3. *Sexual Harassment in the Workplace*

The last campaign in this research with representations relaying more defiant attitudes towards hegemonic gender norms is Sexual Harassment in the Workplace by AFE. In comparison with Consent, the other campaign by AFE, gender order and the power imbalance it creates are acknowledged then actively reimagined in a less toxic manner through the relationship between the two lead characters.

In this campaign, the main female character Stephanie is portrayed as the leading character throughout the video. Although she is co-narrator with George, the main perspective relayed on workplace sexual harassment in the campaign is hers as a woman. She introduces George into the office space and sets her perspective on it by describing it as a "غابة ذو وجه حضاري Civilized jungle". Then, she takes the lead on explaining the issue at hand while her voice over ushers the change in setting, and guides G through the different scenes. Most importantly, S explains the significance of every situation, whether good or bad, from her perspective. Stephanie's portrayal reflects a feminist understanding of gender

and femininity as empowered and an active participant in the labor force, which comes in contrast to dominant viewings imposed by a hegemonic gender order.

Moreover, Stephanie's character is supported by her co-narrator George, whose traditional masculine appearance implies an apparent power imbalance, but whose supportive attitude and actions towards the issue at hand embody a non-toxic one. George looks at and trusts Stephanie as his guide in the issue of workplace sexual harassment. For example, when observing the first situation of flirting, G comments "حلو جو المكتب هيك" What a nice office environment" and looks at S as if waiting for her approval of his understanding of the situation. G also looks at S to check her reaction after observing the first harassment situation, once he sees her desensitized facial expression he replies with "Ouf". George's representation creates new models of interaction (Foss, 1989, p.152), and therefore makes available to the viewer new ways of being and engaging away from the influence of hegemonic gender norms and toxic masculinity. These understandings of gender put forth build on the existing gender order to approach it in less normative ways, in place of overlooking it like in Consent.

D. Understanding gender for claim-making

It is interesting to note how the different understandings of gender in these campaigns affect portrayals of publicness. Representations reflecting traditional or hegemonic understandings take place in a private house setting, Life For Life (Abaad - house), Think About It (KAFA - house), and Consent (AFE - house). Therefore, they reproduce the traditional public/private dichotomy attached to GBV issues. In comparison,

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representations introducing more defiant understandings of gender take place in a public setting, Shame On Who (Abaad - street), Raise The Age (KAFA - studio), Sexual Harassment in the Workplace (AFE - office). Therefore, disrupting the dichotomy solidified by the same NGOs. This portrayal of publicness, along with the other observations discussed in this chapter point to how each of the three NGOs puts forth different, almost oppositional, understandings of gender in each of its campaigns. Abaad does so in relation to victimhood, KAFA in relation to agency, and AFE in relation to gender order.

The acts of reproducing and disrupting the same understandings and representations of gender by the same NGO reflects on the role of NGOs as claim makers (Dunn, 2005; Heins, 2008; Madlingozi, 2010) and "brokers of meaning" (Cohen and Comaroff, 1976, p.88). NGOs depend on the victims they symbolically produce[5] to advocate for them (Heins, 2008), whether passive or agential victims. For example, in regard to normative understandings of gender, it is thought by many researchers that advocacy requires constructing images of normative "true" victims that necessarily focus on their innocence (Christie 1986; Clark, 1997; Lamb, 1996; Loseke, 1999). On one hand, this is done to avoid scenarios of victim blaming (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Martin, 1976; Walker, 1979). On

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[5] In chapter 2 of his book *Nongovernmental Organizations in International Society: Struggles Over Recognition,* Heins (2008) examines the definition of NGOs and the basis on which they operate. This includes speaking for others whom they symbolically produce as innocent and oppressed, which encompasses strangers whose voices would otherwise not be heard. Moreover, this "other-regarding interest" (p.20) comes into play when NGOs act as "brokers of meaning" (Cohen and Comaroff, 1976, p.88) and negotiate for both attention from viewers and funds from donors for those for whom they speak. In turn this reflects on the brand name and success of the NGO which bodes well for its brokering (Bob, 2005).

the other hand, images of powerless suffering victims are thought to garner more attention

and support than more realistic images of the complicated lives of active victims. However,

this research has shown that the same NGO can produce less normative understandings and

representations of gender in the same media space as normative ones and end up with

similarly popular results. This way, understandings of gender, no matter the difference,

become utilitarian to serve the campaign claim-making which could be legal change,

cultural change, or reach. However, these understandings also dilute the overarching notion

of gender in the Lebanese public sphere. Whereby some of the most prominent NGOs

working on gender equality are introducing conflicting viewings.

E. Conclusion

The media is a discursive space for the social construction of the visual, and more

importantly to this research a space for the visual construction of the social (Abu-Lughod,

2005; Dikovitskaya, 2005; Yunjuan and Xiaoming, 2007). With this in mind, I have

examined the different understandings and representations constructed of and around

gender and GBV in relation to hegemonic gender beliefs.

The representations were grouped based on their variant normative and defiant

approaches to gender. As a communication utilizing more normative representations, Life

For Life reproduces its main character as a typification of a poor and powerless victim,

which in turn might not reflect the messiness of her agency and lived experience. It does so

to engage viewers in collective agency; however, this representation solidifies dominant

understandings of gender and in turn complicates what constitutes a victim. Shame On

Who, another campaign by the same authors, challenges these understandings of gender and victimhood by introducing representations that complicate the dominant criteria for claiming victimhood and question the interplay between victim and agency.

Another group of campaigns includes Think About It and Consent, which utilize normative representations to introduce renewed ones. The erasure of the MDW's character from Think About It reflects her normative erasure from the public sphere. However, this representation also reproduces non-agential understandings of gender which the campaign authors afford to their characters in their other campaign Raise The Age. This way race interplays with gender to reproduce systems of oppression. Similarly, Consent sets up a heteronormative social interaction to push the relationship between harasser and harassed into a less stereotypical representation. However, the understanding of gender, particularly in relation to sexual consent, underplays the value of gender order. The same value which the campaign authors acknowledge in Sexual Harassment in the Workplace and then disrupt through an empowered femininity and a non-toxic supportive masculinity.

In the next chapter, I examine how the apparent utilitarian understanding of and around gender translates in relation to the feminist rhetoric these campaigns produce or hinder. This would help us better place these campaigns in the bigger discourse of gender equality in the Lebanese public sphere.

CHAPTER VI

SCENARIOS OF LIBERATION

In this research, the study of rhetoric is significant due to the powers rhetoric possesses. It is capable of creating worlds, perspectives, identities, and realities.

> *"In almost any situation, innumerable options exist for how to act and respond. Understanding how rhetoric functions allows us to make conscious choices about the kinds of worlds we want to create, who and how we want to be in those worlds, and the values we want those worlds to embody"* (Foss et al, p.7, 1999).

Whereas rhetoric creates worlds, rhetorical criticism investigates these worlds to uncover the meanings produced. So far, I have examined whom the NGO campaigns address and what messages these communications are relaying about gender. Now, I will engage in rhetorical criticism to better understand what the campaign representations and their messages mean in relation to the discourse on gender equality in the Lebanese public sphere, particularly the feminist sphere within which these NGOs operate.

It can be said that I have been engaging this criticism since the previous three chapters. First, the analysis of the public address of these campaigns helped understand whom these worlds are constructed for, based on which public address approach they employ. Then, the close examination of gender meanings and their relevant representations clarify how gender is constructed within these campaigns. This chapter will bring these elements together to reflect on the agendas that came about from these campaigns in relation to gender equality.

I particularly employ feminist rhetorical criticism to explore rhetoric that "aim at producing a different hearing and a renewed viewing" in which the structures of the dominant way of thinking simply are not reproduced" (Trinh, 1991, p.84, as cited in Foss, p.144, 1989). Moreover, this method explores the impact of these rhetoric on hegemonic ideologies, structures, and ways of being, allowing for the imagination of scenarios of liberation. These scenarios allow rhetors, characters involved in the rhetoric, and in turn audiences on the receiving end to engage in liberating acts[6]. I explore each campaign for its constructed rhetoric, then I examine what they reflect about the purposes of the campaigns and the feminist public sphere in general.

A. Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

1. *Harassment vs non-harassment*

Foss (1989) explains that hegemonic perspectives function in a manner to portray that there is only one "right" perspective on a topic. Therefore, deliberately creating alternative perspectives can disrupt them and undermine their presumed legitimacy.

To date, there is no legal text in the Lebanese state defining, criminalizing, or addressing sexual harassment (Daily star, 2017). Many law drafts have been submitted and became long lost in the labyrinth of Lebanese bureaucratic mechanisms (Daily Star, 2019; Executive, 2019; Legal Agenda, 2017; NCLW, 2020). For example, a law proposal was submitted in 2014 to criminalize the issue but was only picked up in 2017 and discussed for

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[6] Foss names some of these acts "claiming agency, engaging in acts of empowerment or self-determination, refusing to be confined by an ideology of domination, transforming dominating structures and relations in imaginative ways, or articulating a different mode of being altogether" (Foss, p.154, 1989).

five minutes before it became the laughingstock of parliamentary discussion. The proposal was retracted after MPs voiced their fears the law would lead to vengeful acts and false accusations (Daily Star, 2017). Considering the lack of state address for sexual harassment, this campaign introduces multiple perspectives on the issue in a way to address this dominant perspective.

In addition, to relaying the campaign from a women's perspective, the general premise of this campaign stands on comparing flirting and harassment, starting with the campaign name "التحرش مش غزل" which translates to 'Harassment is not flirting'. Multiple situations are examined with and without harassment providing alternate viewings and exposing the hegemonic underlying attitudes. For example, in the second situation, W the female employee is talking to M3 her male supervisor in his office to discuss a promotion. First, W receives a reply the viewer might expect in a professional work environment:" Let us see your ليكي خلينا نشوف برفورمانس تيعك من هلأ لأخر الشهر و على هلأساس بنرجع بنحكي performance until the end of the month and we will discuss accordingly". Then, in the alternate situation, M3 leans back in his chair, smiles and says to W: " و ماعم بحكي بس عن Depends on how good you are... And I am not only talking الشغل ... هههه، إنتي و شطارتك about work". The comparison of situations transforms the dominant viewing, by the state and in public discourse, and articulates a new more feminist harassment-free way of being in a workplace.

2. *Sexual harassment as an economic issue*

Another perspective introduced in this campaign is the expansion of the understanding of workplace safety that goes beyond physical harassment into psychological and economic dimensions. The psychological effect can be seen from the first situation where W's male co-workers inappropriately comment on her appearance "man شو انك طيبة بهلأبياض How delicious are you in white". The introduction of economic effects, an example of which I discussed in the previous section, places workplace harassment within the broader discourse of structural constraints on gender. This expansion allows for a reconsideration of the traditional rhetoric associated with this issue beyond the physical and into aspects often considered difficult to prove but nonetheless detrimental.

However, the economic perspective presented in this campaign mainly addresses corporations and middle class employees working in these corporations. This is particularly true with the campaign slogan " طالبوا بسياسات بتحمي من التحرش Demand for policies that protect from harassment" refers to policies which are on a corporate or organizational level as opposed to laws which are on a state level and would encompass all workers. The campaign message and its economic aspect are not actionable for non-corporate and informal occupations which Lebanese and non-Lebanese women often take up. Research shows that more than half of workers in Lebanon work informally (Yaacoub, 2008 as cited in ILO, 2008, p.1; World Bank, 2015, p.24). In parallel, female participation in the labor market is 23.5% (UNDP, 2016, p.6), more than half of that is informal labor at 57% (Yaacoub, 2008 p.1). In these jobs, demanding for policies against sexual harassment is

more difficult and complex. As a result, the world constructed by this campaign's rhetoric might be out of reach for many individual, especially those at risk.

To place the campaign's call to action in a bigger context, demanding the implementation of policies is easier and quicker than demanding a change in the law. Here I reflect on literature discussion of the professionalization of NGOs where accountability is channeled upward rather than downward (Jad, 2007, p.625). As a campaign funded by two international NGOs, demanding for policy change in private corporations is within reach as a goal, as opposed to the tedious process of law change.

B. Consent

In this campaign, representations were based on reproducing heteronormative attitudes. On one hand, this portrayal allowed for exploring the relationship between harasser and harassed with a more realistic and nuanced viewing, and even the suggestion of more LGBT viewings. On the other hand, the same gender coupling underplays a main constituent of GBV. An underplaying dominant in the attitudes of the patriarchal and patrilinear state which reinforces gender order while also pushing its effects on women's lives into the guise of the private sphere.

This underplaying of gender order also echoes some of the turbulences of the fourth wave of feminism in Lebanon which rose within a movement of LGBT rights while some of this movement's participants maintained a sexist logic (AbiYaghi, 2013; Rizk and Makarem, 2015). AFE's activism falls within this wave as they identify their target public as falling more specifically within an LGBT category and less within one generally

engaged with GBV. Moreover, AFE rationalize the same gender coupling as being more

relevant to their younger LGBT focused target audience (Interview, 2019). This is not to

say that NGOs operating within this wave's values are not attuned to struggles of GBV;

however, this is one of the dominant contexts within which they operate. The resulting

rhetoric in this campaign creates a world which prioritizes public engagement over

acknowledging the dominant hegemony of gender order. In the case of awareness

campaigns like this one[7], the main attainable goal seems to be reach and/or engagement.

Whereas in comparison, challenging the hegemonic gender order is a goal much more

difficult to measure and report back to donors.

C. Think About It

1. *Confusion vis-à-vis the Kafala system*

Prior to this campaign's release , there had been many campaigns contributing to

the discourse on GBV and MDWs by empathizing with them and highlighting violations

against their rights. This led to KAFA receiving many comments and complaints

demanding they represent the employers' perspective on the issue. Think About It came as

a response to these comments and portrayed some of the social pressures employers' face

when dealing with the sponsorship system. This way the confusion at the basis of this

campaign was created. Although, instead of highlighting the overall structural injustices of

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[7] The campaign's call to action is "حسن الضيافة ما بينطبق ع كل شي ممارسة الجنس لازم تكون برضى الطرفين Sex should always be consensual". This campaign classifies as an awareness campaign since it does not ask the viewer for a direct or actionable call to action and instead focuses on generally challenging existing norms around sexual consent within social imagination.

the Kafala system, the video limits the confusion to dominant social norms[8]. For example,

when discussing handling the MDW's passport, W asks "إن..نو خلص؟ أررنا نخبيلا البسبور؟"

That's it? We decided to keep her passport with us?" and L replies " إيه وليد كلّون آولي هيك،

شو أولك؟ كرمال ما تهرب. الكل هيك عم يعمل. Yes Walid, everybody is saying it's the way it should

be so that she doesn't run away. Everybody is doing this…What do you think?". The

"everybody" in this dialogue refers to hegemonic societal pressures and norms validating

beliefs like the one in the example.

This campaign features employers' damaging actions without contextualizing them

within the bigger constraints and inequity of the same system violating MDWs' rights and

enabling employers' harmful behaviors. These social attitudes are only part of the

sponsorship system; therefore, focusing solely on them does not change or defy this system.

2. *Apolitical social change through individual behavior*

Alternatively to addressing the system's overall constraints, the campaign focuses

on regulating individual behavior. For example "حجز باسبور العاملة المنزلية: مخالف للقانون" It is

illegal to withhold the domestic worker's passport". The name of the campaign also reflects

this personal change of behavior "فكروا فيا Think about it, Think about her".

This focus on individual behavior reflects a rhetoric of neoliberal welfare reform

and victimhood. Rebecca Stringer (2014, p.7) explains that discourses with such a rhetoric

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[8] In their interview, KAFA report they did not cover the sponsorship system at a macro level in this campaign since they did something similar in a previous one called Get Your Facts Straight راجع/ي حالك in 2016. The campaign was based on a research similar to a census and featured facts like "Although the work contract does not mention the worker's passport, 94% of employers withhold it with them" and "44% of employers think the work contract is for 3 years but it is for one year" (KAFA, 2016).

rationalize social suffering as arising from individual fault and responsibility, while its betterment comes through self-improvement and transformation rather than collective politics and structural change. As a result, representations in this communication take an apolitical stance. Failing to recognize the bigger structural constraints of the system complicates questioning their gendered nature and complicates possibilities of collective action.

Moreover, focusing on individual behavioral change as a solution embraces a neoliberal discourse of "victim-bad/agent-good formulation" (Stringer, 2014, p.9). As a result, the violations incurred because of the sponsorship system appear as if due to employers' individual behaviors. As James Petras puts it "the basic philosophy of the NGO intellectuals is to transform solidarity into collaboration and subordination to the macro-economy of neoliberalism, by focusing attention *away from* state resources of the wealthy classes toward *self-exploitation of the poor*" (Petras, 1997, p.13). As a result of this neoliberal influence, the rhetoric first appears as sympathetic and understanding of the employers' confusion, then it redirects the blame towards them and moves the world created away from social justice for both employers and employees.

D. Raise The Age

1. *The role of religious institutions*

In the case of child marriage, the dominant discourse legitimizing it is validated by patrilinear religious institutions influencing social norms and personal status laws. Although the campaign message calls for a change in the law " حدّدوا السنّ الأدنى للزواج Raise

The Age", the role religious institutions play in rationalizing child marriage is not addressed. The not-so-direct approach to addressing hegemonic structural constraints reflects a neoliberal influence of depoliticization similarly present in Think About It.

It should be noted that some elements of the campaign here and there point out this role. For example, the Facebook video description is "

بلبنان في ١٨ طائفة، وال١٨ بشرعوا التزويج تحت ال١٨! In Lebanon there are 18 sects, all 18 legalize the marriage under the age of 18", and the campaign hashtag is

#صار_بدها_قانون_مدني #RaiseTheAge. This statement directly relates the issue of child marriage in Lebanon to religious institutions legalizing it and in extension highlights their close relationship with the legislative state. However, this was not a main element in the campaign, especially compared to the campaign message and name which focus more on the laws themselves and not the powers enabling and maintaining them.

2. *Laws and legislators*

Alternatively, the campaign places its focus on the absurdity of the law, which reflects a rhetoric of legal reform. KAFA explains that this legal approach is the start to more general reform within personal status laws (Interview, 2019). As an approach to social change, on one hand, legal reform meets project targets and goals easier than a more demanding social change necessitating structural, cultural, and economic disruption. Therefore, it achieves more immediate social justice for many in need for it. In fact, the terms 'law' and 'legal' occurred 44 times in KAFA's interview for Raise The Age, with

'law' occurring 26 times making it the second most frequent word in the interview after 'girls'. The word cloud (fig. 7.1) is a visual illustration of the word frequency query.

On the other hand, the way this approach was employed in this campaign shies away from highlighting the larger hegemonic structures around this form of GBV. Lara Khattab (2010) points out the role of funding agencies in pushing for projects that can be achieved within the sectarian context in Lebanon, pushing for "quick-fix solutions for complex political problems" (p.92). Consequently, donor-dependent NGOs adopt non-confrontational

Figure 7.1- Word cloud

strategies such as legal reform which pacify violations against women without defying hegemonic powers like religious institutions who occupy a central base in Lebanese society. This strategy guarantees the continuity of these organizations which in turn contribute to social change; however, not addressing structural constraints at the base complicates this change.

E. Shame On Who

In the campaign Shame On Who, the representation of Manal with characteristics that typically lead to victim blaming in Lebanese society disrupts dominant and normative beliefs on what constitutes a victim. Therefore, the constructed rhetoric allows for an

enactment of a desired reality that refuses to be confined by an ideology where victims of GBV have to prove their victimhood.

The campaign involves viewers in this rhetoric through its call to action "Judge the rapist. Not the victim" which calls on others to collectively refuse the hegemonic culture of victim blaming. This call to action, similarly to that in other awareness campaigns like Consent, is more focused on reach than on directly actionable social movement. The resulting rhetoric approaches social action in a manner that is more quantifiable than impactful.

F. Life For Life

Similarly to Raise The Age, this campaign calls for reform of laws influenced by hegemonic ideologies but not the ideologies themselves. With the global rise of neoliberal influence, donors have become increasingly focused on implementing good governance within receiving NGOs in the pursuit of growth rather than social justice and empowerment (Weaver, 2008, p.117; Rose, 1999; Sarfaty, 2012). As a result, campaigns featuring uncontextualized legal reform as a professionalized goal became attractive to donors. Most notably about this campaign is its long list of donors reaching over 10, compared to 2 donors in the other campaigns. Many of Abaad's campaigns, including Shame On Who, "We believe" and "Abolish 522"[9], similarly have a long list of donors and focus more on negotiating with hegemonic powers rather than disrupting them (Daou, 2015).

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[9] "Abolish 522" also focused on legal reform in relation to rape crimes without contextualizing them. The campaign similarly had a long list of donors and won a UN SDG award and three Cannes awards (An-nahar, 2019; LeoBurnett, 2017).

G. Accountable to whom?

The different rhetoric constructed by these campaigns are some of the most prominent ones produced in the Lebanese public sphere in relation to gender and GBV in the past decade. This research has shown how these rhetoric are influenced by many elements, such as addressing the middle classness of donors and international NGOs, employing gender in a utilitarian manner, and the clear influence of NGOization. These findings suggest that communications produced by Lebanese NGOs are accountable to donors more than victims of GBV or perhaps even women in general.

Although most of the campaigns suggest some version of collective action, such as changing a culture or changing a law, none of the six campaigns make available a path or action the viewer can act upon to further the campaign message as part of social action or movement. Instead, almost all of the campaign authors reported in their interviews reach and number of views as a metric for measuring the success of their campaigns. This is particularly the case when all the campaigns were social media based, with a couple of exceptions, and without actionable participation from the viewers the campaign's engagement is limited to the screen. Moreover, these goals of reach are similarly used by the advertising agencies producing these campaigns to measure their success. This is similar to how advertising agencies approach political advertising, whereby political agendas are not marketed based on issues but based commercial metrics like any other product (Biocca, 1991; Alam, 2000; Nassif and Bou Monsif, 1999; West, 2001, David and Kavanagh, 2001; Atkin & Heald, 1976).

For example in our case, after a campaign has proven popular, the advertising agency submits it for recognition to multiple award entities including film awards and foreign donors like the UN. Winning such an award is beneficial for both the advertising agency and the NGO who can then utilize it for their meaning brokering and further guarantee their sustainability from donors. These different elements have influenced the purposes these campaigns aim to achieve in relation to gender equality.

Much like how the advertising agencies operate in a media space that has become refeudalized for the service of paying sectarian interests, NGOs operate in a feminist public sphere that has become refeudalized by private interests. The communications these NGOs and advertising agencies produce reflect the influence of this refeudalization.

H. Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined, through feminist rhetorical criticism, the rhetoric developed in each campaign in relation to gender and the hegemonic ideologies influencing it in the Lebanese public sphere. Almost all the campaigns reflect the influence of NGOization in their rhetoric in variant ways.

In Sexual Harassment in the Workplace, the campaign's call to action demanding policies in place of laws only addresses corporate middle class individuals, and therefore complicates the campaign message particularly for women at risk occupying informal jobs. In the campaign Consent, the use of same gender order reflected how reach and relatability were prioritized over addressing gender order as a constituent of GBV. In Think About It, the campaign addresses the social pressure employers experience with the Kafala system.

However, the campaign rhetoric complicates scenarios of social change by not addressing the overall structural constraints of this system and instead calling for changing individual behavior. Similarly, Raise The Age calls for legal reform without challenging the bigger sectarian structures justifying child marriage. Both rhetoric reflect a prevalent depoliticized neoliberal reform strategy many NGOs employ as part of a professionalized mode of operation whereby donors engage their NGOs in attainable goals within the sectarian context. Finally Shame On Who and Life For Life call for much needed cultural and legal changes in relation to rape. Comparatively, the calls to action they introduce are not actionable steps their mass public can partake in.

All of the campaigns in this research share this absence of actionable social participation for their viewers to engage in. This focus on reach instead of action reflects how these campaigns mainly address donors to which they are accountable, as opposed to women affected by GBV.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

A. General research findings and conclusions

Considering the important role NGOs play in the Lebanese public sphere and civil society, examining their communications provides insight on how NGOs are contributing to the public discourse on gender equality and GBV. Research findings indicate that due to the context women's NGOs operate within, in these representations' attempts to change hegemonic gender norms and defy systems of oppression, they overlook these systems' intersectional nature and reproduce other dominant norms.

I started my analysis with an examination of the public these campaigns address and how they approach addressing them. Therefore, I categorized the campaigns based on striking relatability and constructing a dramatic appeal with half the campaigns going in each category. The power of relatability lies in its ability to reflect experiences which viewers can relate to. Therefore, campaigns utilizing relatability do so by imbedding their communications with characteristics resembling those of the publics they wish to address.

I explored how these campaigns constructed relatable characters with relatable interpersonal relationships and settings, as a way to reflect how these publics' lives currently are. I also observed how these constructed characteristics reflect exclusions from these communications' publics, based on age, class, and occupation. Particularly in relation to class characterization, I examined how middle class experiences dominate NGO

representations reflecting the NGOs' and advertising agencies' own middle classness. This class portrayal is due to a permeation from the private advertising sector typically producing communications for the middle class with the belief that it is the socioeconomic lifestyle to which the majority of viewers can relate. I argued that these representations reproduce a middle class hegemony and could potentially result in the exclusion of individuals deeply impacted by GBV and in need of the changes these campaigns advocate, or even generally individuals who would support the cause. This demonstrates how private interests can refeudalize the media sphere on the expense of impact.

In comparison, campaigns utilizing dramatic appeal don't need to represent what is and have the power to construct what could be by creating an emotional connection between viewers and imagined realities. To that end, I examined how campaigns utilize classist negative stereotypes both attached to women and the general public to reproduce political notions of difference and womanhood. This dramatic appeal establishes a visceral connection with the viewer and demands they make a moral choice to save the victim in pain or turn away and leave her to suffer. As a result, a high level of views is generated through sensationalization and controversy creating publics and counterpublics which engage with the campaigns nonetheless.

After examining both approaches to addressing a public, I reach the conclusion that women affected by GBV are not meant to identify with these campaigns. Instead, I argue that these latter address donors and international NGOs . This is a public most focused on attainable goals such as views and relates most to middle class representations.

All the campaigns in our research are legible to their donors in these two ways, among others.

After determining who these representations address, I examined the representations themselves and focused on the meanings they relay on gender and GBV. I grouped the six campaigns based on how much they rely on normative or more defiant representations or both.

I observed how Life For Life reproduced gender in its stereotypical understanding created a typification of a poor and powerless woman. This typification solidifies hegemonic beliefs on victimhood by contrasting it with agency. Then I examined how in Shame on Who, also by Abaad, this typification was challenged and a victim ,with a more realistic interplay of victimhood and agency, was portrayed as deserving. I also examined how, similarly, KAFA's two other campaigns afforded agency to its female characters in Raise The Age but replicated its erasure in Think About It. Therefore, to address gendered oppression the campaign reproduced a racial one. Finally, in AFE's campaigns, Consent and Sexual Harassment in the Workplace, the gender order elemental to GBV was overlooked in the character's power dynamic in the first campaign but clearly acknowledged and defied in the second one.

These opposing understandings of gender relay its utilitarian use by the campaign authors. The same NGO can manipulate the meaning of gender it constructs from normative to more defiant to serve its campaign aims. This use reflects on NGOs' function as claim makers and "brokers of meaning" (Cohen and Comaroff, 1976, p.88) but also a potential dilution of the gender notion in the public sphere.

Whereas the power of the visual lies in its ability to construct the social (Dikovitskaya, 2005, p.58), the power of the rhetoric created by the visual lies in its ability to craft worlds where the social exists and operates. For this reason, in the last section of the research I explored the rhetoric created by the campaigns and examined its significances and implications in relation to the bigger context of gender equality in the Lebanese and feminist public spheres in which Lebanese NGOs operate.

For example, I examined how, in contrast to the state rhetoric on the issue, Sexual Harassment in the Workplace introduced a simple guide explaining what constitutes sexual harassment and what doesn't. This campaign also expands the definition of safety from harassment to include economic ramifications. However, the constructed rhetoric focuses on demanding corporate policies; therefore, complicates adopting the campaign's call to action by the majority of working women in Lebanon who occupy informal jobs. I argued that this is due to the widespread culture of NGOization focusing on achieving attainable goals as opposed to the tedious process of legal change and implementation.

My examination of different campaigns by all three NGOs revealed a clear influence of NGOization and professionalization on choice of campaign goals, on recognition and address of hegemonies, and in turn on the disruption and transformation of systems of oppression in the Lebanese public sphere. This influence entailed working with attainable calls to action such as reach and legal reform within hegemonic systems such as the Kafala system, religious institutions, and patriarchal structures, without challenging them. For example, I discussed how one campaign's call to action of individual behavioral change reflected a rhetoric influenced by discourses of neoliberal reform and victimhood.

Considering the middle class address, the utilitarian use of gender, and the non-intersectional campaign goals, I argue that these campaigns are accountable to donors as opposed to women or victims of GBV.

B. Research implication and relevance

Considering the rise of economic neoliberalism and sectarian clientelism in the absence of state welfare provisions, NGOs have had an ever expanding role in advocating for gender equality. As a result, while these NGOs have become more dependent on by women and the state alike in Lebanon, they have also become attractive to donors through goal attainment in the sake of organizational continuity and growth. This comes at the expense of intersectional, disruptive, and empowering social change, and hinders the reform of hegemonic structures and ideologies on which these NGOs rely for their goal attainment.

Although many of these campaigns represent gender, particularly women, as strong, disruptive, or empowered, many of them have also created rhetoric which don't necessarily disrupt the larger sociopolitical contexts within which these representations exist. Therefore, the research findings fit in with the overall literature, specifically on professionalization and the preference for complying with existing gender norms over challenging them. Although many of the campaigns in this research call for collective agency, they do so in the service of meeting project goals without suggesting scenarios of collaboration and participatory action.

The different rhetorical strategies used in these campaigns, from style of address to its middle classness to the different understandings of gender, reflect how " brokered compromises among private interests replace reasoned public debate about the common good" (Fraser, 1990). These campaigns, that have been prominent in the movement for gender equality in the past decade or so, reflect how the discourse on gender equality in the Lebanese and feminist pubic spheres has become refeudalized for the service of private interests within the context of NGOization. This is similar to how the media space had been refeudalized by advertising agencies for the service of the sectarian ruling class.

It is no doubt that the programs and initiatives implemented by Lebanese NGOs have become essential in the fight against GBV and for gender equality. On the other hand, the current ways gender representations in specific and social action in general are approached suggest a reconsideration for more intersectional and global viewings.

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APPENDIX 1

DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACTS 1-3

A. Sexual harassment in the workplace

The campaign 'Sexual Harassment at the workplace' or التحرش مش غزل by the Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality was first released on November 2018 as part of AFE's participation in the 16 days of activism against Gender Based Violence. The video to date has collected 872 thousand views, 12 thousand reactions (heart, thumbs up, surprised), 818 comments and 11,152 thousand shares.
The same video was released again in the month of April 2019 with a long manifesto-like video description. This video harnessed 20 thousand views, 322 reactions (thumbs up, heart, laughing face), 3 comments, and 56 shares.

The video is set in what appears to be a workplace with multiple open offices and some private offices. The video features two main characters Stephanie (S) and George (G) with the former leading the latter throughout the story and the office space. Stephanie explains to George, through storytelling and comparative employee enactments, the difference between harassment and flirting in the workplace, the role of power with the Lebanese parliament as an example, and the detrimental effects of a hostile work environment on both the employee and the company.

The scene opens to the main characters Stephanie and George sitting on a couch in a room. Stephanie is on her phone when George looks at her to ask with a frustrated tone:

G: Steph
S: Hmm?
G: لك انتو النسوان مش معئول كيف صايرين
ما في حدا يئدر يتغزل بوحدة معه بالشغل دغري بتئلبولي ياها تحرش و ما تحرش
You women are unbelievable, one cannote give a compliment to a colleague without it being immediately turned into harassment
(with frustrated hand movements and face expressions)

Stephanie opens her eyes wide, surprised she stops looking at her phone and slowly turns her head towards George as she says:
S: عنجد ما بتعرف الفرق بين الغزل و التحرش؟
Do you seriously not know the difference between a compliment and harassment?

Scene cuts to Stephanie and George walking through a door to an office space of employees (men and women) on their computers, as Stephanie says with a half-smile on her face:

S: نحنا متواجدين بغابة ذو وجه حضاري أو إذا بدك مكان العمل

We are now in a civilized jungle, also known as the workplace

Stephanie taps George on his chest as they walk through the office and says:

S: تعا شوف

Come see

Stephanie and George arrive behind the glass doors of an office with two men (M1 and M2) employees sitting at their desks. They observe as a women (W) employee walks in to grab her seat:

W: Bonjour

While M2 continues to work at his desk, M1 turns around in his seat to look at W

M1: Bonjour, شو وجك مفرفح إليوم

Your face looks fresh today

W smiles and sits down as she says

W: Merci

M1: لبئلك الأبيض

White suits you

Camera turns to Stephanie and George looking through the glass. George turns to Stephanie and says:

G: حلو جو المكتب هيك

What a nice office environment

Stephanie, while smiling, looks at George to say:

S: لذيذ ego boost الصبح

It is nice to have an ego boost in the morning

George smiles

Camera cuts to the same employees again as F approaches to grab her seat. M1 turns to look at W and say to her:

M1: **و لك بونجور**

Good morning

W has a concerned expression on her face

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M1 rubs his beard and mouth with his hand while M2 stops working to look at W while he plays with a pen with his mouth and W takes her seat.

M1: man شو انك طيبة بهلأبياض
How delicious are you in white

M1 turns to look at M2

Camera turns to Stephanie and George again where George looks at Stephanie and Stephanie continues to look ahead, jaded, with her arms crossed.
S: حسيت بفرق؟
Did you feel the difference?

G: Ouff

Stephanie grabs George's arm to walk away and say:
S: إلا سنة و نص بالشركة
She has been working for a year and half in this company

Stephanie puts her arm around George's shoulder as they walk towards another office
S: و اليوم فايتي لعند المدير تطلب زودة
And today she went to the director to ask for a promotion

Stephanie pushes George to guide him towards inside of the office

Camera cuts to W with her back to the camera sitting across the desk from a male employer (M3), in turn, facing the camera.
M3: ليكي خلينا نشوف performance تيعك من هلأ لأخر الشهر و على هلأساس بنرجع بنحكي
Let us see your performance until the end of the month and we will discuss accordingly

Camera moves to show George and Stephanie standing inside the office on the side; while looking at the employees, Stepahnie syas before looking at George and pointing at the employees as the camera turns to face them again:
S: هاي كتير منيحة، هلأ مع تحرش
Perfect, now let's see it with harassment

Camera faces W and M3 again.
M3: هههه، إنتي و شطارتك
Depends on how good you are

M3 leans back in his chair as W sits still in hers
M3: و ماعم بحكي بس عن الشغل

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And I am not talking about work

George quickly walks towards M3 and bends towards him as he says:
G: yiii
George snaps his fingers in M3's face and starts to wave his hand in front of it as his yells
G: heyyyyy
George pokes M3 on the side of his face as M3 remains frozen with his hand on his lips as if he doesn't hear or feel George's presence.

Stephanie grabs George by his arm and pulls him to walk away, as they walk out of frame with the camera fixed on the employees, George yells out with a shocked tone:
G: مسئوول !
Unbelievable!

With the camera fixed on the employees, George and Stephanie's out of frame figures walk in front of the camera.

A voice over of George accompanies Stephanie and himself as the scene shifts to them sitting outside on stairs, Stephanie is eating a takeaway fruit salad cup as George, sitting on her side looks at her and says:
G: بس ستيف كمين في نسوان بتتحرش برجال بالشغل
But Steph, there are also women who harass men

Stephanie nods her head as she swallows her food ,and as she reaches with her spoon to scoop another bite she says:
S: مزبوط بس قليل
True, but not as likely

While George continues to look at Stephanie and listen carefully, Stephanie continues to say:
S: عادةً التحرش بيجي مع موقع سلطة
Harassment is usually linked to a position of power

Stephanie looks at George then looks back at her cup to grab her second bite as she continues
S: و عنا في رجال عندن مواقع سلطة أكتر من النسوان
And we have more men in power than women

As Stephanie eats her spoonful, George says:
G: إيه كمان بس في نسوان عندا سلطة بالبلد
But we also have a ot of women in power in Lebanon

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Stephanie nods her head then looks at George and says:

S: بس مش كفاية، خود مثلاً البرلمان ١٢٨ نائب

Yes, but not enough, take for example the parliament, out of 128 deputies

George nods his head

S: كم واحد منن مرأة؟

How many are women?

As Stephanie leans her head forward to listen to George's answer intently, George takes a second to think then guesses:

G: شي عشرة؟

About 10?

Stephanie quickly replies with a hasty, sharp, and loud tone:

S: ستة George

6, George

Stephanie looks away and goes back to eating as she says:

S: فا بطبيعة الحال ماحدا قابض الموضوع جد

So obviously no one is taking this seriously

Stephanie presses her lips and looks down with disappointment then eats another bite as George says:

G: إيه بس ما...

Yes, but…

G pauses to look away and think then looks down and places his hand over his chin as he sighs after finding no answer, while Stephanie looks at him with full open eyes, waiting for his answer with no avail.

Stephanie's voice over accompanies the new scene as we see her and George back in the office walking around with the lights out. Stephanie leading the way and pointing ahead says:

S: صارت الساعة ٨ و هيدي ثالث مرة بتبقى overtime هالجمعة

It is 8 pm, and it is her third overtime this week

Camera shifts to W facing the camera and sitting at her desk with her hand on her chin, as M3 walks up behind her and approaches her as he says:

M3: شو؟ شكلك تعبانة

You look tired

M3 leans over F and places one hand on her shoulder away from M3's hands as he stand back. W angrily grabs her blazer and purse and leaves the office with an angry expression on her face.

Camera shifts to George and Stephanie who were watching from the side of the room with their arms crossed. Stephanie says:

S: من بعد يلي صار لح تتجنب تبقى بالمكتب بعد الدوام و تروح على حالها فرص انها تتقدم

After what happened she will avoid staying late at the office, and she will lose opportunities for advancement

While looking at Stephanie, George asks with haste:

G: طيب ليه ما بتتشكى؟

Why doesn't she complain?

Stephanie, with her eyes wide, answers as if stating something obvious

S: لأنو مافي آلية

Because there are no procedures

Stephanie lets out a sharp laughter and says:

S: آخر دراسة بينت إنو بس ١٥٪ من الشركات بلبنان عندن policy لهل موضوع

The last study showed that only 15% of companies in Lebanon have policies for this

Stephanie points her hands to where the employee had been sitting.

The words 'Arab Foundation for Freedom and Equality, 2018" appear on the side of the screen as reference to what Stephanie had just mentioned.

Scene cuts to Stephanie and George sitting together on a couch with the backs of their heads facing the camera as they are watching TV. George says:

G: طيب ما فيا تحكي بالموضوع مع حدا؟

Can't she talk about this to someone?

The TV is heard to be playing Mohamad Iskandar's song "Gomhoriyet Albi" with the verse sung:

نحنا ما عنا بنات تتوظف بشهادتها، عنا البنت بتدلل و بيجي كلشي لعندا

We don't have girls that get hired with their degrees, for us a girl is pampered and things are made ready for her

The sound of popcorn being eaten is heard in the background.

S: فيا. بس معظم الأوقات لح ينقلها " ليش إنتي شو كنتي لابسة؟ شكلك عطيتي مجال "

She could. But she will most probably be asked "what were you wearing?" and "seems you allowed him"

Camera faces Stephanie and George sitting on the couch, Stephanie has a bowl of popcorn in her lap while George is crossing his hand around a pillow and looking at Stephanie. She continues:

S: خيي حط عجنب المعاناة النفسية و الجسدي، التحرش الجنسي عم بعيق لمسيرتها المهنية و معقول يوقفلها مدخول عم تعيل في عيلة كمان

But even if you put aside the mental and physical suffering, sexual harassment hinders her career advancement, and would probably make her lose an income that could be meant for her family

George shakes his head in disappointment

S: بعدين الشركة صراحة عم تخسر موظفين و قدرات كان فيها تستفيد منها

And to add to that, the company is losing staff and capabilities that could have been of great use

Stephanie takes another bite of popcorn as she looks ahead and goes back to watching TV.

S: الكل خسران

So everyone loses!

Stephanie says in a signing manner.
George, still looking at Stephanie eating, asks:

G: عنجد شي بسم البدن

This is really revolting!

S: Mmm, فعلاً

Indeed

Stephanie takes another handful of popcorn and passes the bowl to offer George who in turn pushes it back and looks away in disgust and upset while Stephanie continues to eat.

Scene cuts to a white screen and the words:

الأمان بالشغل مسؤوليتنا كلنا

A safe work environment is our responsibility

طالبوا بسياسات بتحمي من التحرش

Demand for policies that protect from harassment

Scene cuts to a white screen with the logo of AFE and below it those of Hivos people unlimited, WE4L women empowered for leadership, and Ministry of foreign affairs of the Netherlands.

B. Consent

This campaign is comprised of two very similar videos, the first one published a short period before the second.

1. *First video*

The first video is entitled 'أي متى كان لازم توقف الضيافة؟' When should she have stopped offering food?' released about a year ago with 121 thousand views, 426 shares, 817 reactions (likes, heart, laugh), and 163 comments.

The scene opens on a young woman (W1) sitting down with her arms resting on her lap, on a couch in an a regular/average looking living room looking ahead at an approaching older lady (W2) carrying a platter of traditional Arabic cake (sfouf). The dialogue with the respective translation goes as follows:

W2: أهلا و سهلا
It's good to have you over

W1: Merci
Thank you

W2: يا هلا
(W2 bends over W1 sitting down and moves cake platter close to W1)

W1: Merci عنجد

W2: هول الصفوف أنا عاملتن، بعدون طالعين من الفرن سخنين بعأدو (her voice starts to become incrementally higher)
I just made these. they're freshly baked, they're still hot from the oven, they're so tasty.
(W1 puts her hand on her chest to gesture no)

W1: Merci tant, يعطيكي العافيه
Thank you, but I don't feel like having any now

W2: لاء، كتير طيبين
No, they are tasty. Come on
(W1 puts down her hand to rest again on her lap)
(W2 grabs a piece of cake with a tissue she hand at hand and moves the cake piece close to W1's face)

W2: إنتي أكله عندي قبل هلأ صفوف

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You had this cake here before. I know you like it.

(W1 puts her hand on her chest to gesture no)
W1: و الله بس ما عبالي
But I really don't feel like having cake today.

W2: أبداً, أبداً (with a dismissive tone)
I won't take no for an answer.
(W2: hands cake piece to W1, W1 grabs it, W2 grabs W1's hand grabbing the cake and brings W1's hand cake closer to W1's face and right on her mouth)

W2: هلأ بتاكلي وحده بصير بدك عطول تاكلي منن
Once you have your first bite you will start wanting more,
(W1 opens mouth and takes a mouthful while both W2 continues to grab her hand)

W2: و بدك على طول تقوليلي بدي صفوف
You will start asking for more

W1: ehem
(After taking her first bite, W1 moves her own hand, still grabbed by W2, away from her face and closes her mouth then she suddenly feels a pushback from W2 who tries to push the cake close again but W1 holds her off)

(Camera faces W2 up close from an angle of view similar to W1 looking up at W2)
W2: شو صرلك ليوم، كلي، كلي، كيليون، كتير طيبين، دوقي (with an unsympathetic tone)
Yalla, what's wrong with you today?

(Camera faces W1, from the top looking down, up close grabbing the cake piece with both hands, W2 also grabbing the cake piece, W1 looks up at W2 from behind eyeglasses while her head is locked in place, then W1 takes another bite)
W2: لعوصيون، لعوصيون (with an authoritative tone)
Come on, chew chew.

W2: هلأ بتشربي ال jus بيروحو
You'll wash them down with juice.
(W1 pushes the cake away from her face, lets go from one hand, and uncomfortably smiles with a mouthful of cake, then chews)

W2: فتحي تمك، فتحي، فتحي تمك، فتحي تمك (with an abrupt voice)
Open your mouth, open, open your mouth, open your mouth
(W1, while chewing a mouthful, takes another bite from the cake)

(Camera zooms out to have both W1 and W2 in frame)
W2: Okaaay, okay (with an emphasis)

(W2 takes cake piece away from W1 and starts to stand up while W1 covers her mouth with her hand to chew her mouthful with an uncomfortable facial expression)

W2: صحتين, صحتين,صحتين ,صحتين
Bon appetit, bon appetit, bon appetit, bon appetit
(W2 stands up and away from W1)

The screen goes white and a female voice reads the following words appearing in blue color:

حسن الضيافه ما بينطبق ع كل شي
ممارسة الجنس لازم تكون برضى الطرفين
Sex should always be consensual

Another white screen appears with the logos of AFE, Gender & sexuality research center. Below that the words "with the support of" and the logos of Rutgers (for sexual and reproductive health and rights), and Hivos (people unlimited).

The caption is comprised of the title of the video and the credits of the production company (Director, Executive producer, Cinematographer, Art Director, Sound Recordist, Camera Assistant, Production assistant, Production & Post production house, Colorist, Co-writer) and "Special thanks to Carol Abi Ghanem and Jehan Bseiso".

2.   *Second video*

The second video is entitled 'When should he have stopped offering food? أي متى كان لازم يوقف الضيافة؟', a video very similar to the first one but featuring two men instead the two women in the first video. This video was also released about a year ago, has 19 thousand views, 257 reactions (like, love, laugh), 35 comments, and 163 shares.

The scene is set in a garden outside of a house, and starts with a young man (M1) sitting down on a chair and an older man (M2) facing away and bending over a table with a fruit platter atop. M2 is putting down something on the table, then picking up half an apple with his hand, standing up, and approaching M1.

(M1 looks at M2 approaching with the apple in his hand and starts shaking his head to signal 'No')
M1: لاء لاء

M2: أهلا عمو
It's good to have you over son

(M2 reaches his hand carrying the apple closer to M1. M1 raises his hand to gesture 'No')

M1: لاء عمو عنجد، merci ما عبالي
No, thank you sir. I don't feel like having apples.
(M2 moves closer to M1 and starts to lean over him with his hand reaching M1 closer and closer)

M2: دئلي هلتفحات
Have a taste of these apples

M1: عنجد ما عبالي
No, thank you. Really I don't feel like it.
(M2, now leaning over M1, firmly grabs M1's hand previously gesturing 'no', he places the apple in his hand, holds M1's hand with both hands firmly making M1 tightly grip the apple)

M2: لوك مسيكا (with a loud and unyielding tone)
Come on just grab it

M1: ما، ما بحب التفاح (with a loud and affirming tone)
I don't like apples
(M1, grabbing the apple with one hand, gestures a confused 'no' with his other hand. M2 is now grabbing M1's apple-hand with one of his hands, and abruptly pushes it towards M1's mouth so he takes a bite)

M2: كدوش، إيه (with an unsympathetic tone)
Bite into it
(M1, a bit surprised, takes a bite from the apple, moves his hand away from his face to chew, then nods his head repeatedly, up and down, while looking at M2 as if to say 'yes I'm chewing' or 'yes the apples are good')

M2: كدوش، لوك كدوش
Bit into it. Yes, have a bite
(M2 shoves M1's hand back into his face to take another bite from the apple. M1, with a mouthful, takes another bite, moves the apple away from his face to chew again, and nods his head repeatedly once more)

M2: لعويس و بليع (With an authoritative tone)
Chew and swallow
(Camera faces M1, only, up close, looking up at M2, chewing and repeatedly nodding his head. Then M2 shoves the apple, held by M1, back into M1's full mouth)

M2: لعويس و بليع
Chew and swallow
(M1, with a surprised facial expression, takes another bite. Then almost instantly M2 shoves the apple again into M1's full mouth so M1 takes yet another bite)

M2: إيه، كدوش
Yes, have another bite

(M1 continues to chew and nod his head, he seems to gesture his hands to say 'enough')

M2 شو فرجيني بلعتا؟
Did you swallow it?
(M1, still chewing, nods his head to gesture 'yes' to answer M2's question, then he squints his eyes as if struggling to swallow his mouthful)
M2: شو طيبين؟
Are they tasty?
(M2, still chewing, leans his head slightly to the side and nods hesitantly as if to say 'yes')

(Camera shows only M2, in the frame, looking down on M1 and nodding his head as if to reconfirm what was just said)
M2: طيبين؟
Are they tasty?
(We see M1's hair shake as he nodes his head)

M2: صحتين, صحتين (with an emphasis on the second word)
Bon appetit, bon appetit
(M2, looking at M1, nods his head as if to confirm what was asked. Then M1 starts lean back up)

The screen goes white, and bird chirping is heard in the distance is heard. Then similarly to the first video, a female voice reads the following words appearing in blue color:

حسن الضيافه ما بينطبق ع كل شي
ممارسة الجنس لازم تكون برضى الطرفين
Sex should always be consensual

Another white screen appears with the logos of AFE, Gender & sexuality research center. Below that the words "with the support of" and the logos of Rutgers (for sexual and reproductive health and rights), and Hivos (people unlimited).

The caption, similarly to the first video, is comprised of the title of the video and the credits of the production company (Director, Executive producer, Cinematographer, Art Director, Sound Recordist, Camera Assistant, Production assistant, Production & Post production house, Colorist, Co-writer) and "Special thanks to Carol Abi Ghanem and Jehan Bseiso".

C. فكروا فيا Think About It/Her

The campaign فكروا فيا is made up of 3 consecutive videos or Facebook video posts with the same title فكروا فيا 3/2, فكروا فيا 3/1, and فكروا فيا 3/3. The videos feature the same and only two characters, a married couple, Walid and Leila and show them in their house in three different scenarios discussing a certain situation concerning the migrant domestic worker they employ.

1. *First video*

In the first video, we see them in their bedroom getting ready to go to bed. Their bedroom looks nice and well put together, next to the bed we see a baby's crib. Facing the bed, we can see a dresser with some books, beauty products, one of which resembles that of a pricey brand, perfumes, and an Iphone 6 or 7. Items typically owned by a middle to upper middle class family who can afford hiring a migrant domestic worker. This video received 307 thousand views, 1 thousand likes and Facebook reactions (love and laughter), 138 comments, and 159 shares.

Both Leila and Walid are sitting down on the bed, while the former brushes her hair, Walid appears to be about to place a green passport in the dresser's drawer before stopping, turning towards Leila, and saying:

Walid: إن..نو خلص؟ أررنا نخبيلا البسبور؟
That's it? We decided to keep her passport with us?

Leila: شو أولك؟ إيه وليد كلّون آلولي هيك، كرمال ما تهرب. الكل هيك عم يعمل. (Sigh)
Yes Walid, everybody is saying it's the way it should be so that she doesn't run away. Everybody is doing this…What do you think?

Walid: "ما بعرف..أ..حاسيس كأنو عم نخطفا (sigh)
I don't know…I feel it's as if we're kidnapping her

Then the words 'فكروا فيا' (Think about it. Think about her) appear in white, then the screen fades to black and we see written in white the words "حجز باسبور العاملة المنزلية: مخالف للقانون" (It is illegal to withhold the domestic worker's passport). At the end of the video, we see the logos of KAFA, Anti-slavery International, International Labor organization, and the Ministry of labor in Lebanon.

The video description is:
سيناريو 1/3 بين وليد و ليلى
[#فكروا_فيا](#)
للمزيد:http://www.kafa.org.lb/kafa-news/158/thinkaboutit

2. *Second video*

In the second video we see Walid and Leila sitting on their dining table in a nice looking living room with a child's highchair in the background. The couple are seen working on what appears to be their finances, with notebooks, papers, and money dispersed on the table. This video received 166 thousand views, 921 likes and Facebook reactions (love and angry), 68 comments, and 96 shares.

Walid is writing something down on his notebook when Leila turns to him and says:

Leila: دخلك وليد، مش صار لازم ندفعلا؟ صار مارء أكتر من شهر
Walid isn't it about time we paid her? It's been more than a month…

Walid: (sigh) أفضل لاء، الكل بيؤلو أنو أحسن معليه، دفعلا أبل ما تسافر، خلّي المصاري هلّئ جوّاتنا
It's better if we don't. Everybody says it's better we pay her before she leaves. Let's keep the money with us now.
(both fidgeting with the pens they have in their hands)

Leila: (sigh) والله مابعرف، شي بحيّر
Well I don't know…this is very confusing.

Walid: إنو ...مش ناإصا شي و منجبلا شو مابدّا
She doesn't need anything now…And we'll get her whatever she needs.

Leila: أولك؟
You think?

(Walid nods in agreement, then leans back into his chair)

Then the words 'فكروا فيا' (Think about it. Think about her) appear in white, then the screen fades to black and we see written in white the words "عدم دفع أجور العاملة المنزلية: مخالف للقانون" (It is illegal not to pay the domestic worker's salary at the end of every month). At the end of the video, we see the same logos as before: KAFA, Anti-slavery International, International Labor organization, and the Ministry of labor in Lebanon.

The video description is:
سيناريو 2/3 بين وليد و ليلى
#فكروا_فيا
للمزيد: http://www.kafa.org.lb/kafa-news/158/thinkaboutit

3. *Third video*

In the third and last video, we see Walid, Leila, and their young daughter (age between 4 and 7 years) leaving the front door of their house. This video received 226 thousand views, 759 likes and Facebook reactions (love and laughter), 60 comments, and 48 shares.
Leila appears to be carrying a big bag, while Walid is setting down an infant's car seat with its back to the screen, indicating that this family has a baby and a child. As Leila and the daughter open the elevator door, Walid closes the front door of the house and starts to lock it with the key while the daughter asks her dad:

Pap ليش أفلت الباب؟
Dad, why did you lock the door?

The screen cuts to the mother looking down at her daughter and pouts her lips in an embarrassed manner with concern on her face, then looks straight into Walid, while the daughter continues: "بعدا مزيريت جوّا"
(Mseret is still inside). Then Walid who was previously looking at his daughter looks up to his wife who shakes her head to say 'no', then we see Walid again looking at his wife murmurs the words 'شو بعمل' (What do I do?) before smiling at his daughter then looking again at Leila with a resentful and embarrassed face.

Then, again, Then the words 'فكروا فيا' (Think about it. Think about her) appear in white, then the screen fades to black and we see written in white the words "حجزحرية العاملة المنزلية: مخالف للقانون" (It is illegal to restrict the domestic worker's freedom of movement). At the end of the video, we see the same logos as before: KAFA, Anti-slavery International, International Labor organization, and the Ministry of labor in Lebanon.

The video description is:

سيناريو 3/3... من منظار ابنة وليد و ليلى
#فكروا_فيا
#ThinkAboutIt

APPENDIX 2

DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACTS 4-5

A. Life For Life

The video starts with eerie music and a man (M.L) with his back to the camera standing in what looks like a prison cell. The man is looking at the cell wall having white chalk marks counting the days which have passed, some of the marks look faded and erased while others look more recent. The man then looks at a picture also hung on the wall, a picture of a family on a couch, a man and a woman with a child and an older daughter sitting in the middle, possibly his family.

The camera zooms into the picture and directly shifts into the same picture hanging on the wall of a different room, this time with the man's face and figure scratched out. The camera zooms out into an old bedroom with the paint peeling off the walls, an old wooden bed frame, a traditional Lebanese window frame with red wooden louver and a simple green curtain on the side. The eerie music intensifies, and a woman (W.L) quickly rises from the bed and looks into the camera with a frantic facial expression as if waking from a nightmare.

The scene shifts back to the prison cell with the man, from the start, turning around to face the camera and look straight into it. The scene shifts again to the woman sitting upright in her bed, this time looking away from the camera and rocking back and forth with her hands covering her ears.

The camera is back in the prison cell, the man is facing his cell wall, rapidly and aggressively erasing the day-counting chalk marks with a tissue or cloth. Then, we see him walking in his cell towards the camera while squeezing his hands, then the camera quickly shifts to the woman walking backwards in her room, away from the camera, with her hands raised as if to signal someone to stop approaching.

While the music continues to intensify, the camera then shifts back to the man with a zoomed focus on his hands, whereby he cracks his fingers then moves his tense hands to the side with open fists, as if preparing to attack. Directly after, we see the woman wrapping a thick black string very tightly around her hands and arms. The camera cuts into different stages of the wrapping as if enumerating them.

The man is now putting on a clean shirt while standing in front of his prison cell's bathroom mirror, he then examines his long white beard in the mirror, as if he is amazed by its length. The camera directly shifts to a zoom into the woman's face wet with descending water. While distant cries can be heard in the background, the woman is at first looking off camera and slowly wiping her mouth back and forth with her hand as if washing something off, all the while she slowly turns and looks directly into the camera. Although her face and

hair are wet, her blackened eyes appear as if she had been crying. The woman then appears to be aggressively washing and rubbing her arms and hair as if in a state of struggle, before she appears sitting in a bathtub with her clothes on and the shower water running. While she looks ahead jaded, she is aggressively tugging and pulling at her clothes as if they are sticking to her skin and she is attempting to pull them off.

The scene goes back to the man in his clean shirt standing in his cell again, rapidly erasing the remaining chalk marks and tossing the cloth to the side, then the camera shows him through the small window of his cell door pacing then turning to talk towards the door. Then, the camera shows the door lock from the first video while a man's hand knocks on the door and opens it so that the sound of the lock being opened can be heard, then the man character, with a rosery in his hand, walks towards the door. As the eerie music intensifies reaching its height, the scene quickly shifts into the woman closing her bedroom door, as the camera faces her door and her concerned face is shown peering from behind the door crack slowly closing, she then slowly backs away from the door as she breaths heavily.

Again, the camera looks into the man from outside of his cell door as his face approaches it from the background. This scene is accompanied by the voice over:

لما المغتصب يكون من عيلتها للضحية
When the rapist is part of the victim's family

The scene shows an unlocked door lock and a man's hand closing it this time and the sound of the lock closing is heard. Camera shifts to the woman addressing the camera with:

المؤبد إلو والحياة إلي
He should get the life sentence, so I can get my life back.

While the distant sound of the same eerie music can be heard in the background, a black screen is put on screen with ABAAD's logo and the words:

لما المغتصب يكون من عيلتها للضحية، #المؤبد_إلو_الحياة_إلها
When the rapist is part of the victim's family, we demand #LifeForLife

 Another black screen appears with the words:

طالبوا بالمؤبد :abaad-lifeforlife.com
الخط الآمن: 81- 78 81 78

Demand for the life sentence on abaad-lifeforlife.com
SAFE LINE: 81- 78 81 78

Along with the logos of:
NCLW, The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), Australian Aid, Norwegian Church Aid, Ministry of the Netherlands in Lebanon, International Medical Corps, Plan International, Diakonia, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), and Sweden.se.

This video harnessed 902 thousand views, 8.1 thousand reactions, 476 comments, and 954 shares.

B. Shame on Who

مين_الفلتان؟# #ShameOnWho is a video released by ABAAD on their Facebook page on November 5, 2018. The video received 2.4 million views, 5.6 thousand comments, and 27 thousand reactions (like, angry, crying), making it the most viewed video on their Facebook page to date.

The video starts with a distant shot of a woman (W.S) wearing a white shirt and a red skirt walking in the street, seen from above as the camera looks down from behind cluttered electricity power lines. Then, the camera drops to street level view, W.S is seen walking down the street between cars as she grabs her skirt, is heard crying. She arrives at a crossroad in what looks like a neighborhood in the suburbs of Beirut. She stops for a second before the camera shifts and zooms in on her confused feet shuffling back and forth. She continues to cry. The camera shifts again to show W.S looking confused and disoriented as she lowers her hands after running them through her hair and holds them together close to her torso. Her eyes seem blackened from the mascara watered down after crying. She wraps her arms around herself as she is slowly walking to the edge of the street looking left and right as if waiting for someone or something. A young man with a blurred face passes while also staring at her with his head behind his shoulder. The camera shows him walking away as a voice over with a Lebanese accent is heard:

حدا ازاكي؟
Did someone hurt you?

A man with a blurred face is seen standing next to W.S, while she slowly turns away from him and starts to sob. His hand reaches towards her as he says:

أربي لعندي شوي، ما تخافي ما تخافي
Come closer, don't be scared

W.S steps away from him as she frantically shakes her head no and continues to wrap her stomach with her arms. He takes his hand back and looks away as if losing interest.

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The scene shifts to a similar situation, W.S stands a few steps away from a different older man, as she continues to sob. Facing her, he asks:

شو عملينلك؟ طيب معكي رقم تلفون تحكي مع حدا؟
What happened? Do you have anyone to call?

As she is fighting her tears she franticly waves her hands and replies:

ما معي شي! أخدلي كلشي!
I don't have anything, he took everything!

The older man replies:
مين أخدلك؟
Who?

W.S turns away to face her right and points her hand towards that direction as she convulsively replies:

واحد حيوان!
Some animal!

She then moves her hands to the side of her body and shakes them as if shaking off the distress filling her. All the while a younger man sitting on his motorcycle, in the middle of the street, watches from afar until a car drives his way forcing him to move.
The scene shifts to a group of men standing together. They seem to be facing W.S, as the camera seems to be hiding behind a tree looking onto the men with W off the left side of the frame. One of them addresses her:

حدا عملك شي؟
Did someone do something to you?

Her white shirt peers from behind the tree as she replies while sobbing:

كتير موجوعة
I'm in pain…

The man points at her legs as if sharing his observation with the men next to him:

ليك حدا عاملها شي
(not translated) Look someone did something to her

The camera flips to the other side to the street with W.S now in focus to the right side of the screen, still standing across the group of men as another men approaches the group and a

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man taking out the garbage stands still staring at what's happening. W stands alone across from them and distraughtly tries to explain:

ضلو لاحقني بدو شي
He kept following me…

She then takes a pause while shaking her hands again, as if overwhelmed with emotions and trying to shake off the excess. She then lowers her voice and says, before quickly covering her mouth and face and continuing to cry,:

اغتصبني
He raped me…

The scene shifts to another angle of the same situation, the camera is now facing the backs of the men while W.S appears from between them. She says:

ما بدي أهلي يعرفوا
I don't want my parents to know

A man from the group approaches her with a jacket while saying:

بس لبسي هاي بالاول
Here, put this on

As he comes to lay it on her she quickly grabs her and paranoidly looks at him from behind her shoulder.
The camera shifts again to an angle further back from the same situation. W.S, with the jacket on her, steps back from the men and says:

بعدو عني شواي
Please get away from me

Her voice becomes louder by the end of her sentence then she lets out a brisk cry before the camera quickly shifts to show the backs of the men gathered while W.S, off camera, is heard in a frenzy. She cries:

ليش أنا طيب؟ ليش أنا؟ ليش أنا؟
Why? Why me?

Camera shifts again, this time showing both the men and W.S. The man that had approached her first from the group is heard addressing W.S:

بس دقيقة روقي روقي
Calm down

His remark is overpowered by W.S's loud weeping. Continuing to wear the jacket, she points at herself and painfully cries out to the men:

ليش أنا؟ أنا..يا ألاااله
Why me? Oh god

She steps back and covers her mouth with her hand.

The scene shifts to W.S standing in front of a new group of younger men. A voice over of a man is heard asking her:

خي اخده شي؟ بتتعاطي شي إنتي؟
Are you on drugs?

As that happens, the man, that had originally offered his jacket, is now taking it back. Camera shifts to face these men's backs looking at W.S while her face barely shows on screen. The scene shifts once more to show W.S standing amidst the group with an older woman now present. W.S quickly walks away from the woman as W.S's convulsing cries become louder and louder. The older woman goes after her with open arms as if trying to catch her. W.S passes a second group of men, since the original had now split into two after becoming larger. The older woman catches up to her and a female's voice is heard saying:

تعي مشي، بتطلعي معي؟
You want to come up with me?

W.S ignores her and walks away from her again. The scene quickly shifts, and the camera zooms out from behind some obstacle obscuring it. It looks onto the same men standing in the middle of the frame with their faces blurred, whilst a group of women stand further back behind a small truck, they seem to have cornered W.S and a female voice is heard asking:

شربانه؟
Are you drunk?

W.S lets out a cry as a response before the same female voice says:

لك روقي لا تخافي لا تخافي
Don't be afraid

The scene shifts to the camera looking down on a man waving his hand to two others on a motorcycle and saying:

هيئتها من واحد لا واحد

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She goes from guy to guy

Camera shifts again to look down at another group as a man from there says:

مبينه خبرة بس
Clearly not her first time!

Now the camera shows the women's group, W.S still standing between them. They are all looking to the right as a female voice is heard replying to the last comment:

عتبرها اختك يعني
Could be your sister!

The camera zooms out to show the men and women in the same frame facing each other, as before. A man's voice replies:

اختي أكيد ما بتضهر هيك، أكيد ما لح تكون هيك أصلاً لبسه
My sister would never dress like that!

The camera shifts to focus solely on the women, from across the street, W.S is backing away from the other women as one of them tries to hold her in place. Quickly after, the scene shifts to a street view to what has become a large group, of young men with blurred faces, composed of many smaller groups discussing amongst themselves. A man's voice is heard explaining to another man, as the camera slows zooms in on a specific group of men:

شرموطة خي فضحها صاحبها خي وكبها بالشارع صارت تصرخ خي ضربها وهربت
Just a whore some guy f*cked and threw away. So she is screaming.

The scene shifts back to the women's group, an older woman brushes W.S's hair and face with her hand and a female voice is heard addressing W.S:

بس إنتي عم تبهدلي حالك زيادة، ما تخلي حدا يعرف بهل شي يلي عم بصير
You're embarrassing yourself more. Don't let anyone know

W slightly nods her head in agreement.

The scene shifts again to a new group of men sitting on the side of the road. A man's voice is heard:

حجي وحده تضهر مع شب هيك؟
A girl looking like that?

The scene shifts to a different man bending over a car and into the passenger's window to talk to the driver. The camera's view is obscured as if it's hiding behind an obstacle. The voice over continues with the same voice although different men are now seen:

وشب ما بدو يعملا شي؟ لح يصليلها؟
What is he going to do? Pray for her?

Midsentence the scene shifts again to a zoomed out second story view of the street. Before the scene shifts again midsentence, another man's voice is heard saying:

مبين عليها أشطة رقاصة
She looks like a slut

The camera shifts to a street level view, looking onto W.S, from across the street, standing alone with men to her left and right.
At this point, W.S's disoriented and pain ridden cries become muddied by men's murmur, the sound of car breaks, and the city's noise. As the video continues, a text in white is displayed on screen, contrasting against the nighttime street view, with the message:

منال كانت عم بتمثل دور المغتصبة
Manal was playing the role of a rape victim

The scene shifts to W.S standing in the middle of a men's group and a young man's voice is heard shouting:

بدك إخدك عند اختي تلبسي تياب؟
(not translated) Do you want me to take you to my sister's to put on clothes?

A second message appears in white:

بس ردات فعل الناس حقيقية. للأسف.
But the people's reactions are real. Sadly.

The scene shifts once more to W.S surrounded by young men and speaking to one of them, while a man's voice over is heard talking to his friend:

شفت عيونها؟ شفتها. فلتانه فلتانه
Did you see her eyes? What a shameless slut!

As W.S is still talking to the man, a woman's voice, possibly W.S's, angrily yells:
خلااااااااص
Stoooop!

The camera zooms back out to an obscured vision of a street view with the men's group surrounding W.S. The women's voice is heard again, this time frustratingly pleading:

خلص
Stop!

The jumble of men's discussions and street sounds is heard again, then a single man's voice is distinctively heard:

مبينة فلتانه
She's clearly a shameless slut!

The hashtag #مين_الفِلتان؟ #ShameOnWho appears in white onscreen as the background turns to black. Then, the sounds start to dim down as the final message appears:

حاكم المغتصب.
ما تحكم عالضحية.

Judge the rapist.
Not the victim

Finally, ABAAD's logo is displayed mid-screen.

APPENDIX 3

DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACT 6

A. Raise the age

The video was posted on July 11 2016 on KAFA's Facebook page, received up to date 376 thousand views, 5.3 thousand shares, 7.3 thousand likes and Facebook reactions (heart and sad), and 350 comments.
The video features five different young girls standing in front of a grey background, alternating their appearance on screen one at a time. All the girls appear to be preadolescent around 9 to 14 years of age, well dressed and their socioeconomic classes cannot be discerned. they stand in the center of the screen while the camera focuses on their faces or zooms out for a full body shot, while the girls stand still and make hand gestures or cross their arms while speaking.

They look straight at the camera and with blank facial expressions address the audience directly with five questions:

Q1: بالقانون ممنوع سوق، بس مين بوصّل ولادي عالمدرسة؟
According to the law I can't drive, but wait, who will pick up my kids from school? :Q1
Q2 : توقيعي مش قانوني. عظيم، طيّب ومين بيمضي عنّي؟ بييّ أو جوزي؟
My signature is not legal yet. Great! So who will sign for me? My father or my husband?: Q2
Q3 : ممنوع إسهر كتير، بس مين بيسهر عاولادي؟
I am not allowed to stay up late, but who will stay up late to care for my children? :Q3
Q4: ممنوع ولد متلي يشتغل، البيت والعيلة هول مش شغل؟
A child like me is not allowed to work. But wait, taking care of a house, a family…isn't that work? :Q4
Q5: ممنوع إحضر فلومة لفوق ال١٨، ليش يلهي ممكن يصير معي مش أعنف من أيّ فيلم؟
I can't watch movies rated 18+. But what could happen to me isn't it violent than any movie?! :Q5

The questions end with the girls alternating appearances to say the sentence ' بهل عمر ما بدي حدا يعيّطلي ماما' (At this age I don't want anyone to call me mom). Then the video ends with the girl, which appeared at the start of the video, wearing a child's wedding dress with a veil, and the words 'RA18SE THE AGE' and ' حدّدوا السن الأدنى للزواج' appear on screen. The scene cuts to a white background with KAFA's logo then another white background with the Arabic words ' بدعم من' (supported by) and the United Nations Populations Fund Agency (UNFPA) logo.

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