Mediated Representations of Women in Qatar

A mixed-methods study exploring symbolic annihilation, presentation of self, and postfeminist sensibilities in *The Gulf Times* and among women influencers on Instagram

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Abstract

Little scholarship on women's representations in the news media or on social media has focused on Arab Gulf countries. This study addresses research gaps on women's representations in the media in non-Western contexts, in both the mainstream media and on social media in Qatar. The datasets for the quantitative content analysis of the English-language daily newspaper *The Gulf Times* comprises news items and photographs from a rolling constructed two-week sample from a 14-week period in 2019. Three datasets were compiled, covering articles (n=456), photographs (n=435), individuals named in the news (n=933). I coded items using a modified codebook based on the Global Media Monitoring Project and conducted descriptive and non-parametric statistical analyses. The results showed that women in Qatar exceeded global and regional figures for representations in newspaper articles and photographs, though they were directly quoted at a rate lower than the global and regional averages. For the qualitative ethnographic content analysis of social media content, I collected Instagram posts and stories of ten of Qatar's Instafamous women during a three-month period in late 2019. I conducted qualitative textual and visual analysis of a portion of their posts (n=146) and all of their stories, using Goffman's social role performance and gender expression frameworks and Gill's postfeminist sensibilities. The results indicate that the Instafamous of Qatar both conform to and subvert dominant representations of women, and they do so through microcelebrity practice, visibility labor, and impression management, among other tools. My research challenges the Orientalist orthodoxy of the silenced Arab or Muslim woman, and presents empirical evidence to decolonize theoretical frameworks developed in the Western world. Women in Qatar exert agency by both conforming to and subverting societal expectations by knowingly navigating gender-based boundaries on social media and presenting themselves in meaningful ways.

Keywords: Instagram, Qatar, Arab Gulf, women, gender, social media, newspapers, representations, content analysis, ethnographic content analysis, textual analysis

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Chapter 1. Introduction

If a news consumer were suddenly catapulted into the early 21st century from 200 years in the past or from 200 years in the future, they would try to make sense of society from what they saw in the news. That news consumer would likely conclude not only that the majority of the world's population are men, but also that women are experts almost exclusively in education and health, don't play many sports, and don't know how to lead. Women make up 49.6 percent of the world's population (World Bank, 2019), but appeared just slightly over 25 percent of the time in news across all media in 2020 (Who Makes the News, 2021). According to the 2015 Global Media Monitoring Project[1], when women do appear in the news, they are often portrayed in stereotypically gendered roles and are associated with topics such as health, education, and entertainment (Macharia, 2015). Women are more likely to appear visually in photographs than they are to appear in text. They are less likely than men to be quoted directly in articles, and when women are given space in a newspaper or air time on television, it will be quantitatively less than that given to men.

1.1 Research Background

This symbolic annihilation of women in the news is not a new phenomenon, and scholars have committed to studying this since the 1970s. According to one study, the presence of women in the news has actually increased by 8 percent since 1995 (Who Makes the News, 2021). We know from media sociology there are several forces that shape media messages, from the media system at the macro-level, to the individual reporter at the micro-level (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). News messages reflect a symbolic construction of reality (Carey, 2008) that is almost entirely outside the hands of those who actually appear in the news. Social media, on the other hand, provide a useful counterpoint. If we extend the above analogy of the time traveler to include social media, that time traveler might instead conclude that everyone is thin, beautiful, wealthy, and exceedingly happy. However, that's also not true—just as with the news media, social media reflect a symbolic production of reality. In the case of social media, however, they are largely free from the same gatekeeping forces that shape the news. Social media users are tied instead only to social norms and the terms of service on the platforms they use. Otherwise, they are free to post whatever they like. But unlike mediated representations in the news, mediated representations on social media are an intensely personal projection of self and identity. This freedom for women to create their own

[1] Due to Covid-19-related delays in 2020 data collection, only the most top-level GMMP data from 2020 were available at the time of the submission of this thesis. When more detailed GMMP data are discussed, they come from 2015.

reality on social media provides a liberatory outlet to show something different from the news. Social media posts are the performance of the self (Goffman, 1959) in the digital realm.

1.2 Research Gaps

The two literature reviews that follow in Chapters 2 and 3 explore the current global scholarship that details not only how underrepresented women are in the news media, but also how they are largely shown in stereotypically gendered roles. These chapters additionally cover the scholarship that illustrates how social media, though not without their own gatekeeping forces, play a liberatory role for women. However, none of the existing literature on either the news media or social media has focused extensively on women in Arab Gulf countries. Nor has any study offered such a comparison of news and social media side by side. This dissertation undertakes such a synthesis by analyzing women's representations in the English-language daily *The Gulf Times* with women's self-presentations on Instagram.

Additionally, the Arab Gulf region, and Qatar specifically, is important to study not simply to add another country to the body of global scholarship—though that is important—but because Qatar is a site for theoretical development. As described in further detail below and in Chapter 4, Qatar is a thoroughly modern country with a technologically-savvy populace, and it is also culturally conservative. Qatar's social norms place restrictions on women's visibility, but simultaneously allow several high-profile women to lead state-funded institutions and ministries very publicly. Examining mediated representations of women in this paradoxical context, as opposed to neighboring Gulf countries that are either much more or less restrictive toward women, creates space for theoretical development. How do the news media and women on social media navigate these seemingly contradictory norms? This ambivalent environment is the precise reason this study on Qatar is poised to make a theoretical contribution—it allows for a reconsideration of the concepts of symbolic annihilation, self-presentation, and postfeminist media sensibility in an Arab Gulf context. The conceptual elaboration of the term visibility and the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 4 develop this argument in greater detail and outlines the theoretical gains from this study.

Finally, the near totality of scholarship on Qatari media focuses on Al Jazeera, and this dissertation provides a necessary examination of both news and social media that are actually focused inwardly on Qatar.

1.3 Research Questions

These gaps will be addressed by asking two primary research questions that are explored in this dual-phase study. The first question asks what the quantity and nature of women's representations are in English-language newspapers in Qatar. The second question

asks how women in Qatar present themselves on the social media platform Instagram. But the most important work of this dissertation happens in the synthesis of these two phases, and examines not only the overlap between the two constructions of women, but also the differences between them.

1.4 Research Scope

This dissertation focuses first on women's representations in an English-language daily newspaper, and does not engage with the Arabic-language press. Additionally, it does not consider broadcast or online news, nor does it consider advertising or entertainment media. While all of those are worthy venues of investigation, the limitations of the researcher's language proficiency and the interest in contributing to the work of the Global Media Monitoring Project guided the entry point for this study, which will provide an empirical baseline for future researchers to work from. However, the second phase of the study that focuses on Instagram influencers in Qatar includes women posting in both English and Arabic, and I was able include them in the analysis after a bilingual Arabic-speaking research assistant translated the Arabic content. This is also likely the first dissertation about media in Qatar that does not focus in any way on the Al Jazeera media network. Additionally, while audience and production analyses are essential in understanding communication in the modern world, this dissertation focuses exclusively on media content. Finally, data collection was completed in 2019, well before the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, notable because the current Minister of Public Health is a woman. Any data collected after Qatar's response to the pandemic began would have skewed the results significantly, because she was very prominent in the news discourse.

1.5 Importance and relevance of the dissertation

As a woman, I have always been interested in women's representations in media, and I am also aware of how I make meaning out of that. When I relocated to the Arab Gulf, I was curious what those representations looked like here. After a few years living in Qatar, I began to recognize that I held very Western assumptions about women's representations, and they were simply inaccurate. However, I was unable to find published empirical work on the topic of women's representations in the news media, and I identified this as scholarly contribution that I could make to the field. But I knew there was more to the story of mediated representations of women than could be determined from the news media alone. So I turned to social media, where women have more direct control over their self-representations. By examining women's self-representations alongside others' representations of them, I would be able to highlight the gray areas between the two and engage in an in-depth exploration of what visibility on social media looks like. This dissertation not only provides rigorous

empirical data, but in the detailed synthesis of the two phases of the study, it also identifies the ways these findings can be applied to the decolonization of dominant theoretical frameworks in our field.

Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to make a theoretical, methodological, and empirical contribution not only to the growing body of global scholarship in feminist media studies, but also to the scholarship on Qatar. By understanding how women are presented in the news media and the alternative ways women present themselves on social media, scholars gain insight into the culture of the country. This dissertation also seeks to understand how the interplay between the symbolic constructions of reality created by the news media and social media generate a more nuanced understanding not only of women's mediated representations in Qatar, but also of women's lived reality.

The empirical findings in this dissertation challenge the Orientalist orthodoxy of the silenced Muslim or Arab woman, and work to decolonize theoretical frameworks developed in the Western world. The quantity of representations of women in *The Gulf Times* exceeds both global and regional figures, illustrating women in Qatar are as present in the news media as they are elsewhere in the world, if not more so. Further, women social media influencers in Qatar exert agency by both conforming to and subverting societal expectations by knowingly navigating gender-based boundaries on social media and presenting themselves in meaningful ways. Their public-facing Instagram accounts demonstrate women influencers in Qatar not only have an astute awareness of these boundaries, but also that they adopt specific practices in negotiating them. The research findings show a symbolic construction of reality that reflects the predominant social values in the state of Qatar—men are in charge, and women aren't equally visible. But the findings also illustrate an alternate construction of both symbolic and material reality where women are mothers *and* leaders, artists *and* innovators, fashion mavens *and* entrepreneurs. This dissertation highlights the nuanced reality of women in Qatar, which is more similar to than different from the nuanced reality of women in the rest of the world.

1.6 Qatar and the Arab Gulf

This chapter now turns to a cursory overview of the Arab Gulf and Qatar to orient the reader and provide context for the remainder of the dissertation. The entirety of this work is informed by having lived and worked in Doha for over seven years, and the context that follows admittedly skims the surface. Several books referenced in the following section including Sonbol's edited volume *Gulf Women* (2012), Foley's *The Arab Gulf States: Beyond Islam* (2010), and Fromherz's *Qatar: A Modern History* (2017) are excellent sources for a reader interested in a deeper understanding of Qatar's unique position in the Arab Gulf.

Any attempt at categorization of a vast region of several hundred million people across multiple nation-states is certain to be flawed, but a definition is required nonetheless. Throughout this dissertation, the Arab World is defined along geographic and cultural lines, and includes most, but not all, countries in the Middle East and North Africa: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. The Arab Gulf is a term that encompasses the six countries that make up the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and are all also generally oil- or gas-rich emirates: Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The six Arab Gulf countries also have many cultural ties to one another beyond their similar economies, most importantly that they all have ruling Sunni Muslim monarchies. Despite the cultural and economic ties, the GCC has experienced a significant political rift since June 5, 2017, when Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and the UAE closed land, sea, and air borders to Qatar, and imposed a blockade that finally eased in January 2021.

1.6.1 Geographical and economic context

A small peninsula in the Arabian Gulf that shares its only land border with Saudi Arabia, Qatar gained its independence from its British protectorate status in 1971. Covering 11,586 square kilometers, Qatar is a desert nation featuring 563 kilometers of coastline (Central Intelligence Agency, 2020), explaining its fishing and pearling tradition before the discovery of oil and gas reserves. After the collapse of the pearling industry in the 1940s, outsiders tended to view Qatar as a destitute backwater, as many citizens decamped to find better opportunities elsewhere in the Gulf, and the population fell to 16,000 (Fromherz, 2017, p. 1). That makes the Qatar of 2020 all the more remarkable. With a population of about 2.8 million (though, importantly, only 12 percent are Qatari nationals, with the remainder made up of expatriate workers) (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2020b), Qatar now boasts the international satellite news network Al Jazeera, the international satellite sports network BeIN, outposts of six premier American universities, 42 five-star hotels, the Skytrax 3rd best airport in the world, 25 trillion square meters of gas reserves, and a sovereign wealth fund valued at $295 billion that has allowed Qatar to weather the 2008 recession, the Saudi-led blockade, and the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic. All of these factors also lead Qatar to boast a GDP of $340 billion, making it the second highest per capita GDP in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2020; Gas Exporting Countries Forum, 2020; Parasie, Nair, & Martin, 2020).

1.6.2 Political context

The influence of the ruling Al Thani family dates back to the 1860s, when it was formally recognized by the British as a state distinct from its island neighbor Bahrain. (Qatar's National Day is celebrated on the anniversary of Sheikh Jassim bin Mohammed Al Thani's date of succession on December 18, 1878.) At the end of World War I Qatar's role as a protectorate of the Crown was formalized. By the time Qatar gained its independence in 1971, the oil industry and its spoils had begun to reshape the country's development (Gray, 2013). When Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani ousted his father in a bloodless coup and became emir in 1995, Qatar was well established as a rentier state, relying almost exclusively on oil exports for its wealth and development. But it was Sheikh Hamad who brought some of the most progressive changes to Qatar, from creating elected bodies like the Central Municipal Council and enfranchising women, to establishing the Al Jazeera network and giving his public wife Sheikha Moza bint Nasser free reign to develop organizations such the Doha Centre for Media Freedom and the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science, and Community Development (Roberts, 2017). Their son Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani became emir in 2013 when Sheikh Hamad abdicated peacefully, and the new emir has continued the efforts of his father to transform Qatar into a knowledge-based economy, as well as focusing heavily on sports investments, including of course, preparing to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup.

1.6.3 Media landscape

The overwhelming majority of the scholarship on Qatar's media has focused on Al Jazeera. And while the international satellite news channel is an important part of Qatar's presence on the world stage, it plays very little part in Qatar's affairs domestically. It is a rare story about Qatar that will be heard on Al Jazeera, and an even rarer one that has negative undertones. Al Jazeera is almost exclusively outward-looking, and its coverage of the 2011 Arab uprisings, particularly in Egypt, was a central reason for the blockade against Qatar that only recently ended in early 2021.

What is more relevant to this dissertation than the abundance of existing analyses of Al Jazeera is the nearly completely locked-up press inside Qatar. While a complete analysis of Qatar's media system is outside the scope of this dissertation, it is helpful to draw on recognized frameworks to provide context to understand the media landscape in this site of study. While its metrics are subjective in their own right, Freedom House provides a useful snapshot of Qatar's press system, giving the country a score of 25 out of 100, or "not free," specifically scoring 1 out of 4 on the measurement of a free and independent media (Freedom House, 2020). The online news organization *Doha News* that provided some semblance of

independent press coverage in Qatar since 2009 was closed down in 2016 due to the government's contention that it was operating without required journalistic licenses.[2] And the Doha Center for Media Freedom that had been heralded by Sheikha Moza was abruptly shut down in 2019.

Though developed for North America and Western Europe models, Hallin and Mancini's (2004) dimensions for comparing media systems are also helpful in understanding the press system in Qatar. First, the domestic media market is relatively undeveloped—Qatar's oldest print newspaper dates back only to 1969, and the oldest Arabic-language newspaper *Al-Arab,* established in 1972, announced in 2020 it would cease its print editions. In 2019, 59 percent of Qatari nationals reported getting their news from the newspaper, 45 percent of Qatari nationals reported their favorite news site was based in Qatar, and 43 percent said their favorite news outlet was owned by the government (Dennis & Martin, 2019). Second, there is a high degree of political parallelism, when considering the clan ownership—rather than political parties, as those don't exist in Qatar—of the three major Arabic-language daily newspapers and their sister English-language publications, all of which are pro-government. Third, the development of journalistic professionalism is weak, in part because most journalists are expatriate workers. They may be trained and professional, but they're not free to assert their full skillset because their residence in Qatar, as with all expatriate workers, is dependent on their continued employment. Journalists' unwillingness to jeopardize their employment leads to both a high likelihood of self-censorship, and additional motivation for primarily publishing press releases and stories from the Qatar News Agency verbatim. Finally, the degree of state intervention in the press is high, as it controls access to local media markets and practices prior restraint. It is not uncommon to see blacked-out photographs in imported glossy magazines or gaping white holes in locally-printed international editions of *The New York Times* (Sims, 2018). While the constitution guarantees freedom of speech and the press, existing laws, including the 1979 Press and Publications Law and the more recent 2014 cybercrime law, criminalize any content that "violates social values or principles" (State of Qatar, 2014), including criticisms of the government, the ruling family, or Islam (Salt & Higham, 2013).

As described in greater detail in Chapter 5, the first phase of this study analyzes *The Gulf Times*, the English-language sister publication of *Al-Raya*, one of the three primary daily newspapers in Qatar. As both the oldest English-language newspaper in Qatar, and one owned

[2] *Doha News* recently resurfaced in summer 2020 on the Medium blogging platform, staffed largely by Northwestern University in Qatar graduates. As of March 2021, the media outlet was pursuing official media accreditation with the State of Qatar (Government Communications Office, 2021).

by the second-most prominent family in the country (Fromherz, 2017), *The Gulf Times* is subject to all of the forces of the media ecosystem described above. Due the unfree nature of the press in Qatar, a newspaper such as *The Gulf Times* illustrates the very narrative the media ecosystem is designed to convey in the public discourse. It is for that reason *The Gulf Times* was chosen for this analysis.

1.6.4 Socio-cultural context

Qatar is a thoroughly modern society, boasting 96 percent internet penetration (Dennis & Martin, 2019), *and* (not but) it is deeply rooted in its cultural traditions, including a role as regional mediator. A Sunni Wahaabi Muslim country with a small Shi'a population, Qatar has little experience with sectarian conflict, unlike neighboring Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. In fact, Qatar is remarkably more open than Saudi Arabia in allowing for the construction of Christian churches, all housed together in a central religious complex. In considering Qatar's development, Fromherz (2017) argues it escaped the inevitable rootlessness a society would experience if it modernized too quickly, what Durkheim called anomie. This anomie would lead to individuals in society losing their lineage-based ties and instead begin aligning themselves according to their occupational identities. Individual purpose would now be driven by economic, rather than community function. In Qatar however, Fromherz argues, despite the country's rapid economic transformation, its citizens continue to privilege their lineage-based identities because the rentier state has allowed the individual's economic function to remain secondary. Most labor, of course, is done by over two million expatriate workers. This has left the tribalism the predominant organizing force in society. One example of this in practice, is the strong tradition of the *majlis*, a regular gender-segregated gathering of close friends and relatives to discuss important issues in the community. In other words, Qatar has bucked the outdated Orientalist notion that modernization must be synonymous with Westernization.

That said, Fromherz argues Qatar's rapid, anomie-free development has resulted in a lack of critical self-reflection of societal traditions at a time of transformation. Commenting on this absence of self-reflection is not a judgment of the Qatari traditions that have survived the transition to modernity, but instead a recognition that a lack of critical history allows those in power to retroactively construct a national identity that may not be based in absolute fact. This is all important to consider in the context of women's role in society. On the one hand, the former emir's wife, and now daughters, have a very public role in shaping the educational and cultural institutions of the country, but on the other hand, the *majlis*, the traditional site of community-based negotiation and power brokering, remains gender-segregated.

Qatar is socially conservative, but the effects of that conservativism are felt differently depending on who and where you are. It is illegal to be unmarried and pregnant, and where a Filipina domestic worker in that situation may need to give birth in jail before eventual deportation, a white-collar expat would instead have the means to fly abroad for a quickie wedding or medical procedure. Every few years, a campaign about dressing modestly in public is launched, primarily aimed at women. In primarily white-collar expat-populated neighborhoods and at five-star hotels, almost anything goes, but a woman can be asked to leave a government office if her elbows or knees are showing. But in matters of religion, there is little room for debate, literally. A proposed 2016 debate on the role of women in Islam to be held at Qatar University led to Saudi scholar Hatoon Al Fassi's being ousted from both her job and the country.[3] And in early 2020, uproar among conservative Twitter users in Qatar led to the cancellation of the Lebanese indie pop group Mashrou' Leila's appearance at Northwestern University in Qatar, due to the lead singer being openly gay (Al Jazeera, 2020).

1.7 Women in Qatar

Noting the problematic epistemology and historiography of women in Arab Gulf, Sonbol (2012) seeks to correct record in an edited volume devoted to the topic, arguing a twofold problem with the historical record: one, that it was largely written by non-Arabs, and two, that it was written through the lens of the normative religious discourse, rather than the lived reality (p. 15). Sonbol borrows Arkoun's concept of 'imagining' to chart a kind of revisionist history that placed Gulf women exclusively within the private sphere with stereotypical restrictions on free movement and socializing with non-relative males. Ultimately, the constructs of this 'imaginary' were codified into law and became the reality recorded in history. The lived reality of Gulf women was and continues to be much more complex and nuanced than the prevailing historical narrative has allowed for.

In her historical reconstruction of women's economic activity in the pre-oil era Gulf that shifts the focus away from the Orientalist narrative of the secluded woman promulgated by traveler and missionary accounts of the time, El-Saadi (2012) points out that Gulf women were very much a part of public life and economic life. Nomadic Bedouin societies relied on women's economic activity, from pastoral obligations and caring for family members to trading dairy products. In coastal Gulf societies, during the four to five months a year that the men were typically at sea pearling, families relied entirely on women for economic activity (Foley, 2010). Beyond the pearling season, women worked not only in gendered occupations

[3] In 2018, Al Fassi was jailed in Saudi Arabia after the government there cracked down on women's activists.

performing services for other women and girls like teaching, midwifery, and matchmaking, but also in non-gendered realms, such as traditional healing, selling fish, and spinning thread. In her analysis of midwifery during this same time period, Abugidieri (2012) calls out the need to consider not simply the economic value of women's work in the Gulf, but also the social value. Abugidieri's argument is not unique to the Arab Gulf. Women across the globe struggle to have their labor in the private sphere recognized in society and the media when this work does not carry the pure economic value of public sphere labor—the majority of which, not coincidentally, is done by men.

In education, women in Qatar have long outpaced their male compatriots. Schooling for girls began to be available in the late 1930s, and girls had wide access to primary schooling by the 1950s. By 1978, girls outpaced boys in graduating from high school, and by the mid-1980s, the majority of Qatar University's students were women (Bahry & Marr, 2005; Foley, 2010). Currently, Qatari women also hold more university degrees than Qatari men, 37 percent compared to 31 percent (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2019, p. 15). The state provides university scholarships for both young Qatari men and women, but while men are more likely to take their scholarship money abroad to the U.S. or UK, Qatari families are less likely to send their daughters abroad. That is a central motivation for Education City, which brings campuses of six American universities to Doha—to allow young Qatari women to get high-caliber American university degrees while continuing to live at home. That said, Qatari enrollment in the Education City universities is still gender segregated, with more Qatari women enrolled in the universities offering arts, humanities, and social sciences degrees, and more Qatari men enrolled in the universities offering business, engineering, and medical degrees. In the 2017-18 academic year, 42 percent of university graduates in Qatar were Qatari women, and 17 percent were Qatari men (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2019).

Women make up 51 percent of the Qatari citizenry (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2020a, p. 13), but despite their high educational attainment, women do not participate in the workforce at proportional rates. Women with university degrees decreased their participation in the labor force from 91 percent in 2008 to 57 percent in 2015. Additionally, Qatari women's labor force participation peaks at around age 33 at a rate of about 70 percent, and then steadily declines through to retirement age. As with women the world over, gender-based domestic duties remain their responsibility, as well, and is certainly one explanation for why Qatari women make up only 36 percent of employed Qataris (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2020a, p. 19), despite their high levels of education. In fact, the gap between women's educational status and employment rates is noted as a significant challenge in

Qatar's current national development strategy. And while, according to one survey, a majority of Qatari women believes the state supports women working and that working is the best way to gain independence, a majority also reported they face social pressure to prioritize family over employment (J. S. Mitchell, Paschyn, Mir, Pike, & Kane, 2015). Indeed, social pressure can include insisting women seek employment in occupations that will minimize their contact with men or their need to travel (Al-Malki, 2018). In the first quarter of 2020, of the nearly 20,000 unemployed Qataris with university degrees, 78 percent of them were women (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2020b, p. 36).

Women over the age of 18 can vote and run for office, both in the elected body of the Central Municipal Council and the Majlis Al-Shura (legislative council), though elections for the latter have never been held. Women first ran for office in Central Municipal Council elections in 2000, but the first woman was not elected until 2003 (Doumato, 2011). The emir appointed four women to the Majlis Al-Shura for the first time in 2017. Qatar has seen only four female cabinet members, with the first appointed as Minister of Education in 2003, the second as Minister of Health in 2008, and the third appointed Minister of Information and Communications Technology in 2013. The fourth and only current female cabinet member is Dr. Hanan Mohamed Al Kuwari, who has served as the Minister of Public Health since 2016. As a member of the diplomatic corps, Sheikha Alya Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani has served as Qatar's ambassador to the United Nations since 2013, and Lolwa Al Khater has served as the spokesperson for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2017. Several Qatari women do hold prominent and very public leadership positions, with the majority in the culture, education, and health sectors, including leadership positions at the Doha Film Institute, Qatar Museums, Qatar Foundation, and Hamad Bin Khalifa University. Finally, women cannot confer citizenship directly to their children, as that right can only be passed down through the father (Zarrugh, 2020). However, a 2018 update to the law allows for Qatari mothers to provide permanent residency to their children, should their father not also be Qatari.

1.8 Overview of the dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation explores two separate phases of this single study, thus warranting two separate chapters that review the relevant literature. Chapter 2 focuses on representations of women in the news media, and Chapter 3 focuses on women's self-representations on social media. Chapter 4 provides a robust conceptual elaboration of the term "visibility," incorporating concepts from performance studies, cultural studies, media studies, and other disciplines. This chapter also provides the theoretical frameworks that inform the two phases of the study. Chapter 5 describes in detail the two methodologies that are used in the two phases of the study, quantitative content analysis and qualitative

ethnographic content analysis coupled with textual analysis. This chapter provides a justification for undertaking the mixed methods study to provide a more detailed and nuanced exploration of women and media. Chapter 6 presents the findings of phase 1 of the study, the quantitative content analysis of the Qatari English-language *Gulf Times*. This is followed by Chapter 7, which presents the findings of phase 2 of the study, the qualitative ethnographic content analysis and textual analysis of women's Instagram content in Qatar. Chapter 8 provides a detailed discussion and analysis of the findings of the two phases of the study, including a comparison between presentations of women by others in the news and presentations of women by the self on social media. Finally, Chapter 9 offers a synthesis of the two phases of this study, including the practical implications and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2. Representations of Women in the News Media

Studies of media representations of women can be largely divided into four areas: entertainment media such as films and television, advertising, news, and social media. While the work on women's representations in entertainment media and advertising are rich and instructive in considering the ultimate question of how women are represented in media writ large, for the purposes of informing the study at hand, this literature review will focus explicitly on two areas: women's representations in the news media, and women's representations on social media. The current chapter will cover the former, and the subsequent chapter will focus on women's representations on social media.

This chapter will begin by considering Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet's foundational 1978 text *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* to provide a historical context for the beginning of feminist media studies. From there, the chapter moves into overall representations of women in the news media, and introduces the Global Media Monitoring Project and empirical studies that have employed the related methodology. This second section will be organized roughly chronologically, considering both studies focused on the quantity of women's representations in the news media, as well as the nature of them. The third and fourth sections are organized thematically to consider women's depictions in political news media and sports media, and the fifth section provides a review of the literature on representations of Arab women in the Arab news. This chapter is designed to provide a detailed overview of women's representations in the news media in several global contexts, including the Arab Gulf, where the study undertaken in this dissertation is situated. The literature reviewed in this chapter is relevant to the first phase of the study, the content analysis of women's representations in the English-language daily *The Gulf Times,* and informs the development of the research question described at the end of this chapter.

2.1 Beginnings of Feminist Media Studies

As mentioned above, the field of feminist media studies owes much to Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet for their 1978 edited volume *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*. Not only did the authors bring together in one volume a body of critical scholarship on women's representations in entertainment television, magazines, and newspapers, as well as consider the effects on the next generation, but this text also saw the first application of the concept of symbolic annihilation in relation to gender representations in media. This concept of symbolic annihilation on a theoretical level is dealt with in much greater detail in Chapter 4, and, as such, the current treatment of symbolic annihilation is designed to provide enough context for the reader to understand the empirical

studies referenced in this and the subsequent chapter. Gerbner and Gross (1976) first coined the term 'symbolic annihilation' to describe the lack of "representation in the fictional world" (p. 182). If inclusion signified societal existence, absence signified symbolic annihilation. Tuchman (1978) adapted this term in her work in feminist media studies, making a case that at a time when the United States needed to increase economic production, it would not be able to do so without markedly increased female participation in the labor force. That, in turn, would not be possible when the dominant representations of women in the mass media showed them as housewives, for if women could not see themselves as active members of the labor force in the symbolic world, there would be little chance they—or others—could see them in those positions in the real world. Symbolic annihilation is more than simply the absence of a group from media representations. Instead, the use of the term is a judgment that symbolic representations are critical not only to accurate reflections of society, but also to aspirational reflections driven by a desire for equality.

Again, as *Hearth and Home* is considered a foundational text in the study of women's representations in U.S. media, I will briefly review the studies related specifically to news media which were included in that collection. Cantor (1978) was the first to examine gender representations in public television media to see whether there was a difference between it and commercial television, questioning whether the lack of orientation toward needing to attract advertising dollars might lead to more parity in women's representation. Cantor had reason to be hopeful it would, as the mission of public broadcasting in the U.S. included providing "excellent" programming and providing diversity in its programming (p. 78-9). In her content analysis of a week's worth of programming, women made up just 15 percent of the participants on general adult programming (news, public affairs, and the like) and promotions for such programs. As described in further detail below, this is a statistic that would be only marginally improved upon over 40 years later. Women of color comprised a total of only just over three percent of participants. In the analysis of specifically public affairs programming, that is, programs about government, foreign policy, and the economy, Cantor found women were "almost completely ignored" (p. 81). And while public television programming may not engage in the same level of sex-based stereotyping that researchers found in commercial television, Cantor still found that they are largely excluded. In both commercial and public broadcasting (news and entertainment), Cantor concluded that the message that women both lack power and "are not an important part of American society" is clear (p. 88).

In another essay, G. E. Lang (1978) uses Gallup Poll's "Most Admired Women" list as a lens to develop a typology that categorizes these most admired women as having

autonomous status, satellite status, or sponsored status. The autonomous women appear on the list because of their own achievements, and satellite women appear on the list via their relationship to a powerful man. The final category of women—sponsored—characterizes women who first gain recognition as satellites but are able to transition into achieving recognition in their own right. Lang notes that the majority of the American women that are ranked as most admired tend to have satellite status, while most of the foreign women tend to have autonomous status. Lang considers the coverage of many U.S. first ladies in newspapers as exemplars of the satellite women, finding that much of the coverage reinforced sex-based stereotypes, such as being concerned primarily with issues of traditional female domesticity and beauty, and fulfilling the role of the "martyred wife" (p. 151). Lang argues these portrayals of satellite women perhaps do more harm than good. While prominent women are receiving press coverage, they are doing so not by virtue of their own achievements, but due to their proximity to powerful men, thus perhaps discouraging "women news readers from grasping control of their own lives" (p. 153).

Following the publication of *Hearth and Home*, publishing in the journal *Signs,* Tuchman called for students of gender representations in the media to refocus their energies on theoretical development to build the field further (1979). Tuchman highlights the now-familiar critiques of the origins of our field, namely the lack of theoretical robustness and, in relation to studies of women in mass media, the reliance on "naïve literalness" (p. 531). Tuchman rejects outright the distortion theory as both simplistic and normative: media distort women's role in the social world, and they *should not* do so. In fact, she argues, this very distortion is telling; the alternating trivialization and absence of women in mass media accurately depicts women's lack of power in American society. That revelation speaks to the power of the theory of symbolic annihilation, but Tuchman's specific call to action here is to investigate the assumptions in what she refers to as the "theoretical shallowness of the field's empirical approach" (p. 539), and approach media representations instead as a community of discourse. The community of discourse is a kind of metadata on which society operates, and can also be thought of as frames (Goffman, 1959) or "ensembles of texts" (Geertz, 1973). This community of discourse underlies every social interaction, so rather than focus explicitly on the superficial media text, Tuchman implores researchers to question what messages and power dynamics are represented—and by virtue of not questioning them, reified—in those texts. Additionally, even the subtle shift of terms from analyzing the "image" of women to analyzing the "myth" of women gives the researcher an alternative paradigm through which to understand not just how, but also *why* media depictions of women look as they do.

In a subsequent response, Daniels (1979) defended the empirical work as necessary for theoretical development. The empirical data that, for example, show us most television commercial "voiceovers of authority" are in fact male voices, allow scholars to develop analytic categories to consider "how dominance and subordination are unwittingly reflected" (p. 811) in mass media. And that, in turn, leads scholars to better understand the how's and why's of these media representations and their effects. As a whole, this body of early feminist scholarship that tracks the symbolic annihilation of women in the media is also essential to understanding the community of discourse Tuchman argues needs further examination. The next section of this chapter now turns to the empirical work that has been built on this foundation of inquiry built by Tuchman and her colleagues in the late 1970s.

2.2 Overall Representations of Women in the News Media

2.2.1 Quantifying women's representations in the news

Len-Ríos, Rodgers, Thorson, and Yoon (2005) conducted content analyses of two U.S. midwestern daily newspapers over a period in 1998-1999, one with a circulation of about 200,000, and one with a circulation of about 450,000. Women were mentioned only 18 percent of the time in news stories in the medium-sized newspaper, and slightly more frequently at 21 percent of the time in the large newspaper. Women fared slightly more favorably in news photographs, appearing in 30 percent of them in the medium-sized newspaper and 27 percent of them in the large newspaper. And women were significantly more likely to appear in the entertainment sections in both articles and photographs in both newspapers, and significantly less likely to appear in both articles and photographs in the sports section in both newspapers. In the business section, women were significantly less likely to appear in articles in both newspapers and in photos in the large newspaper. Stanley (2012) conducted a longitudinal study of news photographs in *The New York Times* and *The New York Daily News* over a 40-year period, and while he, too, found gains by 2006, women were only represented in news photographs 27.2 percent of the time in the elite *Times* and 20.6 percent of the time in the tabloid *Daily News*. In both publications, women were again more likely to appear in the entertainment, fashion, or lifestyle sections than the politics or business section. In Belgian broadcasting during a similar period in the early 2000s, De Swert and Hooghe (2010) sought the determinants that drove women's selection as news sources on two major televisions stations. They found the strongest determinant of the length of time given to female sources was the topic; stereotypically "female" topics like health, family and education were most often associated with female sources. The most hopeful finding in their study was that both the number of female sources and the amount of time given to them on air increased across the three years of their sample.

By 2010, data from that year's Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) continued to bear out similar trends. Comrie and McMillan (2013) analyzed 2010 data in New Zealand, finding women there bucked global trends on the production side of news: women wrote 46 percent of all stories in the sample, compared to a global aggregate of 37 percent. Unfortunately, as subjects of the news, women in New Zealand were more in line with the global trend, appearing in 25 percent of news stories, slightly more than the global aggregate of 24 percent. New Zealand women also appeared more frequently in crime and violence, social and legal, and science and health stories, and appeared the least in stories related to politics and government, sports, and the economy. K. Ross and Carter (2011) analyzed data in the UK and Ireland, finding men were twice as likely to be featured as news sources than women, and that women's voices were also relegated to "women's topics," such as education, consumer affairs and stories about other women. Slightly more promising was that more women than men served as anchors and announcers on radio, and nearly as many women served that role on television as men did. Even if women weren't appearing as subjects or sources in the news, at least radio listeners and television viewers could see them in proximity to the news in their roles as announcers and presenters.

While we hope women's representations in news media have improved, both in quality and quantity, over time, few studies are able to provide such longitudinal insight. But with the development of big data text analytical tools, such as natural language processing, researchers are able to work with larger datasets, and Shor, van de Rijt, Ward, Blank-Gomel, and Skiena (2014) did as much with a dataset from *The New York Times* from 1880 to 2005, and with 13 other U.S. daily newspapers from 1982 to 2008. In total, they analyzed more than 50 million person-name references. In 125 years of *Times'* articles, female subjects made a net gain in mentions, from under 15 percent of all mentions in 1880 to almost 25 percent in 2005, and the only sustained increase has been in the period from the early 1960s onward. Of the four sections analyzed, women had the highest representation across all years in entertainment and news, and the lowest representation in business and sports. Those trends were reflected in the 13 U.S. dailies from 1982 to 2008, while overall, women's representations across all sections increased from about 19 percent in 1982 to about 27 percent in 2008. Vandenberghe (2019), unfortunately, found that from 2005 to 2015, women not only appeared no more frequently in two Dutch-language Belgian newspapers, but in the case of the tabloid *Het Laatste Nieuws*, there was a significant *decrease* in the number of women who appeared in the publication over time.

In another large-scale data analysis, Jia, Lansdall-Welfare, Sudhahar, Carter, and Cristianini (2016) examined over 2.3 million articles and 1.3 images from 973 online English-

language news outlets during a six-month period over 2014 and 2015. They found that although women were more likely to be seen than heard, there was still a 69.6 percent chance an image would be male, and a 77 percent probability an individual mentioned in an article would be male. When we consider aggregated data from 114 countries collected through the Global Media Monitoring Project[4] (Macharia, 2015), the trends are replicated widely. Overall, in newspapers, television and radio, women made up only 24 percent of the people in the news in 2015, representing a 7 percent change from the first year of data collection 20 years earlier in 1995. Much like the studies already mentioned, women appear at a minimal rate in stories on politics and government (16 percent) and the economy (21 percent). In all of these studies, not only are women not represented at the rate they exist on earth (51 percent), but they are unable to even break through a 30 percent-coverage glass ceiling, with one exception: Jia et al. (2016) found there was a 30.4 percent probability a facial image in the 973 online news outlets they surveyed would be a woman's.

Examining the 2015 Global Media Monitoring Project data in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, K. Ross, Boyle, Carter, and Ging (2018) found that there has been an overall increase in the number of women in the news (including as sources, reporters, and presenters). However, the number of women used specifically as sources in newspapers, television, and radio in the UK dropped from 32 percent of all sources in 2010 to 29 percent in 2015. By topic, the percentage of women used as sources in the UK dropped in all categories (politics and government, economy, social and legal, celebrity, arts, media, sport, and other) except for science and health and crime and violence, where the percentage of women used as sources actually increased.

Harp, Loke, and Bachmann (2011) found women made up only 7.6 percent of the sources cited in war coverage in *Time* magazine, and that women reporters were more likely to include women as sources. However, only 20 percent of stories in the sample were women authored. In a subsequent study, Harp, Harlow, and Loke (2013) found a similar pattern in their analysis of the globalization discourse in U.S. newsmagazines over a 25-year period. Although women broke the 30 percent barrier by being mentioned in 35 percent of the 1,082 news articles, a more detailed textual analysis of the sample found that only seven of those articles about globalization discussed women extensively. And they, too, found that women journalists were more likely to quote women sources than male journalists. During a similar time frame, Grandy (2013) found that women were the subject of just over 17 percent each of feature profiles and interviews, and only 12 percent of cover photographs in six Canadian and

[4] At the time of this thesis submission, the detailed data at the regional and national levels from 2020 were not yet available.

American business magazines. Rather than include newsworthy women throughout their monthly coverage, four of these six magazines published special women's issues, which, Grandy argues, both echoes the "women's pages" of 1970s newspapers, and runs the risk of reinforcing gender-based stereotypes by predominantly framing stories about women by their gender, rather than any other aspect of their newsworthiness.

These trends were evident in broadcasting in the UK and Canada, as well. Howell and Singer (2017) examined expert appearances on British television in the early 2010s, finding men appeared, on average, four times more frequently than women. The discrepancy was more drastic in business stories (six men appearing for every woman) and political coverage (ten men appearing for every woman), while in "softer" news coverage such as health, male experts appeared only twice as frequently as women experts. Further, men were even almost three times more likely to appear in non-expert roles in news coverage than women were. The only areas where women achieved gender parity in broadcast news coverage was in *vox populi* ("person on the street" interviews) and case studies. Cukier, Jackson, and Gagnon (2019) conducted a similar study of two publicly-funded Canadian broadcasters, finding slightly more promising results: while women were still vastly underrepresented as experts in three public affairs programs, they represented almost 27 percent of all expert appearances—slightly better than what Howell and Singer (2017) found in the UK. By topic, women experts did not appear in any stories on science, sports, or religion, and when they *did* appear, they appeared the least in coverage of technology (12.1 percent), business and economics (13.5 percent), consumer issues (16.7 percent), and security and war (19.4 percent) (Cukier et al., 2019). Women experts appeared with frequency better than the overall average in coverage of accidents and disasters (35.1 percent), education (34.8 percent), health (33.3 percent), and crime and policy (32.1 percent).

Shor, van de Rijt, Miltsov, Kulkarni, and Skiena (2015) found that in 193 U.S. newspapers, women were overrepresented in the entertainment section, and underrepresented in the business and sports sections, but that the presence of a female section editor had no impact on the frequency of women's representation. They argue the underrepresentation of women in the U.S. news media is due to structural socio-economic inequalities that lead to fewer women reaching the highest tier of the social and occupational classes that account for most media coverage. In a subsequent study, Shor, van de Rijt, and Miltsov (2019) examined the relationship between newsroom gender makeup and coverage sentiment, finding that women generally received more positive coverage in their sample of over 200 U.S. newspapers, and that positive coverage for women significantly increased when more women joined the editorial boards. However, there was no evidence to support the claim that more

women in managerial roles within the newsroom would result in more positive coverage of women. Overall, these studies show broadly similar findings, both in local and global contexts, suggesting the underrepresentation of women in the news is not determined by specific national contexts.

2.2.2 Describing women's representations in the news

While the previous series of studies discussed how women appeared in the news media quantitatively, we will now turn to studies examining depictions of women qualitatively. It is important to acknowledge the robust body of communication literature focused on representations of women from ethnic minorities in majority cultures, especially Arab women, in Western media, largely informed by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1979). However, as the scope of this study is focused on representations of primarily Arab women in Arab media, and not on representations of the Other, this literature review does not address that body of work. Instead, the literature review focuses here on representations of women in their own national and cultural contexts.

In the early days of the Internet, scholars predicted that online news outlets would upend some of the gatekeeping forces that perpetuated homogeneity in news content. Without space limitations on the printed page, there would be room generally for diversity in news content, and specifically in coverage of women in the news. Jung Yun, Postelnicu, Ramoutar, and Lee Kaid (2007) examined online news magazines in four countries over a month-long period in 2003, concluding overall that while women didn't necessarily appear more frequently in online newsmagazines than in their print counterparts, the articles that focused on women were beginning to have a similar tone to those that were focused on men. Specifically, the authors found that about half of the stories featured women in non-stereotypical roles, such as being career oriented. However, a significantly smaller sample of women-oriented stories (68.3 percent) depicted them in leadership roles compared to men (92.2 percent). Further, men were more often portrayed in professional situations than women, and when women did appear, they were more often described by their personal, rather than professional attributes, such as friendliness.

In a case study of two women stepping into leadership positions in Belgium in the early 2010s, Vandenberghe (2019) found that while their femininity and family roles were emphasized, which is often true for women in the news (Macharia, 2015, p. 44), in some other ways, the fact that they were women was deemphasized, perhaps to counter inherent claims that they were only chosen for these roles precisely because they were women. Vu, Lee, Duong, and Barnett (2018) conducted a wider-scale content analysis of multiple online, print, and broadcast news outlets in Vietnam, finding not only that women leaders were

underrepresented, but also that when they were included, it was to provide expertise on stereotypically feminine topics such as health care, education, or women's rights. The Vietnamese press effectively made women's voices and expertise invisible and "perpetuated gender stereotypes by presenting a social structure where men lead and women follow" (p. 581). Poutanen, Kovalainen, and Jännäri (2016) conducted an in-depth critical discourse analysis of global women managers depicted in *The Economist* over an eight-year period, finding that these managers, despite being CEOs and board members of multinational businesses, were largely constructed through the lenses of physical appearance and "traditional femininities" (p. 201), such as their kinship roles of wife, mother, or daughter. The other ways these women managers were constructed in the discourse of *The Economist* represented a reifying of "gender asymmetry," wherein femininity is constructed in a specific way that can be celebrated as an emblem of a new kind of capitalism, but does not challenge the traditional masculinity of the c-suite.

In a study of social protest coverage over two years in 13 newspapers across North America, the Middle East, and Asia, Armstrong, Boyle, and McLeod (2012) found women appeared less frequently than men, and that the disparity between male and female sources was greater in the U.S. and the Middle East than it was in Asia or Canada. Further, when women did appear, they were more likely to be included as sources for stories about nonpolitical protest topics and peaceful protests. The authors here argue women are being portrayed stereotypically, for they are not appearing in stories when they may have acted deviantly or transgressed gender norms. K. Ross et al. (2018) undertook a selective qualitative analysis of stories that exemplified gender stereotyping of women, expressing dismay that with the infrequency with which women continued to appear in 2015, when they did appear, they were often reduced to sexualized objectification, subject to enduring standards of feminine beauty, unable to meet job performance standards due to their sex, and seen more often than heard. In a study of gender role depictions in online English-language news stories about China on CCTV.com in 2016, McKenzie and McKenzie (2017) found women depicted just over a quarter of the time, and never by name. As the specific audience for this English-language content on CCTV.com is primarily comprised on non-Chinese English speakers, the authors concluded in their rhetorical analysis that the audience could reasonably perceive Chinese women did not hold leadership roles in politics, business, or government. Further, the data showed that women were not depicted in any agentic, decision-making roles. Rather, they were depicted in communal roles that were in line with stereotypical gender roles.

2.3 Women's Representations in Political Media

The area of political news media is a significant site of study for assessing women's representations, for the political landscape is where real power is held. Understandably, many media scholars have studied how women politicians have been treated by the media. While Qatar, the site of the current study, does not engage in the kind of electoral process referenced in the literature discussed below, the scholarship still provides valuable insight into the representations of women in the political sphere. In other words, it doesn't matter if it's a democracy—men still hold the highest positions of power. Gender remains an important construct in considering political power and media representations of it.

In a wide-ranging historical analysis of four American women politicians over a 140-year period, Finneman (2015) compared newspaper coverage of the women across ten themes. Most notably, her research found that only the one successful candidate (Jeanette Rankin, the first woman elected to the U.S. Congress) of the four was constructed as a good politician; coverage of three of the women considered how well they aligned with idealized womanhood; coverage of women politicians' appearance has become more prevalent over time; and as the gendered spheres of American social life broke down, the importance of adhering to a delicate balance of the "masculine" traits of strength and capable leadership and "feminine" traits of being non-threatening and submissive increased. Interestingly, in the case of Rankin, Finneman argues that as a congressional candidate, the local and state-level press set the tone for her coverage, so that by the time the national press picked up on Rankin's increasingly likely success, the agenda for her coverage was already set. Hayes and Lawless (2016) studied hundreds of midterm U.S. congressional races in 2010 and 2014, finding that female candidates do not actually face bias in media coverage, despite conventional wisdom to the contrary. The authors do emphasize that their study focused on elections for the U.S. House of Representatives, which are quite unlike presidential or state-level races, and this finding echoes Finneman's (2015) conclusions related to Jeannette Rankin's congressional run in 1916. Nearly a century later, as Hillary Clinton sought the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 2008, Ritchie (2013) argued continued anxieties about women in power were reflected in online images depicting Clinton as a monster and a cyborg. And in her 2016 bid for the presidency, coverage bore out the trend Finneman (2015) identified—that the higher a position a woman seeks, the more frequently her gender is included in media coverage (Falk, 2019). Beyond that, Falk's findings supported the longstanding and consistent notion that media will focus more on women's appearances than men's, that women presidential candidates will receive less coverage than men, and that the press continued to use the "first woman" or novelty frame, even when inaccurate. In a comprehensive review of

relevant literature, K. Ross (2017) not only echoes the above, but also adds that the political credibility standard by which women are judged is determined by traits considered masculine. Her analysis rightfully points out that these patterns are replicated across the globe and attributes them in part to the deeply gendered journalistic production routines that continue in newsrooms today.

In an analysis of television coverage of local elections in Israel in 2008, Lachover (2012) found there was not a significant difference between the quantity of media coverage of women candidates (about 14 percent) and the number of women running for office (about 16 percent). In the accompanying framing analysis, Lachover found that coverage was often constructed around newsworthiness, but that this newsworthiness no longer derived by being female alone; a female candidate's newsworthiness was derived by "double or triple 'otherness'"—other characteristics such as religion or location. And while Lachover did not find an emphasis on the women candidates' appearances in the news coverage, she did find a dominant frame of subordination to men, whether by referring to women candidates as "wife of," or by relying on their place in political family dynasties. That said, Lachover's analysis found additional complexity in a feminist frame that challenged traditional notions of femininity, and overall, she argues that her analysis shows that women's representations "can change in a way that does not necessarily reflect shifts in sociopolitical reality" (p. 455).

Looking at print coverage of women politicians in the Indian *Lok Sabha*, or the Lower House of the Indian Parliament, Golder (2012) examined the top five female and five male politicians in two newspapers over a two-and-a-half-month-period prior to the election, finding those five women garnered only one-third of the coverage. For Flemish women politicians in Belgium, Vos (2013b) found systemic gender bias in Flemish television news; only 14 percent of all speaking time was devoted to women politicians. Even after controlling for other characteristics, such as the level of the position held, or a senate candidacy, Vos found a female politician still speaks for eight minutes less than her male counterparts. The literature on representations of women politicians illustrates that elite women are not special—they are similarly vulnerable to being trivialized by the media as are any women.

2.4 Women's Representations in Sports Media

Sports media is another area of specialization in the field of feminist media studies, but where many of the same trends we've seen already continue to hold true: men are represented more frequently than women, ideal femininity is both constructed and contested, and, while change is happening, it is indeed incremental. This is an area of particular interest in this study conducted in Qatar due to the increasing importance placed on sport in the country, both in the recreational and professional realms. Qatar has been celebrating a

National Sports Day holiday since 2012, on a Tuesday in February during which residents are encouraged to participate in sports activities. Further, in addition to securing the hosting rights for the 2022 FIFA World Cup, Qatar has hosted several other major international sports tournaments, some of which occurred during the study period, including the 2019 IAAF World Athletics Championships and the first annual ANOC World Beach Games.

In the U.S., gendered differences in media coverage of sports begins in high school, with photographs of male athletes appearing with greater frequency, across more column inches, in more prominent placements, and more often in color (Pedersen, 2002). That trend continues at the college level, despite efforts enacted as part of the landmark 1972 Title IX legislation that guaranteed, among other things, equitable funding for men's and women's sports at colleges and universities. Huffman, Tuggle, and Rosengard (2004) examined campus newscasts and newspapers at 39 universities, finding that in stories about specific athletes, over 81 percent of newscasts and nearly 73 percent of newspaper stories were devoted to male athletes, despite that only 59 percent of college athletes are male. In both the newscasts and newspaper stories, men were three times more likely than women to be the first source quoted in a story. On the upside, in terms of length of story, inclusion of photographs, or placement prominence, there were no significant differences observed in the quality of the coverage given to male and female athletes, a marked difference from Pedersen's (2002) study.

Adams and Tuggle (2004) also reference the increasing number of American women participating in sports since the passage of Title IX in their inquiry of coverage of women's sports on ESPN's flagship program SportsCenter. In their analysis of 807 stories in a 30-day period, a whopping 96.4 percent were exclusively about men, and the ratio of time devoted to stories about men compared to time devoted to stories about women was 1.77 to 1. The authors compared their data to an earlier 1997 study; in the interim, two women's professional sports leagues—the WNBA for basketball and the WUSA for soccer—had been established, but in fact, coverage of women's sports actually *decreased* in that period. During a similar period, Fink and Kensicki (2002) analyzed coverage of women in *Sports Illustrated* and the new *Sports Illustrated for Women*. Their content analysis included 1,775 articles and photographs from the former, and 1,075 articles and photographs from the new publication. In *Sports Illustrated*, only 10 percent of articles and 10 percent of photographs covered female athletes, and when they did appear, their athletic achievements were trivialized, and their depictions were sexualized. Similarly, depictions of female athletes in *Sports Illustrated for Women* trivialized their athletic achievements and focused instead on their femininity. The majority of the photographs of female athletes in *Sports Illustrated for Women,* like its

counterpart, were either non-action shots, or completely removed from their sport environment, emphasizing their femininity.

In a more recent analysis of the impact of Title IX, Kaiser (2018) studied newspaper coverage over an 80-year period straddling the enactment of the legislation, finding that while coverage in large-city newspapers over that period continued to be unequal, in small- and medium-sized newspapers, there was greater equality of coverage in the 40 years since Title IX was enacted. Kaiser argues that proximity to local and regional women's and girls' sports explains the increases in coverage in the small- and medium-sized newspapers, raising an interesting question about social realities depicted in national media.

The Olympic Games offer a great site of study for comparing representations of gender in sports—while men and women may not always be competing in the exact same events, they are competing during the same two and a half weeks every two years. Neither the summer nor the winter Olympics has achieved gender parity, but they inch closer every few years: in the 2012 London Summer Games, 44 percent of the athletes were women (Committee, 2013) and in the 2018 Pyeongchang Winter Games, that number was about 41 percent (Committee, 2018). In the past few decades, it has become the one time every two years that thousands of athletes compete at once, and that a substantial portion of them are women.

The amount of Olympic coverage largely still favors men, though in broadcast coverage, that number has improved somewhat in the past 20 years. In a study of American broadcast coverage of the 2000 Summer Olympics, A. Billings and Eastman (2002) found that by a measure of simple "clock time" alone, men received significantly more coverage than women, 53 percent compared to 47 percent, actually representing a backslide from nearly equal coverage in 1996. Beyond clock time alone, the authors also found that most athletes mentioned by broadcasters were male, the majority of visual representations of athletes were male, and that the descriptions NBC commentators used for athletes reflected sexist stereotypes. By 2010, not much had changed, and American coverage of the Winter Olympic Games on television continued to favor men (Angelini, MacArthur, & Billings, 2012). In their analysis of NBC prime time coverage, the authors found women were the focus of coverage less than 38 percent of the time, women received less than 37 percent of commentator mentions, and of the top-20 most-mentioned athletes, only five of those (25 percent) were women. In the intervening years, men consistently received more American prime time coverage than women at the Olympics, with the most marked difference occurring during the winter competitions. In the 2002 Winter Olympics, men received 64.7 percent of the prime time coverage compared to women's at 35.3 percent, and in the 2006 Winter

Olympics, men received 60 percent of the prime time coverage compared to women's at 40 percent (A. C. Billings, Angelini, & MacArthur, 2018). Differences were less pronounced, but still disparate, in the Summer Games; for example, in 2004, men received 52.3 percent of the prime-time coverage to women's 47.7 percent, and in 2008, men received 54.2 percent to women's 45.8 percent.

Olympic Games coverage in other parts of the world frequently told a similar story. In an analysis of the primary broadcaster's websites in four countries (ABC in Australia, BBC in United Kingdom, CBC in Canada, and TVNZ in New Zealand), Jones (2013) found coverage of male athletes in the 2008 Summer Olympics was significantly higher than coverage of female athletes, in all stories (59 percent for men), all photographs (62 percent for men), lead stories (64 percent for men), and lead photographs (68 percent for men). Among the four broadcaster's sites, ABC devoted the most coverage to women, with 47 percent of stories and 43 percent of photographs, while their neighbors at TVNZ devoted the least, with only one-third of stories and photographs covering women. In the first analysis of the Canadian broadcaster CBC's prime time broadcast coverage of the Olympics, MacArthur, Angelini, Smith, and Billings (2017) employed a similar methodology as in previous studies of American prime time coverage in their examination of the 2014 Winter Games. In their 2017 study, the authors found that based on clock time alone, just under 40 percent of CBC coverage was of women. Similarly, they found a significant difference in the number of mentions by name, with just under 39 percent of mentions being for women, and of the top-20 mentioned athletes, only seven were women. In an analysis of Italian broadcast coverage of the same 2000 summer games, Capranica and Aversa (2002) found the coverage of women's events was only 29 percent of the total coverage, and while that was on par with the percentage of Italian women athletes participating in the games (28%), it was lower than the overall percentage of all women athletes competing in Sydney (38%). However, Billings and Eastman (2002) convincingly argue that simply matching the percentage of broadcast coverage with the percentage of female competitors does not constitute gender parity. At least in the American broadcast case, coverage is almost always of the medal rounds, and because there are equal numbers of men's and women's events, there would be an equal number of male and female athletes competing in finals, creating an expectation of equal coverage of men and women.

Finally, in the 2012 Summer Games, women received more prime-time American coverage than men, with 54.8 percent of NBC's sheer clock time devoted to covering their events, compared to 45.2 percent of the coverage focusing on men. This was nearly replicated in the 2016 Summer Games, with women receiving 52.7 percent of NBC's prime time

coverage, compared to only 47.3 percent for men. And in 2018, women finally received more coverage than men in Winter Olympics prime time coverage on NBC, 52.2 percent to the men's 47.8 percent (Billings, Angelini, and MacArthur, 2018).

Qualitatively, the coverage trends are less optimistic. In an analysis of the track and field events at 2004 Summer Games, Greer, Hardin, and Homan (2009) go beyond simply measuring clock time and instead explore the very mediation of sports events on television, that is, the visual production techniques that are employed in sports coverage to create the viewing spectacle itself. Do the television producers use different production techniques in covering men's and women's events that lead to viewers labeling the men's competitions as "naturally" more exciting? The authors analyzed coverage of American track and field athletes competing in 23 events (men) and 21 events (women) along three visual production metrics: field of view, point of view, and use of time and motion. First, they found that overall coverage was heavily skewed in favor of men, with 66.3 percent of prime-time segments focusing on men and only 33.7 percent focusing on women. In an analysis of raw clock time of these segments, men had more coverage than women by a ratio of 1.5 to 1. And in their analysis of the various production techniques, the authors found that coverage of the men's events had more of everything, from time to variance in camera angles and speeds, that lead to viewer perceptions of men's sports as naturally more exciting and emotional, and further perpetuate the symbolic annihilation of women in sports (p. 185). A. Billings (2007) also focused on the 2004 Summer Games, analyzing on-air commentary by NBC broadcasters for gendered descriptions of male and female athletes in four sports: gymnastics, track and field, swimming, and diving. His results showed that gymnastics and diving coverage bore the most gender-marked language by commentators, while the swimming and track and field coverage featured less. That these differences map on to the subjective nature of judging of gymnastics and diving, as opposed to a subjective measure such as speed in swimming or track and field events, is no coincidence, Billings argues, but instead a reflection of the gendered nature of subjective assessments in sports and beyond.

Boykoff and Yasuoka (2015) examined a relevant case study in a review of framing in coverage of the 2012 Summer Olympics in four American and four British newspapers. These Summer Games were the first to see female athletes competing from three predominantly Muslim countries: Brunei, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. Their frame analysis of coverage of these female Muslim athletes in eight Western newspapers identified two predominant frames: progress and tokenism. The progress frame was noted in 76 percent of the 79 articles coded, with journalists noting strides toward gender equality, using words like "landmark," "monumental," "breakthrough," and "revolutionary," with only one article in the sample

employing guarded language like "a baby step" (p. 94-95). The other predominant frame of tokenism was coded in 24 percent of the sample, with writers of those pieces noting that were it not for the International Olympic Committee's universality clause, none of these athletes would have qualified for the games, and as such, were vastly outperformed by competitors. Articles with the tokenism frame explicitly used the term "token," as well as referring to the inclusion of women athletes from these countries, specifically Saudi Arabia, as an "empty gesture" (p. 95).

Scholars have also considered the legacy of the Olympic Games on everyday coverage of women's sports. O'Neill and Mulready (2015) examined whether the 2012 Summer Games resulted in an increase in coverage of "routine" women's sports across seven British newspapers, finding the coverage from six months prior to the 2012 Summer Games (February 2012) to six months after (February 2013) increased from 1 percent to 4 percent. Including a similar sample from February 2002 and including both routine women's sports and mentions of the Olympics, the coverage of women's sports of any kind never exceeded 5 percent of the total. And what to make of this substantial difference in coverage between women's and men's sports? O'Neill and Mulready convincingly argue that this 5 percent of coverage in no way reflects reality, for the British female Olympians were responsible for 36 percent of Team Great Britain's medals in the 2012 Games. Instead, they write, "*Omission* from the news agenda (systematic absences) can be as powerful an influence as that which *is* included" (p. 665, emphasis in original). And beyond measures of presence and absence, Cooky and Antunovic (2018) consider the media narratives that although, in the Western mediascape at least, represent progress, by focusing on celebratory achievements of female athletes or highlighting inequalities in men's and women's Olympic events, for example, narratives continue to include "blatant sexism, racism, and discrimination" (p. 946).

2.5 Arab Women's Representations in Arab News Media

While all of these global trends are important in setting the international stage for understanding the overall role of women in the news, the study at hand of course focuses on Qatar, and so the examination of women's representations in the Arab news media warrants specific attention. Many recent studies focus on gender at the organizational level, specifically the presence of women in Arab newsrooms, and their experiences there (M. I. Ayish, 2010; Kaye-Essien & Ismail, 2020; Melki & Mallat, 2019; Mellor, 2019), but less so on representations in the press itself.

The Global Media Monitoring Project has included several Arab countries in their project, and in 2015, their coverage of the Middle East included Egypt, Israel, Lebanon,

Morocco, Palestine, and Tunisia (Macharia, 2015)[5]. In the aggregated data for the Middle East region, women appear as subjects and sources in newspapers, radio, and television news 18 percent of the time. When they do appear, they appear most in social and legal stories (25 percent), celebrity, arts and media, and sports stories (22 percent), and science and health stories (21 percent). They appear in crime and violence stories 18 percent of the time, economic stories 18 percent of the time, and politics and government stories a mere 9 percent of the time. Compared to other world regions measured, in political and government stories, the Middle East is ahead of only Asia (7 percent), while Latin America comes in first with 25 percent of women's appearances as subjects and sources occurring in political and government stories. On internet news sites in the Middle East, the results were quite mixed. Women appeared as subjects and sources in no stories about the economy or science and health. But their presence in stories about celebrity, arts and media, and sports on the internet was nearly double their presence in stories in the newspaper, radio and television news, at 47 percent in the former to 22 percent in the latter. In the other three major topics, women appeared as sources or subjects on internet news sites at comparable rates to newspapers, radio and television, appearing in 10 percent of items about politics and government, 22 percent of items about social and legal issues, and 20 percent of crime and violence items. Overall, in newspaper, radio, and television news, the percentage of stories that reference gender equality, women's rights, or human rights policy was only 6 percent, much less than the leading regions of Africa (20 percent), the Caribbean (19 percent), and North America (17 percent). Those percentages are nearly the same among items that raised issues of gender equality or inequality, with the Middle East again coming in at 6 percent. And only 2 percent of stories clearly challenged gender stereotypes.

When we drill down further into the country-specific data, women appeared in newspapers, television, and radio in Arab countries at rates lower than the global average of 24 percent. Women did best in the Maghreb, appearing 20 percent of the time in the news in Morocco and 19 percent of the time in Tunisia. In the Levant, the rates were lower, with women appearing 13 percent of the time in Lebanon, 11 percent in Palestine, and 10 percent of the time in Egypt. None of the Arab countries reported Twitter data, and only three reported data on Internet news, where women all fared better than they did in the legacy media. In Tunisia, 23 percent of people in the internet news were women, while in Egypt it was 19 percent, and in Palestine 14 percent.

[5] At the time of this thesis submission, the detailed data at the regional and national levels from 2020 were not yet available.

Much of the scholarship on women's representations in Arab news is focused on broadcast programming, including pan-Arab satellite channels like Al Jazeera. In an early comparison between Al Jazeera's coverage of Egyptian divorce law reforms with that in the Egyptian media, Sakr (2002) noted that while Al Jazeera facilitated discussion of these issues on debate-style panel programs that resulted in robust discussions, the Egyptian media largely framed the issue as one where men were losing to women. Sakr argues the differences in coverage was due in part to Al Jazeera's desire to maximize its audience by providing balanced forums between speakers of different opinions. Rabinovich (2013) focused on a prominent Syrian woman preacher Dr. Rufayda al-Habash who appears frequently on television, finding that she was able to challenge conservative norms of the largely male clerical establishment by "working within the Islamic framework" (p. 826). On the opposite end of the spectrum, Mourad (2014) examined the response to a young Egyptian woman blogger's posting of a naked picture of herself on her blog, finding widespread condemnation from across the political spectrum, reflecting the perpetuation of the Arab woman's body as the discursive site of cultural ideals and norms. While not focused exclusively on depictions of women in the media, Atiyya (2016) examined women in satellite broadcasting in the Arab world over the ten-year period from 1996 to 2006. While women across seven Arab countries vastly outnumbered men as media students in 2000 (in Qatar alone, at that time, nearly 97 percent of media students were women), they made up from only 25 to 40 percent of media professionals at four satellite Arab broadcast networks (p. 237). Again, while not specifically focused on women's depictions, we can extrapolate from these data that at the turn of the 21st century, a viewer of these broadcast networks would have seen a majority of men.

Several studies have specifically examined representations of women leaders in the Arab world, both politicians and other prominent women. Skalli (2011) undertook a framing analysis of women leaders in Morocco, examining four months of political news coverage. In a sample of 1,738 news items that appeared in the front page, editorial, politics, and national sections, women were included a paltry 84 times, which constituted .04 percent of the coverage. The framing analysis indicated that women's voices were included primarily on issues stereotypically related to women, that women were absent from coverage of local government issues, despite holding office, and that women's competence was disproportionately questioned in editorials. Skalli concluded that political leadership in Morocco is assumed to hold a "masculine character" and that there is a "deep-seated resistance" to women's participation in politics (p. 488). In a contemporary study not just of Morocco, but also Algeria and Morocco, Ben Salem (2010) found that politically active women were underrepresented in all media, whether government-owned or independent. On

broadcast media, although coverage of women politicians was generally positive, it still represented a minority of political interviews, even in the case of coverage of women's participation in elections. In addition to political news, the print media in these three countries also relied on more male than female experts in business and economics, both in simple frequency and in length of the commentary. Al Otaibi and Owen Thomas (2011) conducted case studies of Bahraini newspaper coverage of women candidates in the second elections open to them, in 2006, finding the majority of coverage was positive toward the women candidates, and that it was gender-neutral, both in tone and amount of coverage. This runs counter to the other literature, and it is important to note that in Bahrain it is an accepted practice for political parties to pay journalists for positive newspaper coverage of their candidates.

More recently, scholars have focused on coverage of crime and violence against women in the Arab world. Halim and Meyers (2010) examined local English-language coverage of violence against women in three Arab Gulf countries—Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Kuwait—finding the coverage largely dismissed the women's stories and experiences, either by explicit omission from the narrative or implicit blame for the violence they suffered. The authors concluded not only that the coverage reflected traditional patriarchal beliefs and customs that relegate women to second-class status, but also that the coverage was very similar to that of the West, wherein incidents of violence are seen as isolated criminal acts and not a symptom of a patriarchal system based on male supremacy. And in Jordan, Mahadeen (2017) found that coverage of murders of women differed depending on whether the woman was construed as an ideal victim, as was the case with a sensational murder case, or whether the woman was considered at fault, as was the case in so-called honor crimes. Szanto (2016) examined gendered images in local, regional and global media from the Syrian uprising, beginning in 2011. In all venues, the author found depictions of women could be categorized as victim, escapee, or unwitting pawn of male power. These characterizations echoed Orientalist ideas about Arab women, even when they appeared in the Arab press itself. In Egypt, El-Ibiary (2017) found that local media coverage of two well-known incidents of violence and harassment against women blamed the women themselves.

Scholars have also engaged in head-to-head comparisons of Western and Arab media coverage of issues. Kaufer and Al-Malki (2009) conducted a discourse analysis of Arab and Western media coverage of Saudi women that employed some version of a "trendsetter" characterization. The authors found Arab coverage to be fairly homogenous, consistently referring to Saudi women "firsts" and the existence of numerous opportunities for women in the Kingdom. The Western media coverage, on the hand, was more diverse, with some of the

articles relying on Orientalist tropes, and others providing a more nuanced narrative of respect for the Saudi woman. Dastgeer and Gade (2016) compared visual framing of women in coverage of the 2011 Arab Spring on the websites of CNN and Al Jazeera. Overall, women were included in dominant images on both websites about 70 percent of the time, and Al Jazeera depicted over 70 percent of women as active.

The most comprehensive consideration of Arab women in Arab news was conducted by Al-Malki, Kaufer, Ishizaki, and Dreher (2012), who sought to understand not only whether the Arab news media depicted women as stereotypically passive as the Western news media did, but also what the qualitative depictions of those women looked like. Unlike many of the quantitative studies of women's representations in the news that are focused on quantifying presence and absence, this study sought instead to identify the quality of representation (whether stereotypical or not) quantitatively. And in fact, when the researchers were constructing their sample of Arab news sources, they settled on including news stories from four pan-Arab publications, rather than from local, regional, or national publications, because stories from the latter reflected "not stereotyping, but erasure" (p. 57). So, while the four pan-Arab sources that were ultimately included in their sample skewed liberal and represented almost half of all of the stories in their initial search of 100 Arab news sources, they still offered up both stereotypical and non-stereotypical representations of women. The researchers further whittled their sample down to a subset marked by the non-stereotypical use of female pronouns that referred to specific individuals, as this would provide the greatest insight into whether Arab women appeared as active or passive in news coverage. In their overall sample of 237 news briefs from four pan-Arab news sources, among 888 mentions of women, 44 percent of the mentions were active. The authors rightly recognize that this is a significant departure from the vast majority of Western media depictions of Arab women as overwhelmingly passive. After removing the briefs that featured non-Arab women, the authors settled on a sample of 178 briefs that featured exclusively Arab women. Among this 44 percent of active depictions of Arab women in their sample, the authors identify 92 news briefs wherein an Arab woman is an active news source, that is, she was quoted ("source effect"). In an additional 31 briefs, an Arab woman is part of the news narrative, even though she is not directly quoted ("agent-reference effect") (p. 61). Combined, 100 news briefs featured either a quote or a mention of an individual Arab woman, which is 56 percent of the briefs.

2.6 Addressing the Gaps in the Literature

The totality of the literature reviewed above shows a global reticence among the news media to depict women at the rate they belong to the global population, and when they do,

they are painted with stereotypical brushes. Very little of the existing literature has focused on women in the Arab press, and even less so in the Arab Gulf. Even the far-reaching Global Media Monitoring Project has not yet surveyed the news in any of the Arab Gulf countries. As such, there are several gaps in the literature the first phase of this study is poised to address. These gaps will be addressed by asking a single overarching research question:

> What is the quantity and nature of women's representations in the Qatari English-language news media?

In answering this research question, this phase of this study follows in the tradition of the many scholars who have undertaken quantitative analysis to first simply see the frequency of women's representations in both articles and photographs. Based on the work of Len-Ríos et al. (2005) and Stanley (2012) that found women were more likely to appear in the entertainment or lifestyle sections than business or sports sections, and similar work that found women more likely to appear in the entertainment (Shor et al., 2015; Shor et al., 2014) or news (Shor et al., 2014) sections, compared with business or sports, this study will then see if the same is true in Qatar. Will women be less likely to appear in articles and photographs in the front page, business, and sports sections, and more likely to appear in articles and photographs in the community (lifestyle) sections?

Moving on to the robust body of literature investigating the topics most frequently associated with women's appearances in the news, whether women are stereotypically represented, and how women leaders are represented, this phase of the study will then explore the same correlations in the dataset at hand. Are women less likely to appear in news items related to politics and government, the economy, and sports? Will they appear more frequently in items about science and health and social and legal issues? How many women are mentioned or quoted by name, and when they are, what topics are they associated with? What about specifically among women leaders? How many news items challenge gender stereotypes?

The literature reviewed above on women's representations in sports media tells us that in both general, everyday sports coverage and in high-profile international events, women receive a minority of the coverage. What is the case in the Qatari context, where there is both coverage of routine sports activities and mixed-gender international events that Qatar has hosted, such as the 2019 IAAF World Athletics Championships and the first annual Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) World Beach Games?

Now that we have considered the literature related to women's representations in the news, we next move into a review of the literature related to women's self-presentation on social media.

Chapter 3. Self-representation by Women on Social Media

The scholarly study of social media has greatly increased in the past 15-plus years since MySpace became the first social media site to record 1 million monthly active users (Ortiz-Ospina, 2019), and create social media as we know it today. Early studies focused on both the connective possibilities of social media, with the idea of the networked self (Papacharissi, 2011), as well as the paradoxically isolating potential of social media, focusing on the atomization of the individual, building on the fears of the breakdown of community and democracy heralded by Robert Putnam's 2000 book *Bowling Alone*. As other social media sites came (and some went), scholarship began to focus on concerns about privacy and big data. As platforms such as Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook gained billions of users, social media became the new public sphere, and a site of political communication, advertising, and entertainment. Understandably, communication scholars have built bodies of literature on those topics and their intersections with the most widely used social media platforms.

3.1 Instagram

When Instagram launched in 2010, it offered users a primarily visual platform, and was less concerned with connecting with friends, as MySpace, Friendster, and Facebook were. While individuals do certainly connect with others on Instagram, the architecture of the mobile app does not highlight shared connections, but instead emphasizes followers. Where Facebook's terms of service initially required a unique living person to have an account, individuals can have multiple Instagram accounts, private and public, for themselves, their pets, their gardens, or their businesses. On a public account, the content is entirely open to viewing by any other Instagram user, while on a private account, the user controls who has access to their content by approving or declining follower requests. Users can switch from public to private at any time, and when their profile is private, they can remove followers. A user account is denoted by the '@' sign. For example, @michaelacoel or @nala_cat. Individual account holders can direct message ("DM") other users through the messaging feature.

On the Instagram platform, a user can make a post, which is either a short video, a single still image file, or a "carousel" of many short videos and still image files. Posts remain visible on a user's feed until they are removed by the user, if at all. Posts can be accompanied by captions, though the caption often is just a list of hashtags. Posts can also include tags of other users, by including their @name. This is a networking feature that allows a viewer to see the tag and tap on it to reach the tagged account user's feed. Hashtags are keywords or phrases (without spaces) preceded by the '#' sign. Examples include #inspiration,

#cantstopwontstop, #freshandhealthy, among hundreds of thousands of others. A series of hashtags that accompany a post may also include multiple variations on the same theme. For example, if an individual were posting a photograph of vegan homemade food, they may include all of the following: #vegan, #healthyvegan, #healthy, #homemadevegan, #homemadehealthyvegan, #meatfree, #meatfreehealthy, #homemadedairyfree, #meatanddairyfree, #freshvegan, and so on. The search function on the platform allows users to search by hashtag, so if the user wants their content to be discovered by other users with similar interests, they'll use more hashtag variations. If users search with hashtags, they will net all posts and stories with those hashtags. Some hashtags are then curated into accounts. For example, there is both a hashtag #catsofinstagram and an account @catsofinstagram. The purveyors of the @catsofinstagram account search all the content that carries the #catsofinstagram hashtag and selects content for the account. Instagram is also searchable by names or keywords, which nets matching profile names or keywords from captions.

Instagram posts cannot include direct links off of the platform, so if a user wants to link to any kind of content that exists on the internet, they need to put the link in their Instagram profile. The post will typically end with the text, "Link in bio," or #linkinbio. This signals to the viewer to visit the person's profile page to find and click on the link that will take them to a web browser and out of the Instagram app. Rather than continually edit their profile to change links to various sources, some individual and business accounts employ a secondary "linkinbio" service that links to a webpage with multiple items on it. For example, a beauty influencer may need to simultaneously have several active links to multiple products they're promoting. Instead of including multiple links in the bio, they will instead use one "linkinbio" that links to a webpage outside of the Instagram app containing thumbnails of the posts and separate links to the mascara brand, the lipstick product, or whatever individual item they're promoting. The influencer benefits directly with a percentage of the revenue derived from consumers that followed links from their Instagram account.

In response to the rise of another social media platform Snapchat, on which posts automatically disappeared after 24 hours, in 2016, Instagram introduced a new feature called "Stories." Instagram stories are similarly ephemeral; they expire after 24 hours. Snapchat and this Instagram feature were introduced at a time that social media users were learning that social media posts endure and can become a liability. Instagram placed the story feature at the top of the app, and it soon became more popular than regular posts. An Instagram story can be up to 15 seconds in length, and while they are often videos, they can also be static images that are visible for up to 15 seconds. Instagram stories can link to other Instagram posts, and because stories are viewed more readily than posts—they appear across the top of the app's

screen— influencers often use the story feature to direct traffic to a post. While stories disappear from the platform 24 hours after they are posted, nothing prevents a user from taking screenshots or a video recording of a story reel. (In fact, that is how the data for the second phase of this study was captured.) So, while a story may disappear from Instagram after 24 hours, if somebody—or even a bot—recorded it, it still exists and can be made public at any time.

The appeal of Instagram for some social media users lay in its emphasis on visual imagery and entertainment, rather than making strong connections with friends (Alhabash & Ma, 2017; Shane-Simpson, Manago, Gaggi, & Gillespie-Lynch, 2018). Almost immediately, Instagram became a lifestyle, and the "Instafamous" were born (Freberg, Graham, McGaughey, & Freberg, 2011). These are users with followers numbering 1,000 (micro-influencers) to 1,000,000 or more (mega-influencers) (Ismail, 2018). At American University Dubai, you can even enroll in a diploma program to learn how to earn a living as a full-time influencer (Midwood, 2019). And in 2019, Merriam-Webster added the word "influencer" to its dictionary (Klara, 2019). Studies focusing on the presentation of self on social media certainly predated the arrival of Instagram, but a social media platform that is so centered on visuality provides a niche to investigate the visual presentation of self. Many scholars have written in this area, and it is within this body of literature on presentation of self on Instagram that this study intends to contribute. As the previous chapter reviewed the literature on women's representations by others in the news media, the current chapter focuses on women's presentations of self on social media, with an emphasis on Instagram.

This chapter will begin by providing a review of early social media scholarship, including why and how people use it, as well as a discussion of the early conceptualizations of social media. From there, the chapter is organized thematically around various aspects of self-presentation on social media, including celebrity, the ideal self, beauty standards, pregnancy and motherhood, visuality, non-hegemonic visibilities, authenticity, and visibility labor. It then considers self-presentations among three populations: athletes, Muslim women, and Arab women. The additional attention to these three groups of women is given because prevailing religious and cultural norms in both the Muslim and Arab worlds shape how women present themselves, especially visually, on social media. Additionally, as Qatar builds its reputation as a world sports hub in the runup to the 2022 FIFA World Cup, it has also encouraged its citizens and residents to regularly participate in recreational sports and fitness. The review of literature relevant to athletes provides context for the analysis that follows. This chapter intends to provide a detailed overview of the scholarship on self-presentations on social media across the themes identified above, and is relevant to the second phase of the

study, the qualitative textual analysis of self-presentations of ten of Qatar's women social media influencers.

3.2 Self-presentation Before the Rise of Social Media

Before the dawn of social network sites, beginning in the mid-1990s, individuals could create personal home pages in the early days of what was then called the World Wide Web. Dominick (1999) described this phenomenon presciently as the "biggest burst of unsolicited self-expression that the world has ever seen" and labeled this a new channel of mass communication (p. 647). Interestingly, Dominick argued that Goffman's dramaturgical theory of performance of self-presentation (1959) was not applicable in analyzing home pages because of the asynchronous and anonymous interaction between the home page creator and the visitor. Instead, he examined five interpersonal strategies of self-presentation in his study of over 300 personal home pages on the internet, finding that strategies on the web were similar to those found in real life. Personal home page creators sought to be liked by others, be perceived as competent, and display moral superiority. The majority of the pages included in his analysis were created by young men, and in analyzing gender differences between men and women creators, Dominick found that women's pages were more likely to include more personal information, their outlook on life, and some creative output. Bortree (2005) examined teenagers' weblogs, finding women were more likely than men to disclose personal information, echoing Dominick's (1999) findings. For her more in-depth analysis, Bortree (2005) focused exclusively on the weblogs of 40 teenage girls, and also considered the self-presentation strategies Dominick employed, finding that these girls used ingratiation, competence, and supplication as self-presentation strategies. Interestingly, the competence Bortree found displayed by these teenaged girls was both social competence and technical competence in navigating HTML code to add certain features to their blog pages.

In another early study, Papacharissi (2002) did employ Goffman's framework on self-presentation (1959) in her analysis of over 250 personal home pages, finding that creators used a variety of design elements to perform their online selves and reveal aspects of their personalities. These included using hyperlinks to convey social status (Goffman's "appearance"), employing certain fonts, colors, and language tone to convey personality traits (Goffman's "manner"), and installing feedback mechanisms such as guestbooks to seek affirmation from the viewer. The page creators used these elements to achieve their self-presentation goals. Papacharissi rightly pointed out, though, that the page creators' self-presentation was determined in part by the tools and templates of the home page provider—a technology company—and was not wholly determined by the individual. Walther (2007) examined self-presentation by college students in early computer-mediated communication

over a university-provided online discussion board. Much like Papacharissi above, Walther acknowledged that online self-presentation and impression management was determined by the technological characteristics, but he viewed them as enhancements rather than constraints. For example, a person has time to edit and revise in asynchronous mediated communication, where they wouldn't in face-to-face interactions. In Walther's analysis, he found gender differences in self-presentation between young men and women. The women college students in his study were more likely to edit their posts for high-status women or male peers, and least likely to edit their posts for women peers, suggesting that the women college students were more careful in their self-presentation to those with the least immediacy. From the early days of online self-presentation, scholars have identified gender differences in how users engage in this activity.

3.3 Conceptualizing Social Network Sites

Once the organized social media sites came into being, some of the earliest scholarship focused largely on the networked aspect of social media, evidenced by the terminology adopted: social network sites. Boyd and Ellison (2008) defined social network sites along three dimensions: being able to create a profile, being able to connect to other users and display those connections, and being able to follow the networks of connections between users. Boyd (2011) later conceptualized social network sites as networked publics, which is both the "(1) space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice" (p. 39). In other words, the technology itself transforms the public through its distinct architecture of four "affordances": persistence (content is recorded and archived), replicability (content can be duplicated), scalability (visibility potential), and searchability (accessibility by search function), and three "dynamics": invisible audiences, collapsed contexts, and the blurring of public and private. Invisible audiences may not be present or visible at the time an individual is posting content. The state of collapsed contexts sees an individual's varied social contexts (e.g., family, work, school) combined into a single online context on the social network site, and the formerly rigid public-private binary becomes difficult to maintain. Social network site users must navigate the interplay between these affordances and dynamics as the structures of this new mediated social world, an idea that echoes the point Papacharissi (2002) made above. Boyd (2011) also identified the imagined public as a force that shapes an individual's online behavior and self-presentation. While a public-facing profile could have an infinitely large audience, in fact the entire internet-connected world is not looking at it. Instead, the user imagines their audience or public as the collective of their online friends, and the imagined norms of that collective can shape the content a user posts. Beyond the imagined

public, the very visible social network, whether Facebook "friends" or Instagram "followers," also provides a reliability check to the content a user posts. Self-presentation on social network sites is more reliable because the social network itself is visible (Ellison, Lampe, Steinfield, & Vitak, 2011). When the social network is visible, the costs of deceptive self-presentation are greater than the benefits (Donath, 2007). Ultimately, Papacharissi (2011) conceptualized the "networked self," a self that is enabled by social network sites themselves, with their simultaneously collapsed and multiplied audiences (e.g., a tweet for a prescribed set of followers vs. a retweet that is broadcast across others' networks) that lead to a networked sociability, or set of social behaviors. Rather than experience a self-identity or perform a self-presentation in a discrete place and time, the networked self not only performs simultaneously across multiple platforms, but it also goes back in time to edit past identity performances. The networked self is adept at moving within and across the multiple planes of social media and the multiple imagined publics contained within.

These early studies established useful frameworks to understand self-presentation and identity creation on social network sites. Even if they could have predicted the role social media would come to play in the daily lived experience of billions of people across the globe in the following decade, these scholars wisely asked, where do we go from here? The remainder of this chapter answers that question with a focus on empirical scholarship from the past decade. These scholars, and the many that have come after them, have investigated the rapid development and changing face of social media in real time, rather than as a historical relic. The empirical studies cited below not only allow us to move past what was once abstract to understand in concrete terms how individuals present themselves on social media, but also introduce useful theoretical concepts that are derived from empirical observation. Altogether, the literature cited below, organized thematically, establishes the foundational canon of scholarship on self-presentation on social media, and sets up the research questions for this study, indicating where we're going next.

3.4 Self-presentation on Social Media

With the rise of various social media platforms, internet users no longer had to rely exclusively on personal homepages and weblogs for their online presence. They turned to MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, dating sites, and other platforms, each providing a different framework for self-presentation. What follows is an overview of scholarship on self-presentation in several different functions and platforms, intended to identify salient dimensions for the textual analysis that will follow in the second phase of this study. The majority of the studies described below are informed by Goffman's theory on the presentation

of the self in everyday life (1959), which is presented in much greater detail in Chapter 4, as it is one of the primary theoretical frameworks informing this dissertation.

3.4.1 Self-presentation and celebrity

Still on the relatively early side of social media studies, P. D. Marshall (2010) examined the methods celebrities used on social media, foretelling the practices the Instafamous would adopt in the 2010s. The celebrity has always played a pedagogical role in society, Marshall argued, largely in creating the consumer self. Celebrities not only taught the audience how and what to consume, whether clothes, food, or the latest diet craze, but they also taught the audience how to construct an identity vis a vis their consumption. Now, the pedagogic celebrity has begun to teach the audience how to construct one's identity online through both a public private self and a transgressive intimate self, and by doing so, "articulates a way of thinking about individuality and producing the individual self through the public world" (p. 46). Marwick and Boyd (2011) also explored celebrity on social media, deeming it a practice that can be employed on a continuum, rather than an individual person who falls on one side of fame or the other. One stop on this continuum is microcelebrity, which arose in the social media era when non-famous users, such as bloggers, increasingly concerned themselves with identity creation as brand creation (Senft, 2008). In their study, Marwick and Boyd (2011) found that in over 200 Twitter accounts, famous people relied on microcelebrity practices to maintain their fame, including acknowledging their followers as fans, and practicing affiliation and intimacy in their public interactions with those fans in an effort to be authentic and sincere. Offering this pedagogical instruction in creating an online self as attainable creates the illusion that anyone can be famous if they practice celebrity in this way. These microcelebrity practices will be important in the analysis of Qatar's Instafamous.

Marwick (2015) continued working with the concept of microcelebrity, again noting it as a social media practice used to engage directly with fans. But, she argued, the rise of the primarily photographic medium of Instagram demands a conceptual definition of 'microcelebrity' which should incorporate a visual strategy for self-presentation that encompasses many characteristics of traditional celebrity culture, including conspicuous consumption, glamour, and luxury. In one of Marwick's case studies, an Instafamous Indiana high schooler did not readily engage with her followers, but instead adopted a more traditional celebrity practice of not responding directly to comments. In another, the best friend of a famous musician gained her microcelebrity status by posting selfies that emulated the real celebrity's lifestyle and possessions. And in a third, a supremely wealthy Singaporean achieved his Instafame by posting images of himself in exclusively designer clothes and surrounded by luxury goods. Marwick offered these case studies as examples of

microcelebrities emulating practices of real celebrities as a means to gain fame, arguing that these early Instafamous could transcend microcelebrity practice and simply engage in celebrity practice, both of which are easily learned and adopted.

More recently, Iqani (2018) examined celebrity and wealth on Instagram through a postfeminist lens with her analysis of the Instagram profile of former model and small-time actor turned wealthy oil tycoon wife Irene Major. Major's performance of wealth is notable here as narratively constructed as an individualistic achievement, a playground of shopping and glamour, and as a kinship tie. Iqani identifies Major as the "quintessential postfeminist subject" (p. 217), who has attained her freedom from the patriarchy by performing service to it through her wealth, traditional femininity, beauty, and role as devoted domestic wife and mother. Major has constructed and presented her online self through this laboring, made more significant by being Black and encountering implicit and explicit racism in society. But she also presented her online self as being attainable, not unlike the micro-celebrity practices noted by Marwick and Boyd (2011).

3.4.2 Self-presentation and the ideal self

Early scholarship also focused on self-presentation in online dating. While online dating isn't the focus of the study at hand, self-presentation in online dating environments—a particular type of social media platform—is instructive, specifically in relation to authenticity and the presentation of the ideal self. Ellison, Heino, and Gibbs (2006) interviewed users of a popular dating site, finding the users earnestly attempted authenticity in their self-presentation in their dating profiles, but that the online platform itself had the potential to constrain that authenticity. For example, when subjective descriptors were offered via a forced-choice dropdown menu, one user's "pretty" was another user's "average." Most interestingly, the authors found that in some cases, the presentation of the ideal self in an online dating profile motivated the user to bridge the gap between that and their actual self, for example, by actively losing weight to attain what was initially a misrepresentation. Again, despite that online dating is outside the scope of the study at hand, Ellison et al. (2006) illustrate both the role of technological determinism and the ideal self in online self-presentation.

3.4.3 Self-presentation and beauty standards

One allure of social media, and the internet in general, has been that these platforms would be a democratizing force in several areas, including gender stereotypes and beauty standards. Even the best attempts have fallen short of this emancipatory promise. The Second Life platform allows users to create avatars to manifest their self-representations, with nearly limitless options. Mills (2018) found, however, that the best-selling women's accessories, clothing, and appearance attributes available in the Second Life Marketplace conformed to

traditional notions of feminine beauty. So, while a user still has the ability to create a self-representation of their choice, the gatekeeping forces of the platform itself—that is, individual human beings who are likely young and male, playing out their own fantasies—socially construct notions of beauty that reify ideal norms, such as light skin and a thin body. Among a nationally-representative sample in the U.S., Fox and Vendemia (2016) found women were more likely than men to conform to perceived socially desirable standards of appearance by editing selfies on social network sites, indicating social norms remain a significant force in shaping women's self-presentation online. N. Baker, Ferszt, and Breines (2019) identified similar motivations when conducting focus groups with young women college students who post on Instagram. Women reported taking greater effort in posting to the platform, including conferring with friends to choose their best images and editing images, because they wanted to present their ideal selves. These women specifically referred to the desire to conform to beauty standards already on display on Instagram, in part because they were concerned with others' perceptions.

On Instagram, plus-sized model and activist Tess Holliday created an account @effyourbeautystandards in early 2013, providing a body-positive forum not only to counter traditional beauty ideals, but also to allow users to harness the political potential of their own self-presentation. But as Caldeira and De Ridder (2017) concluded in their analysis of @effyourbeautystandards, while users could post their non-beauty-normative images and challenge traditional gender stereotypes, they were still doing so through the lens of beauty. Rather than reject beauty as a determinant of a woman's worth on its face, those posting to @effyourbeautystandards instead proclaimed their non-normative bodies beautiful, perpetuating the centrality of beauty to femininity, and illustrating what Gill (2016) called the postfeminist sensibility. Caldeira and De Ridder (2017) also illuminated the constraints inherent to the platform, not only the top-down Terms of Use, but also the more diffuse constraints created by other users deploying comments to discipline those whose self-representations are too far outside accepted norms. And while users posting non-normative images to @effyourbeautystandards may not include negative commenters in their imagined public (Boyd, 2011), they're there all the same. Social pressures, whether wielded preemptively or applied reactively, shape how women present themselves on social media.

3.4.4 Self-presentation and pregnancy and motherhood

Pregnancy and motherhood deserve special consideration in understanding self-presentation, because while not every woman experiences pregnancy and motherhood, with the exception of some transgender men, all of those who do are women. Tiidenberg (2015) examined Instagram accounts of pregnant Russian women, notable because of strict beauty

standards. As a result, Russian women face anxiety in pregnancy through their changing bodies the fear they will cease to be beautiful. Tiidenberg found pregnant Russian women's self-presentation on Instagram conformed to hegemonic femininity. These women were able to reinscribe their value by emphasizing their heteronormative femininity, expressed through physical beauty, and their relational selves to their heteronormative male partners. Mayoh (2019) examined 60 pregnancy-related posts on Instagram, finding the majority of them subscribed to dominant discourses around pregnancy, namely middle-class consumption, heteronormativity, and self-surveillance and hypervisibility. Many of the posts were couched in terms of success, but the success of the pregnancy was measured not by carrying a healthy baby to term, but rather eating the right foods, wearing the right fashions, and choosing the right destination for a babymoon. Women's self-representations also reinforced stereotypical gender roles, such as being passive and dependent, and displayed self-surveillance, especially in monitoring the growth of their bodies.

3.4.5 Self-presentation and visuality

One early study of college students' Facebook profile photographs found there were no gender differences in self-presentation, as determined by the content or number of photographs, despite that social role theory would suggest otherwise (Hum et al., 2011). The authors suggested this was due to the development of a set of social norms unique to the then-burgeoning social media platform. In a more wide-reaching study, Mendelson and Papacharissi (2011) examined over nearly 21,000 Facebook photographs of 333 American college students, finding significant gender differences. In their analysis, women had more photos on their profiles, were more likely to post photos, and were more likely to tag photos than men were. In their qualitative analysis of a subsample of photographs of 89 students, the authors found women averaged more than three times as many photographs as men, as well as more than three times as many comments on their photographs than men did. In these photographs, women were more likely to be pictured in casual activities with same-sex friends, and they were also more commonly seen in bathroom mirror reflection shots with their friends. Finally, women engaged in more sexy and flirtatious poses with one another, and the repetition of these poses signaled they had developed fixed ways to pose for photographs by this time in their lives. While this study does not focus on Facebook, the gender differences among early Facebook users that the authors identified is useful in understanding the popularity of a visual-based platform like Instagram, which has more women than men users in Qatar. Among Qatari nationals, 55 percent of women use the platform, compared to 44 percent of men. Among expatriate residents of Qatar, the difference is even greater: 37 percent of expatriate women reported using the platform, compared to 19

percent of expatriate men (Dennis & Martin, 2018). Additionally, it's helpful to consider the type of images that Western women were posting in the early days of social media to understand if they set the standard for what was to come later, even across cultural and geographical boundaries.

What Mendelson and Papacharissi (2011) had identified was what Schmeichel, Kerr, and Linder (2020) called a public pedagogy. This form of instruction harnessed the cultural field to produce "narratives, metaphors, and images … that exercise a powerful pedagogical force over how people think about themselves and their relationship to others" (Giroux, 2004, p. 499). They examined selfies posted by young U.S. Southern women on Instagram, and found the degree to which they conformed to cultural conventions of the Southern Lady "astounding" (Schmeichel et al., 2020, p. 372). The particular visuality of Instagram creates this additional site of public pedagogy by instructing not only how women *can* look, but also how they *should* look. But it's not just the image on its own that performs this pedagogy. It is the *conventions* of those selfies—taking an image from above to emphasize a thin face, for example—that provides instruction. When all of these women look the same in their selfies, it creates not only a pedagogy of how women should look, but also how women should present themselves on social media.

In their study of posts with the hashtags #eatclean and #cleaneating, S. A. Baker and Walsh (2018) also found Instagram users conformed to specific gender-stereotypical conventions in their posts. User-generated content did not lead to more diverse gender portrayals on social media, at least in the case of gendered displays of health found under these hashtags. The authors argue this is due to the individual gender display as a staged performance that is itself a ritualized social behavior. These ritualized social behaviors (posting prescribed gender norms) create and reinforce a collective identity, in this case one that is formed by the community that is created by the #eatclean and #cleaneating hashtags. This is an example of both a collapsed context, wherein the performance creates the norms for that hashtag community, but also a multiplicity of contexts because it's widely available for a wider audience. The imagined public here is the hashtag community, and that community helps create the collective identity that is still well-informed by gender stereotypes.

Employing Goffman's gender display framework (1979), Butkowski, Dixon, Weeks, and Smith (2020) found normative displays of femininity were prevalent across their sample of about 1,700 Instagram selfies, including loss of control, body display, and canting, i.e., tilting of the head. That said, the majority of the gender displays were subtle. The authors also found that women who posted selfies that conformed to these stereotypical gender displays gained some measure of social success through the Instagram feedback mechanism of the

"like." While not all of the measures from Goffman's gender display framework are applicable to the Qatari context (e.g., body display), this is a useful mechanism to consider whether women in Qatar are conforming to stereotypical gender displays on Instagram, as the study at hand suggests that doing so results in increased positive feedback from viewers. This is also important for influencers—the success of their labor is dependent upon racking up likes and directing traffic to product purchases. This suggests that women will adopt more traditional gender displays as a practice of the labor of visibility. This is another example of the feminization of the labor itself, and suggests a woman influencer may only be successful if she adopts these gender-stereotypical displays of femininity.

Despite the significant differences in acceptable public visibility, the Trinidadian case is still instructive insofar as it is a society that functions without 'universal' social values. This is due to Trinidad's colonial history, which has lent a particular importance to the contextualization of oneself according to ethnicity and class, rather than nationality. Unlike in other societies, Sinanan (2020) argues that having this multiplicity of identities is an accepted part of the culture, on display for example during Carnival, when islanders adopt masquerades. In Trinidadian culture, visibility and appearance are integral to the creation and expression of identify and personhood, and this has long been achieved by the display of personal aesthetics and practices of consumption. With the rise of social media, the platforms have become sites for both "negotiating and contesting" (p. 55) normative social values associated with the groups they belong to structurally through the practice of visibility. Qatar similarly lacks a set of universal social values, as its expatriate population is far from socially homogenous. The analysis that follows in Chapter 7 will consider the implications of social stratification in the creation of the imagined public and the collapsed contexts that Qatar's Instafamous must navigate.

Impression management and maintaining a personal-visual identity are also central motivations for posting photographs on Instagram (O'Donnell, 2018). Specifically, the author found that participants carefully planned and monitored their personal-visual identity maintenance, and that on social media, users were "constantly creating and recreating their identities through interactions with others on Instagram based on perceived norms" (p. 139). They did this by using hashtags, which not only provided a personal visual identity marker, but also connected the individuals to others who use the same hashtags. Through this hashtag connection, the user could understand the norms of that hashtag community and conform to them. These Instagram photographs were used for promoting oneself rather than simply expressing oneself, and in service of the ideal, rather than the actual, self. Similarly, Caso, Schettino, Fabbricatore, and Conner (2020) found among young Italian women that self-

objectification was positively correlated with selfie-editing behavior, suggesting these women also adopted practices of presenting the ideal self on social network sites. While the studies described above focused on convention and conforming to social norms, those discussed below highlight the possibilities of more diverse representations of self.

3.4.6 Self-presentation and non-hegemonic visibilities

The studies noted below show examples of visibilities that do not adhere to the overwhelming White normativity of Instagram, with mixed results. Pitcan, Marwick, and Boyd (2018) explored how lower socioeconomic-status users of social media engaged in respectability politics in their social media posts, adhering to upper-class and White norms. The most salient of their findings related to how users judged their peers' posts in regard to embodied sexuality: they considered those that included sexiness in their social media posts, especially women, to be disrespectful and not adhering to the norms that would lead to upward social mobility. The authors argue that a collapsed context, which can also be thought of as a multiplicity of self-surveillance, on social media makes it difficult for users to vary their self-presentation based on their audience the way they would in real life. On a single social media account, it is difficult to deftly code-switch and maintain impression management. Further, this study identified the burden of respectability politics fell on women. Similarly, Edwards and Esposito (2018) argued that while Instagram could be a tool for women's liberatory self-representation and entrepreneurship, the predominating ideology of visibility power on the platform adheres to norms of White femininity. As a result, they argue, Instagram's emancipatory power is simultaneously mediated by its dominant white culture, heteronormative trappings, but cloaked in postfeminism. Finally, Vivienne (2017) problematized the analysis of selfies through a lens of empowerment in the first place, arguing that is a relic of the medium being initially born of gender role-conforming White cisgender women. By labeling them empowering at all, they are automatically placed within the patriarchal power framework that includes strict gender norms. White cisgender women have some actual power to gain through empowerment, either by bucking the dominant norms, or by complying with them as an act of self-empowerment. The author argues that the gender-diverse, on the other hand, often have little power in this patriarchal framework, so while they may gain something from posting a selfie, it is not power.

Other studies offer more optimism in empowerment. Mondé (2018) found users of the hashtag #blackdontcrack on Tumblr provided a counternarrative to negative representations of Black women, focusing on women aging gracefully. Tiidenberg (2018) examined older women on Instagram, and while the majority of the representations aligned with the "insidious reproduction of postfeminist ideology" (p. 61), she found pockets of subversive

visibilities in her qualitative analysis of posts from women using the #over40 and #over50 hashtags. The mere appearance of these women on Instagram using hashtags that call out their age rebuffed the societal notion they should be invisible in the first place. Similarly, one dominant theme the author identified—fitness—countered the dominant notion of a frumpy older woman. Ultimately, Tiidenberg concluded that while this platform exists to perpetuate the normalized visibilities of young femininity, it may simultaneously open up space for previously unrendered visibilities. American college students, especially those identifying as LGBTQ, used selfies on social media platforms to feel empowered (Barker & Rodriguez, 2019). For these individuals, selfies were a political statement, giving them an opportunity to enact their identity in a way of their own choosing and connect with others who enact a similar identity. So, for that population, posting selfies on social media platforms was not a narcissistic practice, but instead it was empowering, an agent for connection, and a means to elicit positive feedback. Finally, in the realm of the art world, some scholars have found a specific kind of empowerment in self-representation through selfies on social media platforms. Murray (2015) rejected the belittling of selfies as narcissistic, instead arguing they perform a necessary act of aesthetic resistance against hegemonic representations of women. Caldeira, Van Bauwel, and De Ridder (2018) examined two Instagram accounts focused on promoting "non-dominant and non-conforming representations" (p. 38) and serving as online spaces for underrepresented women artists. The authors argued these accounts were a space for women to reclaim their agency and regain control over their online representations, thus performing an activist role through their self-presentation on Instagram. Their mere appearance was revolutionary.

As with any media phenomenon, there is nuance to consider, and these competing attitudes on empowerment are important to examine with women influencers in Qatar. While in many ways they do meet some of the criteria for the dominant representations on Instagram (young and affluent, if not extremely wealthy), most of the women included in this study are not White, and many of them are Muslim and cover their hair or bodies. Where does that place them in the patriarchal power framework that Vivienne (2017) identified? How do these women use hashtags as self-representation? Is their mere appearance revolutionary? This dissertation aims to consider these questions.

3.4.7 Self-presentation and authenticity

While this study is not an audience analysis, nor concerned with measuring the authenticity of Qatar's Instafamous women, performing authenticity is a significant element of self-presentation on Instagram and other social media. An early study examining inconsistencies between offline self-presentation and Facebook profiles (DeAndrea &

Walther, 2011) found study participants readily identified discrepancies between online and offline self-presentations of both friends and acquaintances. The users tended to judge both groups for this hypocrisy, but more so their acquaintances, rather than those they knew better and considered friends. This early study is instructive in recognizing the social consequences for losing trustworthiness among networked connections on social media, and is useful to keep this in mind when considering the imagined public in a communal culture. The imagined public enforces social norms in part through its judgmental nature and may lead to a more concerted performance of authenticity by social media users surrounding those social norms. However, ten years on, the use of filters and other photo editing tools have become much more widespread and have likely become the new normal.

In another early study, Bullingham and Vasconcelos (2013) interviewed avid users of weblogs and the social media site Second Life, finding that rather than adopting distinct new personas in their online identities, these users largely sought to replicate their real-life selves in their online lives, though with some adaptations. Both the bloggers and Second Life users edited their online selves to varying degrees by either emphasizing or masking certain elements of their offline selves. However, they "anchored" their online selves to their real-life selves in an attempt at honesty and directness, and due to the belief that identity is relatively fixed in both the online and offline worlds. The authors also found that online users experienced fluidity of contacts and encounters with others both offline and online, so there was reason to maintain a similar identity in both places.

Dubrofsky (2011) considered surveillance through a comparison of reality television and Facebook. A basic tenet of reality television is that authenticity is achieved through surveillance. Reality television participants are surveilled constantly but perceived more favorably when they act as though they are not being surveilled—when they act authentic. Dubrofsky argued that on Facebook, on the other hand, authenticity became less important than surveillance itself, because authenticity is measured by consistency through constancy, which is largely not the function of Facebook. Instead, users submitted a multiplicity of presentations, and authenticity ceased to be a primary function of self-presentation on the platform. Instead, because the Facebook user could choose what they posted about themselves, they controlled their own surveillance. The act of surveilling oneself, as a practice of self-presentation, has become a facet of self-presentation. Dubrofsky's argument is relevant here for two reasons. The first is that the more someone submits to surveillance and expresses consistency across time and situations, the more authentic they appear. Even though Instagram does not engage in constant surveillance of its users, it will be useful to consider the amount Qatar's Instafamous women post and whether they leverage their posting volume

to perform authenticity through their multiplicity of presentations. Secondly, it will be important to analyze the sheer act of self-surveillance on Instagram, as a practice of the presentation of self and as a performance of authenticity on a meta-level—these women are authentically choosing to engage in self-surveillance.

To Banet-Weiser (2012), in a successful self-brand, authenticity is not only sincerity in being, but also openness, and one can perform authenticity by "allowing the outside world access to one's inner self" (p. 60). Similar to Dubrofsky's (2011) argument, Banet-Weiser (2012) positioned surveillance as integral to authenticity. Working from this conceptualization of authentic self-branding, Faleatua (2018) explored authenticity on Instagram, focusing on three young Australian women's relationships with their Instagram accounts. These women purposefully held accounts on multiple sites, including Facebook and Snapchat in addition to Instagram, and used the platforms for different purposes. For example, Snapchat was a venue for silly selfies using the augmented reality filters, while Instagram was the place to build the self-brand. Successful authentic self-branding required not only the perception that the audience viewed their posts as authentic, but also that the person posting simultaneously believed it to be so, too. An authentic self-brand had to be, literally, authentic. A successful self-brand also had to be, according to Faleatua's participants, consistent. Faleatua found mixed results; in some cases, her participants believed their self-representation online to be authentic, and in other cases they didn't. By Banet-Weiser's (2012) definition, those who did not feel they were being authentic did not succeed at their self-brand. This further supports the notion that authenticity is a performance, rather than a state of being, and supports a conceptualization in this study as such.

In his examination of young women's use of Instagram and "Fake" Instagram ("finsta"), S. Ross (2019) outlined concrete examples of the multiplicities of self-representation. This was achieved not through different kind of posts from a single account, but instead by holding multiple accounts with different purposes. On these women's regular, public-facing Instagram accounts, self-representations were highly curated to achieve success in accruing "likes," and were not focused on authenticity. For authenticity, the women turned to their private "finstas," where they would post the silly, the ugly, and the off-the-cuff images intended for a more restricted audience. This study highlights both the multiplicity of social media self-surveillance, as well as the self-policing young women do in service to the imagined public. But Ross's study also highlights how these young women subverted the dominant media ideology of Instagram, driven by a visual economy of "likes," to meet their own needs. The Instagrammers in Duffy and Hund's (2019) study, too, felt the tension between being too real and not real enough, what the authors refer to as the authenticity bind,

and one that women felt acutely. The Instagrammers in their study, though, were professional content creators whose livelihood depended on their social media presence. And in the way of Instagram's romanticization of visibility, a greater livelihood was promised with greater visibility, increasing the pressure of this authenticity bind. Gender norms constrained both the too real and the not real enough for the study's participants, as they reported stepping outside of these rigid constraints could lead to harassment online. Overall, social media's authenticity bind is just one more double bind women face in achieving economic livelihood, Duffy and Hund argued, necessitating a very gendered strategy they had to employ to walk the line of revealing and concealing. When visibility itself is a requirement for participating in the 21st century neoliberal workforce, women have to walk an even more careful line to hew to social norms of femininity. This may include not only looking a certain way, but also promoting only acceptable products or saying acceptable things.

3.4.8 Self-presentation and visibility labor

While not focused on self-presentation, Abidin (2016) examined the visibility labor that followers of popular influencer fashion brands engaged in when interacting with the fashion brand accounts. While focused on followers rather than the influencers themselves, Abidin identified followers' networked performances, so called because if a user commented on one influencer's post, the other followers of that influencer could also see it. These Instagram users participated in the advertising efforts of these fashion brands by performing visibility, but they were not compensated for doing so. Instead, their visibility was rewarded with more of the same—more followers on their own accounts, more likes, and more comments. If they are able to achieve critical mass in their own Instagram right, then they may achieve compensation themselves one day—in a never-ending visibility pyramid scheme.

3.5 Athletes on Social Media

As discussed in the previous chapter, sports media is an area of specialization in feminist media studies, and several scholars have investigated how women athletes engage with social media. The liberatory aspect of digital media was thought to be especially important for women athletes trying to break out of the sexuality trap and the symbolic annihilation in the traditional media. In an early review of the literature, LaVoi and Calhoun (2014) found few studies supporting the idea that digital media, including blogs, Facebook, and Twitter, provided any of this liberatory promise. The majority of scholarship continued to find the symbolic annihilation of women in sports media, though the studies they reviewed focused on official team accounts and institutional representations of athletes, rather than on the social media presence of athletes themselves. Bruce and Hardin (2014) concluded that although social media allowed women athletes to display their athletic competence, beauty

and traditional femininity continued to be the markers of popularity on Twitter. More recently, Bruce (2016) synthesized the scholarship on media representations of women and sports and organized it around 13 rules that describe the current state of these representations, for example, that sportswomen don't matter, or the sexualization of women athletes. When she analyzed the more recent scholarship on social media through cultural studies and third wave feminist lenses, she identified two additional emerging rules reflected in the media landscape: our voices, and pretty and powerful. The scholarship described by the 'our voices' rule focused on the personal agency afforded by social media for women athletes and fans to simply participate in the conversation without a gatekeeper marginalizing those women's voices. The 'pretty and powerful' rule rejects the either/or dichotomy of the woman athlete's body as either feminine or strong, and instead finds women athletes presenting themselves on social media by celebrating their femininity by incorporating their physical strength. It is no longer the male athletic body alone that is celebrated for its musculature and prowess.

It is important to focus here on women athletes and how they present themselves on social media, in part because physical activity is, by definition, one area of women's lives where focus on the body is actually warranted. Additionally, it is increasingly common to see all kinds of women, not just athletes, display their physical activities on social media, whether it's a gym routine or a game of tennis. And, as discussed in the previous chapter, the State of Qatar has placed an increasing importance on sport in the country, including by encouraging its residents to embrace an active recreational lifestyle. So this chapter now turns to a brief review of the relevant literature on self-presentation of women athletes on social media.

Heinecken (2015) examined a Twitter account for an anonymous group of women soccer players, finding the women were able to negotiate the perceived conflict between athleticism and femininity by repositioning athleticism as a privileged femininity. Rather than focusing on their thighs for appearance's sake, the soccer players tweeted about their thighs as a tool of their power on the field. Additionally, they subverted some feminine tropes of "ladylike" behavior, including disciplined eating, by tweeting about their insatiable hunger and food consumption. That said, many posts related to their physicality focused on toughness and a "no pain no gain" mentality, both measures central to a masculinist discourse around sport. Regardless, Heinecken's findings illustrate how women athletes can subvert the dominant media discourse by constructing their own identities online. More recently, K. Marshall, Chamberlain, and Hodgetts (2019) conducted a qualitative analysis of women bodybuilders on Instagram, finding that this population of women athletes was also able to subvert traditional femininity by celebrating their muscularity, a physical feature more commonly emblematic of masculinity. While, on the one hand, these bodybuilders were able

to redefine femininity with their physical strength by both exhibiting it in the first place, and also by responding to criticisms of it, on the other hand, they still very visibly engaged in rigorous practices designed to achieve an ideal body-type—a typically feminine activity. The authors demonstrate, however, that in the face of the objectification and harassment women face online, these bodybuilders are successful in rearticulating their desired femininity.

Several scholars have begun to look specifically at women athletes on Instagram, including L. R. Smith and Sanderson (2015), who found that contrary to previous scholarship, women athletes were significantly more likely to be featured in active poses in in-sport photographs. However, compared to men, women athletes were more likely to both post suggestive photographs and engage in licensed withdrawal (Goffman, 1979), suggesting, much like Heinecken (2015) found, that while women were using social media to subvert dominant media representations, they continued to engage in gendered behaviors, whether wittingly or not. Geurin-Eagleman and Burch (2016) examined Olympic athletes' Instagram accounts in 2013, finding that women were significantly less likely to appear in action shots and significantly more likely to appear in photographs from private, non-sport settings, such as those depicting their personal lives. According to Goffman's (1959) self-presentation theory, these are backstage settings that are more likely to be candid and less likely to be performative, though in the social media milieu where everything is performative, these formerly backstage settings instead lent authenticity. Xu and Armstrong (2019) compared social media images of Chinese and American male and female 2016 Rio Olympic athletes, finding significant gender differences among them. The authors found that while the American athletes were more likely to transcend gender stereotypes in their Twitter accounts, Chinese women athletes posted images on their Sina Weibo accounts that suggested their self-image was based on beauty and their personal life, rather than their athletic accomplishments. The female Chinese athletes were also more likely than their American counterparts to engage in visual markers of self-subordination. Overall, these differences are a strong reminder that cultural specificity can impact gender differences in self-presentation on social media.

Burch and Zimmerman (2019) examined the Instagram accounts of the ten most-followed women athletes globally, finding, again, the majority of photographs featured personal, non-sport content. The authors also found fan engagement was highest with the personal content, through a measure of likes and comments. Finally, Toffoletti and Thorpe (2018) found similar trends in their analysis of the Instagram accounts of five internationally-known top women athletes, namely that women were more likely to post images of themselves in private settings. Beyond that, however, the authors argued in their analysis that this constructed authenticity was highly gendered and conformed to postfeminist ideals of

"empowered" femininity, constituting a labor of visibility in and of itself. So for these women, the authors argued, this "athletic labor of femininity" (p. 312) did not provide liberation from dominant media representations, but instead required them to labor in service of a new ideal.

3.6 Women and Social Media among Arabs and Muslims

On the highly visual Instagram platform, it is important to include not just the literature on the Arab world, for its geographical and cultural specificity, but also the literature on Muslim women in other parts of the world, because of cultural similarities related to modesty and religion. For many Muslim women who veil, social media platforms present collapsed contexts. While they may be in their homes—that is, a location that may not ordinarily require veiling—when they engage on social media, any presence has the potential to occur in a public space.

Much of the scholarship on Muslim and/or Arab women on social media has focused on the digital activism in the years since the 2011 Arab uprisings (Asgari & Sarikakis, 2019; Eslen-Ziya, 2013; Khamis, 2019; Radsch & Khamis, 2013). Little of this scholarship focused on specific elements of self-presentation, and instead focused more on strategies and tools of feminist political and social transformation. One exception is the analysis of Egyptian Mona Elmahdy's naked self-portrait on her blog in 2011 during the revolution in Egypt (Kasra, 2017). While the self-portrait was ultimately a political statement, her presentation of self is notable in that it very clearly deviated from the stereotypical portrayal of an Egyptian woman as passive. By presenting her naked body, Elmahdy provided an alternative to the stereotypical Muslim woman's identity and inspired a network of other Arab women to adopt a similar strategy of embodied political resistance.

Similar to the finsta accounts S. Ross (2019) wrote about, young second-generation Arab and South Asian Muslim immigrants to Denmark engaged in multiple social media accounts, but it wasn't with the explicit purpose of expressing greater authenticity. Instead, these young women turned to secret social media accounts to hide their behaviors from their families and communities who exerted social control over what they posted (Waltorp, 2015). The author describes her informants' actions as replicating their normal real-life public appearances in the virtual world. This further supports the idea that while Muslim women may have more freedom to present themselves on social media in the way they want, many of them still conformed to social pressures as they negotiated this virtual public space. In another study of the diasporic Muslim women's experience, this time in the U.S., McKelvy and Chatterjee's (2017) study participants indicated social media allowed them to express

specific, important aspects of their identities, whether a social cause or wearing *hijab*, though these women did not indicate having multiple social media accounts.

In an early study of Facebook use in Iran, Young, Shakiba, Kwok, and Montazeri (2014) found that the more time Iranian women spent on Facebook, the less likely they were to be concerned with observing strict adherence to wearing *hijab*, as required by law and custom. The authors suggested that early social media users valued expressing their individual identities, but noted that could change as social media use increased among conservative Iranians who may then enforce a level of social control that would again lead to restrictive posting by women. Golzard and Miguel (2016) found Iranian women Facebook and blog users felt these tools empowered them to transcend certain Iranian cultural limitations, whether they were engaging publicly on Facebook or anonymously on blogs.

Several scholars have focused specifically on influencers who are known for their modesty. In an early study of *niqabi* women (those who wear a face veil) on Flickr, Piela (2013) concluded these women gained agency from posting self-portraits in the *niqab* as a specific counterpoint to prevailing Western media representations. The women were still able to express their individual identities with their faces covered, whether through the particular color of garments they wore, or through the inclusion of other visual elements from their home décor. A more recent analysis of *niqabi* women's presentations online found similar strategies for identity construction on social media, many of which directly refuted the notion that one must be able to see another's face in order to ascertain their identity (Peterson, 2020). Lewis (2015) found that when some prominent Muslim and Jewish women bloggers publicly gave up their *hijab*, wigs, and hats, outsiders tended to view this act from the Orientalist perspective: these women were saved from oppressive religious forces. Others from within the community viewed this as an expansion of the self-presentation of religious modesty. That is, a woman could still practice acceptable religious modesty without the *hijab.* In Indonesia, young religious women social media influencers used Instagram to not only present themselves as pious, but also to instruct other women to do the same (Beta, 2019).

In one of the first studies to explore the online identity presentations of 'hijabistas' (Muslim *hijab*-wearing fashion influencers on social media), Kavakci and Kraeplin (2017) applied the concept of a 'composite habitus' to analyze these women's social media posts. Beyond Bourdieu's *habitus,* defined as the lived-in social structures that are internalized to shape our lived experience and actions, Waltorp wrote of the 'composite habitus' and applied it to individuals that navigate multiple identities, often those living in diasporic communities. The authors here used it their analysis of three *hijabi* women influencers, in London, Kuwait, and the U.S., finding that these women revealed multiple identity constructions in their social

media accounts, including an Islamic religious identity, a Western fashionista identity, and a contradictory hybridized identity. The authors argued this construction of multiple identities the women engaged in was heavily market-driven, for their online personalities as influencers were a product in the visibility economy. This analysis is particularly useful in informing the current study, as the Doha-based influencers under examination here operate in a very similar context. One particular paradox the authors identified across all three influencers was the public disclosures of their intimate pregnancy experiences, which, according to more conservative Muslim traditions that the women appeared to subscribe to, would not ordinarily be made public. Additionally, the women were able to present certain aspects of their sexual identities through their public discussions and invocations of their husbands. They were able to present themselves as sexual beings very publicly, but in a properly sanctioned way, through marriage. This is an example of the seemingly contradictory hybridized identity construction. Islam (2019) examined a lengthy YouTube video by one of the same influencers Kavakci and Kraeplin (2017) identified, Dina Torkia. In the 2017 documentary, titled #YourAverageMuslim, the author argued Torkia refuted three common Orientalist tropes of Muslim women—oppressed, subjugated, and as other—and offered an alternative of the Muslim woman who takes control of her self-presentation and speaks for herself, in part through a hybridity of what had previously been known as opposed Western and Muslim identities (Islam, 2019).

Jyrkiäinen (2016) concluded that young women in Egypt engaged in what Goffman called cynical acting, but quickly distinguished between a cynical performance out of self-interest and cynical performance due to a belief they could not be sincere in a particular context. Jyrkiäinen argued that women in Egypt acted as cynical performers as an intentional strategy to navigate conservative gender norms for women. These women in her study deftly navigated multiple contexts in their virtual spaces, by perhaps only posting Quranic verses on their public-facing Facebook wall, but including photographs of a mixed-gender group of friends that are only visible to those friends. This was one way they engaged in impression management. Another way was editing the selfie through various apps, indicating it was more important to appear to be beautiful than it was to actually be beautiful. The author pointed out that while individuals engage in impression management all the time in both online and offline spaces, the online space actually offers greater opportunity for impression management. There are countless more options to limit the front-stage aspects of their performances.

Finally, M. Ayish and AlNajjar (2019) undertook a textual analysis of three top media influencers in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), finding that they engaged in

practices of cultural hybridity in their posts on YouTube. In the case of a top woman Jordanian-Palestinian YouTuber, her use of cultural hybridity illustrated that issues women in the Arab world face were more similar than different to the issues women across the world face. The YouTubers adopted hybridized versions of Arab identities that were defined more rigidly before the rise of social media, and this allowed the one young woman to create a platform for women's empowerment in the Arab World.

3.7 Addressing the Gaps in the Literature

Beginning with the first cited study about online self-presentation from just over 20 years ago, the literature reviewed above shows a complicated picture of self-presentation on social media. One facet of self-presentation that has remained consistent in that time is that women are more likely to disclose personal information, from teenagers with blogs to international athletes. Additionally, the technological features of these platforms impact how users can represent themselves, alternatively in constraining and liberating ways, as can the photographic conventions for how women should pose. Networked social media users engage with an imagined public, whether as a collapsed context or multiplicity of audiences, and they invoke both community and identity through the use of hashtags. Well-known influencers adopt microcelebrity practices that dictate how they engage with other users of social media platforms and lead to perceived intimacy and increased authenticity. Many women on social media report that because of social pressure, they continue to adhere to traditional feminine beauty standards, and focus on impression management and presenting their ideal selves. Social media is both restrictive and empowering to those in non-hegemonic bodies, and authenticity in self-presentation thrives or withers as a result.

As rich and diverse as this growing canon of social media scholarship is, relatively little has focused on Muslim and Arab women, and even less on women in the Arab Gulf, which presents a distinct cultural context to explore these same phenomena. By doing so, this study addressed several gaps in the literature by asking one primary research question in phase two of this study:

How do Qatar's Instafamous women present themselves on Instagram?

In answering this question, the second phase of this study explored the imagined public and context that these influencers operate within, and examined several aspects of social media practices of women influencers in Qatar. The first aspect related to external factors, such as the audience and whether it can be read as a single collapsed entity, or a multiplicity of entities, social and technological constraints and the manner in which they impact how women present themselves, and whether evidence of social pressure exists through feedback mechanisms such as likes or comments. The second aspect was related to audience

engagement, including microcelebrity practices these women used, whether they actively engaged in any kind of celebrity or public, and whether they used hashtags for identity presentation or for community networking. The third aspect centered on gender conventions, including whether these women conformed to other gendered conventions of social media self-presentation, or if there were different photographic conventions in Qatari social media, and whether these women conformed to stereotypical notions of femininity, through pregnancy, motherhood, or beauty standards. The final aspect focused on the self, including whether these women engaged in the presentation of the ideal self, how they took part in self-surveillance, and how they conveyed authenticity? An examination of these aspects of social media practices among women influencers in Qatar will provide not only an important contribution to the growing canon of social media scholarship, but also a specific counterpoint to the analysis of women's representations in the news.

Now that we have considered the literature related to women's representations both in the news and on social media, we next move into a robust conceptual elaboration of the term "visibility," and the theoretical frameworks that inform the two phases of the study.

Chapter 4. Explanatory Frameworks and Concepts

That life is complicated is a fact of great analytical importance.[6]

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study intends to contribute to theoretical development by considering three prominent communication frameworks in the Arab Gulf context: symbolic annihilation, the presentation of self in everyday life, and postfeminist media sensibilities. As the field of communication research is further internationalized, explanatory frameworks such as these that have largely grown out of the Western experience are being applied in non-Western contexts. As scholars apply those frameworks, they are challenged to address the assumptions on which they're based—often grounded in notions of Western liberalism, individualism, and democratic self-rule. But what does it mean to employ these frameworks in a context where there are cultural proscriptions against mediated visual representations of local women? By exploring these frameworks in the dual-phase study that compares representations of women in the English-language press with how women present themselves on Instagram, I am able to assess theoretical shortcomings and offer theoretical development. An in-depth discussion on this appears in the penultimate chapter of this dissertation. For now, the current chapter highlights these three theoretical approaches and how they were applied to the two phases of the study. It then offers a detailed explication of the term *visibility*, along with a synthesized conceptualization of the term. This, too, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. First, we turn to the theoretical frameworks that inform this study.

4.1 Symbolic Annihilation

The media world has been revolutionized by several trends in the past ten years, placing an impetus on media researchers to revisit foundational theories and consider them in relation to the current media landscape. Of those trends, it is globalization and the shift from mass communication to fragmented, personalized communication through social media that are of interest here. Similarly, the shift of the symbolic world exclusively from mass communication media products (e.g., film or television) to social media worlds, where messages and meanings are communicated on much smaller and personalized scales compels us to reconsider the sites at which symbolic meaning is created. How do these two trends affect theorizing about women's representation in media, specifically the theory of symbolic annihilation, a term originally coined by Gerbner and Gross (1976) and applied to women's representations by Tuchman (1978)? Understanding the conceptual underpinnings of this theory, and how are those bound by geography, culture, technology, and political systems, is

[6] (Williams, 1991, p. 10)

central to answering the synthetic research question at the heart of this study. Additionally, clarifying the conceptual underpinnings that currently bind this theoretical approach to mass communication is necessary to reconsider it in light of the personalized media landscape wrought by social media. The reconceptualization of symbolic annihilation that follows accounts for the most significant shifts in the media landscape in our lifetime.

4.1.1 In cultivation theory

As briefly introduced in Chapter 2, Gerbner and Gross (1976) first coined the term 'symbolic annihilation' to describe the lack of "representation in the fictional world" (p. 182). If inclusion signified societal existence, absence signified symbolic annihilation. The whole of the authors' argument is rooted in a belief that the "environment of symbols" is the primary method by which "the most distinctive aspects of human existence" are sustained (p. 173). Beyond simply sustaining human existence, however, the ritual elements that make up these symbolic environments also act as "agencies of symbolic socialization and control" (p. 173). What is learned in this symbolic environment is reproduced and acted upon in the real environment, and while that symbolic environment was once largely driven by religion, in the U.S. in the 1960s and 1970s, they argued, it had become television.

Though the term 'symbolic annihilation' is mentioned only once in their foundational text, a careful examination of underlying assumptions of the context from which that term was born is still warranted. Without such an examination, it would be impossible to consider the applicability of the term in the current media environment. Not uncoincidentally, this was the same endeavor Gerbner and Gross themselves were engaged in in their 1976 text—reconceptualizing media effects and research design for the *televised* media environment, arguing that television had become the "central cultural arm of American society" (p. 175). Researchers could not continue to employ the same approach to television as they did to earlier forms of media, that is, studying changes to behavior or attitudes based on exposure to media consumed only by select audiences. Gerbner and Gross believed television was a tool of mass socialization, and they wanted to understand what social lessons it taught—what "basic assumptions about the 'facts' of life" (p. 175) were broadcast into the homes of tens of millions of Americans?

In their theorizing, Gerbner and Gross made several assumptions, some more explicit than others. To begin with, on the production side, they argued the institutional processes that created the prevailing symbolic world media consumers interacted with at the time was "increasingly professionalized, industrialized, centralized, and specialized" (p. 173). In other words, gatekeeping in entertainment television was increasingly—though not exclusively—happening at the organizational level, more so than at the individual level. Though

gatekeeping theory has primarily been applied to journalism and not entertainment, it provides a useful lens through which to examine Gerbner and Gross's theorizing. According to gatekeeping theory, company structures and practices would be established to meet the goals of owners and managers of the media companies (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Additionally, in arguing that television was a force of enculturation that did not crisply distinguish between entertainment and information and that sought to maintain the status quo, rather than disrupt it (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, p. 175), gatekeeping was also happening at the social system level.

In our new social media-prevalent environment, on the face of it, it may seem that gatekeeping does not occur to the same degree at the organizational level. Certainly those that claim the internet as the great democratizer would instead argue it happens exclusively at the individual level. However, social media organizations are as important as ever, if for no other reason than they're the keepers of the powerful algorithms that drive how content is delivered across their social media networks. And they make the rules by which that user-generated content is policed. Two very prominent recent examples of organizational gatekeeping on social media networks are Twitter permanently suspending the account of then-U.S. President Donald Trump, and Amazon Web Services suspending hosting services for the right-wing social media platform Parler, both in early 2021. Further, the rise of social media influencers who are paid to promote products, and recent scandals featuring the spread of disinformation by foreign state agents on Facebook show the reach of not only organizations, such as the technology companies, but also social institutions, such as advertisers and governments. All of that said, gatekeeping at the individual level is a significant force on social media, as social media itself is defined by diffuse individuals creating individual content. And while individually produced content can certainly reflect the status quo, it is at that individual level that social media can also disrupt it. So, as we begin to dissect the contextual assumptions surrounding symbolic annihilation, it is clear that individual-level gatekeeping forces play a greater role in social media than they did with television. This shifts some of the power in creating the symbolic environment to the individual and offers space for disruption of the status quo in the symbolic environment. This is evident, as one example from the study, in the posted Instagram photographs of Mexican expatriate Yezenia Navarro that depict her in more revealing clothing than would be depicted in *The Gulf Times.*

Considering the media product itself, the authors argued television offered a symbolic environment that was both repetitive and ritualized, again not at all unlike the symbolic environment created by religion. While the individually-produced content on social media may not always share the same repetitive, scripted content in the same way that television

entertainment did—following typical one-hour dramatic narrative structures, for example—much of this content still manages to be incredibly repetitive. For example, my own viewing of a few weeks of Instagram posts by similar-caliber Hollywood actors show them all pre-, post-, or during-workout at the gym; pre-, post-, or mid-meal at home or a restaurant; or pre-, post-, or mid-makeup/hair/costume dressing on set, to give just a few examples. On the mobility front, television brought entertainment directly into the home, so viewers no longer needed to travel to be entertained. Now, of course, with nearly ubiquitous mobile media devices, a consumer no longer even needs to be at home—instead she can take it with her everywhere she goes. And finally, just as television does not require a literate audience, neither does social media, especially as users increasingly shift to the visual platforms of Instagram and TikTok. Even the technological literacy required to create and view social media offers no more than a minimal barrier to entry, though the cost of a smartphone or internet data access may still be a limitation. So, many of the structural features of the social media products themselves that create the prevailing symbolic environment are even more intense than in the television environment.

Beyond that, on the reception side, television at the time was a "simultaneous public experience" (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, p. 173) that offered the perceived common denominator of the viewing public—largely affluent, white, and male—that at the time connected different sectors of society, many of whom were participating in a "mass public" for the first time (p. 174). And newspaper reading habits have also been shown to play both an instrumental and ritualistic role (Weibull, 1992). The act of consuming social media now is just as ritualized as sitting down to watch a favorite weekly soap opera or nightly news program, or reading the morning newspaper over coffee or on a public transit morning commute. As we move through the world with our phones at all times, it takes only a moment of downtime at a red light, on a subway platform, or in the elevator to take out a smartphone and begin scrolling through a social media feed. However, that does not manifest in the same simultaneous public experience that television did—social media is largely designed to be consumed on mobile devices (smartphones, generally) that are, in turn, designed to be viewed by the individual. Social media consumption happens asynchronously and in isolation. And we know, too, that the fragmentation of the media environment due to the rise of cable television and the internet as a whole has already chipped away at the common artifact that was creating this mass public in the first place. Social media further diffuses it. And while in television viewing, Gerbner and Gross argued the mass public experience also served as confirmation of social fact of the shared experience, in the 2010s, the phrase "pics or it didn't happen," became the ethos of our social media-constructed realities. The sentiment is the same—mediated proof is necessary

for the symbolic environment—though the practices of production and reception of that proof are wildly divergent.

So what does all of this mean for reconceptualizing symbolic annihilation for our new mediated landscape? Symbolic annihilation is a concept deeply embedded within cultivation theory laid out in early form by Gerbner and Gross (1976), which provides a well-worn framework for the mediated symbolic environment of the television age. This analysis of the underlying assumptions of Gerbner and Gross's work here indicates that some assumptions continue to hold true for social media: organizational gatekeeping forces are at work, the media products themselves are repetitive, mobile, and highly visual, and the act of consumption is ritualized. However, on both the production and consumption sides, some of the assumptions are no longer valid. Individual-level gatekeeping forces play a larger role than they once did, and as such, there is more room for disruption, rather than maintenance, of the status quo. Additionally, consumers are no longer engaged in a simultaneous public experience. These differences offer the greatest inroads for reconceptualization. But first, we will consider symbolic annihilation as it was adopted by feminist media studies and general inquiry into women's representations in the media.

4.1.2 Women and symbolic annihilation

As discussed in Chapter 2, Gaye Tuchman (1978) brought symbolic annihilation from Gerbner and Gross's work on cultivation theory into the realm of feminist media studies. Her adaptation of symbolic annihilation to women's representations is clearly directed at the *mass* media, and while there of course was no social media at the time, it is important to describe the nature of the media Tuchman identified. As she built her argument to apply symbolic annihilation specifically to women's representations in mass media, she calls back to Lasswell's conception of mass media as not only transmitting "social heritage" (p. 6), as Gerbner and Gross (1976) would have agreed, but also in transmitting that across generations, implying a linear time-based path that this heritage travels. Additionally, Tuchman's theorizing was rooted in an American context where she argued a complex culture made up of myriad classes, religions, races, regions must coexist. The media served that coexistence as a unifying force that passed news from one corner of society to another. Further included in this theory is the psychological concept of modeling, wherein children model their behavior after others. Television acted as a megaphone in this process, and because that media environment was fairly homogenous, the symbolic environment projected through that megaphone was, as well.

One of the most significant elements of Tuchman's (1978) conceptualization of symbolic annihilation that warrants a careful look here is how she uses the reflection

hypothesis. Very simply, she writes, "[T]he mass media reflect dominant societal values" (p. 7). But, in the age of television, and especially with scripted programs, there was a considerable time lag between writing, production, and transmission. So the symbolic world might evolve more slowly than the material world, which had the effect to further reify the status quo of the symbolic environment. There were economic implications of reflecting dominant societal values in television programming, as well. Television networks needed to sell their shows to advertisers, and they did that by promising certain audiences. In order to deliver those audiences to the advertisers, the networks would need to first attract them, and it was easiest to do that by offering "safe" programming, that is, programming that reflected the dominant society that viewers recognized. This desire for "safe" programming is in some ways reflected in the algorithms employed by today's leading streaming media services. The algorithm acts to deliver "safe" programming to the viewer based on what they previously watched. A final note in regards to television is that Tuchman was focused on the role of women in the fictional televised world, where women were largely denigrated, victimized, and trivialized. In sum, she wrote, "To be a woman is to have a limited life divorced from the economic productivity of the labor force" (p. 17).

In the non-fiction world of newspapers and women's magazines, Tuchman found a marginally more responsive symbolic environment. That is, the lag time for reflecting societal values wasn't always as long as what she found in television programming. For example, some of the magazines she examined embraced more open roles for women, though not all did. This raises an important question about audience—the audience for women's magazines was, obviously, women. So editors may have found it easier to question dominant ideology around women's roles when they knew their target audience was generally comprised of women. Overall, however, Tuchman argued that television and newspapers both had to appeal to the common denominator (p. 29), rather than any subgroup marked as Other, including women, and this meant white men. This allowed these mass media to become "the cement of American social life" (p. 30) and act as an agent of socialization in many ways the family once did (p. 31). And as the analysis of the *Gulf Times* in subsequent chapters will show, the same holds true with the modern press in the Arab Gulf.

So how much of this holds true with social media? The most significant difference between the world of mass media that Tuchman described and the world of fragmented social media we currently live in, is that the media need no longer appeal to the common denominator. Families across the world no longer sit down in front of the television to watch the same handful of programs together every night. Niche content is easily accessible and individuals from all demographics are now able to build their own content and attract viewers.

Even so, women remain invisible across traditional media, both print and digital, which are more likely to address men's concerns and privilege men's voices (Macharia, 2015). Social media is much younger now than television was at the time Tuchman was writing, of course, so what do we make of her harkening back to Lasswell's concept of transmitting social heritage? Unlike television content, social media content is viral and ephemeral. Can an ephemeral and viral medium transmit something more memorable than a meme, which is often marked by its very virality, and nothing more? Can this medium transmit the *heritage* that Tuchman referenced? Further to that, social media were first largely dominated by younger generations, and as each generation begins engaging with the technology, they embrace a new platform that the previous generations do not necessarily use. Generational continuity is not a significant facet of social media platform use. So whether social media can transmit social heritage and its concordant symbolic environment remains up for debate.

Global cultures remain complex in many of the same ways Tuchman initially described American culture, but does social media fill the role of maintaining dominant societal values and allowing our societal complexities to coexist? In fact, we have seen quite drastically in the past several years how social media has worked against that notion by acting as an agent for misinformation and social and political polarization around the world. Finally, the underlying concept that Tuchman returns to more than any other in her writing on symbolic annihilation of women is the reflection hypothesis. Do social media reflect dominant societal values in the same way she argued television did? In many ways dominant social values can still be reflected by individuals who are creating social media content. But social media can act as a much greater disrupter than television ever could, in part because of its virality and ephemeral nature. Finally, to Tuchman's point about television as a great socializing force, social media can certainly fulfill the same role, but again, with much larger capacity for disruption and for reflection of rapidly changing social values.

4.2 Presentation of Self and Gender

As discussed in the previous chapter, Erving Goffman's work in symbolic interactionism, dramaturgy, and gender presentation has been used extensively in social media analysis, and make up a central framework in this study. Goffman extended the symbolic interactionism framework of the Chicago school to actually study human interaction (Rogers, 1994), concluding in his foundational *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) that humans interacted with one another in a similar fashion as theatrical actors. Goffman wrote that humans are constantly engaged in the process of publicly defining their identities, and rather than performing on the stage, humans perform social roles in an attempt to control how others perceive them. As an extension of this work on social role performance,

Goffman later studied gender expression in magazine advertisements (1979), creating a typology of behavioral expressions of gender. Goffman's explanatory frameworks are particularly useful in the second phase of this study of women influencers on Instagram.

First, Goffman defined interactions as encounters among individuals that occur within a physical or metaphorical social establishment (1959). It is within the interaction that the individuals perform their social selves to conform to particular social roles appropriate for that social establishment or social status. These performances are given to audiences, and when the performances are repeated across occasions, they are likely to result in social relationships. In the case of media performances, these can lead to parasocial relationships. In scripted television, for example, a viewer may develop a relationship with a character, despite that character's fictionality and the absence of any actual interaction. In the world of social media, the same may occur, even if the performer is a real person, and these parasocial relationships are especially relevant in the case of the Instafamous and their followers. These social media celebrities often speak directly to their followers by looking directly into their phone cameras, and by addressing them in the second person. Goffman plots two kinds of performances on opposite ends of a continuum: sincere performances and cynical performances. With the first, the individual believes their performance represents true reality, and they "believe in the impression fostered by their own performance" (p. 18). With the latter, the individual neither believes their own performance, nor cares what the audience believes.

Social role performances can be broken down into two constituent parts, the front region and the back region. The front region is akin to the front stage of a theatre, where the performance is well-honed and conforms to the part or routine required of it. The back region is like the back stage—individuals may be looser and act in ways that the audience of this particular performance is never intended to see. Goffman described the elements of the front region performance as tools of impression management, which are behaviors individuals actively engage in to present themselves in a desired fashion and attempt to control others' perceptions of them. These can include setting, appearance, manner, and decorum. While appearance is the broader, and usually more fixed, part of the performance that conveys the individual's social status, and may include factors such as the individual's sex, age, or nationality, manner is made up of characteristics in the moment of the performance, such as body language, tone of voice, and facial expressions. The characteristics of manner provide clues to the specific role the individual plays in the interaction, and both the performer and the audience expect some coherence between the appearance, manner, and setting. A performer also needs to abide by decorum, both an overarching moral code of behavior and the

instrumental code of behavior warranted by their social role. Two other notable elements of impression management can include the dramatic realization or the idealization of the role. When someone employs a dramatic realization, they present the self with the certainty required by the role. For example, someone presenting themselves as patriotic may adopt a dramatic realization stance of standing straight with their shoulders back when saluting their flag, rather than slouching. Individuals may also practice idealization by performing the perceived ideal version of the role, rather than simply the reality of that role. For example, a woman may decide the ideal performance of womanhood adopts very specific traditional displays of femininity, such as wearing makeup and high heels, while concealing other aspects of their real femininity, such as menstruation. Finally, individuals may practice audience segregation, by performing the ideal version to one audience, and the real version to another. As an example, influencers often include much more curated and professional content on their posts, while they perform more laidback social roles on their stories. This is described in greater detail in Chapters 7 and 8.

Although in his later work Goffman focused on gender displays in advertisements, and not in real social interactions, he argued such an analysis was still instructive of the real-life social world, because the very contrived nature of advertisements provide an example of idealized representations of gender (1979). Gender expressions are "illustrations of ritual-like bits of behavior which portray an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each other" (p. 84). In other words, gender expressions in an advertisement may not necessarily represent how men and women behave in real life, but how the advertisers and viewers *think* they behave. Portrayals captured in photographs, whether the advertisements Goffman analyzed or not, contain expressions—not of a "natural" gender behavior itself, but rather of the very natural "capacity and inclination of individuals to portray a version of themselves and their relationship at strategic moments" (p. 7). These gender displays serve to inform and establish the framework for social interactions and serve to indulge the human desire to attempt to ascertain what we may perceive to be essential characteristics of the individual we are interacting with. While they generally are "conventionalized portrayals" of gender (p. 1), they can also carry multiple meanings and just as easily contradict social structures as affirm them. In an interesting aside, Goffman presaged social media in his description of a certain type of personal publicity photograph, usually reserved for those with some kind of celebrity status. Of these, Goffman wrote, "even the celebrity's personal-life rituals can be publicized as a means for affirming in everyone's life what is being affirmed in his own, so that whatever his particular domain, he will tend to become a public performer of private ceremonies and have extra reason on such occasions for

taking pictures and ensuring they are good ones—a mutual contamination of public and private" (p. 11).

The coding scheme Goffman used for gender expressions in advertisements often, though not always, refers to multiple people of different genders in the same frame, such as the relative size of one subject to the other, the function ranking among multiple individuals, or depictions of family. In these cases, the individual—typically the man in Goffman's analysis—who carries more social weight will be shown as taller or more responsible for some kind of executive action than the other. In other words, the person with a higher social status will be portrayed as more important. In the cases of depictions of the heteronormative nuclear family, the visual representation will symbolize the actual family structure, usually with the father shown as the largest or tallest, and the mother and children in descending size. All of these are visual shortcuts, so that the viewer can comprehend the portrayed relationship at a glance and easily understand the story the advertiser wishes to tell. Three other categories Goffman identified don't necessitate multiple people within the frame of the picture, though they can certainly be there. The first of these gender expressions is the feminine touch, wherein women are shown gently touching, caressing, or cradling some object, perhaps even their own face or other body part. Goffman called this ritualistic touching and contrasted it with more utilitarian touching, such as grasping or manipulating an object, that is more readily apparent in images of men. The next of these is the ritualization of subordination, which can be achieved by prostrating to another, or even if alone, achieved by smiling, canting one's head so it may be lower than the viewer's gaze, or the "bashful knee bend" (p. 45). All of these are coded as submissive expressions of gender. Finally, licensed withdrawal can be seen in images where the subject appears to be at some psychological remove from the depicted situation, or from the viewer's gaze. This may be depicted as remorse or fear, sucking or biting one's own finger, holding a finger-to-finger position, or being depicted at the edge of or behind objects, animals, or other people.

While Goffman analyzed advertisements and not self-expression on social media, this framework remains useful in this study. First, many Instagram influencers are selling products, either explicitly through a paid partnership, or through a more general lifestyle through their visibility labor. Second, because these gender displays are so ubiquitous in advertisements, they can serve a pedagogical role in how one should portray oneself in any act of personal branding, such as Instagram photographs. Finally, this typology was created in a Western context, and applying it as a starting point in an analysis of Instagram influencers in the Arab Gulf, can be instructive in identifying commonalities and differences across cultural contexts.

4.3 Postfeminist Sensibilities

An additional explanatory framework that is useful in the study at hand is Rosalind Gill's postfeminist sensibility, which she offers less as a prescriptive analytical tool, and more as a paradigm through which to be curious about new feminist visibilities (2007, 2016). Gill seeks to identify empirical regularities in her examinations of gender in contemporary media, specifically considering the "entanglement of feminist and anti-feminist" (2007, p. 149) in these articulations. Gill identified several features of this sensibility that are a useful guide for the current study, noting she developed them as a scholar of primarily Anglo-American media texts. In the analysis and discussion that follow in Chapters 7 and 8, these features will be considered for their applicability in the Arab Gulf context.

The first feature Gill identifies in the postfeminist sensibility is that femininity is located in the realm of the physical body, rather than in the realm of the social, structural, or psychological. In other words, a woman is identified as feminine through her body alone, which paradoxically serves as a source of power and something to be tamed. And it serves as a window to a woman's inner emotional state—the disheveled female body indicates emotional turmoil, while the trim and tidy female body signals emotional control. An extension of this corporality is the resurgent popularity of ideas about "natural" differences between the sexes, which Gill attributes to the ascendance of tenets of evolutionary psychology in popular culture. The most fundamental example of this is that because women are biologically capable of having children, they should exclusively be responsible for child-rearing, while her hunter-gatherer male partner earns the family's livelihood. One effect of this retrenchment is a belief that current inequalities between men and women are not only inevitable, but also favorable, because they allow both men and women to fulfill their "natural" heteronormative purpose. Another feature of the postfeminist sensibility related to the female body is the makeover paradigm. Women are reminded of all the ways they are flawed—which, as humans, they are—but told they can achieve perfection if they try and buy hard enough. This "transformative femininity" is a striking alternative to the "authentic masculinity" men are told to strive for (p. 158). Women's desirability is achieved through perfection, while men's is achieved by being the regular guy. The next feature of the postfeminist sensibility identifies the expansion of self-surveillance and self-discipline into new areas of women's lives. Not only must women monitor and discipline their bodies, but now they must also monitor their inner psychological and emotional lives.

Another element of the postfeminist sensibility remakes the female body from a sexual *object* to an agentic sexual *subject*, though one that conforms to a rigid male fantastical standard. This shifts the culpability of sexual objectification onto the woman, for she has

made an empowered and active choice to look and act a certain way, albeit through a false consciousness. Gill also identifies a marked increase in the sexualization of culture that puts all of the responsibilities of sexual relationships onto women, from pleasing the male partner to planning for contraception. This is also displayed in the simultaneous sexualization of young girls and "girlification" of adult women in popular culture. Woven throughout a postfeminist sensibility is a concurrent acceptance and contestation of feminist ideals—women are empowered to make their own choices, but those choices are often used in the service of anti-feminist ends, such as taking a husband's last name or giving up work. In short, postfeminism is contradictory. Undergirding all of this is the neoliberal focus on individualism and choice that obscures the structural inequalities that continue to have a material impact on women's lives. It's an attractive package both for women and for capitalists—women want to believe they are entirely autonomous, and capitalists enjoy the curtain they can hide behind to continue to sell the public on mass-market beauty ideals.

Writing about a decade later, Gill revisited her postfeminist sensibility paradigm, bringing additional insights in the face of feminism's popular evolution into an identity marker, rather than necessarily a political stance (2016). By the mid-2010s, feminism had become fashionable, and while many celebrity women would claim it as an identity, few would articulate its meaning. It has become widely seen as a desirable value to adopt, but in a largely empty way that does not address sexism, misogyny, or structural or institutional gender-based inequalities. Gill takes pains not to pit competing feminisms against one another, and has recognized that postfeminism has become an intersectional and transnational tool to understand some distinctly gendered aspects of neoliberal societies. For example, in Western societies that favor neoliberal and corporate ideals, feminism is seen as a project of the individual; if they adopt positive thinking and work on the self, they can overcome structural inequalities, while remaining complicit with capitalism by serving as loyal neoliberal consumer subjects. At the same time, Westerners readily identify structural forces women of the Global South must contend with, providing a palatable site of activism that Gill argues is deeply rooted in colonialism, racism, and Orientalism. One of the greatest contributions of this framework is the willingness to explore the contradictions of contemporary feminisms that appear in media culture, what Gill herself calls central to her work as a feminist media scholar, and what echoes the outlook of legal scholar Patricia Williams, as quoted in the heading of this chapter. In the current study, I also seek to explore these contradictions without passing judgment on the feminisms or femininities that women in the Arab Gulf engage in.

In considering the postfeminist sensibility in the Arab Gulf, it is important to critically examine some of these features, especially in relation to the female body. The ability of the woman to be seen as a sexual subject is more contested in a conservative Muslim context, though this same culture puts the onus on the woman to hide her sexuality in the face of men who are not able to contain their own sexual urges. Narratives of empowerment, individualism, and choice must also be questioned in a communal society. Men and women both are encouraged to make choices in the context of their families and clans, and they do not always embrace the individualism prevalent in Western societies. I acknowledge the problems associated with applying Western-looking theories (or "sensibilities") in the Arab Gulf context, and I consciously and actively explore the relevance of doing so. A deeper discussion of this follows in Chapter 7.

4.4 Redefining Frameworks and Concepts

A central challenge of this dissertation is to consider foundational Western analytical frameworks in a decidedly non-Western context. Central to all three of the frameworks discussed above is the concept of *visibility*. Can visibility only be measured by depictions in publicly disseminated media? Does the cultural taboo against women being depicted as such render them completely invisible in society? Are there other venues in which, in this case, women can be visible? If so, what are they?

This leads to an interesting challenge and opportunity in the theoretical development in this dissertation—defining visibility. Can it be measured outside of publicly disseminated media—perhaps in privately disseminated social media networks? Further, as Ciasullo (2001) suggests that visibility is based not simply on being present, but on being watched, an additional question arises—watched by whom? Is visibility defined by the presence of an audience? If so, what kind of audience—are Arab Gulf women visible in their largely gender-segregated society if they're only visible to other women? The following sections begin to answer some of these questions.

What follows is an explication of the term *visibility* with particular reference to the Arab Gulf, which is a concept of particular interest for several reasons relevant to mass communication and gender studies scholars. First, as mentioned above, as mass communication research is further internationalized, foundational concepts must be explicated in culturally-specific settings. This allows scholars working in non-Western locales greater ability to apply foundational theories and contribute to theoretical development in the field. Second, this explication will serve scholars working in the field of women's and gender studies in the Arab Gulf by examining visibility within a socio-cultural context that restricts visibility in specific ways. Finally, the focus of this explication is to consider the term

visibility with the goal to make a contribution to cross-cultural theory building. It is hoped that this explication provides a coherent conceptualization of visibility that can be employed by social science and humanities scholars working in the Arab Gulf and other non-Western societies.

4.5 Explication: An Iterative Process

Engaging in the explication of a term like visibility is more than simply providing a survey of how current and past scholarship has considered the concept. Scholars, particularly those embarking on a new research program, must engage in a thorough analysis of a concept, and this iterative process is known as explication, literally "to make explicit." Chaffee (1991) writes that because much of what we study in human communication is beyond direct observation and a result of unseen forces, the manner in which we explicate the concepts we are studying is important not only to a particular study, but to our larger research program and the very paradigm in which we work. While paradigmatic research guides the meaning analysis, operational definitions, and empirical work in a concept explication, concept explication helps define many of the assumptions of paradigmatic research and can be crucial to help identify weaknesses contained within those assumptions. It is in this manner that explication is crucial to building theory, either by allowing the theory to be tested or by adding precision to a theory (J. M. McLeod, Pan, Dunwoody, & Becker, 2005).

While concept explication primarily appears within an empirical analysis to provide the linkage between a theoretical construct and the operationalization of that concept, if, in a historical moment a scholar faces paradigmatic transition, the emergence of new technological forms, or varying use of a particular concept, explication can become an end in itself, as the scholars Kiousis (2002), Lee (2004), Rawlins (2008), and Karlsson (2010) demonstrate. Though this explication exercise is not precipitated by a paradigmatic transition or a new technological development, the further international reach of mass communication scholarship is an additional justification for undertaking an explication in and of itself.

After providing a brief discussion of the dictionary definition of the term *visibility,* the remainder of this chapter engages several bodies of literature to explicate the term: visual culture, visual communication, LGTBQ and performance studies, media studies, and feminist media studies. After discussing the primary dimensions of visibility across these fields, I offer a revised conceptual definition of visibility that can be employed in the Arab Gulf and other non-Western cultural contexts that may have proscriptions against mediated representations of both genders.

4.5.1 Definition of visibility

Scholars frequently begin to explore concepts by citing commonly held dictionary and etymological definitions. In that vein, I will entertain a brief discussion of those definitions. Visibility derives from the term 'visible,' which in turn comes from the Latin transitive verb *videre*, which means 'to see.' The adjective form 'visible' is defined by *Merriam-Webster* very concretely—"capable of being seen," or more specifically, appearing along a certain portion of the "electromagnetic spectrum that is perceptible to human vision," "exposed to view," "capable of being discovered or perceived," and "accessible" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The most relevant definition, however, is one that moves beyond a physiological mechanism and implies intent by an actor: "devised to keep a particular part or item always in full view or readily seen or referred to" (ibid). Additionally, *Merriam-Webster* defines visibility as the capability of "being readily noticed" or of "affording an unobstructed view." Arabic offers similar distinctions between simply being seen—*yitshaf*, which comes from the root *shafaf* (transparent)—and the state of being visible—*wojood* (visibility, the presence of), which derives from the root *wajd* (to see, to witness), though they clearly have disparate etymologies.

This initial examination of dictionary definitions leads us to an initial conceptualization of visibility as not only being perceptible, but *being designed to be perceptible*. Already, our conceptual definition of visibility implies a relationship to a social world, which is further explored below.

4.5.2 Visual Culture

An appropriate entry point to discuss the concept of visibility within a body of scholarship is to look toward the study of visual culture, a decidedly postcolonial comparative project that seeks to compare "the means by which cultures visualize themselves" (Mirzoeff, 2009, p. 1). While not expressly employing the terms 'visible' or 'visibility,' those ideas are implied within the discourse of the discipline, which Mitchell describes as a dialectic between the "social construction of the visual field" and the "visual construction of the social field" (2005, p. 345). Much as the definitions articulated above move beyond understanding 'visible' only in terms of the physiological process of sight, visual culture understands the visual as occurring within a specific cultural and psychological framework, an idea credited to Arab philosopher Ibn al-Haytham at the end of the first millennium CE. In this approach, vision is "an active world-making in which fragmentary sensory data are combined to make a 'view' by which we literally and metaphorically see the world" (Mirzoeff, 2009, p. 4). Notable al-Haytham scholar Mark Smith further argues that for the Arab philosopher, seeing was an epistemology of its own—that to see is to know (2001, p. lxxiii). The logical extension

of that idea, then, is that to be seen is to be known. If one is not seen, can one be known? Finally, Thompson (2005) provides a succinct summary of these ideas:

> Seeing is never 'pure vision,' it is never a matter of simply opening one's eyes and grasping an object or event. On the contrary, seeing is always shaped by a broader set of cultural assumptions and frameworks, and by the spoken or written cues that commonly accompany the visual image and shape the way in which the images are seen and understood (p. 36).

This overview of visual culture presents three key concepts to consider in explicating visibility, the first two of which are the social and psychological constructions of the visual. Vision occurs definitively within the social and psychological constructions of the visual, and cannot exist outside of either of these contexts. The third concept, that of a visual epistemology, is especially engaging. While visual epistemology is not explicitly referenced in symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1978), this idea largely underpins the theory. Women are largely invisible as participants in the paid labor market in symbolic representations in the media, the theory goes, and are thus unknown in those social spaces. A viewer cannot *see* the woman in particular societal roles, thus the viewer cannot *know* the woman to exist in those roles.

4.5.3 Visual Communication

In a deep analysis of Norman Rockwell's paintings during the 1960s Civil Rights Era, Gallagher and Zagacki (2005) provide both an insightful conceptualization of visibility and a strong argument for the rhetorical significance of visible subjects in these paintings. The authors define visibility as being achieved rhetorically in Rockwell's case by "[making] visible people, attitudes, and ideas in the context of the struggle over civil rights in America" (p. 177-8). They further argue that the visibility Rockwell provided could "shape public knowledge through offering interpretive and evaluative versions of who does what to whom, when, and where" (p. 178). Finally, the authors argue the rhetorical significance of this visibility is found in making the paintings' subjects "visible in ways that negated the inferior character tropes" dominant of the period, in recognizing others through their particularity, and in illustrating the significance of abstract political concepts such as democracy in relation to those most affected by them (p. 180).

In this context of representations of race in Civil Rights Era America, Gallagher and Zagacki investigate the rhetorical power of visibility even further. First they introduce the rhetorical dualities introduced by Hale, who argued that spectacle—the power of looking—allows a visual image to convey the complexities of race "more easily and persuasively than a carefully plotted story" (p. 181). So while rhetorical power lies in upending negative

stereotypes, it is the very same rhetorical power that established them in the first place. In the Arab Gulf, then, rhetorically speaking, the rhetorical power of Arab Gulf women's relative visual absence in the news media writ large competes rhetorically with the instances when they are present. In other words, the visual absence of Arab Gulf women conveys the culturally-specific rhetorical message that Arab Gulf women are not meant to be photographed, but when Arab Gulf women *are* portrayed visually in news media, such as Sheikha Moza bint Nasser of Qatar, an alternative and competing rhetorical message of acceptance is presented. And unlike in the case of the dominant white racial group in Civil Rights Era America that had the ability to transgress color lines by methods such as adopting black face and rendering their whiteness invisible, the invisibility of Arab Gulf women is not achieved through an act of transgression and does not increase their power. An additional duality of the rhetorical power of visual images that Gallagher and Zagacki identify is naturalizing accepted social norms by covering up their discriminatory institutional origins while simultaneously providing evidence of a specific individual lived experience that may refute those norms. Finally, the authors invoke Hariman and Lucaites' work on the role of the public in relation to iconic photography, wherein the public "can only acquire self-awareness and historical agency if individual auditors 'see themselves' in the collective representations that are the material of public culture" (2002, p. 365).

This study provides us with several additional insights to consider both in developing a refined definition of visibility and placing that definition in the Arab Gulf context. First, we can incorporate the notion of the rhetorical power of visibility and include not just the people who become visible, but also the attitudes and ideas that are implicit in their visibility. In the case of the visibility of Arab Gulf women in the local press, the converse also holds—that the rhetorical power of their *invisibility* also conveys attitudes and ideas implicit in their absence from visual representation. Second, the authors introduce a pedagogical role of visibility in instructing the public on various social roles. Third, they introduce complicated dualities that are often inherent in the field of cultural studies—that the rhetorical power of visibility can lead to both overturning negative representations and establishing them in the first place. Finally, the literature here reveals an important dimension of visibility previously unmentioned—agency and self-awareness.

4.5.4 LGBTQ and Performance Studies

The majority of the literature discussed in this chapter carries a dominant heteronormative orientation, but I would be remiss in not also considering literature related to issues of non-heteronormative representation. Several studies in these subfields of communication studies provide further insight into a conceptualization of visibility. Ciasullo's

analysis of cultural representations of lesbianism in the 1990s (2001), introduces an important dimension of visibility to consider in this explication. Ciasullo argues that the increased representations of lesbians in mainstream media "[promise] visibility, but visibility means not only that one is *present*, but that one is *being watched.* It also means that certain images get singled out as *watchable*" (p. 332, emphasis in original). So the relative invisibility of the "butch" lesbian, then can be in part explained by her "perceived (un)attractiveness" (p. 339); that which is unattractive is unconsumable, and thus invisible in the cultural landscape. Ciasullo teases out that despite the butch lesbian's invisibility on the cultural landscape due to her unattractiveness, it is that very unattractiveness that makes her "highly *visible,* or noticeable, in the real world" (p. 340, emphasis in original). So she is "'simultaneously the most visible and least visible member of society. She is visible because she stands out as an 'abnormal' woman who does not adhere to society's dictates about 'correct' femininity. She is invisible for exactly the same reason. Twisted by attempts to fit her into sanctioned conceptual categories, she becomes a distorted figure, the Other, the nonperson'" (Inness in Ciasullo, 2001, p. 341).

While the attractiveness of the Arab Gulf woman is not called into question in her visibility as it is in Ciasullo's case of the butch lesbian, her *consumability* is, which injects an interesting idea into the discussion here. Must one be watchable, and thus watched, to be visible? And if she isn't watchable, despite being present in society, is she then deemed a 'nonperson'? In an analysis of Ellen DeGeneres's rise within the popular cultural landscape, Skerski reinforces this idea of watchability, and the need to remain within "the restrictive parameters that are least threatening to heterosexual heterogeneity" (2007, p. 365). Again, we see a conceptualization of acceptable visibility as adhering to accepted social norms. Skerski looks to Bronski (2000) to make a distinction between being public and being visible. Bronski argues that "while the decision to become visible is active, being visible is essentially a passive stance" (p. 283), and that the distinction between being visible person and being public person lies in the latter's role as an "integral part of the life of the state … their opinions and lives were treated with respect … they were essential and indispensable members of the body politic" (p. 183).

This idea of political participation is central to the notion of visibility politics, which I will touch on briefly here. In his essay on visibility politics and HIV/AIDS tattoos, Brouwer (1998) defines visibility as "presenting oneself, in mediated or unmediated form, in public forums" (p. 118). He goes on to define visibility politics as the practice that assumes "that 'being seen' and 'being heard' are beneficial and often crucial for individuals or a group to gain greater social, political, cultural or economic legitimacy, power, authority, or access to

resources" (p. 118). Delving into a deep discussion of visibility politics is outside the scope of the task at hand, but Brouwer's essay introduces two additional aspects to consider in my explication: visibility as a mediated or unmediated presence, and the assumption that visibility leads to power, the latter of which is again underscored by Tuchman's notion of symbolic annihilation (1978).

4.5.5 Media Studies

Thompson's rich essay on the new visibility (2005) provides insight into the role mediated communication has had on visibility and power in publics, and offers a new concept to consider—mediated visibility:

> To achieve visibility through the media is to gain a kind of presence or recognition in the public space, which can help to call attention to one's situation or to advance one's cause. But equally, the inability to achieve visibility through the media can confine one to obscurity—and in the worst cases, can lead to a kind of death by neglect. Hence it is not surprising that *struggles for visibility* have come to assume such significance in our societies today. Mediated visibility is not just a vehicle through which aspects of social and political life are brought to the attention of others: it has become a principal means by which social and political struggles are articulated and carried out (p. 49, emphasis in original).

The concept of mediated visibility is at the heart of this project, as that has driven the conceptual definition of visibility thus far. So it is crucial to consider this definition in the Arab Gulf context. Does mediated visibility serve the same role in this region—is it the primary locus in which "social and political struggles are articulated and carried out"? If women in this region are fighting for greater participation in politics, society, and the workforce, is mediated visibility a necessary prerequisite, and if so, how can the current progress be assessed? Lester (2011) argues that in the case of environmental activism mediated visibility must be "sustained across time" for meaningful political impact (p. 125).

In a semiotic analysis of gender and political visibility in Brazil, Taddei and Laura Gamboggi (2009) argue that political visibility is inextricably linked to gendered representations of power. In this cultural context, the publicly recognized and accepted forms of leadership are seen as masculine, so the political efforts made by women become invisible in society. And despite local efforts to usurp these gender-based inequalities, the authors argue that political visibility can only be achieved if a group can "find ways to act upon the semiotic configuration of the context where actions will unfold; that is, upon local dominant *interpretive genres*" (p. 150, emphasis in original). In other words, political visibility can only be measured by the control gained over "dominant meaning making practices" (p. 161) in the local context.

4.5.6 Feminist Media Studies

In her analysis of the female body in Arabic song videos, Salam Al-Mahadin explores the paradox between being "highly visible in the media public sphere but invisible in the real/social/private sphere" (2008, p. 147). The video clips (music videos) under analysis are shown 24/7 on multiple Arabic satellite television channels and commonly feature scantily clad women, whether they are singers themselves or the background singers and dancers to male stars. Al-Mahadin establishes a typology to understand the consumption of these visible female bodies: public-public, public-private, private-public, and private-private. In the public sphere, Al-Mahadin argues, "public [visible] bodies can be consumed as a fantasy, while the bodies of the sister, mother, daughter remain cloaked, veiled, and invisible in the public sphere" (p. 157). In the public space, women such as those in these video clips appear publicly, while the 'proper' Arab women appears privately in public. So in this case, mediated visibility leads to consumption, not necessarily power, a point that Phelan (1996) echoes: "If representational visibility equals power, then almost-naked young white women should be running Western culture" (p. 10). Al-Mahadin divides the private sphere into the private-private world where female visibility is "legitimate" in the context of a relationship between a man [sic] and his wife, and the private-public world where female visibility is made public within the gender-segregated female private world.

4.5.7 Conceptualizing a new visibility

The preceding review of literature from these various fields offers several aspects to consider in a comprehensive conceptualization of visibility. The first two are the social and psychological constructions of vision. To extrapolate on ideas argued by both W. T. Mitchell (2005) and al-Haytham (in Mirzoeff, 2009), I agree that as a logical extension of *vision* occurring within specific social and psychological constructs, so does visibility. Arab Gulf women are visible in a very particular way within their own social structure, as well as within a culturally-specific psychological context, as Al-Mahadin (2008) illustrates. Al-Haytham's idea of visual epistemology—that to see is to know—and the extension of that notion—that to be seen is to be known—can be paired with Thompson's idea of mediated visibility as a way "to gain a kind of presence or recognition in the public space" (2005, p. 49). But when we consider the epistemology of mediated visibility in the Arab Gulf, we assume the mediated world can be equated with the public space or a public forum, as it would in the West. The news media in the Arab Gulf is quite restricted, with the print media, as an example, comprising primarily positive state news agency-issued wire stories and press releases reprinted in whole. What mediated public forum that does exist can offer harsh consequences for those that do not adhere to accepted social norms. As an example, a 2014 Vodafone-

sponsored charity trip for Qatari youth to Brazil caused public backlash after the Qatari women were photographed not wearing the traditional black robe (*abaya)* and headscarf (*shayla*). Vodafone ultimately pulled their sponsorship, though the trip was not canceled (Windrum, 2014)[7]. Brouwer's (1998) definition of visibility in the context of visibility politics, however, offers an alternative. In his definition, visibility in a public forum is not restricted to the *mediated* presentation of oneself.

However, when we consider the rhetorical power of visibility that Gallagher and Zagacki (2005) describe, we cannot ignore the pedagogical role of visibility in instructing the public on various social roles. If Arab Gulf women are either absent from mediated public representations, or if they appear in very specific contexts, such as in news media articles related to the "traditional" female spheres of education and healthcare, the Arab Gulf public, then, learns the "appropriate" roles for the Arab Gulf woman. Again, this is the heart of Tuchman's theory of symbolic annihilation. Further, we can take to heart Hariman and Lucaites' notion that self-awareness and historical agency are only achieved if one sees oneself in the "collective representations that are the material of public culture" (2002, p. 365). Brouwer's (1998) argument that visibility leads to power can be incorporated here, as well, *if* one gains agency and self-awareness from it, for Phelan's (1993) point that scantily-clad young white women are in fact *not* running Western societies is well-taken. If one gains no agency or self-awareness from mediated visible representations, then it follows that empowerment will not be a result.

As a final note, two additional ideas that arose in this examination of the literature require brief comment. First, that visibility is a passive stance (Bronski, 2000), and second, that watchability or consumability is a prerequisite for visibility (Ciasullo, 2001). Certainly, the well-established literature on the female subject of the male gaze would support this idea of passivity and consumption, but that is not the context in which I am considering visibility here.

Visibility, then, means to be designed to be seen by a particular audience, and within a culturally-specific social and psychological context. Whether that visibility is mediated or unmediated, it serves a pedagogical role in society and can provide self-awareness and historical agency to the public.

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[7] This incident also stands in stark contrast to how two of the most powerful Qatari women, sisters of the Emir Sheikha Al Mayassa bint Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, chairperson of Qatar Museums, and Sheikha Hind bint Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, CEO of the Qatar Foundation, dress when outside the GCC. Though they dress modestly, with their arms and legs covered, they do not cover their hair, and they do not wear *abaya* and *shayla*. That said, Qatar's male leaders also tend to wear Western clothing when traveling outside of the GCC.

I return now to Williams' idea "that life is complicated is a fact of great analytical importance" (1991, p. 10). The great complexities in understanding visibility lie primarily in the liminal spaces between being seen and being unseen. In the Arab Gulf, there is honor in being unseen by the public, whether being cloaked in unmediated form or simply absent in mediated form. Yet that same sought-after invisibility leads to being unknown by the public, and if something is unknown, does it exist? This explication served as a thought exercise not only to fully understand different discipline-specific conceptualizations of visibility, but also to question whether those conceptualizations can hold true in the Arab Gulf context, as well as lay the groundwork for further theoretical development in this dissertation. The only way to answer that question is to now move forward with this revised concept of visibility in the empirical work in this study.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter considered three prominent communication frameworks in the Arab Gulf context: symbolic annihilation, the presentation of self in everyday life, and postfeminist media sensibilities. Each of these frameworks offers a different lens through which to understand women's representations and self-presentations in the media. However, because they were all born of a vastly different context than the one under current analysis, it was necessary to revisit their underlying assumptions and consider the specific ways they can be useful in the current study— that is, the 21st century media landscape in the Arab Gulf.

In considering symbolic annihilation in the analysis of women's representations in the traditional print newspaper, we can apply the underlying assumptions related to organizational gatekeeping, and repetitive and ritualized consumption. In the second phase of the study, however, individual-level gatekeeping forces create opportunities for disruption, rather than maintenance, of the status quo. Unlike the newspaper that must appeal to a single mass public and may serve as a keeper and transmitter of social heritage, social media influencers can cater to niche audiences with ephemeral content. Additionally, while dominant social values can still be reflected in social media content, that content is produced so quickly that it is vastly more responsive to changing social values than scripted television. Also central to the second phase of this study is Goffman's framework on social role performance. Although one-sided social media social performances are not rooted in the two-way human interactions Goffman imagined, his framework is still instructive in understanding how Instagram influencers attempt to publicly define their identities and attempt to control others' perceptions of them, especially as many influencers appear to participate in parasocial relationships with their followers. Similarly, his framework for gender stereotyping in advertisements benefits this study in part by identifying commonalities and differences across

cultural contexts. Finally, of Gill's postfeminist sensibilities, the most useful concepts informing the study here include representations of the female body, both in the press and on social media, and notions of individualism and empowerment.

I draw the elements described above from the three conceptual frameworks to create a new lens through which to interpret the data under analysis in this study. Additionally, I use the redefined concept of visibility described in the previous section to understand representations of women in the press along with self-representations of women on social media. This redefined framework offers theoretical development in an understudied area of the world, and seeks to determine not only how visible women in the Arab Gulf are, but also what that visibility looks like.

Having provided the redefined theoretical framework that informs this study, we now move on to an articulation of the epistemological and methodological approaches employed in both phases of the study.

Chapter 5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in the preceding chapter, Byerly (2018) has urged feminist communication scholars to adopt rigor in their theoretical approaches, especially in identifying women's silences and the structures that create and contribute to them. This rigor is equally important in methodology, and I endeavor to embrace that rigor in my approach to the two phases of the study I undertake here. As an entry point, this chapter begins with a review of the prevailing paradigms and epistemologies of communication research. It then moves into a more detailed discussion of the epistemological viewpoint for the two phases of the study in hand, as well as a justification for pairing a quantitative and qualitative study within the same dissertation. Flexibility and adaptation, over dogmatism and rigidity, are the hallmarks of research inquiry, and as such, this study pairs a modified positivist approach to quantitative data analysis with a modified humanist approach to qualitative data analysis. This two-pronged path creates a third site of knowledge creation by synthesizing the insights from the two individual methodologies. Finally, the chapter moves into a detailed description of the method used data collection and analysis in both the first phase, a content analysis of news items in *The Gulf Times*, and in the second phase, a textual analysis of Instagram posts and stories made by Qatari and non-Qatari women in Qatar.

5.2 Dominant Paradigms of Communications Research

In addition to the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter, it is important to situate the studies at hand in a paradigmatic framework, as well. Guba and Lincoln (1998) define the paradigm as "the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways" (p. 195). A paradigm provides a normative set of fundamental beliefs and assumptions to communication research that incorporates established scientific laws, theory, and preferred methodologies for scientists to employ. Because scientific inquiry by definition and practice is a cumulative endeavor, it is impossible to do science outside of a paradigm: by its very nature, science is both constitutive of and constituted by paradigmatic structures. Additionally, a paradigm trains the researcher to know not only what problems need to be solved, but also when solutions have been achieved. Finally, paradigms very practically provide efficiency to scientific inquiry.

Paradigms, for all of their utility, are not without problems. A paradigm simultaneously provides necessary guidance to researchers and can blind them to valid alternative assumptions, theory, and methodologies that lie outside of the paradigm within which they're operating. Additionally, paradigms can be driven by ideology that can usurp the goals of

science to explain, interpret, and predict the world around us. However, while paradigms can appear monolithic, it is possible for a paradigm shift to occur, or for a scientist to break out of a paradigm when the paradigm ceases to be useful. This usually occurs when researchers are no longer able to solve problems within a paradigm with the tools the paradigm itself has provided. A competing paradigm will become dominant when the will of the scientific community deems it able to prompt more convincing solutions.

The four primary paradigms driving social inquiry are positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1998). Other scholars also include the systems paradigm as a dominant paradigm in the communication research field (Baxter & Babbie, 2003). Positivism views truth as an objective reality that can be observed through the five senses. Post-positivism builds on that notion, but admits that because humans are fallible, reality is "only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable" (Guba & Lincoln, 1998, p. 203). Rather than trying to verify hypotheses, the post-positivist researcher attempts to disprove hypotheses. The critical theory paradigm rejects the objectivism of positivism and post-positivism, and instead situates knowledge within the linked relationship between the researcher and researched. The critical theory paradigm is activist in its very nature, seeking ways in which to emancipate the human subject from oppressive ideologies or cultural practices. The constructivist paradigm is identified by its adherence to realities that come "in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions … dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions" (p. 206). Within the constructivist paradigm, data are not simply observed, but instead it is constructed through the very relationship between the observer and the observed. Finally, the systems paradigm, as described by Baxter and Babbie (2003), focuses on the interdependence of structures, actors, and factors in a system, knowing that a change to one part of the system results in changes elsewhere. While not entirely interchangeable with the epistemologies nested within them, paradigms are easily understood through the lens of those epistemologies, and will be described in greater detail below.

While these paradigms are useful in structuring the inquiry undertaken in this dissertation, it is critical to not be blindly bound by them or to them. Certainly, there are structures and practices within our field that we are obliged to follow, but we can still express creativity in our research inquiry by blurring the paradigmatic boundaries and working to effect paradigmatic change in the field. Being more convinced by a mixed methods approach, the dissertation at hand is an attempt to blend positivist and interpretivist elements, for we can learn about and interpret meaning from our world by undertaking a more holistic view and marrying the best of what each world has to offer. As scholar Annie Lang (2011) pointed out,

after 50 years of working within the dominant media effects paradigm, scholars within our field haven't been able to explain that much. She argues that the efforts of our scientific community would be better spent on something other than explaining 5 percent of the variance in agenda-setting study after agenda-setting study.

Furthermore, the world we live in is changing rapidly, and mass communication is fundamental to that change. The current dominant paradigm assumes that mass communication exists as an entity separate and distinct from the individual and does not have an effect on the individual. The rival critical and cultural studies paradigm provides a more useful framework to understanding the interplay between mass communication and the rapidly changing world, by assuming media have an effect on individuals and culture. Rather than asking what that effect *might* be, critical and cultural studies researchers ask what meaning individuals and cultures make out of mass media. Additionally, these scholars assume audience members are active and capable of reading a media text in any number of ways. This reading may or may not align with the dominant reading assumed to affect an audience within the social scientific paradigm. Importantly, critical and cultural studies scholars are outspoken in their mission to use scientific inquiry as a means to create social change by questioning the power structures in society and empowering marginalized populations. As we witness the further entrenchment of an acute concentration of power in the media industry, there is a clear need for the academic community to refocus its work on questioning that power concentration to create social change. Greater numbers of researchers in our field are recognizing that, which portends a paradigm shift.

Finally, evolving technology is fundamentally changing the nature of mass communication from the sender-receiver model to one that is much more interactive, and many argue more democratic. That, coupled with the internationalization of the field—truly incorporating different global viewpoints rather than just adapting Western conventions to global contexts—drives the need for a different mode of inquiry and the need to ask different questions. The complex media environment created by new technologies and a true consideration of global media practices is certainly changing the questions researchers are asking in order to explain, interpret, and predict the world of mass communication. There are different problems to be solved, new concepts to be explicated, and old concepts to be explicated in ways that previous explications could never have imagined. This dissertation attempts to do that, from explicating *visibility* by incorporating non-Western cultural traditions, to applying the theory of symbolic annihilation to the Arab Gulf context, to comparing a positivist study of a legacy form of mass communication—the newspaper—to an interpretivist study of a new social media form—Instagram.

5.3 Epistemologies of Communications Research

The two primary epistemological approaches in mass communication research are the scientific approach and the humanistic approach, the former common to both the positivist and postpositivist paradigms, and the latter common to both the critical theory and constructivist paradigms. The scientific approach in mass communication research was pioneered in the 1940s by four men who came from divergent fields—Lasswell from political science, Lazarsfeld from sociology, and Lewin and Hovland from experimental psychology—and cemented by Wilbur Schramm's establishment of a new discipline called communication studies at the University of Iowa (Rogers, 1994). The most fundamental philosophical belief of their scientific approach is that there is only one truth and that it is knowable through direct observation of the five senses, or what Comte (1988) and Kolakowski (1968), the progenitors of positivism, would describe as phenomenalistic.

Positivists believe that truth is something that can be discovered through the rigorous and systematic application of objective methods that eliminate researcher bias, such as experiments and surveys. Central to this methodology is the idea of control, wherein rigor is enforced in every step of the investigative process, from the statement of the research question to the application of theory to observation. Control leads to replicability by other researchers. Researchers engaged in a scientific approach are seeking universal laws by testing abstract theory in a deductive manner by engaging in "concrete empirical observation" (D. M. McLeod & Tichenor, 2003, p. 91). This recursive process of moving from abstract theorizing to concrete observation, is central to the construction of scientific theory, which, in turn, is intended to predict human behavior. The ability to predict human behavior derives from the view that human nature is determined by heredity, environment, and evolution.

The humanistic approach to mass communication research, on the other hand, derives from the sociology practiced at the University of Chicago by Cooley, Dewey, Park, Mead, and Goffman, and ideas about pragmatism, symbolic interactionism, and dramaturgy. Whereas the scientific approach believes in discovering an objective truth, the humanistic approach favors understanding multiple meanings through interpretation, and rejects the Cartesian dualism that disconnects the cognitive from the emotional. For the humanistic researcher, truth is subjective. Additionally, the humanistic researcher views human nature to be ruled by free will, that is the voluntary, conscious choices of individuals. Humanistic researchers are not concerned with predicting human behavior—their belief in free will negates that possibility—but with understanding the web of meaning that constitutes human existence. Whereas the scientific researcher seeks to eliminate bias in inquiry, the humanistic researcher knowingly and willingly brings their values to bear upon a text, viewing

themselves as participants in inquiry rather than simply observers of phenomena. That said, the rigorous and systematic application of method is also key to a humanistic researcher's work, whether through interviews, focus groups, ethnography, or textual analysis.

5.3.1 Positivism

Social science research has traditionally been a largely positivistic endeavor, with its roots in sociology. Comte contended that knowledge progressed through three distinct phases of evolution: first, the theological and metaphysical states, and finally arriving at positivism, "the true final state of human intelligence" (1988, p. 7). This philosophy re-centered inquiry not of the "why" of things, but on the "how," emphasized the invariability of natural laws, attempted to eliminate human subjectivity, and stressed method and direct, value-free observation of phenomena. These factors together would result in "a precise knowledge of the general rules that are suitable for our guidance in the investigation of truth" (p. 24) and would represent true reality.

In some ways, Comte's philosophy is appealing—it takes the guesswork out of trying to make sense of the world around us. If you apply some basic rules and structures, you can create knowledge without getting bogged down by the whys and wherefores. The researcher doesn't need to engage in any self-reflexivity. It's not messy. And in many ways, it is useful. In the context of media analyses, you can take one codebook and apply it evenly to many contexts. The variables are already determined and coding values named. A researcher need only take the codebook, log a series of 1's and 2's, run some statistical analysis, and science has been achieved.

Critics have suggested a number of weaknesses inherent in a positivistic approach, including that it is inappropriate to study human behavior from a mechanistic perspective. Similarly, D. M. McLeod and Tichenor (2003) argue that a strictly hypothetico-deductive approach to scientific reasoning is unfounded, because, in part, scientific knowledge relies as much on inductive as deductive reasoning. Additionally, it's a fallacy that even a positivistic approach can be value-free. In the example again of positivistic approach to a media analysis, a good codebook may achieve a kind of value-less nature if it's written well, contains mutually exclusive coding parameters, and allows for a statistical threshold of coding reliability among different individual coders. But the architecture of a codebook is not value-free. It assumes similarities across all contexts, which is not the case. For example, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the methodology employed by Freedom House annually to rank press freedoms around the world is heavily influenced by the normative press values and democratic practices in Scandinavia. So the real question Freedom House answers every year

isn't, "How free is the press?", it's "How much does each of these countries measure up to Sweden?"

So just as no point of view can be neutral—for everything is influenced by an embedded locality—neither can a positivist approach be neutral. All scientific observation draws from the personal experience. And all personal experience draws from the embedded structures in which we live and breathe. Without close examination and acknowledgment, those structures can easily be made invisible, as American writer David Foster Wallace explained in a well-regarded commencement address at Kenyon College in 2005.

> There are these two young fish swimming along, and they happen to meet an older fish swimming the other way, who nods at them and says, "Morning, boys, how's the water?" And the two young fish swim on for a bit, and then eventually one of them looks over at the other and goes, "What the hell is water?"

As Wallace explains, "the most obvious, ubiquitous, important realities are often the ones that are the hardest to see and talk about" (2008). So even though positivism is best exemplified by the ignorant young fish in the story, this doesn't devalue the positivist approach completely. Rather, it merely underscores its fallibility, which is a critical awareness to carry into any scientific undertaking. And it's even more important with positivism because, much like the young fish, it doesn't even have the awareness to recognize it's not value-free. Just as humans are fallible, so are the instruments they devise to measure their world.

So, rather than engaging in a dogmatic positivist approach, this study embraces a modified positivist stance. The positivist approach provides a useful framework in undertaking a quantitative content analysis of news items in the Qatari English-language press, as I have done here. The codebook I used draws from an established standard, the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) codebook (WACC, 2015), and it has been used in numerous studies across the globe as described in Chapter 2. That said, the local context in Qatar has led to certain adaptations of the codebook, including recording the ethnicity of the individuals who appear in news articles and photographs. This is particularly important for women, as cultural traditions lead some Qatari women to not have their names or images included in publicly-available newspapers. As this is the first study to do so in the Qatari context, the adapted codebook is available to future researchers, which is another benefit of a modified positivist approach, and a specific methodological contribution of this study. Other people can use the tool. Finally, positivistic rigor is employed in the codebook. I believe it is better to recognize the strengths and limitations of the positivist approach and gain some valuable insight into women's representations in the news than to throw it out entirely. Adopting a modified positivist approach for a portion of the study is also engaging in an activist strategy—the people who inhabit the power structures both in media and in media

research largely subscribe to the dominant positivist paradigm. By speaking to them in their own positivist language, there is a greater chance of engaging them in dialogue, and highlighting the disparities among women's representations in the news.

5.3.2 Humanism

As discussed above, the humanistic approach to mass communication study is based on the notion of subjective truth, multiple interpretations of reality, and free choice in human behavior. Three humanistic approaches influence the work at hand: dramatistic, cultural studies, and standpoint epistemology. This encouragement of the examination of nuance and rejection of a binary worldview is a hallmark of the humanistic epistemology. These three approaches together are employed in the second phase of this dissertation—the textual analysis of Instagram posts.

To begin, the dramatist approach derives from the work of Burke and Goffman, both of whom saw similarities between human interaction and the theatrical stage, and argued that humans are constantly engaged in the process of publicly defining their identities, and that they do this through social role performance (Brock, 1985; Goffman, 1959). Weiser builds on this, encouraging today's dramatist rhetoricians to embrace ambiguity and negotiate "between the narrow stance of absolute certainty and the non-stance of relativism" (2007, p. 300). And Anderson points out the liberating nature of dramatism, that "it is only through the possibility of mutually transforming both ourselves and our worlds through actions material and symbolic that we might begin to move toward a better life" (2004, p. 256).

Cultural studies, most succinctly, concerns itself with meaning making. As discussed in greater length in the previous chapter, media is often examined as a site of speech for meaning making in culture, with both producers and audiences co-creating the meaning of culture. From a specific epistemological perspective, Carey (2008) identified the inherent imbalance if a researcher simultaneously assumed omniscience on her own part but naïve ignorance on the part of the research subject. Any knowledge created under those conditions is skewed by the researcher's superiority bias. Of the three primary models of cultural studies inquiry—production studies, textual studies, and reception studies—the second part of the study at hand employs textual analysis as a specific counterpoint to the first content analysis phase.

Finally, feminist standpoint theory embraces that women (the oppressed gender) occupy a specific vantage point in relation to men (the dominant gender), which accords them epistemological liberatory possibility. This vantage point gives them the power to know and understand an experience that a man could never know—they alone hold the power to record that knowledge. Standpoint theory has been debated as both an epistemic theory and a close-

to-the-ground feminist method. One the one hand, standpoint is descriptive and normative, aimed at the justification of knowledge claims, but it can also be a methodological account of the production of these knowledge claims (Wylie, 2010). One central tenet of standpoint theory, though based on a somewhat reductive binary of men vs. women, argues that one can assume each group's vision "will represent an inversion of the other," and that the vision of the ruling group will be both "partial and perverse" (Hartsock, 2010, pp. 316-317). One of the most important contributions of standpoint theory is its ability to turn these perverse social relations of a gender-oppressive society on their head and create the space for an epistemology from which to adopt a social order of liberation and equality.

The beauty of the duality that Wylie (2010) identified makes standpoint theory a multi-pronged tool, and in the textual analysis that is part of this dissertation, it is used in both ways. By juxtaposing the social media analysis against the newspaper content analysis, this study attempts to provide a counterpoint narrative to the dominant representations in the state-sanctioned newspaper from the perspective of the women themselves. This meta-level approach allows standpoint to deliver epistemic power. But on the practical level as well, it's a method, both because the researcher is a woman, and because the textual analysis focuses on women's words, experiences, and expressions. Meaning and knowledge will be interpreted from that. And to Hartsock's point about upending perverse social relations, employing a standpoint-based textual analysis of women's posts on social media will illuminate the space in which women on Instagram are doing this—turning the social relations in a gender-oppressive society on their head. This argument is discussed in greater length in Chapter 8 in the comparison of women's representations in the newspaper with how women represent themselves on social media.

As a final methodological note, Ragin (1989) lays out a useful case for a comparative social science research, encouraging a case-oriented strategy. Case studies are beneficial in that they uncover patterns of constancy rather than variance, and the variety of cases becomes more important than the frequency with which they might appear. Case-oriented methods support not only a holistic rather than a reductive approach to knowledge development, but also an inductive ongoing conversation between theory and data, rather than a strict question-and-response deductive approach. While I'm not undertaking a case study per se, the logic holds in assessing the value of the textual analysis at hand. I accept that my epistemological approach in this textual analysis won't lead to statistical generalization, but I instead hope that by explaining case-specific elements, that will further the understanding of similar elements among the different women's posts under examination and lead to analytical generalization (Yin, 2010, pp. 99-102).

5.4 Research Synthesis

One inherent challenge feminist scholars often face in their work is finding a way to count the thing that is not there. How do you make the invisible *visible?* Feminist scholars Rachel Somerstein and Carol Liebler (2018) have been working in earnest on answering this methodological question, first by bringing together scholars at an International Communication Association panel in 2018. They are now editing a volume on the same question.[8] And this is an obstacle in the content analysis undertaken here. Counting what is present gives an indication of what is absent, but it does not illuminate it. Even by adapting the widely used GMMP codebook (WACC, 2015) to include ethnicity as a variable in the quantitative content analysis I undertake here, for example, coding articles based on discrete categories of presence makes it very challenging to discern what is absent. Pairing that quantitative content analysis with a textual analysis, though, is a way to make what is invisible in the newspaper analysis visible in the social media analysis. As Boreus and Bergstrom describe, something that does not appear explicitly in a text may be unimportant, may be so obvious it doesn't need to be stated, or it may be simply ignored, even though it may be quite important (2017, p. 45). And if the newspaper analysis simply highlights where women are absent, it does nothing to show where they are present and active in the social and economic worlds, which is the aim of the Instagram analysis, and the primary reason to incorporate the comparison that I do.

Further, in research, what one loses in adhering too dogmatically to one approach, be it theoretical or methodological, is the exploration of nuance in the liminal gray areas. Life is complicated (Williams, 1991), and while it can feel like an opportunity to find some simplicity by choosing one method, the researcher ultimately further complicates her life by ignoring another facet of inquiry. The positivist-oriented study provides an entry point, a context to understand the universe that bounds the media landscape in Qatar. But just as it is important to understand the objective measure of the temperature on a hot day in July, it is equally important to understand the lived experience of a person sweating through it. But without an indication of the temperature, the story of the person sweating is hard to understand. By explaining the objective measurement of a 45ºC afternoon in a largely shade-free Qatari desert with the sun beating down, a reader can much more easily contextualize a story about a woman fully covered in a black *abaya* and *niqab* walking along the seaside corniche than they can with a vague description like "hot and sunny" alone. Similarly, the two phases in this dissertation give the reader a quantitative context to understand women's

[8] Somerstein shared the call for contributors with me in late 2019.

representations, as well as a qualitative context that provides rich, episodic data. The datasets have equal weight, as they each provide different insights in their complementary function to the other. The qualitative data on their own lose their impact without being paired with the quantitative story. And the quantitative data on their own aren't able to illuminate the absences and invisibilities that are at the heart of this study. Each phase on its own would make for an interesting study in and of itself, but together, they say something stronger with greater explanatory power. The inclusion of the two studies and two approaches represent the pragmatism Yin (2010) calls for in mixed methods studies—the researcher can employ two methodological approaches without needing to resolve the paradigmatic conflicts. This approach is greater than the sum of its parts, because taken holistically, the two individual methodologies exist in dialogue with one another, providing a third site for knowledge creation.

5.5 Phase 1: Content Analysis of Newspaper Items

Content analysis has long been used in communication research, and is defined as:

> The systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numerical values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption. (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005, p. 25).

As described in detail in Chapter 2, content analysis has long been a tool of feminist scholars in identifying empirical evidence not only to describe the phenomenon of women's underrepresentation, but also to understand the context in which it is happening. This method is systematic through not only the rigorous development of a codebook, but also through adherence to it. Practically speaking, this means keeping a copy nearby to continually consult and update with clarification as necessary. This also allows a content analysis to be replicable by future researchers. The measurement rules and subsequent statistical analyses are described in further detail below.

5.5.1 Operationalization of symbolic annihilation

It is useful here to briefly return to select empirical studies from Chapter 2 to articulate how the concept has been operationalized and note how additional complexities have contributed to theoretical development thus far. As described in that chapter, most studies employ quantitative content analysis to examine representations, though the codebooks they use in their analysis vary. Stanley (2012) used a simple dichotomous coding scheme to measure the presence or absence of women in news photographs. Jia et al. (2016) also coded for presence or absence, but added variables for topic category, news outlet, and whether the item was image or text. Both studies found women to be underrepresented, but by adding the

additional variables in the latter study, the authors were able to see that women were more likely to appear in images than text. This highlights a contradiction made apparent in symbolic annihilation research—women may certainly be more visible than men in some cases, but that visibility doesn't account for much in the symbolic environment without their accompanying voice. Two other teams of researchers added even more variables in their studies of news content, including author gender, allowing for greater nuance in their analyses, such as the degree of trivialization or minimization in a news article (Harp et al., 2013; Harp et al., 2011). Finally, the codebook from the Global Media Monitoring Project (Macharia, 2015; WACC, 2015) delves even more deeply into the quality of women's representations by coding many additional variables besides presence/absence. In addition to a 54-item list of possible story topics, the codebook captures whether the person is the subject or a secondary source, the age, sex, occupation, family role, whether the person is identified as victim or survivor, and whether they are directly quoted, among many others. The large number of possible variables to code certainly adds even greater nuance to a quantitative approach to measuring women's representation in the news to measure more than just presence or absence.

One notable study that thoroughly parsed the Western assumptions of symbolic annihilation in a non-Western context was in Bulgaria, where Kaneva and Ibroscheva (2013) adapted Tuchman's concept to a socialist society, offering "symbolic glorification" as a partner to symbolic annihilation. A crucial part of the socialist ideology for women in Bulgaria at that time was a political promise of emancipation through an erasure of "gender inequalities in both the public and private spheres" (p. 338). Rather than women being erased in media, the socialist regime instead used propagandic images to glorify women's equal role in the work force. However, women were still expected to conform to patriarchal ideals in the home. Ironically, this glorification of women's role in the public sphere was accompanied by a symbolic annihilation of women's role in the private sphere, which, the authors argued, masked the dual role that women continued to play and belied the emancipation promised by socialism. Kaneva and Ibroscheva's study argues forcefully that symbolic annihilation cannot be applied wholesale in a non-democratic, non-Western context without careful consideration for the political and cultural constraints of the society whose media is being examined.

5.5.2 Sampling

The first phase of this study used the English-language newspaper, *The Gulf Times,* which was founded by a member of the Al Thani clan (the clan of the ruling Emir) as a weekly in 1978 and began publishing as a daily in 1981. The newspaper is now owned by a member of the Al Attiyah clan, which was once nearly as powerful as the Al Thanis and is

now “the second-most prominent family in Qatar” (Fromherz, 2012, p. 138). *The Gulf Times* is used for this content analysis because it is the oldest English-language daily, and it has the highest readership at 482,000 daily, more than any of the Arabic-language dailies and more than twice any other English-language daily (WAN-IFRA, 2017). Though there are three English-language dailies, because all three almost exclusively publish press releases and official stories from the government-controlled Qatar News Agency, there are no substantive differences among them. Further, *The Gulf Times* is the only newspaper of the three that is indexed in a searchable database (though text only), and they also make available print-ready .pdf files of the newspaper as it appears in print, so photographs can also be included in the sample. For all of these reasons, *The Gulf Times* was the best choice to understand how women are represented in the English-language press.

When conducting a content analysis of daily newspaper content, there are several approaches to sampling, including simple random sampling, purposive sampling, and stratified sampling. Because of advertising structures inherent in the for-profit media ecosystem, daily newspaper content is cyclical. Daily editions that sell more advertising space—typically Sunday editions in the U.S. and Thursday editions in Qatar—create a larger “newshole,” which needs to be filled with more editorial content. As such, pure random sampling cannot insure the same number of each day’s editions will be included (Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993). Similarly, although purposive sampling can be useful when the research questions are narrow, the nonrepresentative data that result are not generalizable and are of limited use in theory building (Riffe & Freitag, 1997). The most efficient sampling technique in content analyses of daily newspaper content is a constructed week, wherein the same number of editions from each day of the week is captured, particularly when the researcher wants to generalize their results beyond the sample itself (Riffe et al., 1993; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006). The authors also concluded that a two-week constructed sample was sufficient to generalize to the entire year, provided each of the 14 editions was randomly selected (p. 139). Song and Chang (2012) tested this sampling method in studies of Chinese daily newspapers, finding that one constructed week was sufficient to generalize to a six-month sample, indicating this sampling technique is applicable in non-Western contexts. More recently, Luke, Caburnay, and Cohen (2011) determined that for both one-year and five-year samples of daily newspapers, six constructed weeks are the most efficient sample. However, while the investment of time increases on a linear basis with each constructed week that is added to a sample, the value added increases at an exponentially smaller rate. So, the benefits must be balanced against the additional costs.

The dataset for the content analysis comprises news items from a rolling constructed two-week sample during the 14-week period covering early August 2019 through mid-November 2019. This time period was chosen because several of Qatar's major industries, including oil and gas, real estate, retail, and higher education, return to business as normal after the hot summer months. As an additional note about the time period under examination, Doha hosted the 2019 IAAF World Athletics Championships in late September and early October. Creating the constructed fortnight involved choosing the Sunday of the first week of the period, the Monday of the second week, the Tuesday of the third week, etc., for a total of 14 editions made up of two Sundays, two Mondays, two Tuesdays, etc. In a random stratified sample from a year of daily newspapers, a 14-day constructed week sample is generalizable to that entire time period (Riffe et al., 1993). In the analysis at hand, the stratified two-week sample is more than sufficient to generalize to the three and half month period from which the sample was drawn. Additionally, the sampling period covers a longer time period and can thus avoid the potential skewing effect of a particular story with a gender focus that may dominate the news over several days. And while not generalizable beyond the three-month time period from which the sample draws, this study still provides an important baseline and it shows a breadth of information. Similarly, due to the rolling constructed-week sample, coverage of the ten-day-long IAAF World Athletics Championships was oversampled, the effects of which are discussed in greater detail in section 6.7. The rolling constructed-week sample also allowed me to code the news stories as I collected the data. On the one hand, the piecemeal data coding prevented coder fatigue. On the other hand, coding over a much longer period of time may have introduced reliability issues, even for an experienced coder.

Every article, news item (brief), or standalone photograph with caption that carried a Qatar dateline, a Qatar-based byline, or that otherwise had content that was clearly Qatar-based was chosen for inclusion. Items were coded either as standalone photographs, standalone articles, or article packages, meaning they contained an article together with one or more photographs. The total sample of coded items was 645. However, not all of these items included references to people. Because the research questions driving this study regard representations of women in part in comparison to men, any item that contained no people was removed, leaving a corpus of 564 items. The article packages that contained both an article and one or more photographs were divided into their component parts, with the photographs added to the standalone photograph sample, and the articles added to the standalone article sample. The total number of photographs was 473, but 38 contained no images of people, ultimately leaving a sample of 435 photographs as discrete units of analysis. The total number of articles was 552, but 96 contained no reference to people,

ultimately leaving a sample of 457 articles as discrete units of analysis. Finally, in the articles only, the first three individuals appearing in each article were named and coded, and those were incorporated into a third dataset (n=933) with the individual as the unit of analysis. All items were coded by the single researcher.

5.5.3 Coding

The content analysis uses an adapted version of the Global Media Monitoring Project codebook for newspaper monitoring (WACC, 2015), which is divided between the story itself, the journalist, and the individuals that appear in the news. The complete codebook is included in Appendix A, and I will briefly discuss the most relevant variables that are unique to my study below.

Topic. The GMMP model includes 55 specific topic categories from which to choose the primary theme of a news story, grouped into six broad categories: politics and government; economy; science and health; social and legal; crime and violence; and celebrity, arts and media, and sports. The six broad categories were used instead of the larger number of topics due to the relatively small sample size in this phase of the study. Running analyses based on the smaller number of categories yielded more insightful findings than across a greater number of topics. These six categories were used to code both articles and photographs.

One additional non-GMMP variable coded in both articles and photographs included:

Section. There are four sections that appear in *The Gulf Times,* and these were coded to investigate the relationship between parts of the newspaper traditionally considered masculine with sections that are typically considered feminine (Len-Ríos et al., 2005).

Due to the differences between articles and photographs, some additional variables were coded differently for each type of news item. For articles only, the following variables were also coded:

Presence of Arab and non-Arab women/girls and men/boys. While individuals appearing in the news were also coded, I also included the additional variables to indicate the presence and quality of women in men in the news stories by indicating first if they were Arab or non-Arab. While some prominent government officials can easily be identified as Qatari, the same is not true for everyone, whether by name or by appearance. Qatari last names can sometimes, but not always be identified as Qatari, and while not all Qatari women and men appear wearing *abayas* and thobes, some non-Qataris may also choose to wear that dress. Given the lack of identifiable marker of "Qatari-ness," individuals were instead identified as being Arab or not. Arab and non-Arab names are easily identified, and Arabs and non-Arabs are easily identified in the photographs that appear in the news. This is aided, in

part, by the fact that the overall population in Qatar is not very well integrated and very socially stratified, so stories about teenagers from the Indian Modern School, for example, will not include any Arabs, because the likelihood of Arab children attending the Indian Modern School is very low. A story about children at a Lebanese school, on the other hand, would not include non-Arabs, because the likelihood of non-Lebanese children attending that school is also very low. Arab ethnicity was included here to investigate the relationship between ethnicity and inclusion in the news.

Additionally, the degree of visibility of those that appeared was also coded here, defined by how many Arab and non-Arab women and men were simply mentioned versus directly quoted: one mentioned but not quoted, more than one mentioned but not quoted, one quoted, more than one quoted, more than one—mix of mention and quotes.

For photographs only, the following variables were coded:

Presence of Arab and non-Arab women/girls and men/boys. For all Arab and non-Arab men and women, each photograph was coded for: none included, one included, more than one included, or unclear.

In all of the news articles, the first three individuals that were mentioned or quoted were also coded across several variables. Coding the first three individuals allowed for the identification of not just the single most important individual in a news item, but also those in the second and third position, as well, potentially shining a light on the visibility of more women. People whose names simply appeared among a single list of five or more names were not coded. This coding scheme was largely adopted from the GMMP codebook, including the variables gender, age, occupation or position, function in the news story, family role, whether the person was quoted, and whether the person was photographed. One additional variable coded for individuals in the news that did not come from the GMMP codebook was ethnicity.

The inclusion of all of these additional variables allows me to both report descriptive statistics of the findings, and build a model to identify the determinants of women appearing in the news, all of which is described in greater detail in the Chapter 6. We can answer questions both about *how* women are represented in the news and infer why that might be, by interpreting these additional status and demographic variables. The complete codebook is included in Appendix A.

5.6 Phase 2: Textual Analysis of Instagram Posts by Women in Qatar

Recent survey data indicate that 50 percent of Qatari nationals overall use Instagram, a number that is even higher among 18-34-year-old Qatari women—69 percent (Dennis & Martin, 2018). Among this cohort, Instagram is the most widely used public-facing social media platform. Of this cohort of women that use Instagram, they use it to get entertainment

content (49 percent), share entertainment content (56 percent), communicate directly with others (90 percent), and get news about current events (64 percent). So, young Qatari women are using Instagram for various reasons and encountering many types of content. As discussed above and in previous chapters, while the first phase of the study highlights women's absences from the news narrative in Qatar, this ethnographic content analysis of Instagram influencers will highlight how women are present and active in the social and economic worlds. The two empirical phases of the study serve to complement one another by describing both self-representation and the representation of self by others.

After conducting a six-month pilot study of a sample of about 20 women Instagram influencers (the "Instafamous"—both Qatari and non-Qatari), in order to understand the broad shape of this particular community, I identified ten women to include in the textual analysis at hand. The pilot study informed this choice of ten women because of the average number of posts and stories per woman. This allowed a corpus of data that was both possible to analyze, and that would achieve saturation. All of the women live in Qatar and have a robust Doha-based Instagram presence. All of their Instagram content is about their lives in Qatar, including, for many, an avid international travel calendar. The ten women were chosen for how many followers each has, how frequently she posts, how robust the commentary on posts is, to what extent they conform to or subvert the stereotypical gender norms of their home culture, and for the variety each brings to the whole sample. The ten women included in the sample are:

1. Alftoon Al Janahi (@aalftoon), a Qatari artist and mother of two young sons. She had 130,000 followers during the period of data collection.
2. Dana Al Anzy (@dkalanzy), a Qatari youth activist and recent graduate of Georgetown University in Qatar. She had 18,000 followers during the period of data collection, and was the 2018 *Grazia* Youth Advocate of the Year.
3. Dana Al Fardan (@danaalfardan.dna), a Qatari composer, musician, and mother of one young daughter. She composed the Qatar Airways boarding music and had 16,400 followers at the time of data collection.
4. Eileen Lahi (@eslimah), an Estonian lifestyle and travel influencer living in Doha. She converted to Islam and wears a *hijab*. She was named the *Grazia* 2018 Influencer of the Year and had 451,000 followers during the period of data collection.
5. Haneen Al Saify (@haneenalsaify), a Qatari-Palestinian fashion and makeup influencer. She had 576,000 followers during the period of data collection.

6. Husnaa Malik (@eatsleepbefancy), a lifestyle and fashion influencer. She is a British South Asian woman married to a Qatari man, and she was pregnant with her first child during the period of data collection. She had 84,900 followers at that time.
7. Kholoud Al Ali (@koodiz), a Qatari fashion and lifestyle influencer. She never shows her face in posts or stories, and had 348,000 followers during the data collection period.
8. Sabrine Saadmalek (@sabrinecat), a Dutch-Moroccan modest swimsuit designer and fashion influencer who lives in Doha. She was 29 years old and pregnant with her first child during data collection. She had 341,000 followers at that time.
9. Samar Al Ahmed (@samar_alahmed), a young Qatari fashion influencer. She had 244,000 followers during the time of data collection.
10. Yezenia Navarro (@yezenianavarro), a Mexican former Mrs. Universe runner-up, actor, entrepreneur, and model who lives in Doha. She has three sons and had 64,300 followers at the time of data collection.

Data collection occurred during a three-month period that deliberately overlapped in part with the *Gulf Times* content analysis (October – December 2019), to allow for comparison of how any major events in Qatar during that time were discussed and described within the two datasets. The two primary forms of Instagram content are posts and stories. Posts are either images or short videos that will remain on an individual's account ("grid") indefinitely, or until the account owner chooses to delete them. A post can be made up of a single still image or video, or multiple images or videos that appear in a "carousel." Stories, on the other hand, stay on a person's Instagram account for only 24 hours. A story can also be a single still image or video, and the maximum length of a story is 15 seconds. Sometimes each story is a distinct post and other times one single long video will be spread across several minutes' worth of stories. All of these women posted a mix of posts and stories. All **posts** of the ten women were collected daily for the entire three-month period, which resulted in 738 items. Because of the ephemeral nature of the **stories**, on the other hand, they were only collected on four days spanning the month of December: Monday, December 2, Tuesday, December 10, Wednesday, December 18, and Thursday, December 26. Collecting stories on every day in the 90-day period would have yielded hundreds of data points that would have been unwieldy in the context of this study. The final month of the Instagram data collection period was chosen, and I chose the Monday of the first week, the Tuesday of the second week, and so on until the four weeks of the month of December were sampled. As described in Chapter 3, Instagram stories appear at the top of the app, and are as popular as posts that

appear on the feed, so they are important to include for analysis. Additionally, because of their ephemeral nature, it will be important to investigate whether the content of stories is very different than the content of posts. All of the stories were recorded using a video recording app that allowed for repeat viewing and analysis. There were a total of 567 stories over these four days, though that is a somewhat misleading metric, as not all stories are the same length, and as described above, some stories are simply a single video cut into 15-second fragments. Because Instagram stories are time-based, a more relevant metric is the total running time. Among the ten women on the four days of data collection, the total running time of all stories was 75 minutes and 56 seconds. All text and audio that was posted in Arabic was translated into English by a bilingual research assistant.

The research question that guided this phase of the study asked how women in Qatar present themselves on Instagram, and was not focused singularly on any one of these ten women. Rather, each woman represents different facets of Instafame in Qatar, though they are not mutually exclusive. For example, some of the women focus their content on luxury consumerism, while others represent more attainable consumerism. Some women are professional lifestyle influencers, while others show more personal content. In order to generate a sub-set of data to be analyzed in-depth, a sample of about 15 posted items from each woman was selected, for a total of 146 items, or about 20 percent of all of the Instagram post items collected. For the two women who posted the least, with 12 and 15 posted items, all of their items were included for analysis. For each of the other eight women, all of their posts were numbered beginning with 1. In order to choose 15 items from each woman, the total number of each woman's posts was divided by 15 to arrive at a regular interval to select posts for analysis. For example, Alftoon Al Janahi had a total of 102 posts. I divided that number by 15 and rounded up to get 7. Beginning with the first item, I selected every seventh item after that. This method ensured the 15 posts chosen for each woman were spread out over the entire sampling period. Creating a sub-set of data allowed for both an in-depth analysis to be undertake of each post, but also maintained the breadth desired by including items from all of these ten women. Because of the wide distribution of the number of posted items by the ten women, had I simply chosen a percentage of each woman's posts, the sample would have been unreasonably skewed and would have overrepresented the more prolific posters. Because this study is interested in how these women present themselves, and not the influence any one of them has, it was necessary to include a comparable number of posts from each woman. I wanted to maintain variety in the sample by including a similar number from each woman.

Instagram stories are used not only as a means of self-representation, but also as a way of broadcasting activities the influencer may be watching herself. As such, they present an opportunity to analyze the women's self-presentation and what she thinks is important around her to broadcast to her followers. Additionally, since Instagram stories are short-lived, it is important to consider any differences between what women include in stories versus the longer-lived posts. All the stories collected on the four days identified above were included for analysis.

5.6.1 Ethnographic content analysis

As described above, I conducted a textual analysis of both the visual and text elements of these posts to better understand how women chose to be visible through Instagram. First, I employed an ethnographic content analysis of the sample of 146 items from posts and the 76 minutes of Instagram stories to determine the dominant themes. Ethnographic content analysis moves beyond simply counting the recurrence of variables by incorporating reflexivity and the interaction between the researcher and the data by stressing "*constant discovery* and *constant comparison* of relevant situations, settings, styles, images, meanings, and nuances" (Altheide, 1996, p. 16 emphasis original). The ethnographic content analytic approach is similar to the constant comparative method used by some visual scholars (Greenwood, 2012; Greenwood & Smith, 2009) that is designed to combine the systematic benefits of a coding scheme with the theory-generating possibilities of inductive reasoning (Glaser, 1965). However, ethnographic content analysis depends upon the reflexivity of the researcher, and conceptualizes analysis of the text itself as ethnographic fieldwork (Altheide, 1996). In this sense, analysis depends on the interaction and positionality of the researchers.

I established an initial coding protocol based on a subset of Instagram posts from all ten women to determine the dominant visual elements and themes present. This was then tested on 20 percent of the sample of individual items that were the unit of analysis. This initial coding protocol was then refined over several iterations to include all 146 posted items. Ultimately, I developed a coding protocol of 34 items that provides insight into several analytic frameworks discussed in the previous chapters. These included several basic descriptive identifiers, such as the number of people included, the topic, whether the woman used selfies, and the stated function of the post, such as whether it was made in paid partnership with a brand. Also incorporated into the codebook were the "affordances" of social networked sites as articulated by Boyd (2011), the dramaturgical characteristics identified by Goffman (1959), such as manner and appearance, and several facets of the ritualization of gender display, also identified by Goffman (1979), as well as conceptualizations of a postfeminist sensibility, such as the physical manifestation of

femininity or the makeover paradigm. Analyzing these particular elements helps provide structure to understanding women's self-presentation on Instagram and provides a useful entry point to the textual analysis also employed.

The complete codebook for the ethnographic content analysis is included in Appendix B, and I will briefly discuss the variables I included to guide my analysis here. Photographic and social media conventions that were coded included subject stance, the photographer, type of selfie, presence of camera effects, and lighting. Environmental markers that were coded included whether the post included the home, whether the post was in a public or private space, the location, and the setting. Several elements of each post's content was also coded, including the people in the photograph, the function of the post, and the caption. The topic of the post was also coded using the same six broad topic categories from the Global Media Monitoring Project that were used in the first phase of the study. Several elements described by Goffman (1959) related to the performance of social roles and impression management were coded, including the region, appearance, and manner. Goffman's framework for gender displays in advertisements (1979) was also incorporated into this ethnographic content analysis, including variables like relative size, function ranking, family, feminine touch, subordination, and licensed withdrawal. Several elements in Gill's postfeminist sensibility were also captured in the ethnographic content analysis, including feminine corporality, "natural" differences, the makeover paradigm, self-surveillance and self-discipline, sexual subjectivity, sexualization, feminism as identity marker, and empowerment. Finally, technical elements of social networked sites that Boyd (2011) described were coded, including persistence, replicability, scalability, and searchability.

5.6.2 Textual analysis

Textual analysis is a robust qualitative approach that allows researchers to dive deeply into media texts to articulate not just the representations themselves, but also the meaning-making that results. It is a methodology used to understand ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures makes sense of who they are, and how they fit into world in which they live. In this case, I used textual analysis to understand how women influencers in Qatar tell their own stories and represent themselves, specifically to make sense out of how those representations replicate or depart from those in the newspaper. In doing so, it is important to focus on likely interpretations based on the embedded culture, rather than simply stating a description of the text at hand (McKee, 2003). McKee describes three specific tools that are useful in textual analysis to make visible both the absent-invisible and the obvious-invisible: exnomination, commutation, and structuring absences. Exnomination helps the researcher identify the obvious-invisible, and is exemplified by David Foster Wallace's story

about the two fish's unfamiliarity with water. By articulating the obvious, or the "normal," the viewer can identify it, sometimes for the first time, which allows it to be analyzed. Commutation is a thought experiment that can also help the researcher to identify the obvious, such as gender roles, for example. If we see a woman in an Instagram post spend an hour applying complicated contouring makeup, and instead imagine a man doing the same thing, we can begin to question why that is a norm that only women must adhere to. Finally in structuring absences, the researcher may be able to identify that all texts exclude a particular group, for example those from a certain income demographic. Then, if the texts included all demonstrate a particular way of being, it becomes worth questioning whether only the group represented can be described that way, or whether those attributes can be expanded to the absent group.

The preceding chapters have explained the context for this study, identified the gaps in the literature, articulated the research questions, and described the guiding theoretical, epistemological, and methodological frameworks for this dissertation. The remaining chapters describe the findings of both phases of the study, provide interpretation and analysis, and discuss the theoretical development related to mediated visibilities.

Chapter 6. Phase 1 Findings: Representations of Women in the News

As discussed in Chapter 2, the scholarship on representations of women in the news media indicates a global reticence among the news media to depict women at the rate they belong to the global population, and when they do, they are painted with stereotypical brushes. As such, this study sought to address the gaps in the literature, specifically by examining representations of women in the English-language press in Qatar. The overarching research question guiding this phase of the inquiry is:

> What is the quantity and nature of women's representations in the Qatari English-language news media?

In order to break that question down to its component parts, this chapter will answer that question by conducting a series of non-parametric inferential statistical analyses further guided by the relevant literature. As described in the previous chapter, the content analysis yielded three datasets: one comprised of articles, one comprised of photographs, and one comprised of individuals named in the news. By producing these three distinct datasets, it is easier to see the differences in women's representations between written and visual news coverage. Additionally, the third dataset made up of the first three individuals named or quoted in each article also more clearly illustrates representations of women when they serve as subjects, experts, and sources in the news stories. After beginning with simple descriptive statistics and frequencies of women in the news, this chapter will explore relationships between women's presence in the news and which newspaper sections they appear in, which topics they are associated with, the occupations they are associated with, and how much space is allocated to stories and photographs when they appear. Additionally, this chapter investigates whether coverage conforms to gender stereotypes, and discusses coverage of women in sports. As described elsewhere in this dissertation, sports is a pillar of Qatar's national development strategy, from hosting high-profile international sporting events and investing heavily in both male and female athletes (Dun, 2016) to declaring an annual national holiday dedicated to recreational sporting activity. The national focus on sports warrants a deeper investigation of how women are represented in sports coverage in Qatar. Finally this chapter is concerned with describing the findings quantitatively primarily with frequency analysis, and Chapter 8 will provide the discursive and interpretive analysis.

The codebook did not distinguish between women and girls, nor between men and boys, and throughout this chapter "women" refers aggregately to both women and girls, and "men" refers aggregately to both men and boys. When discussing the presence and absence of women and men in news items, generally four figures are noted (men appearing at all, men appearing without women, women appearing at all, and women appearing without men

alone), and it can be helpful to think of them as "gross" and "net" amounts. The unit of analysis here is the article or the photograph. The "gross" count is simply the frequency with which men and women appear in items, and this is a useful figure in an overall understanding of the presence of women in the news. The "net" count of men or women refers to items where only that gender appears in the same article or photograph, and this is noteworthy in providing additional nuance to understanding *how* women appear in the news. Are women able to stand alone in their newsworthiness as subjects or expertise as sources without a man also appearing to legitimize the item? The findings also explore this by expressing the likelihood of men appearing in an article or photograph with and without women, as well as the likelihood of women appearing in an article or photograph with and without men.

6.1 Total Frequencies

First, following in the tradition of the many scholars who have undertaken quantitative analysis to simply see the frequency of women's representations in the news media (Jia et al., 2016; Shor et al., 2014; Stanley, 2012), this phase of the study first asks at what rate women appear in the news in Qatar. As identified in the previous chapter, this analysis focuses on the English-language daily *The Gulf Times*.

Frequencies in articles

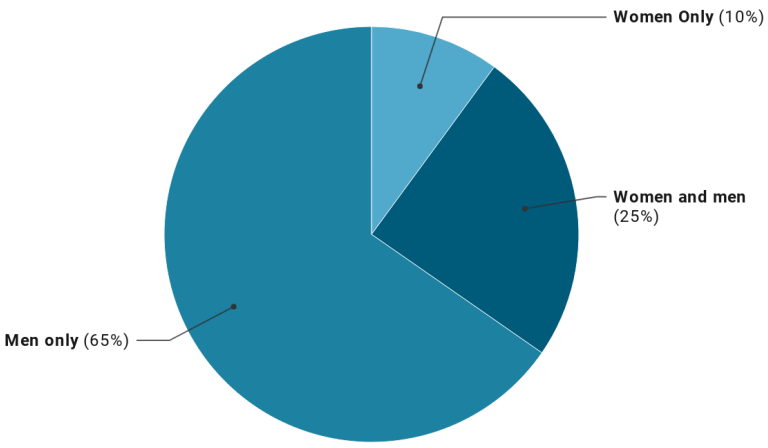

Figure 6.1. Gender frequencies in newspaper articles. n=456.

In the constructed two-week sample, there were a total of 552 articles that carried a Doha dateline, or were otherwise obviously local stories. Of those, 17 percent did not include people and were excluded from the final sample of 456 articles. Of those 456 articles that made up the final sample, 410 featured men, 298 featured men alone, 158 featured women, and 46 featured women alone. These figures are expressed as percentages in Figure 6.1. When a man appeared in an article, there was only a 27 percent chance a woman would also appear

in the article, but when a woman appeared in an article, there was a 71 percent chance a man would also appear in the same article.

6.1.1 Frequencies in photographs

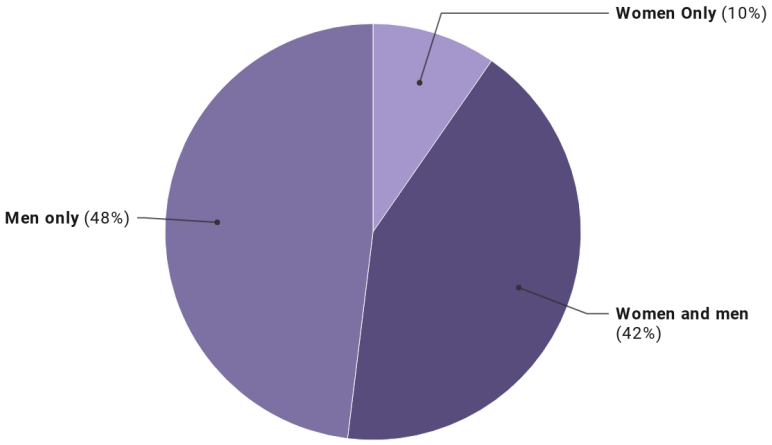

Figure 6.2. Gender frequencies in newspaper photographs. n=435.

Looking at the rate at which women appear in newspaper photographs in the sample, there were a total of 473 photographs, of which 8 percent did not contain any people and were excluded from the final sample of 435 photographs. Of the 435 photographs in the final sample, 393 featured men, 209 featured men alone, 226 featured women, and 42 featured women alone. Figure 6.2 displays these findings. When a man appeared in a photograph, there was a 47 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph. When a woman appeared in a photograph, there was an 81 percent chance a man would also appear in the same photograph.

6.1.2 Frequencies in individuals in the news

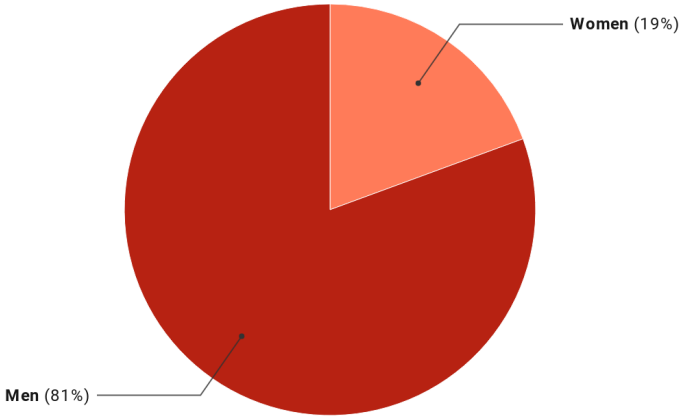

Figure 6.3. Gender frequencies among first three named individuals in newspaper articles. n=933.

Table 6.1 Men's Presence by Position of Women Named in Newspaper Articles

	Woman named first	Woman named second	Woman named third	Total
Men Absent	46	15	11	**72**
	54.1%	25.9%	28.9%	**39.8%**
Men Present	39	43	27	**109**
	45.9%	74.1%	71.1%	**60.2%**
Total	**85**	**58**	**38**	**181**

In addition to quantifying the presence of women in an article or photograph holistically, all of the 456 newspaper articles that contained people were also coded for the first three individuals named, either by mention or having been quoted. This yielded a sample of 933 individuals who were among the first three named in each of 454 articles. (Two articles of the total sample of 456 only included lists of five or more names, and as such, the individuals listed did not meet the criteria to be coded.) Of these 933 individuals, 752 were identified as men, and 181 were identified as women. Among the 933 total sample, women made up 19 percent of those named first, 19 percent of those named second, and 21 percent of those named third. Table 6.1 indicates that among the 181 women who were named or quoted among the first three in an article, they appeared first 47 percent of the time, second 32 percent of the time, and third 21 percent of the time. As shown in Table 6.1, when women did appear first in an article, the majority of the time, men do not even appear in the same article. The 39 articles where women are named first that also contain men represent only 35 percent of the total 112 articles that contain both men and women. So, there was a 65 percent chance that when both men and women appeared in an article, the person named first would be a man. When it comes to calculating the rate at which women were directly quoted among the first three individuals, they actually fared better than men. Among women, 55 percent were directly quoted, while among men, that figure was 42 percent.

6.2 Section Frequencies

Based on the work of Len-Ríos et al. (2005) and Stanley (2012) that found women were more likely to appear in the entertainment or lifestyle sections than business or sports sections, and similar work that found women more likely to appear in the entertainment (Shor et al., 2015; Shor et al., 2014) or news (Shor et al., 2014) sections, compared with business or sports, this study phase asked several questions related to the section of the newspaper than women most frequently appeared in. *The Gulf Times* runs all four sections (front page, business, sport, and community) six days a week; on Saturdays, the community section does

not appear. So, for this analysis based on newspaper sections, the two Saturday editions were excluded, leaving samples of 421 articles, 400 photographs, and 857 individuals in the news.

6.2.1 Frequencies in articles

Of the 421 articles in this sample, 274 articles appeared in the front page section. Men appeared overall in articles in the front page section 90 percent of the time, and they appeared alone in articles in the front page section 70 percent of the time. Women appeared overall in 20 percent of the articles, and without men in 10 percent of articles in the front page section. When a man appeared in an article in the front page section, there was a 23 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article, but when a woman appeared, there was a 67 percent chance that a man appeared in the same article. One of the articles featuring women that did not also include any men was a recap of a breast cancer conference held in Doha. Two women medical doctors, were quoted and provided expert commentary on the national health system's outreach and gynecological cancer care services (Qatar News Agency, 2019b).

Table 6.2 Women's Presence in Articles in Newspaper Sections

		Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Section	Main	191	69.0%	83	57.6%	**274**	**65.1%**
	Business	28	10.1%	3	2.1%	**31**	**7.4%**
	Sport	44	15.9%	27	18.8%	**71**	**16.9%**
	Community	14	5.1%	31	21.5%	**45**	**10.7%**
Total		**277**	**100.0%**	**144**	**100.0%**	**421**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=34.666, df = 3, p<.001

The business section constituted the smallest number of articles in the sample, and of the 31 articles that appeared in this section, women appeared in only 3 of them (10 percent), while men appeared in 30 articles (97 percent). Two of the three stories featuring women also included men; only one story in the business section featured a woman alone. The single story that featured a woman without men included both a direct quote and a photograph of the managing director of business development of the Qatar Financial Center Sheikha Alanoud bint Hamad Al Thani (Perumal, 2019). The story focused on economic indicators, and as the only person quoted in the story, Al Thani provided expert commentary, clearly challenging gender stereotypes.

Women featured more frequently in the 71 articles in the sport section, appearing overall in 38 percent of the articles, and without men in 10 percent of the articles. Men, on the other hand, appeared in 90 percent of the articles overall, and in 62 percent of articles without

women. Of the sports stories featuring women, there was a 74 percent chance a man would appear in the same article, while of the sports stories featuring men, there was only a 31 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article, and only a 26 percent chance no men would appear. Five of the seven stories that featured women without men were coverage of the IAAF World Athletics Championships ("Price is right as American claims hammer gold," 2019; Reuters, 2019a, 2019b; Sports Reporter, 2019a; "Today is Mother's Day at the athletics worlds," 2019), and the last among that list read like a roll call of all women competitors who have children. The other two stories featured a woman legal expert commenting on broadcasting rights to the Dakar Rally (Qatar News Agency, 2019a), and Qatar's fencing team winning a silver medal at the GCC Women's Games (Sports Reporter, 2019b). The story about the fencing team was also notable as the only one featuring Arab women exclusively.

Finally, in the community section, women appeared in 69 percent of 45 stories, while men appeared in 84 percent of the stories. Over half (53 percent) featured both men and women, while men appeared without women in 31 percent of the stories, and women appeared without men in 16 percent of the stories. When men appeared in stories, there was a 63 percent chance women appeared in the same story. When women appeared, there was a 77 percent chance a man appeared in the same story. Interestingly, while men still appeared in the community section more frequently than women, this was the section where they appeared least frequently without women. Of the seven stories that featured women exclusively, they highlighted professional achievements ("Georgetown professor wins prestigious history of journalism award," 2019; Raja, 2019b, 2019c), school achievements ("MES student wins PM Fellowship Award," 2019; "TNG students win Akhlaquna Challenge," 2019), overcoming adversity (Raja, 2019a), and a Bollywood actress's holiday plans (IANS, 2019).

A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of individuals named in articles with the newspaper section they appear in. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(3)=34.666$, $p<.001$). As Table 6.2 shows, women were more likely to appear in articles in the community section, and less likely to appear in the front page, business, or sport sections.

6.2.2 Frequencies in photographs

Of the 400 photographs in this sample, 234 photographs appeared in the front page section. Men appeared in 92 percent of photographs in this section, and they appeared without women 48 percent of the time. Women appeared in 52 percent of photographs in this section, and they appeared without men only 8 percent of the time. When a man appeared in a photograph, there was a 48 percent chance a woman would also appear. But when a woman

appeared in a photograph in this section, there was an 84 percent chance that a man would also appear. Some photographs featuring women that did not include men focused on university students ("AFG College to take part in University Expo," 2019; "Qatar funds research on migrant contributions," 2019).

Table 6.3 Women's Presence in Photographs in Newspaper Sections

		Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Section	Main	113	59.5%	121	57.6%	**234**	**58.5%**
	Business	24	12.6%	8	3.8%	**32**	**8.0%**
	Sport	41	21.6%	28	13.3%	**69**	**17.3%**
	Community	12	6.3%	53	25.2%	**65**	**16.3%**
Total		**190**	**100.0%**	**210**	**100.0%**	**400**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=35.674, df = 3, p<.001

The business section again constituted the smallest number of photographs in the sample, and of the 32 photographs that appeared in this section, women appeared in only 25 percent, while men appeared in 97 percent. Men appeared without women in 75 percent of the photographs, while women appeared without men in only one photograph. When a man appeared in a photograph, there was only a 23 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph, but when a woman appeared, there was an 88 percent chance a man would also appear. The single photograph that featured women without men accompanied the only article that did not also feature men, noted above (Perumal, 2019).

Women featured more frequently in the 69 photographs in the sport section, appearing in 41 percent of them, while men appeared in 84 percent. Men appeared without women in 59 percent of sports photographs, while women appeared without men in 16 percent of them. When women did appear in photographs in the sports section, there was a 61 percent chance a man would appear in the same photograph. When men appeared in photographs in the sports section, on the other hand, there was a 29 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photographs. Ten of the 11 photographs featuring women alone were from coverage of international athletes at either the IAAF World Athletics Championships or the ANOC World Beach Games. The last photograph of a woman that did not feature men was of Qatari national team athlete Nasra Mahmoud in action during the 10m pistol competition at the GCC Women's Games (Sports Reporter, 2019b).

Finally, in the community section, women appeared in 82 percent of 65 photographs, while men appeared in 89 percent of them. A significant majority (71 percent) featured both

men and women. Men appeared without women in 18 percent of photographs, and women appeared without men in 11 percent of photographs. When a man appeared in a photograph in the community section, there was a 79 percent chance a woman would also appear. When a woman appeared in a photograph in the community section, there was an 87 percent chance a man would also appear. Much like with the articles, while men still appeared in the community section more frequently than women, this was the section where they appeared least frequently without women. All of the photographs that featured women exclusively accompanied the articles in the community section noted above that also excluded men.

A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of individuals appearing in photographs with the newspaper section they appear in. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(3)=35.674$, $p<.001$). The results in Table 6.3 show that women were more likely to appear in photographs in the community section, and less likely to appear in the front page, business, or sport sections.

6.2.3 Frequencies in individuals in the news

Of the 857 individuals that were among the first three named in this sample, Table 6.4 shows that men accounted for an overwhelming majority of individuals (81 percent) named or quoted. In the front page section, 524 individuals appeared. Women made up only 17 percent of these, while men constituted 83 percent of individuals mentioned or quoted in the front page section. The business section once again constituted the smallest number of individuals in the sample, and of the 58 individuals who were among the first three named in articles, only 3 percent were women, and 97 percent were men. Women featured more frequently among the 179 individuals named in the sport section, appearing 20 percent of the time, while men appeared 80 percent of the time. Finally, in the community section, of the 96 people mentioned or quoted, women accounted for 35 percent of them, and men accounted for 65 percent of them.

Table 6.4 Gender Frequencies Among First Three Named Individuals in Articles by Section

		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Section	Main	91	56.2%	433	62.3%	**524**	**61.1%**
	Business	2	1.2%	56	8.1%	**58**	**6.8%**
	Sport	35	21.6%	144	20.7%	**179**	**20.9%**
	Community	34	21.0%	62	8.9%	**96**	**11.2%**
Total		**162**	**100.0%**	**695**	**100.0%**	**857**	**100.0%**

Note. $x^2=26.970$, df = 3, $p<.001$

A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of individuals named in articles with the newspaper section they appear in. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(3)=26.97$, $p<.001$). Women were significantly less likely to be named in in articles across all sections, with the greatest discrepancies in the front page, business, and sport sections. Only in the community section were women able to break the 30 percent barrier in named mentions or quotes.

These results of the statistical analyses of these three datasets confirm previous scholars' findings (Len-Ríos et al., 2005; Shor et al., 2014; Stanley, 2012), indicating that women's underrepresentation in the business and sports sections, and overrepresentation in the lifestyle section is a trend not limited to American newspapers. Further, the current findings illustrate women's underrepresentation in the main news section, as well.

6.3 Topic Frequencies

As discussed in Chapter 2, scholars have long investigated the topics that are more frequently associated with women's appearances in the news. Many of those studies employed the GMMP methodology, finding that women were more likely to be associated with stories about health, education, and other social issues (Macharia, 2015). This phase of the study asks the same question of *The Gulf Times.* As described in Chapter 5, all item topics were coded based on a list 55 topics that were grouped into six broad categories. Both levels of categorization were analyzed among each dataset.

Of the complete sample of 456 articles, only two articles were coded in the broad category of crime and violence, and neither of them featured women. In order to run chi-square tests of independence, the expected frequency for each category must be at least one (Cronk, 2008). In order to meet that assumption, the two stories coded as crime and violence were removed from the sample for the analysis of topic frequencies that follows.

Table 6.5 Women's Presence in Newspaper Articles by Category

		Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	55	18.6%	12	7.6%	**67**	**14.8%**
	Economy	83	28.0%	20	12.7%	**103**	**22.7%**
	Science and Health	40	13.5%	34	21.5%	**74**	**16.3%**
	Social and Legal	41	13.9%	36	22.8%	**77**	**17.0%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	77	26.0%	56	35.4%	**133**	**29.3%**
Total		**296**	**100.0%**	**158**	**100.0%**	**454**	**100.0%**

Note. $x^2=31.193$, df = 4, $p<.001$

Two chi-square tests of independence were calculated to compare the gender of people included a news article with the topic category. In the first chi-square test of independence comparing the presence of women in articles with the topic category of the article, the dependent variable was binary, measuring women's presence or absence. A significant interaction was found (x^2 (4) = 31.193, $p < .001$). Table 6.5 indicates women were more likely to appear in articles coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sport, social and legal, and science and health, and less likely to appear in stories coded as politics and government, and economy. In the second chi-square test of independence comparing the presence of men in articles with the topic category of the article, the dependent variable was again binary, this time measuring men's presence or absence. A significant interaction was found (x^2 (4) = 15.564, $p < .005$). Table 6.6 indicates men were less likely to be absent in articles coded as politics and government, economy, and celebrity, arts and media, and sport. Men were more likely to be absent in articles coded as social and legal, and science and health.

Table 6.6 Men's Presence in Newspaper Articles by Category

		Men Absent		Men Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	3	6.5%	64	15.7%	**67**	**14.8%**
	Economy	6	13.0%	97	23.8%	**103**	**22.7%**
	Science and Health	16	34.8%	58	14.2%	**74**	**16.3%**
	Social and Legal	9	19.6%	68	16.7%	**77**	**17.0%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	12	26.1%	121	29.7%	**133**	**29.3%**
Total		**46**	**100.0%**	**408**	**100.0%**	**454**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=15.564, df = 4, p<.005

Unlike in the sample of articles, in the sample of 435 photographs, the actual frequencies for all categories, including crime and violence, met the assumptions needed to run the statistical tests described here. Two chi-square tests of independence were calculated to compare the gender of people included a news photograph with the topic category. In the first chi-square test of independence comparing the presence of women in photographs with the topic category of the photograph, the dependent variable was binary, measuring women's presence or absence. Table 6.7 shows that a significant interaction was found (x^2 (5) = 40.092, $p < .001$). Women were more likely to appear in photographs coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sport, social and legal, and science and health, and less likely to appear in photographs coded as politics and government, economy, and crime and violence. In the second chi-square test of independence comparing the presence of men in articles with the

topic category of the article, the dependent variable was again binary, this time measuring men's presence or absence. A significant interaction was found (x^2 (5) = 17.85, p < .005). Men were less likely to be absent in photographs coded as politics and government, economy, and crime and violence. Table 6.8 indicates that men were more likely to be absent in photographs coded as social and legal, science and health, and celebrity, arts and media, and sport. A detailed description of the findings by topic category follows.

Table 6.7 Women's Presence in Newspaper Photographs by Category

		Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	50	23.9%	22	9.7%	**72**	**16.6%**
	Economy	50	23.9%	33	14.6%	**83**	**19.1%**
	Science and Health	19	9.1%	41	18.1%	**60**	**13.8%**
	Social and Legal	23	11.0%	62	27.4%	**85**	**19.5%**
	Crime and Violence	2	1.0%	1	0.4%	**3**	**0.7%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	65	31.1%	67	29.6%	**132**	**30.3%**
Total		**209**	**100.0%**	**226**	**100.0%**	**435**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=40.092, df = 5, p<.001

Table 6.8 Men's Presence in Newspaper Photographs by Category

		Men Absent		Men Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	1	2.4%	71	18.1%	**72**	**16.6%**
	Economy	2	4.8%	81	20.6%	**83**	**19.1%**
	Science and Health	10	23.8%	50	12.7%	**60**	**13.8%**
	Social and Legal	12	28.6%	73	18.6%	**85**	**19.5%**
	Crime and Violence	0	0.0%	3	0.8%	**3**	**0.7%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	17	40.5%	115	29.3%	**132**	**30.3%**
Total		**42**	**100.0%**	**393**	**100.0%**	**435**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=17.850, df = 5, p<.005

6.3.1 Politics and government

Returning to the full sample of 454 articles that contained people, 67 articles were coded in the broad politics and government category. As Table 6.9 shows, a full 96 percent contained men, 82 percent contained men alone, 18 percent contained women, and 4 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in an article in the politics and government category, there was only a 14 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article.

Conversely, when a woman appeared in an article in the politics and government category, there was a 75 percent chance a man would appear in the same article.

In examining the five individual topics that made up this category, women appeared the most in stories coded as global partnerships and foreign/international politics, at 42 percent in each category. They appeared in one of six stories coded as national defense (17 percent), one of two stories coded as other politics and government (50 percent), and in none of the three stories coded as domestic politics and government. Of the three stories where no men appeared, two were coded as global partnerships, and one was coded as national defense. These findings are represented in Table A1 in Appendix C. The article coded as national defense featured the female CEO of a Qatari cybersecurity firm quoted largely in a spokesperson role ("Meeza highlights ties with state entities to bolster cybersecurity," 2019).

Table 6.9 Gender Representation in Newspaper Articles by Category

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Category	Politics and Government	Count	55	9	3	**67**
		% within Category	82.1%	13.4%	4.5%	**100.0%**
	Economy	Count	83	14	6	**103**
		% within Category	80.6%	13.6%	5.8%	**100.0%**
	Science and Health	Count	40	18	16	**74**
		% within Category	54.1%	24.3%	21.6%	**100.0%**
	Social and Legal	Count	41	27	9	**77**
		% within Category	53.2%	35.1%	11.7%	**100.0%**
	Crime and Violence	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Category	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	Count	77	44	12	**133**
		% within Category	57.9%	33.1%	9.0%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**298**	**112**	**46**	**456**
		% within Category	**65.4%**	**24.6%**	**10.1%**	**100.0%**

Returning to the full sample of 435 photographs that contained people, 17 percent were coded in the broad politics and government category. Table 6.10 shows that of those 72 photographs, 99 percent contained men, 69 percent contained men alone, 37 percent contained women, and 1 percent (a single photograph) contained women alone. This photograph was a headshot of Meeza CEO Ghada Philip el-Rassi that accompanied the article mentioned directly above. So, when a man appeared in a photograph in the politics and government category, there was only a 30 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph. Conversely, when a woman appeared in a photograph in the politics and government category, there was a 95 percent chance a man would appear in the same photograph.

Table 6.10 Gender Representation in Newspaper Photographs by Category

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Category	Politics and Government	Count	50	21	1	**72**
		% within Category	69.4%	29.2%	1.4%	**100.0%**
	Economy	Count	50	31	2	**83**
		% within Category	60.2%	37.3%	2.4%	**100.0%**
	Science and Health	Count	19	31	10	**60**
		% within Category	31.7%	51.7%	16.7%	**100.0%**
	Social and Legal	Count	23	50	12	**85**
		% within Category	27.1%	58.8%	14.1%	**100.0%**
	Crime and Violence	Count	2	1	0	**3**
		% within Category	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	Count	65	50	17	**132**
		% within Category	49.2%	37.9%	12.9%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**209**	**184**	**42**	**435**
		% within Category	**48.0%**	**42.3%**	**9.7%**	**100.0%**

In examining the five individual topics that made up this category, women appeared the most in photographs coded as foreign or international politics, at 64 percent, followed by global partnerships (23 percent), national defense (9 percent), and other (5 percent). There was only one photograph coded as domestic politics and government, and it pictured only men. The single photograph where women appeared without men was coded as national defense. These findings are represented in Table A2 in Appendix C.

6.3.2 Economy

Twenty-three percent of all stories were coded in the broad economy category. As Table 6.9 shows, of those 103 articles, 94 percent contained men, 81 percent contained men alone, 19 percent contained women, and 6 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in an article in the economy category, there was only a 14 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article. Conversely, when a woman appeared in an article in the economy category, there was a 70 percent chance a man would appear in the same article.

In examining the nine individual topics that made up this category, women appeared most frequently in stories about consumer issues, at 40 percent, followed by stories coded as transport (25 percent), stories coded as other economy (20 percent), stories coded as women's participation in the economic process (20 percent), and stories coded as economic policies and strategies (5 percent). These findings are represented in Table A3 in Appendix C. They appeared in none of the stories coded as poverty, social welfare and aid, employment, other labor issues, or rural economy and agriculture. Of the six stories where no men appeared, three dealt with consumer issues, and one each dealt with economic policies and strategies, women's participation in the economic process, and other economy. As an example, one of

the stories related to consumer issues featured Qatar National Bank division manager Heba Al Tamimi quoted in a spokesperson role ("QNB move to promote contactless credit cards," 2019).

Nineteen percent of all photographs were coded in the broad economy category. Table 6.10 indicates that of those 83 photographs, nearly all (98 percent) contained men, 60 percent contained men alone, 40 percent contained women, and 2 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in a photograph in the economy category, there was a 38 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph. Conversely, when a woman appeared in a photograph in the economy category, there was a 94 percent chance a man would appear in the same photograph. The photographs coded as economy that featured women alone accompanied articles described above that also featured women without men (Perumal, 2019; Raja, 2019b).

Table A4 in Appendix C displays the breakdown by the nine individual topics that made up this category. Women appeared the most in photographs about consumer issues (33 percent), followed by photographs coded as transport (24 percent), other (21 percent), economic policies (6 percent), women's participation in the economy (6 percent), other labor issues (6 percent), and poverty and social welfare (3 percent). Women did not appear in any photographs coded as employment or rural economy and agriculture. Of the two photographs where women appeared without men, one was coded as economic policies, and one as women's participation in the economy.

6.3.3 Science and health

Sixteen percent of all stories were coded in the broad science and health category, and as Table 6.9 indicates, women appeared at a higher frequency than the previous two categories. Of the 74 articles in this category, 79 percent contained men, 54 percent contained men alone, 46 percent contained women, and 22 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in an article in the science and health category, there was a 31 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article. Conversely, when a woman appeared in an article in the science and health category, there was a 53 percent chance a man would appear in the same article, and a 47 percent chance men would not appear at all. Of the six broad categories, science and health featured the highest percentage of women appearing in articles without men. Six of the articles that featured women without men reported after the fact about workshops or conferences that women chaired, organized, or spoke at, and five of them were weekly columns on health and wellness written by women.

In examining the seven individual topics that made up this category, women appeared the most in stories coded as medicine, health, or safety, at 59 percent, followed by stories

coded as science, technology, and research (29 percent), stories coded as other science and health (9 percent), and the only story about epidemics (3 percent). These findings are represented in Table A5 in Appendix C. They appeared in none of the stories coded as climate change, environment and pollution, or weather forecast. When we specifically examine the stories where women appear without men, again, this happened most frequently in stories coded as medicine, health, or safety (56 percent), followed by stories coded as science, technology, and research (31 percent), and stories coded as other (13 percent).

Of the total sample of photographs, 14 percent were coded in the broad science and health category, and as Table 6.10 indicates, women again appeared at a higher frequency than the previous two categories. Of the 60 photographs in this category, 83 percent contained men, 32 percent contained men alone, 68 percent contained women, and 17 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in a photograph in the science and health category, there was a 62 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph. Conversely, when a woman appeared in a photograph in the science and health category, there was a 76 percent chance a man would appear in the same photograph. One of the photographs of a woman that did not feature men was of Minister of Public Health Dr. Hanan Mohamed Al Kuwari giving a lecture at an international conference.

In examining the seven individual topics that made up this category, women appeared the most in photographs coded as medicine, health, or safety (54 percent), and this was also the topic in which women appeared with the greatest frequency in photographs that did not also include men—six times. Among the remaining topics, women appeared the most in photographs coded as science, technology, and research (22 percent), followed by other science and health (12 percent), environment and pollution (7 percent), epidemics (2 percent), and climate change (2 percent). These findings are represented in Table A6 in Appendix C. In addition to the six times women appeared without men in medicine, health, or safety photographs, women also appeared without men twice in photographs coded as science, technology, and research, and twice in photographs coded as other.

6.3.4 Social and legal

Of the total sample, 17 percent of all stories were coded in the broad social and legal category, and women appeared at an even higher frequency than in stories coded as science and health. Table 6.9 illustrates that of the 77 articles in this category, 88 percent contained men, 53 percent contained men alone, 47 percent contained women, and 12 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in an article in the social and legal category, there was a 40 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article. Conversely, when a woman appeared in an article in the social and legal category, there was a 75 percent chance a

man would appear in the same article, and a 25 percent chance men would not appear at all. Of the six broad categories, social and legal featured the highest percentage of women appearing in articles, at 47 percent.

Table A7 in Appendix C displays the 12 individual topics that made up this category, and how frequently women appeared in them. Women appeared the most in education stories (53 percent), followed by stories coded as religion, culture, or tradition (17 percent), stories coded as human or women's rights (6 percent), stories coded as other development issues (6 percent), stories coded as women's movement (6 percent), and stories coded as family relations (6 percent). They appeared in one story each coded as changing gender relations, the legal system, and other, and they appeared in none of the stories coded as sustainable development goals, migration, or disaster. The single story coded as changing gender relations reports on a Jordanian medical doctor who had starred in a science-based reality competition show "Stars of Science" giving birth to her second child during the 11th season of the show ("'Stars of Science' welcomes new-born to the family," 2019). Women appeared without men the most in articles coded as education, family relations, the women's movement, religion, culture, and tradition, and other development issues.

Of the total sample, 20 percent of all photographs were coded in the broad social and legal category, and women appeared at an even higher frequency than in photographs coded as science and health. As shown in Table 6.10, of the 85 photographs in this category, 86 percent contained men, 27 percent contained men alone, 73 percent contained women, and 14 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in a photograph in the social and legal category, there was a 68 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph. Conversely, when a woman appeared in a photograph in the social and legal category, there was an 81 percent chance a man would appear in the same photograph, and a 19 percent chance men would not appear at all. Of the six broad categories, social and legal featured the highest percentage of women appearing in photographs.

In examining the 12 individual topics that made up this category, women appeared most frequently in education photographs (57 percent), followed by photographs coded as religion, culture, or tradition (15 percent), other social/legal (7 percent), women's movement (5 percent), other development issues (3 percent), family relations (3 percent), the legal system (3 percent), migration (3 percent), changing gender relations (2 percent), human or women's rights (2 percent), and disaster (2 percent). Women appeared in none of the photographs coded as sustainable development goals. Women appeared without men in photographs coded as education, women's movement, family relations, and religion, culture, and tradition. These findings are represented in Table A8 in Appendix C.

6.3.5 Crime and violence

As mentioned above, neither of the two stories coded as crime and violence featured women. However, of the three photographs coded in this category, only one included women. The photograph included several men and women who were delegates at the 8th session of the International Anti-Corruption Academy assembly in Kazakhstan ("Qatar team takes part in IACA session," 2019), and it was coded with the topic of non-violent crime (corruption).

6.3.6 Celebrity, arts and media, sports

Of the total sample of articles, 29 percent were coded in the broad topic category of celebrity, arts and media, and sport. As Table 6.9 indicates, women again appeared in a relatively high percentage of the stories, appearing in 42 percent of the 133 stories. Of the 133 articles in this category, 91 percent contained men, 58 percent contained men alone, 42 percent contained women, and 9 percent contained women alone. So, when a man appeared in an article in the celebrity, arts and media, and sport category, there was a 36 percent chance a woman would appear in the same article. Conversely, when a woman appeared in an article in the celebrity, arts and media, and sport category, there was a 79 percent chance a man would appear in the same article, and a 21 percent chance men would not appear at all. Of the six broad categories, women appeared in more stories coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sport than any other category, at 35 percent.

In examining the six individual topics that made up this category, women appeared in the most in sport stories, at 68 percent, followed by arts stories at 25 percent, celebrity news at 4 percent, and both media, and beauty and fashion at 2 percent. Of the 12 stories where women did not appear alongside men, the most were coded as sport (eight stories), with arts following with two stories, and celebrity news and media each with one story. These findings are represented in Table A9 in Appendix C.

Thirty percent of photographs were coded in the broad topic category of celebrity, arts and media, and sport. Women again appeared at a relatively high percentage, appearing in 51 percent of 132 photographs. Of the photographs in this category, 87 percent contained men, 49 percent contained men alone, 51 percent contained women, and 13 percent contained women alone, as shown in Table 6.10. So, when a man appeared in a photograph in the celebrity, arts and media, and sport category, there was a 43 percent chance a woman would appear in the same photograph. On the other hand, when a woman appeared in a photograph in the celebrity, arts and media, and sport category, there was a 75 percent chance a man would appear in the same photograph, and only a 25 percent chance no men would appear. Of the six broad categories, women appeared in more photographs coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sport than any other category, at 30 percent. Of the six broad categories, celebrity,

arts and media, and sport featured the highest percentage of women appearing in photographs without men.

Table A10 in Appendix C displays the frequencies of women's appearances in the six individual topics that made up this category. Women appeared in the most in sport photographs, at 72 percent, followed by arts photographs at 24 percent, celebrity news at 3 percent, and media at 2 percent. No photographs were coded as beauty and fashion. Of the 17 photographs where women did not appear alongside men, the most were coded as sport (15 photographs), followed by celebrity news and arts each with one photograph. As an example, the photograph coded as arts accompanied an article about Qatari author Amal Lingawi's launch of a book of essays about social and ethical issues (Raja, 2019c).

6.3.7 Frequencies in individuals in the news

The dataset of 933 named individuals in 454 stories allows a more nuanced exploration of the topics associated with women when they are among the first three individuals mentioned or quoted in news articles. In order to run chi-square tests of independence, the expected frequency for each category must be at least one. So, as with the dataset of articles, the two stories coded as crime and violence were removed from the sample for the analysis of topic frequencies in order to meet that assumption.

Table 6.11 Gender of Individual Named First in News Articles, By Category

		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	4	4.7%	63	17.2%	**67**	**14.8%**
	Economy	11	12.9%	91	24.8%	**102**	**22.6%**
	Science and Health	24	28.2%	50	13.6%	**74**	**16.4%**
	Social and Legal	18	21.2%	58	15.8%	**76**	**16.8%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	28	32.9%	105	28.6%	**133**	**29.4%**
Total		**85**	**100.0%**	**367**	**100.0%**	**452**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=22.151, df = 4, p<.001

As shown in Table 6.11, of the 452 individuals who were named first in news articles, 81 percent were men, and 19 percent were women. When a woman was the first individual named in an article, 33 percent of the time it was in a story coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, followed by science and health (28 percent), social and legal (21 percent), economy (13 percent), and politics and government (5 percent). A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of individual named first in an article with the topic associated with that article. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(4)$=22.151,

p<.001). Women were significantly less likely to be the first person named in in articles coded with the topics politics and government, and the economy. Women were significantly more likely to be the first person named in articles coded with the topics science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sports.

Table 6.12 Gender of Individual Named Second in News Articles, By Category

		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	3	5.2%	45	18.8%	**48**	**16.2%**
	Economy	7	12.1%	48	20.1%	**55**	**18.5%**
	Science and Health	11	19.0%	30	12.6%	**41**	**13.8%**
	Social and Legal	15	25.9%	30	12.6%	**45**	**15.2%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	22	37.9%	86	36.0%	**108**	**36.4%**
Total		**58**	**100.0%**	**239**	**100.0%**	**297**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=13.901, df = 4, p<.01

Of the 297 individuals who were named second in news articles, 80 percent were men, and 20 percent were women. When a woman was the second individual named in an article, 38 percent of the time it was in a story coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, followed by social and legal (26 percent), science and health (19 percent), economy (12 percent), and politics and government (5 percent). A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of individual named second in an article with the topic associated with that article. A significant interaction was found (x^2(4)=13.901, p<.01). Table 6.12 indicates that women were significantly less likely to be the second person named in in articles coded with the topics politics and government, and economy. Women were significantly more likely to be the second person named in articles coded with the topics science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sports.

Table 6.13 Gender of Individual Named Third in News Articles, By Category

		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	1	2.6%	27	19.1%	**28**	**15.6%**
	Economy	3	7.9%	22	15.6%	**25**	**14.0%**
	Science and Health	6	15.8%	17	12.1%	**23**	**12.8%**
	Social and Legal	12	31.6%	15	10.6%	**27**	**15.1%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	16	42.1%	60	42.6%	**76**	**42.5%**
Total		**38**	**100.0%**	**141**	**100.0%**	**179**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=15.522, df = 4, p<.005

Finally, of the 179 individuals who were named third in news articles, 79 percent were men, and 21 percent were women. When a woman was the third individual named in an article, 42 percent of the time it was in a story coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, followed by social and legal (32 percent), science and health (16 percent), economy (8 percent), and politics and government (3 percent). A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of individual named third in an article with the topic associated with that article. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(4)=15.522$, $p<.005$). Women were significantly less likely to be the third person named in in articles coded with the topics politics and government, and economy. Women were significantly more likely to be the third person named in articles coded with the topics science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sports, as shown in Table 6.13.

Among these 933 individuals among the first three named or quoted, 417 people were directly quoted in articles. The majority (76 percent) were men, and the minority (24 percent) were women. A chi-square test of independence was calculated to compare the gender of the person quoted with the topic associated with the article they appeared in. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(4)=12.056$, $p<.02$). When women were directly quoted in news articles, they were less likely to be in articles associated with politics and government or economy. Women were more likely to be quoted in articles associated with science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sports. These findings are represented in Table A11 in Appendix C.

6.4 Gender and Occupations in the News

As described in Figure 3, of the 933 individuals named or mentioned among the first three in 454 news stories, 19 percent were women or girls, and 81 percent were men or boys. The occupation or position of each of these individuals was coded. Women were most frequently mentioned or quoted among the first three when they were sportspeople (25 percent), businesspeople, executives, or managers (23 percent), or academic experts or teachers (11 percent). A chi-square test of independence was calculated to compare the frequency of occupation with gender. In order to meet the assumptions of this statistical test (Cronk, 2008), all categories that had a minimum expected count of less than 1 were removed, and categories that had the lowest minimum expected count greater than 1 and less than 5 were removed stepwise until fewer than 20 percent of all cells had an expected count of less than 5. The categories removed were: not stated, police/military, health worker, science/tech professional, lawyer/judge, office/service worker, tradesperson, agriculture worker, religious figure, and homemaker/parent. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(10)=72.679$, $p<.001$). Women who were mentioned or quoted among the first three in an article were significantly

less likely to be royalty, government officials, media professionals, or businesspeople, executives, or managers, even though women appeared second most frequently as businesspeople, executives or managers. Women were significantly more likely to be academic experts or teachers, doctors or health specialists, civil society workers, celebrities, artists or actors, sportspeople, or students. These findings are represented in Table A12 in Appendix C.

6.4.1 Women leaders

The scholarship discussed in Chapter 2 indicated women are less likely to be depicted in leadership roles, that women leaders were more underrepresented and more likely to be associated with stereotypically women's topics. Additionally, we know from scholarship from the U.S., Europe, and elsewhere that women political leaders appear less frequently in the news, especially as they compete for higher and higher offices. Which, if any, of these trends bear out in *The Gulf Times*?

The three coded occupations most explicitly described in leadership terms were royalty, government official, and businessperson, executive, and manager. As shown in Table A12 in Appendix C, women make up a minority of the individuals mentioned in those occupations. In the aggregate among these three occupations only, women make up only 12 percent of those in leadership positions. When considering government officials only, women accounted for only 6 percent of 126 individuals identified as government officials or politicians. And among all of the 181 women who were among the first three named or quoted, only 28 percent of them held leadership positions. When measured among all occupations mentioned, women were significantly less likely to be associated with these three occupations. An additional chi-square test of independence was calculated to compare the frequency of these three occupations only with gender. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(2)=10.968$, $p<.005$). These findings are represented in Table A13 in Appendix C. Women who were mentioned or quoted among the first three in an article were significantly less likely to be royalty, government officials, or businesspeople, executives, or managers.

When women leaders were included, they were associated with five categories: politics and government, economy, science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sports.

6.4.2 Women and kinship

Previous scholarship suggests that women leaders are more likely to be identified by their kinship roles (Poutanen et al., 2016; Vandenberghe, 2019), though this trend was not evident in the data in this study. On the contrary, women leaders were no more likely to be identified by their kinship roles. Among women associated with these three leadership

occupations, only two of the 50 women in that subset were identified by their kinship roles. When looking at the entire sample of 933 men and women, only 2 percent included mention of a kinship role. However, among those 16 cases where kinship role was mentioned, 12 were women, and only four were men. So, when kinship was included, 75 percent of the time, it was associated with a woman.

6.5 Women and Space Allocation

When women do appear in the news, they are generally accorded less time or space than men (Vos, 2013b). As described in the previous chapter, all news items were coded for space, in increments of a whole page. The majority of photographs appeared in article packages, and the space allocation referred to the whole package—article and photograph together. So, photographs were not included in this analysis. As would be expected in a daily newspaper, the minority of stories were a half page or a full page, as those space allocations are typically reserved for monumental news stories. Only 15 percent of articles were a half or full page. To explore the relationship between presence of women and allocation of space more deeply, articles that were a full or half page were removed from the current analysis, leaving 388 items.

Among articles, a chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the women's presence in an article with the amount of space allocated to the story. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(2)=11.352$, $p<.005$). Table A14 in Appendix C shows that women were more likely to appear in stories that were a third or a quarter of a page long, and less likely to appear in stories that were less than a quarter of a page. Women were more likely to be absent from stories that were less than a quarter of a page long. This is a surprising finding, and is largely due to their relative absence from articles of the smallest size, less than a quarter of a page. The majority of those articles are briefs from the front page section, which women are also relatively absent from. As Table 6.2 shows, women are less likely to appear in articles in the front page section. When women are given more time or space, it is because they are featured discussing stereotypically women's topics (De Swert & Hooghe, 2010). Among the articles featuring women that were allocated a full page, 70 percent were coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, and among those allocated a half page, 67 percent were coded in the same category.

6.6 Women and Stereotypical News Coverage

The Global Media Monitoring Project, as well as Jung Yun et al. (2007), Armstrong et al. (2012), K. Ross et al. (2018), and McKenzie and McKenzie (2017), found women continue to be depicted in stereotypical ways. The GMMP description of gender stereotypes was incorporated as-is into the codebook here, and the full description can be found in Appendix

A. In short, items that challenged gender-based assumptions about traits, areas of interest, competence, and expertise were coded as challenging stereotypes. This judgment was also based on context. For example, a story of Minister of Public Health Dr. Hanan Mohamed Al Kuwari did not challenge gender stereotypes, even though Al Kuwari holds a cabinet position, because the health fields are stereotypically female. Had a woman held a minister-level position in finance or defense, on the other hand, the story would have been coded as challenging gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes were explored in all three datasets.

Table 6.14 Women's Presence in Newspaper Articles that Challenge Gender Stereotypes

	Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Item Challenges Gender Stereotypes	2	0.7%	30	19.0%	**32**	**7.0%**
Item Does Not Challenge Gender Stereotypes	296	99.3%	128	81.0%	**424**	**93.0%**
Total	**298**	**100.0%**	**158**	**100.0%**	**456**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=53.088, df = 1, p<.001

First, as Table 6.14 shows, in all articles with people, women were present in 158 of 456 stories. Of those 456 stories, only 7 percent clearly challenged gender stereotypes. But when women appeared in articles, the percentage of stories that clearly challenged gender stereotypes jumped to 19 percent. In either case, this exceeds both the global rate of 4 percent and the Middle Eastern rate of 2 percent, as measured in the 2015 GMMP (Macharia, 2015). The higher rate in *The Gulf Times* could be explained by the fact that the majority of their news content is produced by the Qatar News Agency or supplied by press releases from the very organizations being covered, rather than written by in-house reporters. In either case, they may be motivated to specifically highlight women's roles to overcome negative external pressures about the place of women in patriarchal Qatari society. Examples of coverage that challenge gender stereotypes include an item about a woman academic presenting at the 19th World Congress of Criminology (Qatar News Agency, 2019c), and a female astronaut visiting a university campus ("Nasa astronaut shares insights on decision-making dynamics," 2019). The majority of the time (81 percent) women appeared in articles that did not challenge gender stereotypes. One example is a story about diplomats gathering to celebrate South Korean National Day, where the first ten paragraphs mentioned several male members of the Doha-based diplomatic corps, and the final 11th paragraph included a list of female musicians who performed at the event ("S Koreans celebrate their National Day," 2019). In a second example of gender stereotyping, a story about weekend activities at a family-friendly

community center featured two women discussing activities available to their children, easily identifying them as mothers, while one man discussed activities for his family, more broadly identifying him as a head of household ("QF invites community members to Friday Souq at Education City," 2019). A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing women's presence in news stories and whether those stories challenged gender stereotypes, and a significant interaction was found ($x^2(1)=53.088$, $p<.001$). When women were present in news articles, the article was more likely to challenge gender stereotypes.

Table 6.15 Women's Presence in Newspaper Photographs that Challenge Gender Stereotypes

	Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Item Challenges Gender Stereotypes	0	0.0%	36	15.9%	**36**	**8.3%**
Item Does Not Challenge Gender Stereotypes	209	100.0%	190	84.1%	**399**	**91.7%**
Total	**209**	**100.0%**	**226**	**100.0%**	**435**	**100.0%**

Note. $x^2=36.296$, df = 1, $p<.001$

Second, in all photographs with people, women were present in 226 of 433 items. Of those 433 photographs, only 8 percent clearly challenged gender stereotypes. And in only 16 percent of the photographs women appeared in did the photographs clearly challenged gender stereotypes. One example of a photograph that clearly challenged gender stereotypes placed two Qatari women in the foreground as they signed an MoU, while two Qatari men—one a government minister—stood in the background ("MoTC signs agreement with QNB for roll-out of e-payment gateway," 2019). The two women were prominently displayed in an action shot, while the men stand passively behind them, implying to the viewer the women are more important than the men. However, the majority of the time (84 percent) women appeared in photographs that did not challenge gender stereotypes. A chi-square test of independence was calculated, and a significant interaction was found ($x^2(1)=36.296$, $p<.001$). When women were present in photographs, the photograph was more likely to challenge gender stereotypes, as indicated by Table 6.15.

Table 6.16 Gender of First Individual Named in Newspaper Articles that Challenge Gender Stereotypes

	Female		Male		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Item Challenges Gender Stereotypes	24	28.2%	8	2.2%	**32**	**7.0%**
Item Does Not Challenge Gender Stereotypes	61	71.8%	361	97.8%	**422**	**93.0%**
Total	**85**	**100.0%**	**369**	**100.0%**	**454**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=71.652, df = 1, p<.001

Finally, the full sample of 933 individuals in the news simply mirrors the analysis achieved by the sample of all articles with people. However, by limiting the analysis to a subset of only the individuals who were mentioned first, there is additional nuance made visible. Of the 32 stories that challenged gender stereotypes, 75 percent of them named or quoted a woman first. A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the gender of the first person named or quoted in an article with whether the article challenged gender stereotypes. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(1)=71.652$, $p<.001$). When women were the first person named or quoted in a story, the story was more likely to challenge gender stereotypes, as seen in Table 6.16.

6.7 Women and Sports Coverage

As discussed above, that Qatar has invested so heavily in sports, for both economic and human development purposes, merits a focused examination of sports coverage. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 on women's representations in sports coverage was broken down into two categories. The first was general, everyday sports coverage where the sports, popularity, and participation rates may differ between men and women, and where scholars have found the majority of that coverage is focused on men. The second category is high-profile international events, where men and women are competing in similar events during the same time period, and there are more even numbers of men and women participating, and where scholars have found men continue to receive the majority of the coverage.

Two international sports events featuring both men and women were held during this period of data collection, the 2019 IAAF World Athletics Championships and the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) World Beach Games. The World Athletics Championships were held September 27 – October 6, 2019, and the ANOC World Beach Games were held October 11-16, 2019, in Doha. An additional variable was calculated to capture sports stories that occurred during the period in which the two championships were

held, and those that did not. Three of the fourteen days of the sample fell during this period, and they included data collected on September 29, October 7, and October 15.

The first set of frequencies below in articles, photographs, and individuals in the news refers to items that were coded as not occurring during the period of the two championships and more accurately reflected general, everyday news coverage.

6.7.1 Frequencies in articles

Of the 456 articles, 102 of them were coded as sports stories. Of these, 55 did not appear during the championship period. Figure 6.4 shows that, of the subset of 55 stories, 95 percent featured men, 73 percent featured men alone, 27 percent featured women, and 5 percent featured women alone. These figures for women's inclusion in articles featuring everyday sports coverage are slightly lower than the frequencies observed in the entire sample of news articles and described in section 6.1. When a man appeared in an sports article, there was a 23 percent chance a woman would also appear in the article, but when a woman appeared in an sports article, there was an 80 percent chance a man would also appear in the same article.

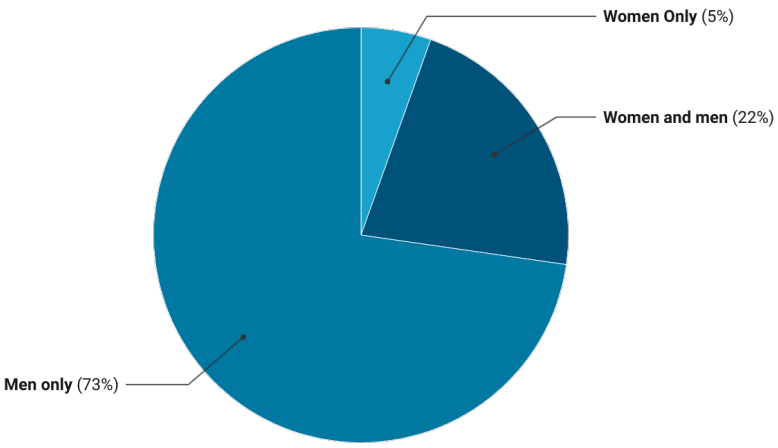

Figure 6.4. Gender frequencies in everyday sports coverage in newspaper articles. n=55.

6.7.2 Frequencies in photographs

Of the 435 photographs, 105 of them were coded as sports photographs. Of these, 56 did not appear during the championship period. Of the subset of 56 photographs, 95 percent featured men, 64 percent featured men alone, 36 percent featured women, and 5 percent featured women alone. These figures for women's inclusion are much lower than the frequencies observed in the entire sample of photographs, described in section 6.1 above. When a man appeared in a photograph, there was a 32 percent chance a woman would appear

in the same photograph. On the other hand, when a woman appeared in a photograph, there was an 85 percent chance a man would also appear in the same photograph.

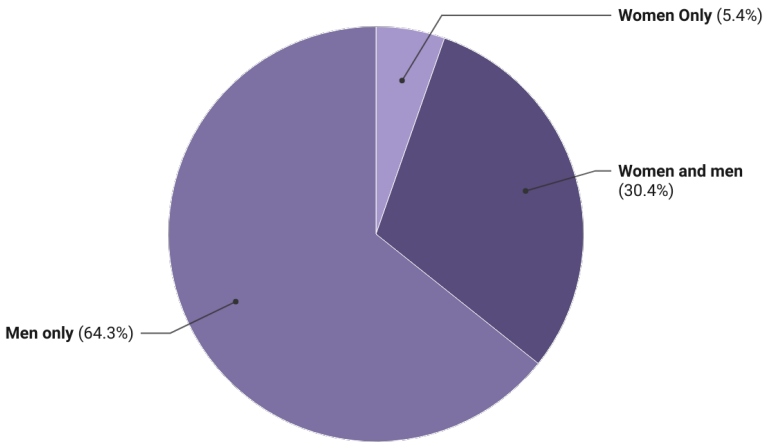

Figure 6.5. Gender frequencies in everyday sports coverage in newspaper photographs. n=56.

6.7.3 Frequencies in individuals in the news

Among the sports stories, there were a total of 257 individuals named or quoted among the first three. Of those, 132 individuals appeared outside of the championship period. Among this subset of 132 individuals, 14 percent of the people named or quoted among the first three were women, and 86 percent were men, as indicated in Figure 6.6. Women made up 15 percent of those named or quoted first, 11 percent of those named or quoted second, and 15 percent of those named or quoted third. These figures are also lower than the observed frequencies in the total sample of individuals described in section 6.1.

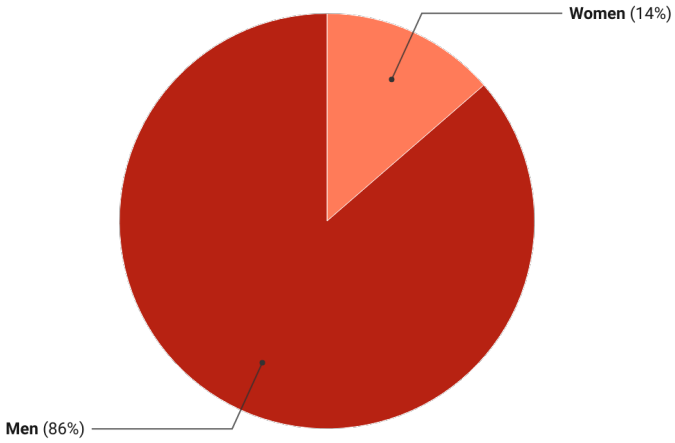

Figure 6.6. Gender frequencies among first three named individuals in everyday sports coverage in newspaper articles. n=132.

6.7.4 Coverage of international sports events

Of the 102 sports stories from the entire sample, 46 percent occurred during the time frame of the two championships. Among the sports stories that occurred during the time of the two championships, 89 percent featured men, 51 percent featured men alone, 49 percent featured women, and 11 percent featured women alone. A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing women's presence in a sports article with whether it occurred during the period of the two championships. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(1)=5.088$, $p<.03$). Table 6.17 indicates women were more likely to appear in sports stories that appeared during the period of the two championships.

Table 6.17 Women's Presence in Newspaper Articles During International Sports Events

	Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Article Published During International Sporting Events	24	37.5%	23	60.5%	**47**	**46.1%**
Article Not Published During International Sporting Events	40	62.5%	15	39.5%	**55**	**53.9%**
Total	**64**	**100.0%**	**38**	**100.0%**	**102**	**100.0%**

Note. $x^2=5.088$, df = 1, $p<.03$

Among the sports stories that occurred during this period, 19 percent of those who were named or quoted first were women, 29 percent of those named or quoted second were women, and 24 percent of those named or quoted third were women. In the aggregate, 24 percent of all those named or quoted among the first three in sports stories during the two championships were women, compared to 14 percent during the non-championship period.

Table 6.18 Women's Presence in Newspaper Photographs During International Sports Events

	Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Photograph Published During International Sporting Events	21	36.8%	28	58.3%	**49**	**46.7%**
Photograph Not Published During International Sporting	36	63.2%	20	41.7%	**56**	**53.3%**
Total	**57**	**100.0%**	**48**	**100.0%**	**105**	**100.0%**

Note. $x^2=4.836$, df = 1, $p<.03$

Of the 105 sports photographs from the entire sample, 47 percent occurred during the time frame of the two championships. Among the sports photographs that occurred during the time of the two championships, 76 percent featured men, 43 percent featured men alone, 57

percent featured women, and 25 percent featured women alone. A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing women's presence in a sports photograph with whether it occurred during the period of the two championships. A significant interaction was found ($x^2(1)=4.836$, $p<.03$). Women were more likely to appear in sports photographs that appeared during the period of the two championships, as shown in Table 6.18.

6.8 Conclusions

This chapter reported the findings of the first phase of this study, focusing on overall frequencies and the relationships between women's presence in the news and several variables including, the newspaper sections, the topic of the article or photograph, the occupations of those who appear in the news, and the amount of space is allocated to stories and photographs. This chapter also addressed gender stereotypes and coverage of women in sports. A more detailed discussion of these findings can be found in Chapter 8, but for now, a brief summary follows.

Women appeared in 35 percent of articles and 52 percent of photographs, but only 19 percent of all individuals named or quoted among the first three were women. Even so, this exceeded the GMMP figures for 2015, where women made up only 26 percent of newspaper subjects globally, and 18 percent in the Middle East (Macharia, 2015, pp. 31-32). This also exceeds the percentage of news subjects that were photographed, which was only 30 percent globally in 2015. Women in *The Gulf Times* were directly quoted at a rate of 55 percent, less than the global figure of 61 percent in 2015 (Macharia, 2015, p. 44).

Women were significantly more likely to appear in articles and photographs in the community section over any other, and when they were named or quoted, they were significantly less likely than men to appear across all sections. Women were significantly more likely to appear in both articles and photographs associated with science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sport topics, and less likely to appear in articles and photographs associated with politics and government and the economy, which again mirrored the 2015 GMMP trends globally and in the Middle East. And women were fittingly more likely to be associated with occupations that map onto those sections and topics, such as academic experts or teachers, doctors or health specialists, or celebrities. One notable exception was sportspeople. Women in leadership positions also appeared less frequently in the news. Finally, the sports coverage in *The Gulf Times* mirrored global trends, with women appearing less frequently in everyday sports coverage, but achieving more parity with men in coverage of high-profile international sporting events.

Before moving on to the detailed discussion in Chapter 8, the next chapter turns to the findings from the second phase of the study that focused on women's self-presentation on Instagram.

Chapter 7. Phase 2 Findings: Self-representations on Social Media

As discussed in Chapter 3, the current scholarship on women's self-presentation on social media paints a complicated picture of simultaneous constraints and liberation, though relatively few scholars have examined this in the Arab Gulf. This study attempts to address the apparent gaps in the literature by focusing specifically on women Instagram influencers in Qatar. This phase of the study is guided by one overarching research question:

How do Qatar's Instafamous women present themselves on Instagram?

Much like the extant literature described in Chapter 3, the answer to this question is complicated, and there are several dimensions to explore. This chapter describes the findings of the qualitative ethnographic content analysis of ten women Instagram influencers in Qatar, including photographic conventions, technical elements, content, elements of social role performance, stereotypical gender displays, indications of postfeminist sensibilities, and microcelebrity practices. This ethnographic content analysis also allows for recurring patterns and common themes to become visible. This chapter provides an overview of the content posted by each woman on Instagram, highlighting key elements and identifying common themes. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of those common patterns and themes. As with the previous chapter, this chapter is concerned primarily with describing the findings, while Chapter 8 will provide the discursive and interpretive analysis.

7.1 Qatar's Instafamous Women

As described in Chapter 5, data collection occurred over a 3-month period, from October 1 to December 31, 2019. All posts by the ten women were collected, whereas stories were collected on four days in December that covered one Monday, one Tuesday, one Wednesday, and one Thursday. The number of items posted per woman ranged from 11 items by Husnaa Malik to 184 items by Yezenia Navarro. Dana Al Anzy posted the least frequently during the data collection time, on only seven days, while Haneen Al Saify posted the most frequently, on 72 days during the three-month period. Alftoon Al Janahi posted the fewest number of stories on the four days in December, only nine with a total run time of 54 seconds. Yezenia Navarro posted 140 stories on the same four days in December, with a total run time of 25 minutes and 25 seconds. Again, as described in Chapter 5, I created the dataset of Instagram posts by selecting posts at a regular interval to include 15 posts for each woman, with the exception of Husnaa Malik, who only had 11 posts, and Dana Al Anzy, who only had 15 posts. The codebook used for the qualitative ethnographic content analysis is included in Appendix B.

7.1.1 Alftoon Al Janahi

Alftoon Al Janahi is a married Qatari artist and mother of two young sons. She had 130,000 Instagram followers during the period of data collection. Al Janahi made 102 posts across 28 days, and posted 9 stories with a total running time of 54 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. Among the 15 posts included in the dataset for further analysis, Al Janahi did not rely on professionally lit or staged photographs in any of her posts, including the three posts that served as explicit product endorsements. Her endorsements were for high-end products, including vegan beauty products, boutique clothing, and bespoke jewelry. All of her posts were from outside the home in public places, including university classrooms, shops, and city streets. In many posts, Al Janahi was the only one pictured, and most of the photographs are taken by others. There was only one mirror selfie in this dataset, which is when the photographer takes a photograph of their reflection in a mirror, as opposed to a camera selfie, when the photographer takes of a photo of herself directly with the camera or phone. Al Janahi's mirror selfie was also the only time she employed a camera filter or effect, one that softened her skin tone and made her eyes appear bigger. About half of her posts fell under the general GMMP category (Macharia, 2015) of celebrity, arts and media, and sports, as they were related to fashion, arts, or simply the act of being a microcelebrity. The remaining were categorized as social and legal, as they were related to teaching art in the classroom, and one was coded as a tourism story. Pictures of or references to her two sons did not feature among the stories or posts included in the dataset.

In all photographs, Al Janahi is either dressed in a black *abaya* and *shayla*, or in the case of two photographs taken in Armenia, she is dressed modestly, in long sleeves and pants with her head covered. In all cases, her clothing, accessories, and makeup could be described as classic, tasteful, and elegant. Al Janahi's posts garnered between 164 and 2,218 likes. The least-liked posts were her endorsement posts, while the most popular featured either Al Janahi by herself or teaching art classes and workshops to children and university students. Al Janahi used hashtags in only two posts, all of them Arabic, and tagged other accounts in about half of her posts, indicating many of her Instagram posts would not be searchable on the platform. All of the tagged accounts in her posts were directly related to either the product she was endorsing, or the location where the post was made. Additionally, the sparse use of hashtags indicates she does not regularly use that technological affordance as a marker of individual or collective identity. Al Janahi states her explicit audience only one time, in a caption where she refers in the second person to her "amazing followers." In all other cases, the specific audience is not stated.

Figure 7.1. An example of a back region performance. Alftoon Al Janahi (@aalftoon) Instagram post from November 3, 2019.

As defined by Goffman (1959), a front region social role performance is akin to the front stage of a theatre, and the back region is like the back stage—individuals may be looser and act in ways that the audience of this particular performance is never intended to see. The majority of Al Janahi's posts would be considered occurring in the front region, which is to say, they reflect a well-honed social role performance. Figure 7.1 shows one post that could be considered a back region performance. Al Janahi is perched on the hood of a dirty, Soviet-era station wagon on a city street in Armenia, and an unknown photographer has taken a picture of her in the act of taking a camera selfie. The accompanying caption reads in English, "When I get old, I will not be old. I will be VINTAGE. 😌🖤" In a back region performance, the social performer is looser, acting in a way not necessarily intended to be seen by the audience. Al Janahi is in the middle of taking her own selfie, wherein only her head, shoulders, and background would be captured, but instead she has chosen to post a scene that shows her in the act. This type of meta image is similar to the mirror selfie, in that the subject does not look directly into the camera, and as a result, does not make eye contact with the viewer's gaze, as shown in Figure 7.2. This type of image combines the licensed withdrawal described by Goffman (1979) and the self-surveillance suggested by Gill (2007, 2016). The subject is at some psychological remove from the depicted situation precisely because she is self-surveilling. Al Janahi adopts only a few other gender expressions described by Goffman (1979), including the feminine touch, and subordination by canting of the head, though she does so in fewer than half of the posts in this dataset.

Figure 7.2. An example of a mirror selfie. Alftoon Al Janahi (@aalftoon) Instagram post from October 3, 2019.

Several of Al Janahi's posts in the dataset included pictures of her teaching art to children and college students. The frequency of these posts, which do not always include her, nonetheless are a form of self-presentation, and indicate that both teaching and art are important elements of herself to present on Instagram. These posts represent both positive self-disclosure and self-praise (Matley, 2018), and in some instances both. For example, in two posts where she is teaching a drawing class to college students, the caption reads in Arabic, "Very happy to be part of the launch of the drawing workshop for the first time as part of the #ArtsCenter campaign with the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Qatar University." The caption continues in English, "I'm kinda proud of myself to be honest. 😌🙏❤️ Thanks @arts.center.qu." The Arabic portion of the caption could be classified as a positive self-disclosure, or the simple sharing of an achievement. But the addition of the statement of pride in English moves this into a statement of self-praise, wherein the speaker is both the subject and object of the praise. The final "to be honest" statement can be read much like #humblebrag, and identifies the overall post as reflexive bragging. But Al Janahi also uses emojis that are generally read positively as being relieved and grateful. That Al Janahi uses a mix of Arabic, English, and emojis also indicates the multiplicity of audiences a post like this is intended for. The non-English-speaking Arabic speaker could read this exclusively as a positive self-disclosure, while the non-Arabic-speaking English speaker could read this exclusively as reflexive bragging. The emojis serve the purpose of softening the edges of the self-praise, especially as they are followed by an explicit expression of gratitude for the organization that hosted her.

Al Janahi's stories show both more of a back region social role performance and engage an even greater multiplicity of entities among the imagined audience than any of her posts. One of her stories also shows the single instance of self-discipline, indicated by the English caption "Back on track," accompanying her queuing up an @oomph_app kickboxing workout on another mobile device. This is also an example of a back region social role performance, as is a story showing her scrolling through her phone while at a restaurant with friends. Another of Al Janahi's stories is a repost of another user's story of one of Al Janahi's own selfies. The other user @safaa.alkhateb1, has added the Arabic caption, "The person I love the most 💕she's such a sweetheart 😭😻," and tagged @aalftoon. In the Instagram app, Al Janahi has then reposted @safaa.alkhateb1's story to her own stories. This is a common practice across the platform. Al Janahi does this again with the business account @fakhamt_oud, a Kuwaiti incense vendor, and with @e__abaya, the Qatari designer of the *abaya* she is wearing. While stories are ephemeral, they can be saved into highlight reels by the account holder. Highlight reels appear on an account holder's profile page, and they are a place the user can organize and save stories thematically. While the stories will disappear from the account holder's story reel after 24 hours, they can be saved to one's own or another's highlight reels. So in these cases, even though Al Janahi did not save these stories into her own highlight reel, all three of the other account holders did, rendering these stories as persistent as the posts. In all of these cases, by tagging other accounts and reposting, Al Janahi enables her content to be viewed not only be her own followers, but also by followers of the other accounts, purposefully engaging with multiple audiences and allowing her content to be replicable and persistent, all technical elements of social networked sites outlined by Papacharissi (2011) and Boyd (2011).

7.1.2 Dana Al Anzy

Dana Al Anzy is a Qatari youth activist and a 2017 graduate of Georgetown University in Qatar, an American branch campus that is part of the Qatar Foundation-funded Education City. She was the 2018 *Grazia* Youth Advocate of the Year. During the data collection period, Al Anzy turned 25 years old, and had 18,000 followers. Al Anzy made 15 posts across 7 days, and posted 41 stories with a total running time of 4 minutes and 47 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. Because Al Anzy only made 15 posts during the data collection period, all of them were included for analysis. All of the posts were directly related to promoting the 25th Youth Assembly, an event orchestrated by the Friendship Ambassadors Foundation, and one at which Al Anzy had served three consecutive times as the Qatar Youth Ambassador. All of her posts were categorized under the GMMP category social and legal, because they all explicitly discussed youth activism

and/or sustainable development goals. Al Anzy is only pictured in one post, as seen in Figure 7.3, while the others featured text promoting the Youth Assembly, or headshots of the 11 other members of the steering committee for the Qatari delegation. In all cases, the headshots were professionally lit and photographed and photoshopped onto white backgrounds.

Figure 7.3. An example of a message of communal empowerment. Dana Al Anzy (@dkalanzy) Instagram post from November 4, 2019.

Al Anzy clearly used her Instagram posts as a platform to promote her own involvement and the involvement of others in youth activism. This was expressed explicitly in a caption on one post, "The 25th session of #TheYouthAssembly comes at a crucial time in history as the youth takes an unprecedented leadership role in protecting the future of our planet. There's no better time than now to be a part of this movement." Contrary to Gill's (2007, 2016) postfeminist sensibilities that would posit female empowerment as an individual struggle, Al Anzy explicitly describes empowerment as a communal effort. Female empowerment is read implicitly by the mention of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, which includes gender equality and women's empowerment. Additionally, Al Anzy highlights the 11 other Qatari Youth Delegation steering committee members, 10 of whom are women. Of the 10 posts showing the women steering committee members, seven include photographs, and three instead use the multi-colored Sustainable Development Goal "O" logo as a graphic stand-in for their own headshot, as seen in Figure 7.4. In all cases, however, each woman's own statement on their beliefs about youth involvement and social development is included with the post. For example, one post features Dana Al Mohannadi, along with her statement, "I believe that the youth are capable of being the change the world needs." This again illustrates empowerment as a communal effort. Interestingly, the posts featuring the young women's photographs received the greatest number of likes, while those with the "O" logo

instead of photographs, and the single young man on the steering committee received the least number of likes. This suggests that the women who chose not to be photographed do not have robust networks of connections on Instagram that would also be linked to Al Anzy. Also, because Instagram is a primarily visual platform, that posts not including photographs will not garner the same attention as those that do. Of the headshots of women that are included, only Al Anzy is not pictured in a black *abaya* and *shayla*. She instead wears a gray blazer and white shirt, and her hair is covered in a black turban. Six of the nine women photographed cant their head, and all of them look directly into the camera.

Figure 7.4. A post of a Qatari Youth Delegation steering committee member's profile featuring the Sustainable Development Goal "O" logo. Dana Al Anzy (@dkalanzy) Instagram post from November 12, 2019.

Al Anzy uses hashtags in all but one post, and the ones most frequently used are #QatariYouthDelegation, #The25thYouthAssembly, and #YA. The first two of those, #QatariYouthDelegation and #The25thYouthAssembly can be more read as expressions of a communal identity than for search purposes, as there are fewer than 100 posts across Instagram that feature either of those hashtags, and all of them were posted by Al Anzy or other members of the delegation. The #YA hashtag has a much wider footprint on Instagram, though likely because it primarily refers to the young adult genre of literature. Regardless, it was more likely intended to make the posts searchable. Other hashtags used on one post, #YouthforImpact, #QatariYouth, and #ChangeStartsWithYOUth, can be read as expressions of communal identity, and the last one also serves as a highlighting device that can be read as an additional inspirational message to the audience. In several posts that encourage viewers to participate in the youth assembly, the audience is clearly implied to be those eligible for the

program—Qatari nationals aged 18 to 26 with valid U.S. visas. And despite that the audience is clearly Qatari youth, all of Al Anzy's content is in English.

While several of Al Anzy's stories are related to a similar topic as her posts, their presentation style differs greatly. While her posts were very polished and professional and could be considered front region, her stories could be considered back region. For example, in a series of stories posted on December 18, 2019, Al Anzy was attending the Global Refugee Forum at the United Nations office in Geneva. In only two stories does Al Anzy show herself, but both times they are close-up shots of her lapel pins for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the UN Sustainable Development Goals. She does not show her own face. Rather than showing herself at the event, she turns her camera onto what she is seeing, so the viewer sees through her eyes in a first-person perspective. This includes still images and video of the plenary session and accessory events, such as an art exhibit and handicraft market. Al Anzy uses several technical elements that would enhance the networking capacity of her story posts, including tagging the UNHCR with their account @refugees, using the hashtag #refugees, and using the geotag for UN Geneva.

In addition to the frequent posting about her involvement in global activism, Al Anzy expresses patriotism, as well. One of the days for data collection was Qatar's National Day, on December 18, and on that day she posted several still images of the Qatari flag, the Qatari Emir, and other visual representations of national pride. A series of stories that appeared on December 2 celebrating the Qatari national football team's win over rival United Arab Emirates in the Arabian Gulf Cup quarterfinals also embraces patriotism, in the use of the flag color maroon and the Qatari flag emoji. Al Anzy also posts a brief video from the stadium during the match of royal family members Sheikha Moza bint Nasser and her daughter, CEO of Qatar Museums, Sheikha Al Mayassa bint Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani cheering, and Sheikha Moza appears to make eye contact with Al Anzy and wave to her. The story is captioned with account tags for both women, along with seven red heart emojis. By tagging both sheikhas' Instagram accounts, Al Anzy is signaling her love for them to the women themselves and to her own followers, in a public-facing performance of appreciation.

7.1.3 Dana Al Fardan

Dana Al Fardan is a Qatari composer, musician, and mother of one young daughter, Layla. Her family runs a conglomerate of luxury brands in Qatar, including hotel properties, commercial and residential real estate, and high-end car dealerships. She composed the Qatar Airways boarding music and had 16,400 followers at the time of data collection. Al Fardan made 44 posts across 32 days, and posted 13 stories with a total running time of 1 minute and 52 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. All of the posts

included in the dataset were from public places, with the exception of a post on Christmas Day taken inside her sister's home. During the data collection period, Al Fardan was staging a musical, "Broken Wings," she composed with Lebanese actor Nadim Naaman, so many of the posts are related to that. As such, 13 of her 15 posts were categorized as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, and two posts were categorized as social and legal. Al Fardan does not engage in product endorsements, though she tagged a restaurant and hotel that hosted press events in support of the musical. Unlike many other Qatari women, Al Fardan does not regularly wear the black *abaya* and *shayla*. She does not cover her hair in any posts, and often wears Western clothing. In public events related to her musical and another event at the National Museum of Qatar, she does wear a type of *abaya* over long, loose dresses, though her *abaya*s hang loose and open, and she does not cover her hair. Additionally, while participating at a concert in New York for United Nations Day, she wore similar formalwear. This is notable because she does wear an adaptation of Qatari national dress at formal events where she is in some way representing Qatar. In more than half of the photos Al Fardan appears in, she cants her head in a stereotypically gendered fashion. In the one posed photograph that is of Al Fardan alone, she stares off into the distance in a state of licensed withdrawal. In most pictures, however, she appears with others, whether friends, family, or her artistic partners. The only selfie she appears in is a camera selfie taken with and by a female friend. Al Fardan's young daughter Layla appears in five posts in the dataset, and while Al Fardan does not write anything explicit about her daughter in the captions, her role as a mother and her relationship with her daughter are significant parts of her self-presentation on Instagram. Figure 7.5 shows one post of Al Fardan with her daughter.

Figure 7.5. Dana Al Fardan and her daughter Layla. Dana Al Fardan (@danaalfardan.dna) Instagram post from December 17, 2019.

Many of Al Fardan's posts can be characterized as self-expression and include quotes by Rumi, Virginia Woolf, and Gibran Khalil Gibran. Additionally, given that she was staging an original musical in Qatar for the first time during the data collection period, many of her posts can be characterized as positive self-disclosure. Al Fardan uses hashtags that would be useful for searchability, such as the name of her musical #BrokenWings, and she also uses hashtags that are more likely intended to express her identity, such as #composer and #songwriter. The posts that received the most likes pertained to Al Fardan's personal life, rather than her professional, artistic achievements. For example, the post with the greatest number of likes, 918, was of her family at the Christmas dinner table, which the post with the least number of likes, 109, was an image of her onstage with the cast of her musical. In one post (Figure 7.6) that specifically addressed women's empowerment, much like Dana Al Anzy, Al Fardan frames empowerment as a communal endeavor, rather than the individual struggle suggested by Gill (2016). "The more women exhibit and express solidarity for one another, the greater the shift in our collective consciousness and the brighter future for us all. Super grateful to this wonderful individual for being a force behind women everywhere, And blessed to have spent the last few days meeting women who change the game and take control of the narrative #WomenEmpowerment," Al Fardan writes in the caption accompanying a selfie with her friend, the Venezuelan actor Eglantina Zingg. The gratitude Al Fardan expresses toward her friend is also evident in another post thanking others "who walked with me in this journey 🙏." Al Fardan also addresses women's development in reposting two different stories related to Zingg speaking at the United Nations on behalf of the non-profit

organization, Goleadoras, that Zingg founded to empower girls through football. Again, these reposted stories support the idea that Al Fardan believes women's empowerment to be a communal effort.

Figure 7.6. An example of a message of communal empowerment. Dana Al Fardan (@danaalfardan.dna) Instagram post from November 21, 2019.

Also like Al Anzy's, Al Fardan's stories are less polished and curated than her posts. In a series of stories that appeared at the beginning of December, Al Fardan thanks her supporters and her parents while referring to combatting "malice" and people who tried to "bring me down or take advantage of me," in the staging of her musical. While Al Fardan's posts did not explicitly reflect any self-discipline, self-surveillance, or a makeover paradigm, these elements are present in her stories. One story begins with the text, "It's time for a new beginning and new foundations," and is followed by four stories that are video of Al Fardan working out at a gym, "focusing on strengthening mind body and spirit 🙏❤️❤️❤️. That's the foundation for everything." In another story from late December, Al Fardan reposts an astrological post from @spiritualguidebook that encourages an emotional makeover, such as letting go of attachments, among other things. Emotional self-surveillance is also evident in the caption accompanying a post wherein Al Fardan writes that composing her musical provided a "compass," and that "music was my savior on so many levels."

7.1.4 Eileen Lahi

Eileen Lahi is an Estonian lifestyle and travel influencer who lives in Doha with her Egyptian husband. She converted to Islam several years ago and wears a *hijab*. She was named the *Grazia* 2018 Influencer of the Year, and had 451,000 followers during the period of data collection. Lahi made 26 posts across 15 days, and posted 30 stories with a total

running time of 3 minutes and 24 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. Lahi is one of the more professional influencers included in this study, as she is represented by the agency Creatives Amplified, which works with Doha-based influencers on content creation, marketing, and product collaborations. Among the 15 posts included in the dataset for further analysis, six of them were endorsements of the Rome Cavalieri Hotel in Italy and the Mandarin Oriental Hotel in Doha. The remainder can be categorized as either positive self-disclosure or self-expression. Six of Lahi's posts were taken inside her home, and the remaining were from a variety of public locations, including city streets and hotel common areas. The majority of Lahi's posts featured only her, while either her mother or husband appeared in just three of the fifteen posts. Lahi posted five selfies, all of which were taken in the mirror. In four of those five selfies, Lahi is looking at her camera screen, but in one of them she makes contact with the viewer's gaze by looking directly into the camera lens. Similar to Al Janahi, Lahi simultaneously engages in self-surveillance and licensed withdrawal, by looking at her own image in the camera screen, rather than engaging with the viewer. About half of Lahi's posts were categorized as tourism, and the remaining were social and legal because they were related to religion or motherhood, or celebrity, arts and media, and sports, because they were related to fashion.

Figure 7.7. Eileen Lahi's pregnancy announcement. Eileen Lahi (@eslimah) Instagram post from December 1, 2019.

As a professional lifestyle and travel influencer, Lahi presents a carefully-crafted authenticity, which is most apparent in her pregnancy announcement, seen in Figure 7.7. In this post from December 1, 2019, Lahi is pictured in her husband's embrace holding a fetal

ultrasound image. Her husband's back is to the photograph, and he wears a backward baseball cap with the word "Dad" embroidered on it. Lahi smiles but does not look directly into the camera. Lahi's husband does appear in some of her social media posts, but he is rendered invisible in this post. The viewer actually sees more of their unborn child than one of its future parents. By rendering her husband invisible in this post, Lahi presents motherhood as an individual pursuit, which is also evident in subsequent posts from the dataset. In a post from a week later, Lahi is pictured gesturing to her belly, with clean laundry balanced on her head. In the accompanying caption, Lahi speaks to her unborn child, questioning why there will be so much more laundry once the baby comes. In another post from mid-December, Lahi is pictured alone with her hands holding her growing belly (Figure 7.8). In the caption, she asks specifically for other moms to provide advice on what to buy for the baby. In the six total images of Lahi physically calling out her pregnant body, she does so alone, with no mention of her husband, the other parent of the child. While there is no explicit mention of "natural" differences between the sexes that Gill (2007) refers to, by erasing her husband from posts related to pregnancy or impending parenthood, Lahi reifies the singular role of the mother in parenting.

Figure 7.8. An example of self-surveillance and feminine touch. Eileen Lahi (@eslimah) Instagram post from December 13, 2019.

Lahi engages with several postfeminist sensibilities (Gill, 2016), including feminine corporality, wherein a woman's femininity is noted through her physical body, rather than other aspects of herself, self-surveillance, and self-discipline. Self-surveillance and self-discipline of both the emotional and physical selves was evident in captions that accompanied several posts. For example, in two different posts Lahi expresses that she has "a heart full of

so much gratitude," and a "grateful heart." In another, she writes to thank Qatar for "all the ways in which you have helped me grow," and in a post about her pregnancy, she writes, "5 months, but I am still in my own LA-LA land because I didn't even think about purchasing a single item for the baby!" In all of these cases, Lahi surveils her inner emotional monologue and makes that public, admonishing herself for not yet buying baby goods. She also engages in subordination in some posts by canting her head displaying licensed withdrawal. The way that Lahi cradles her pregnant belly with her hands is also an example of the stereotypically gendered expression of the feminine touch (Goffman, 1979).

The majority of Lahi's posts would be considered front region, and they all carry a similar muted neutral pastel color palette. She generally presents in a manner of smart casual or slightly formal modest wear. She wears at least ¾ sleeves, and her legs are always covered to her ankles. Her posts generate thousands of likes. The post with the fewest likes was a post from a trip to Rome with 2,918 likes, while the post announcing her pregnancy garnered 66,996 likes. While Lahi's posts are highly curated front region posts, her stories are more casual. In the first series of stories that appeared on December 2, 2019, the day after she disclosed her pregnancy, Lahi sits in her car and speaks directly to her viewers in the second person, saying, "It's cool I don't have to hide this part anymore. But thank you everyone, so so so so so so so much for all the messages, for all the love, for all the support, for all the prayers." She engages in a microcelebrity practice by providing direct feedback to the 67,000 people who liked her post and the over 5,000 people who commented, which is something she also does on some of her posts. But in the stories, she also presents a back region performance to her followers. She is dressed to go to the gym in the early morning, and she says she's been "pretty good" about vlogging content that will appear on her YouTube channel later, but that her Instagram stories "have not been that active, but I just can't deal with two cameras at once all the time." This is indicative of the expectation she assumes her followers have of her to continuously update her content on Instagram, and a tacit expression that she has fallen short of this expectation.

7.1.5 Haneen Al Saify

Haneen Al Saify is a Qatari-Palestinian fashion and makeup influencer and radio personality. She had 576,000 followers during the period of data collection. Al Saify made the second-highest number of posts, 128, and posted the most frequently, at 72 days during the three-month data collection period. Additionally, she posted the second-highest number of stories, 108, with a total running time of 12 minutes and 32 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. Al Saify posts almost exclusively in Arabic. Among the 15 posts included in the dataset for further analysis, just under half were explicit product

endorsements shot professionally. Al Saify's endorsements were for high-end brands, including boutique clothing, perfumes, and five-star hotels. All of her posts were from outside the home in public places, including cafes, hotel common spaces, and city streets. In all posts, Al Saify was pictured alone, and most of the photographs are taken by others. Al Saify posted only two selfies, one taken in a mirror reflection, and the other taken with the phone camera itself. In both selfies, she looks directly into the camera, rather than observing her own image on the camera screen. Ten of her posts were categorized as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, as they were related to fashion, celebrity, or product endorsement. Four posts were tourism-related, and the single post coded as social and legal was from her university graduation two years prior, accompanied by a caption with praise and advice for current college graduates. She uses the second person to speak directly to her followers, and engages in positive self-disclosure by reflecting on her own graduation and expressing her happiness with her own achievement.

Figure 7.9. Dressing modestly in Italy. Haneen Al Saify (@haneenalsaify) Instagram post from November 19, 2019.

Al Saify dresses in either *abaya* and *shayla*, or modest Western clothing. As is often the case with Qatari women, in posts clearly identified as occurring outside of Qatar, she does not wear the *abaya*, but still dresses modestly and covers her hair (Figure 7.9). Much like Al Janahi, Al Saify's fashion sensibilities could be described as elegant, classic, and tasteful. With over half a million followers, Al Saify garners thousands of likes on her posts, with the most popular post about her university graduation getting nearly 14,000 likes. Her two least popular posts, each with fewer than 3,000 likes, were the only two that did not include her picture. None of Al Saify's top five most popular posts included professionally shot or lit photographs. Instead, they included selfies and candid shots of her. Al Saify does not use

hashtags frequently, and they were included only in the post about her university graduation, where she used hashtags that would have rendered her post searchable, such as #qataruniversity, #graduation, and #graduationpictures. She does exert her identity as a chemical engineer by using the hashtag #chemicalengineering. Al Saify only tags official accounts of brands or organizations she is endorsing. Al Saify maintains a very professional Instagram account, and she does not show any back region social role performances in her posts. The posts are exclusively front region, and there are several that utilize both the feminine touch and a posture of subordination by virtue of a canted head (Figure 7.10).

Figure 7.10. An example of a canted head and feminine touch in a perfume endorsement. The Arabic word is *gissa*, which is the name of the perfume brand. The English translation is "story." Haneen Al Saify (@haneenalsaify) Instagram post from December 31, 2019.

In Al Saify's stories, on the other hand, the viewer sees much more personality and back stage social role performance. She shows off her sense of humor in two stories from December 2, 2019. In the first, she records herself while driving, asking the viewers in Arabic if facial features can grow over time. "I have a quick question, and I swear I'm not joking…I think my nose got bigger." And in a subsequent post, Al Saify jokes that she won't buy her friend bergamot perfume because the friend thought bergamot was an insect. Al Saify shows a playful side of her personality in the stories that is not present in her polished posts. The stories also reveal a thoughtful side of her personality, as she discusses topics on her call-in radio show, including intolerance and consulting others on emotional issues. The viewer has access to more private spaces in Al Saify's stories, including the inside of her car, and her home, in the few stories where she plays with her cat and one of her bedside table. Also included in her stories are images of prayers from the Qur'an, indicating spirituality is an important part of her self-presentation as well. Al Saify does engage in the makeover

paradigm in one story showing her getting a facial, followed by Arabic text that reads, “I have a new face now.” One story also includes a repost of a photoshoot she participated in without any makeup. The accompanying caption reads, “I decided to do a photoshoot without makeup in a high res professional camera for all my skin’s flaws. Maybe we need to start believing that the flaws are what makes us unique?” In the same series of stories, Al Saify includes reposts of the same makeup-free photograph with others’ comments praising her for her confidence, courage, and bravery for doing so “in a world where image is everything.” Al Saify expresses an authenticity that is not present in many other posts or stories, though it is one tinted with self-surveillance, and it is fleeting. Overall, the stories serve to show a very different, back region social role performance and highlight very different aspects of the self that would have been absent to the viewer who focused on her posts alone.

Finally, Al Saify uses Arabic in most of her posts and stories, though in some posts, she uses both Arabic and English. There were no examples of her posting only in English. While she does engage with a multiplicity of audiences by using both languages, she does that in fewer than half of her posts and does not do it at all in her stories. It is clear that she believes her primary audience is Arabic speakers.

7.1.6 Husnaa Malik

Husnaa Malik is a British-South Asian lifestyle and fashion influencer who is married to a Qatari man. Malik was pregnant with their first child during the period of data collection. She had 84,900 followers at that time. Malik made the fewest posts, 11, across 9 days, and posted 21 stories with a total running time of 3 minutes and 40 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. The majority of Malik’s posts were explicit endorsements for brands including Michael Kors, Prada, Harrod’s, boutique clothing, and a local cleaning service. About half of the endorsement posts used professional lighting or photography. Only one of the posts was taken inside her home, while the rest were taken outside of the home in public spaces. Similarly, the majority of the posts were categorized as front region. The two posts that could be considered back region were one of her in casual clothing on the metro, shown in Figure 7.11, and the endorsement post for the maid service, showing Malik with a hired domestic worker organizing her infant son’s room. She included three professional studio shots celebrating her pregnancy. One was her in an all-white caftan and white *shayla* cradling her pregnant belly (Figure 7.12), one was of her and her husband’s mid-sections with her hands cupped in a heart shape on her pregnant belly, and the final was a photograph of her infant son’s feet. Most often, Malik appears alone in her posts, and she is never pictured without an *abaya* and *shayla* on, though she often wears them open to show off the modest fashions she wears underneath. Malik uses hashtags and account tags frequently,

both in linking to the brand she is endorsing, such as @michaelkors, and in an act of identity performance and searchability on the Instagram platform. For example, using the hashtag #abaya would make her posts come up for anyone using "abaya" as a search term. On the other hand, using #hijabista, a portmanteau of "hijab" and "fashionista," allows Malik to assert her identity as a hijabi fashionista. Eight of Malik's posts were categorized under celebrity, arts and media, and sports, and the remaining three were categorized as social and legal, as they were related to her growing family.

Figure 7.11. An example of a back region performance. Husnaa Malik (@eatsleepbefancy) Instagram post from December 20, 2019.

Much like Lahi, Malik emphasizes her pregnancy, and in only one image during that time are her hands not on her belly. She also uses the hashtag #pregnantbelly, as well as #36weekspregnant and #prego in one post. These hashtags serve the purpose of both searchability and identity expression. The posts that received the highest number of likes include the studio photograph of her alone, wearing a loose long-sleeved white dress and white *shayla*. She kneels on the ground looking up and off camera with her dress fanned out around her body and her two hands resting above and below her pregnant belly. The choice of white clothing and her body positioning evoke purity and sanctity. This post was the most-liked of the dataset, with 1,486 likes. In a story posted in mid-December when her son was about two months old, Malik reposts a short animated video depicting a mother's struggle to leave her house, but being continually sidelined by needing to feed her infant and change their diaper. In the end, the animated character sits on the floor with one shoe off trying to use her phone to only find the battery dead. Malik reposts this video with the caption, "Hahahaha so true." Malik does endorse seeking help in some parenting activities, specifically by hiring a

home cleaning service to help organize her son's room. And in the studio portrait with her husband, she includes the caption, "Thank you for half of you." Malik does recognize others' involvement in her motherhood practice, though most of her posts about pregnancy and motherhood focus on her alone.

Figure 7.12. Husnaa Malik's most-liked post. Husnaa Malik (@eatsleepbefancy) Instagram post from October 9, 2019.

Malik's stories show a more back region social performance than her posts, and on two different days, across several stories, Malik engages in a product endorsement for a Korean beauty brand. In one of those story series, she "unboxes" a sampler pack sent to her by the brand. She begins by showing off the personalized, hand-written note from the founder and CEO of the brand, saying it "gives me step-by-step instructions on how to create my full skincare routine using these products." As she pulls each product from the box, she refers to "my new skincare routine," indicating she is undertaking a makeover with this new line of products. Both the products and her commentary offer the promise of something new and better than however she's been taking care of her skin until now. In another two stories, Malik engages in self-praise by reposting two stories originally made by her friends that compliment her on a part that she has thrown, noting her home "is so unbelievably gorgeous," and calling her out as the "best hostess." Even though Malik did not say these things about herself, by reposting her friends' content as-is, she positions herself as the subject and object of the praise, which may convey a self-centeredness, but at the same time builds her brand as a luxury tastemaker.

7.1.7 Kholoud Al Ali

Kholoud Al Ali is a Qatari fashion and lifestyle influencer. She never shows her face in posts or stories, and had 348,000 followers during the data collection period. Al Ali made

65 posts across 33 days, and posted 62 stories with a total running time of 3 minutes and 51 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. She posts in both English and Arabic, but uses Arabic only in specific endorsement posts. Half of Al Ali's posts were endorsements of luxury brands, including Land Rover, Al Jazeera Perfumes, and Hermes. About half of the posts were identifiable as having been taken in public places outside the home, but due to the staging and close-up nature of several other posts, it was impossible to determine if they were taken in public places. Additionally, while it is presumed that it is Al Ali herself who appears in any of the images with a single Qatari woman in them, it is impossible to determine, because she does not show her face, or even most of her body. All of her posts received thousands of likes, ranging from 3,512 to 8,385, and the two most popular in the dataset were very similar cropped images of her at cafes that did not include her face. Al Ali's use of hashtags and account tags were related to product endorsements that would make those posts discoverable by searching the platform for those brand names, including #RangeRover and #Hermes. She used hashtags and account tags in fewer than half of her posts. All of Al Ali's 15 posts were coded in the celebrity, arts and media, and sports category.

About half of Al Ali's posts are product endorsements, and the remaining are posts of self-expression. In four of these posts and in her stories, there is evidence of emotional self-discipline through posting captions such as, "you are deserving of good things, healthy love, authentic relationships, and new beginnings," and "Fake positivity is unhealthy .. be honest to yourself, don't let it consume you and ask for help." By posting items such as these, Al Ali is signaling that she is in need of such emotional encouragement by performing it publicly. With one exception, all of the posts that feature Al Ali are front region. In the one image that was coded as back region, Al Ali is pictured walking down an outdoor staircase with a white coffee mug in her hands. Her face is turned in profile, but she has artfully blocked out her eyes by superimposing a gold triangle and white brush strokes (Figure 7.13). While she is still quite formal and publicly fashionable and presentable in the image, that she has removed her identifiable facial characteristics from the image indicates it is not available for public consumption, and thus is a back region social role performance. Of the stereotypical gender expressions, the one that features most frequently among Al Ali's posts is the feminine touch.

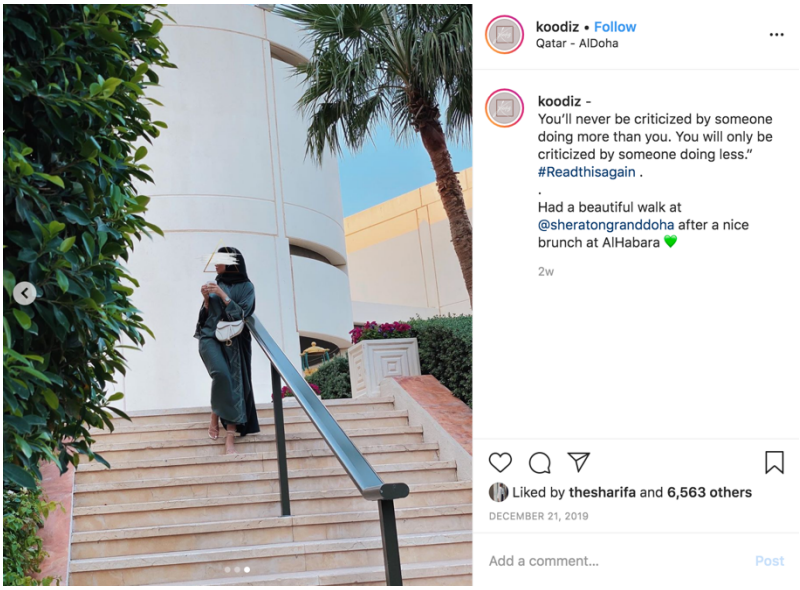

Figure 7.13. An example of removing identifiable characteristics from a photograph. Kholoud Al Ali (@koodiz) Instagram post from December 21, 2019.

In her stories, Al Ali eithers reposts other users' posts or uses the video function of her phone to take the viewer along with the activity she is doing at that time. For example, in her stories from December 2, 2019, Al Ali has attended a Louis Vuitton "High Jewelry" event, and she films browsing the jewelry pieces, giving the viewer a first-person view of exactly what she sees, along with superimposed commentary like, "So pretty!" "Beautiful & Creative Just like me😌" and "Obsessed!" The viewer never sees Al Ali herself, except her wrist when trying on a watch. This is similar to Al Anzy's walk through the United Nations event in Geneva. Also similar to Al Anzy, Al Ali includes several patriotic images on December 18, 2019, in honor of Qatar's National Day. Two of the patriotic images are of Qatari women holding the flag. In the first, a woman is wearing a black *abaya* and *shayla* astride a horse in front of a desert escarpment, and she holds aloft a Qatari flag blowing in the wind. In the second, a woman is shown in silhouette at a distance on a beach with a horse in the background. She, too, holds aloft a Qatari flag blowing in the wind. Both women's faces are obscured. Among the Qatari women's stories on National Day, these are the only static images that feature women. In all other cases, stories included images of the Emir, Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, other men or boys, or did not include people. Al Ali is the only Qatari woman in the group who posted any imagery of femininity and patriotism.

Figure 7.14. An example of disembodied body parts. Kholoud Al Ali (@koodiz) Instagram post from October 9, 2019.

About half of the images show disembodied body parts, and this deserves special discussion. As has been discussed throughout this dissertation, visibility among Qatari women is contested, and Al Ali has largely chosen to remain invisible in her Instagram posts. In one way, this provides her with freedom to post freely while maintaining some visual anonymity to the public. By removing her face and most of her body from her posts, she emphasizes her femininity through this act. So while femininity isn't read explicitly through the body itself, the absence of her body emphasizes her feminine corporality, as described by Gill (2016). If she were a man, she would not need to remove her physical self from these images. What is also of note is the disembodied body parts that are often pictured would, in a Western reading, be seen as objectifying and dehumanizing (Conley & Ramsey, 2011). On the other hand, in the Qatari context, the removal of Al Ali's face from the images allows her to post on Instagram, may be a liberatory, rather than dehumanizing, practice. Some of the images that show only body parts still show them as part of the body. For example, there is a photograph taken from above of Al Ali holding a coffee cup at a café table, but the image has been cropped to show only her forearms, hands and feet. Even though we are seeing only specific body parts, they are not fully disembodied. In a contrasting image, however, we see a disembodied foot in a strappy high heel balancing a bottle of perfume on the sole (Figure 7.14). This image is more reminiscent of high-concept fashion advertising that employs disembodied body parts and erases women's full selves from visual media. In another image of Al Ali where her full body is pictured, she is in silhouette in an art gallery with Klimt-like paintings of women on the wall behind her. The painting directly behind her shows a woman's bare back, which is in stark juxtaposition to her veiled and silhouetted image.

7.1.8 Sabrine Saadmalek

Figure 7.15. Sabrine Saadmalek wearing an item from her modest swimwear line. Sabrine Saadmalek (@sabrinecat) Instagram post from November 16, 2019.

Sabrine Saadmalek is a Dutch-Moroccan modest swimsuit designer and fashion influencer who lives in Doha. She was 29 years old and pregnant with her first child during data collection. She had 341,000 followers at that time. Saadmalek made 103 posts across 55 days, and posted the third-highest number of stories, 95, with a total running time of 12 minutes and 14 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. Among the 15 posts included in the dataset for further analysis, none included images that were professionally staged, and she appeared in only five of the posts. The ten posts that did not include people were of food or coffee in restaurants and at home, or of an art exhibit. The five posts that did include Saadmalek included a candid photograph of her outside a mall, two images of her traveling with her husband, and two posed images of her modeling clothing and a bathing suit from her modest swimwear line, as seen in Figure 7.15. In all cases, she is dressed modestly, fully covered with either a *hijab* or *shayla*. About half of her posts were endorsements, primarily of mid-market restaurants like the Cheesecake Factory, but also of a food vendor that catered her swimwear product launch party. Saadmalek used hashtags in all but one of her 15 posts, though she used account tags much less frequently. The majority of hashtags she used made her posts discoverable through the search function on Instagram, such as #lunch, #cozy, #Morocco, and her own swimwear line #SabrineCatSwimwear. Only a few of the hashtags she used are related to identity assertion, including #foodlover, #modest, and #girly. With the exception of two tourism-related posts, all of Saadmalek's posts were coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports. The number of likes on Saadmalek's posts varied widely, from fewer than 600 on a post about lunch to nearly 20,000 on a post of her and her

husband in Morocco. In the caption on the latter post, she wrote, “Comment 🇲🇦🇲🇦🇲🇦 if you’re from Morocco.❤️💚 #Morocco #Marrakech #Vacay.” So while none of the hashtags explicitly asserted her identity, the post overall asserted her Moroccan identity strongly, and was well-received by her audience.

Figure 7.16. An example of a back region social role performance that conveys emotional intimacy. Sabrine Saadmalek (@sabrinecat) Instagram post from October 13, 2019.

Of the five posts that included Saadmalek, only one could be considered back region. In this image, taken from her husband’s perspective, his arm is outstretched in front of the camera clasping her hand as she leads him into the ocean in Zanzibar (Figure 7.16). She faces away from the camera toward the ocean and a small island in the distance. The caption reads “Come get lost with me… 💛🌍 #Travel #Love.” While this image was taken in a very public place, it is an intimate image that conveys a private moment between romantic partners, and it includes the use of the second person imperative. The viewer is invited to stand in the husband’s shoes and join Saadmalek in getting lost. Saadmalek is the only woman in this group to show her husband outside of a parental role, and she is also the only woman who shows her husband’s face, in the previously-described post from Morocco. So, this post is notable for conveying intimacy between romantic partners, outside of the context of children or a family. That said, the intimacy is portrayed in a very wholesome way. Saadmalek is dressed modestly with her hair covered, and her face is not even visible. And the intimacy

pictured is not sexual, but instead emotional intimacy. At the same time, by putting the viewer in her husband's position, Saadmalek teases the viewer and blurs propriety by inviting another person to take her husband's place.

Like many of the women, Saadmalek does not appear to heavily curate her Instagram stories, and many of them offer the same kind of first-person viewing as Al Anzy and Al Ali. For example, videos arriving at the movie theatre, getting ice cream, watching television, and even petting her cat. In all of these cases, the viewer is a stand-in for Saadmalek herself, who does not actually appear in any of the stories. This is also seen in her stories from National Day on December 18, 2019, when she posted videos of the morning parade on Doha's corniche. Saadmalek also includes the only selfie from the dataset, and image of her and a man, possibly her husband, with patriotic Qatari flags and maroon flag heart emojis superimposed on the image. Saadmalek is the only woman to use the interactive questions function in her Instagram stories. This is a feature of the platform in which the account holder posts a white box that reads, "Ask me a question," and the viewer can type in their question. The account holder can then choose to answer those questions publicly. The public doesn't see all of the questions posed, but only the ones the account holder chooses to repost and answer. Additionally, while the account holder will know the identity of those posing the questions, she can opt to publicly identify the person, which Saadmalek did not do. Of those Saadmalek chose to repost and answer publicly, several questions pertained to her swimwear business, her makeup routine, and her favorite places. She also chose to make public four questions that policed her religious identity and practice as a Muslim. One user asked, "You're muslim so why you celebrate the Christmas [sic]," to which Saadmalek responded, "Huh? Where am I celebrating Christmas??" Another asked, "Are you drinking alcohol?," to which she responded, "Lord 🤣🤣🤣🤣🤣." A third asked, "Do you consider yourself a hijabi?" Saadmalek's response was, "Does it matter? I'm muslim [sic]." The last of these questions asked, "Are you never scared being held responsible on the day of judgement for being influencer," to which she responded, "Are you never scared being held responsible on the day of judgment for following influencers 🤦🏾‍♀️ Stop judging please." In choosing to present these questions and answers, Saadmalek portrays herself as a strong woman who will not let criticism go unchallenged. Importantly, she also publicly performs this rebuttal to the policing of her Muslim identity.

7.1.9 Samar Al Ahmed

Figure 7.17. An endorsement for Carolina Herrera perfume featuring a canted head. Samar Al Ahmed (@samar_alahmed) Instagram post from October 12, 2019.

Samar Al Ahmed is a 31-year-old Qatari fashion influencer and mother of two small children, who had 244,000 followers during the time of data collection. Al Ahmed made 54 posts across 33 days, and posted 48 stories with a total running time of 7 minutes and 17 seconds during the December Instagram story data collection period. All of the photographs were taken outside the home in public places, such as a clothing boutique, cafes, and city streets. Al Ahmed appears in all of the posts, and other people appear alongside her in only two posts, one of which is a professionally-produced video advertising a commercial and residential real estate company's presence at the City Escape Exhibition. More than half of her posts are endorsements, and in addition to the real estate company, products include high-end clothing, perfume, and jewelry. Her use of account tags and hashtags is limited to her endorsement posts, and they reflect only the name of the company she is endorsing, which makes them discoverable through Instagram's search function. This is seen in Figure 7.17. She does not use hashtags to assert her identity. Aside from the video, however, none of the rest of Al Ahmed's posts appears to be professionally styled or shot. In all of the images, Al Ahmed is dressed modestly, though she does not always wear the traditional black *abaya* and *shayla*. In a few posts she wears *abaya* and *shayla* in neutral shades (Figure 7.18), and in others, she wears long coats with modest clothing, and her head is always covered. All of her posts were coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports.

Figure 7.18. A front region social role performance. Samar Al Ahmed (@samar_alahmed) Instagram post from October 9, 2019.

All of Al Ahmed's posts except for one could be considered front region. In the single image considered back region, Al Ahmed is in a boutique standing next to a woman modeling a dress. Al Ahmed is standing to the right of the model, appearing to take a photograph of the women while she is looking at her phone. She engages minimally in stereotypical gender expressions, with either the feminine touch or subordination appearing only five times in her posts. Al Ahmed's posts received from about 500 likes to 3,885 likes, and her most popular post was her only selfie, which was captioned, "I don't always take a selfie 🤳, but when I do 🥰." It appears Al Ahmed has also used a camera effect to make her eyes appear big in this image. This was also the only post that was coded both as positive self-disclosure and self-discipline.

Al Ahmed's Instagram stories are a mix of endorsements and first-person filming of what she is viewing. In one series of stories, she is visiting a shop that carries a Kuwaiti brand of perfumes, and she both films her surroundings and herself as she tries the different scents. There is a running commentary in Arabic, wherein she professes to her audience, "I really liked it, girls! It has that thing I like." When she turns the camera on herself, she uses a filter that superimposes butterflies near her eyes and rose petals falling from the sky. A series of stories on Qatar's National Day on December 18, 2019, Al Ahmed posts a slickly-edited video from 2017 describing her patriotism. She narrates in the first-person, "They ask me how much I love her [Qatar], honestly, I can't answer this question. My love for her is limitless…" The video depicts Al Ahmed with her young daughter and young son at landmarks around Doha, waving Qatari flags out the windows of Al Ahmed's luxury SUV, and visiting a

National Day fair. This is the only mention of motherhood in Al Ahmed's Instagram posts or stories in the dataset.

7.1.10 Yezenia Navarro

Yezenia Navarro is a Mexican actor, entrepreneur, model, and former Mrs. Universe runner-up who lives in Qatar. She has three sons and had 64,300 followers at the time of data collection. Navarro made both the highest number of posts, 184 across 46 days, and posted the highest number of stories, 140, with a total running time of 25 minutes and 25 seconds. Navarro is a professional public personality and influencer, through both straightforward product endorsements, as well as her role as the Mexican Community Ambassador for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Navarro is also the co-founder of an NGO that raises awareness of gender-based violence. Among the 15 posts included in this dataset for further analysis, five of them are candid, and of the posed images, about half of those are professionally shot and styled. The majority of her posts were endorsements, for beauty brands, restaurants, and travel destinations. During the data collection period, Navarro traveled to Peru on a sponsored trip for the 2019 Copa Libertadores football tournament with several other Arab Gulf residents, and many of those posts included endorsements for the football tournament, the football teams, and Qatar Airways. Navarro used account tags in nearly every post and hashtags in over half of them. All of these tags were search-oriented, and represented brands, mottos, or other users, with the exception of #blessed, which she used one time alongside a post from her trip to Peru. Navarro appears in every single post, usually alone. In just under half of the posts, she appears with others. Ten posts were coded as celebrity, arts and media, and sports, and four posts were coded as tourism. Only one post was coded as social and legal, as it related to her faith in God.

Figure 7.19. Dressing modestly at the Heya Arabian Fashion Exhibition. Yezenia Navarro (@yezenianavarro) Instagram post from October 29, 2019.

Navarro presents herself with many elements of traditional femininity. She is tall and thin, with very large eyes and full lips. She has long full hair and is never pictured without full facial makeup and painted fingernails. The only image where she is dressed casually is a reposted image from when she attended the 2018 FIFA World Cup in Russia. In more than half the images, she engages in subordination, feminine touch, or licensed withdrawal, and in some cases more than one of those stereotypical gender expressions simultaneously. As the only non-Muslim woman in the study, Navarro rarely dresses modestly. The only two images where she is dressed modestly are from the Heya Arabian Fashion Exhibition (Figure 7.19), and a Generation Amazing football event attended by Qatari government ministers. Navarro is also the only woman who had posts coded as sexualizing women. The first one is a brief video of Navarro on the floor of a large cave with sunlight coming in through an opening at the top. Though it is a video, the only movement comes from the sunlight, and Navarro appears perfectly still. She is standing in ankle-deep water in a long, flowy beach cover-up with her entire left leg perched slightly forward and exposed. She appears to be looking down at the water, and her hair is slicked back. The caption, in both English and Spanish, describes the strength she finds in God. This post also reflects both self-surveillance and self-discipline. In the caption, Navarro writes, “Throughout our lives we can feel isolated … we try to go out with our own strength … I have learned that I cannot do it alone, that I need God…” In another image that was coded as an endorsement, Navarro, wearing a short gold dress sits on top of a red billiards table with her legs out to the side (Figure 7.20). Her right hand rests on her right leg in an ornamental manner, and she looks directly at the camera. In the accompanying caption she speaks directly to her followers, “How is your weekend going my angels?” Navarro is posting about a party being hosted that night at a high-end hotel. “I can’t wait to enjoy this sparkling weekend. If you are coming, see you there.” Between the subject of the photograph being perched on top a pool table and the direct address to the viewer, Navarro presents herself as an offering to the viewer if they attend the same party.

Figure 7.20. One of the few examples of sexualization in the dataset. Yezenia Navarro (@yezenianavarro) Instagram post from December 6, 2019.

Navarro posted the most stories, running over 25 minutes, more than twice as long as the next woman. Several of her stories provided the first-person view that Al Anzy, Al Saify, and Al Ahmed regularly used. Navarro narrates along with what she is seeing and experiencing, including several minutes of a Qatar Airways press conference, football matches, a brunch with family and friends, and taking the metro for the first time. As with most of the women, Navarro's stories provide more back region access. In one example, Navarro and a friend are at a Qatar-Kuwait football match, and her camera is on the action on the field. After Qatar scores a goal, she turns the camera on to her and her friend who react joyously. In another example, Navarro has reposted a story her friend originally posted of them at a party hosted by fellow influencer Husnaa Malik. The brief video includes a candid shot of her eating pizza and of her playing a word guessing game. That said, many of her stories also include reposted video of professionally-produced content, like an interview appearance on the local Al Kass television station, a promotional video for a fashion show, and several still images related to various events.

7.2 Initial Conclusions

This chapter reported the findings of the second phase of this study, focusing on general descriptions how each of these ten women influencers of Qatar presents herself in posts and stories on Instagram. A more detailed analysis and discussion of these findings is discussed in Chapter 8, along with a synthesis of the findings from both phases of the study. For now, a brief summary follows.

7.2.1 Photographic conventions and environment

About 59 percent of all posts saw the subjects posed, while 25 percent were candid. The remainder of the posts did not include people. While 67 percent of all of the posts included the influencers themselves, either alone or with others, a very small percentage were selfies. Only seven percent of all of the posts were selfies. Of those ten selfies, three were made by looking into the camera lens, and the remaining seven were made by holding the phone camera up to a mirror and capturing the reflection. The majority of the photographs were taken in public spaces, and only 7 percent were clearly identifiable as being taken in clearly private places, either the home or a hotel room. These findings are represented in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Settings in Instagram Posts Featuring People

		Number of Posts Featuring People	
		N	%
Setting	Public	98	80%
	Unknown	16	13%
	Private	9	7%
Total		**123**	**100%**

7.2.2 Content

Just under half of all of the photographs were of the women on their own, and the only person who did not show her face was Kholoud Al Ali. About 16 percent of the posts had images either without people or without clearly identifiable individuals, such as crowd shots. The remaining posts included images of the influencers with others. Only 20 posts total, or 14 percent of all posts, included men or boys in them at all. Those included male family members and male colleagues or professional collaborators. Regarding the function of the posts, 40 percent were clearly identifiable as endorsements, and the remainder were positive self-disclosure or some other kind of self-expression, such as gratitude.

Table 7.2 Topics of Instagram Posts

		Number of Posts	
		N	%
Topic	Celebrity/Famous People	39	27%
	Models/Fashion/Beauty Aids	39	27%
	Tourism	17	12%
	Sustainable Development Goals	15	10%
	Arts/Entertainment/ Theatre	13	9%
	Education	7	5%
	Sports	5	3%
	Family Relations	4	3%
	Roles/Relationships of Women and Men	3	2%
	Religion/Culture/Tradition	2	1%
	Women's Movement/Activism	2	1%
Total		**146**	**100%**

Of the 146 posts, 12 percent were coded as tourism. According to the GMMP codebook, the appropriate category would be science and health, but I chose to recode these posts simply as tourism, as this was more appropriate to the social media context. Table 7.2 shows the topics of all Instagram posts, with the greatest number coded as either celebrity or famous people (27 percent), because they focused on the celebrity of the influencer herself, often through a product endorsement, or as models, fashion, or beauty aids (also 27 percent). Of the 10 percent of posts coded as Sustainable Development Goals, all of them were by Dana Al Anzy and related to the 25th Youth Assembly.

7.2.3 Goffman's presentation of self and gender expressions

Of the 123 posts that contained people, 83 percent represented front region social role performance, and only 17 percent reflected a back region social role performance, as shown in Table 7.3. The overall manner of nine of the ten women could be described as modest. Nine of the influencers are Muslim, and while not all of them covered their hair, they all dressed modestly in not showing their hair, neck, elbows, or legs. Only Yezenia Navarro did not consistently dress modestly, though she did when the occasion appeared to require it, such as at a fashion show for modest designs. A Mexican national, Navarro is the only non-Muslim woman among the influencers studied here, and the majority of the time, she dressed in a manner in line with her home culture. The posts showing her dressed more modestly are more a reflection of the real public at the events she attended than a reflection of the imagined

public of her Instagram audience, for if those publics were the same, all of her content would reflect the more modest propriety of the Muslim country in which Navarro resides. Instead, Navarro's posts are a reflection of the collapsed context dynamic of social media. She clearly has one social context in which she dresses modestly, and another in which she does not, but on social media those two social contexts converge, and members of either social network can view her reflecting the social values of both Qatar and Mexico.

Table 7.3 Social Role Performance Regions in Instagram Posts Featuring People, n=123

		Number of Posts Featuring People	
		N	%
Region	Front	102	83%
	Back	21	17%
Total		**123**	**100%**

A few of the variables in the ethnographic content analysis from Goffman's gender expression framework were not relevant, such as relative size, function ranking, and family. The other three stereotypical gender expressions appeared in the minority of posts. Table 7.4 shows that subordination by the influencers themselves appeared in only 36 percent of posts, the feminine touch appeared only 28 percent of the time, and licensed withdrawal appeared a quarter of the time. A more in-depth discussion of these gender expressions appears in the subsequent chapter.

Table 7.4 Stereotypical Gender Expressions in Instagram Posts Featuring People, n=123

		Number of Posts Featuring People	
		N	%
Gender Expression	Subordination	44	36%
	Feminine Touch	34	28%
	Licensed Withdrawal	31	25%

7.2.4 Gill's postfeminist sensibilities

The framework Gill presented (2007, 2016) is not very evident in this dataset, as indicated in Table 7.5. There was some evidence of emotional or physical self-surveillance and self-discipline, appearing in 15 and 10 percent of the posts, respectively. Feminine corporality appeared in 10 percent of the posts, almost all of them emphasizing the pregnant bodies of two of the influencers. The makeover paradigm appeared only three times, as did sexualization. Only one post showed the woman influencer as a sexual subject. As with

gender expressions, a more-in depth discussion of these items appears in the subsequent chapter.

Table 7.5 Postfeminist Sensibilities in Instagram Posts, n=146

		Number of Posts	
		N	%
Postfeminist Sensibility	Self-surveillance	22	15%
	Self-discipline	15	10%
	Feminine Corporality	14	10%
	Makeover Paradigm	3	2%
	Sexualization	3	2%
	Empowerment as Individual Struggle	3	2%
	"Natural" Differences Between the Sexes	1	1%
	Sexual Subject	1	1%
	Feminism as Identity Marker	0	0%

7.2.5 Technical elements of social networked sites

None of the posts was a repost from another Instagram account, though that was a feature much more prevalent among the stories. The scalability of the posts varied widely, as measured by the number of likes. Only three women had posts that garnered 10,000 or more likes: Haneen Al Saify, Sabrine Saadmalek, and Eileen Lahi. Among these, Al Saify had two posts, with 10,396 and 13,725 likes, and Saadmalek had one post with 19,330 likes. Lahi had 10 posts with greater than 10,000 likes, including the one with the highest number of likes from the whole dataset, her pregnancy announcement that received 66,996 likes. Exactly half of all the posts employed hashtags, and 72 posts used account tags. Table 7.6 lists the ten most-liked posts of all influencers, measured as like rating that divides the number of likes by the number of followers. This rating allows for more equity in determining the popularity of the posts. Even so, this is an imperfect measure, as it represents a snapshot in time. Any of these posts could have been liked several more times over after I took a screenshot of the post during the data collection period. Additionally, likes could also come from Instagram users who do not follow the influencer. That said, it is still a valid approximation for popularity.

Table 7.6 Ten Most-Liked Posts by Like Rating

	Influencer	Subject of Post	Number of Likes	Number of Followers	Like Rating (% of Followers)
1	Eileen Lahi	Pregnancy announcement	66996	451000	15%
2	Saadmalek	Travel	19330	341000	6%
3	Dana Al Fardan	Holiday greeting	918	16400	6%
4	Eileen Lahi	Seeking new mother advice	23866	451000	5%
5	Dana Al Fardan	Holiday greeting	713	16400	4%
6	Eileen Lahi	New Year gratitude	18690	451000	4%
7	Eileen Lahi	Pregnancy fashion	18085	451000	4%
8	Dana Al Fardan	Musical "Broken Wings"	619	16400	4%
9	Dana Al Fardan	Rumi quote	605	16400	4%
10	Dana Al Fardan	Women's communal empowerment	577	16400	4%

The next chapter provides a more detailed analysis of the recurrent themes and patterns that have been revealed by this ethnographic content analysis. Topics that will be discussed in greater detail include motherhood, professional pursuits, visibility labor, and family relationships. The next chapter also provides a detailed analysis of the findings from the first phase of the study that examined women's representation in the news, as well as the synthesis of the two phases.

Chapter 8. Synthesizing Representation and Self-representation

The two preceding chapters outlined the findings of the two phases of this study, answering research questions related to the nature of women's representations in the Qatari English-language news media and women's self-representation on social media. Chapter 6 detailed the findings of the quantitative content analysis of news items in *The Gulf Times*, and Chapter 7 detailed the findings of qualitative ethnographic content analysis of ten women Instagram influencers in Qatar. The current chapter provides more detailed interpretation and analysis of the two phases of the study, and also provides a synthesis by examining not only what each dataset on its own means, but also what they mean together. This chapter is organized thematically, first by covering gender segregation in both media platforms and the topics defined by the Global Media Monitoring Project codebook (Macharia, 2015), including more detailed sections covering sports and pregnancy, motherhood, and kinship. The chapter then moves into a discussion of professional endeavors off of Instagram and visibility labor on the platform, as well as invisibility and communal empowerment. Finally, this chapter revisits the concept of visibility as explicated in Chapter 4.

8.1 Gender Segregation in the Media

As described in Chapter 6, women appeared in only 35 percent of all news items, and only 10 percent of the time did they appear without men. In other words, when a woman appeared in an article, there was a 71 percent chance a man would also appear in the same article. Women made up only 19 percent of individuals who were among the first three named or quoted in any news articles. Women appeared more frequently in news photographs, at 52 percent, but there was a higher chance in photographs—81 percent—that when a woman appeared, a man would also appear. In the news, men dominate. The prevailing narrative of gender presented in the news is that men are more powerful, whether through their occupation or through their voices being privileged over women's voices. Among Qatar's most well-known Instagram influencers, on the other hand, men rarely appear, showing up in only 14 percent of posts in the dataset. In the universe represented by the ten women influencers included in this study, it is men that are invisible, rather than women, though not all women show their faces. Further, a greater percentage of women in newspaper articles and photographs appear alongside men than in the Instagram posts.

For one influencer, Dana Al Fardan, men appear regularly in posts related to her professional life, including her composing partner on the musical "Broken Wings," and a Tiffany and Co. gemologist who appears on a public panel discussion with her at the National Museum of Qatar. For Yezenia Navarro, men also appear in several posts related to her professional role as the Mexican Community Ambassador for the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Not

only do men unrelated to these women appear in their posts, but they appear *with* them. In that regard, these two women are outliers among this group of influencers. Only Dana Al Anzy also includes an unrelated man in her posts, but it is of a member of the steering committee of the Qatari Youth Delegation to the 25th Youth Assembly, and he appears alone. As a Mexican non-Muslim woman, Navarro likely has a social and professional network that includes both men and women, and is not as gender-segregated as prescribed by Qatari or conservative Muslim custom. Even though she is Qatari, Al Fardan appears on Instagram to follow fewer Qatari customs, the most visible of which is that she does not cover her hair or regularly wear the *abaya.* And Al Anzy attended a co-educational American university branch campus in Doha. These three women likely don't feel the need to maintain the strict gender segregation that is the norm in Qatari society. Three other women influencers include men in their posts, but in all of those cases, the men are their husbands, and with one exception, those men's faces are not shown. The husbands of Eileen Lahi and Husnaa Malik appear in part (see Figure 7.7 as one example), and only Sabrine Saadmalek shows her husband's face in one post. Otherwise, they are invisible.

So, when given the opportunity for self-representation, the majority of the influencers represent themselves in a world populated only by women. There are several reasons this may happen. First, many of these women are lifestyle and fashion influencers, which are two areas that are relatively gender-segregated already. Second, the women's husbands or partners may not want to be included in their Instagram worlds. Third, in the majority of the posts, only the influencer herself is included in the image. Fourth, Qatari culture is very gender segregated, and while gender mixing is accepted in many professional environments, the Instagram personas of most of these women is curated to convey their personal lives, albeit public-facing elements of them. Regardless, when a viewer sees the world represented by the newspaper, they see one primarily comprised of men, but when they see the world represented by these influencers, they see one primarily comprised of women. The social construction of reality presented by the newspaper is wide-ranging and covers multiple elements of the world—politics, business, sports, science, arts, and many others. As we know, despite that those worlds are made up of men and women, women are underrepresented. The world of these Instagram influencers, on the other hand, is much more narrow, and the influencers are not responsible for representing the diversity of the world. That said, when given the opportunity to create that world of representation, it is largely a gender-segregated one. Even though the newspaper and social media serve different purposes, it is noteworthy that the quantity of men's and women's representations differs so greatly. These different representations of non-familial gender mixing further reify the cultural norm that it is

acceptable in professional environments, but less so in private, personal environments, and both representations accurately reflect the lived reality of women in Qatar.

8.2 Topics in the Media

The findings presented in both Chapters 6 and 7 indicate that women are underrepresented in items related to politics and government and the economy. For the former category in *The Gulf Times*, of the stories women appeared in, only 8 percent were in this category, and among the photographs women appeared in, 10 percent were in this category. None of the posts made by the Instagram influencers was coded in either category. The reasons women were so underrepresented in the politics and government category are relatively self-evident—there are very few women in positions of power in politics and the government in Qatar. Qatar is ruled by a man, and because most of the stories in this category were issued by the state-run Qatar News Agency, they are about the emir. Though women do serve on the Central Municipal Council and the Shura Council, neither receives much press coverage in the English-language newspapers. Among government ministers, only one woman serves—as the Minister of Public Health—so any stories she appeared in would have been coded in the science and health category. In fact, most of the stories women appeared in in this category were related to global partnerships or foreign/international politics, rather than domestic politics and government. That said, these findings tell the same story that can be found across the globe—men hold the majority of the political power (K. Ross, 2017, p. 14). Of the stories in which women appeared in *The Gulf Times*, 13 percent were coded as economy, and among the photographs, 15 percent were coded as economy. The majority of the time, when women appeared, stories and photographs were related to consumer issues, suggesting women appear in economic processes only as consumers, rather than as policy makers. Essentializing women as consumers is also a phenomenon evident on Instagram, and it is addressed in the discussion on visibility labor, below.

The GMMP codebook is an imperfect tool for categorizing content from Instagram influencers, but it still provides an entry point to understand such content. On Instagram, only one of the influencers is tangentially involved with any of the topics included in the politics and government category, Dana Al Anzy. Her focus was exclusively on youth action in relation to the UN Sustainable Development Goals, which make up a 17-point framework adopted by United Nations member states in 2015. All of the posts related to the Sustainable Development Goals were made by Al Anzy, though some of Dana Al Fardan's content also related to the United Nations, including a post of her performing in New York for UN Day, and a story about her friend Eglantina Zingg discussing girls' empowerment at the UN. Otherwise, political and governmental affairs were absent from the Instagram universe these

women chose to represent. Political conversations in Qatar are more likely to occur on Twitter than on Instagram, the latter of which is more frequently used for entertainment purposes (Dennis & Martin, 2018). About 40 percent of the influencer posts were endorsements, indicating the posts themselves reflected women's participation in the economic process, even if that was not the topic of the content of the post itself. This phenomenon is also discussed in greater detail in Section 8.6 below in relation to visibility labor.

Women appeared more frequently in news stories and photographs in *The Gulf Times* in the science and health category, at 22 percent and 18 percent of the totals, respectively. However, even when women did appear, there was a greater chance a man would also appear, indicating women were still not able to stand on their own in news coverage related to this topic. The majority of time when women did appear, it was in stories and photographs related to medicine, health, and safety, which is still a stereotypically gendered space for women (Macharia, 2015). Among the different broad categories, women also appeared more frequently in both stories and photographs in *The Gulf Times* that were coded as social and legal, with 23 percent of all articles featuring women and 27 percent of all photographs featuring women. And more than half of these were education-related (See Appendix A, Table A7), reflecting Qatar's national priorities, which is discussed in greater detail in Section 8.5, below. In short, much of the educational development in Qatar has been spearheaded by its most prominent woman, Sheikha Moza bint Nasser, which is reflected in the heavy focus on women and education in newspaper representations. These findings suggest that the field of education remains stereotypically gendered in Qatar, and the dominant mediated narrative does not challenge that. This is important because while Qatari women in Qatar are more educated than their male compatriots, the gendered labor gap and the mediated representations of it suggest the entire spectrum of the workforce is not yet available to them in equal measure. Finally, the religion, culture, and tradition topic featured more frequently in the newspaper than on social media, suggesting that the state-sanctioned media assign the responsibility of maintaining religious and cultural traditions to women more so than women do themselves.

On Instagram, 12 percent of posts were tourism-related, and it is always portrayed as a lifestyle activity, rather than as "volun-tourism" or educational, for example. In *The Gulf Times*, on the other hand, women did not appear in any articles about tourism and only 7 percent of photographs. When women have an opportunity to represent their own lives on social media, tourism and travel feature much more prominently than when others are in control of those representations, even in a country where international leisure travel is a frequent activity of both Qatari nationals and white-collar expatriates. Education featured

among only two women's posts, in Alftoon Al Janahi's posts about arts education efforts both at the university and primary school levels, and in one post by Haneen Al Saify. The latter post is discussed in further detail in Section 8.5. On the other hand, the family relations topic was coded more frequently on Instagram than in *The Gulf Times*, and this was due to several pregnancy-related posts made by Eileen Lahi and Husnaa Malik. Similarly, roles and relationships of women and men inside and outside the home was apparent more frequently on Instagram. All of those posts were made by Lahi and described her specific responsibilities in the home in light of her pregnancy, which conformed to heteronormative gender roles that assign the majority of domestic responsibilities to the woman.

The broad category that was most commonly coded in both *The Gulf Times* and on Instagram was celebrity, arts and media, and sports. But there were some notable differences across all of the specific topics within this category. One topic with notable differences was sports, which is discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section. The arts topic featured more frequently in both articles and photographs in *The Gulf Times*, at 25 percent and 24 percent of all topics coded in this category, respectively. On Instagram, however, only 14 percent of posts in this category were coded as arts, and the majority of them were posted by Dana Al Fardan about her own musical theatre production that was staged during the data collection period. Sabrine Saadmalek posted twice about an international art exhibition she attended, and Yezenia Navarro posted twice about attending a film festival and a music concert. Alftoon Al Janahi posted about art several times, but it was always in an educational context. Only Dana Al Anzy posted about art in her stories, when she took the viewer through a first-person walk-through of an art exhibition at the United Nations office in Geneva. For these Instafamous women, the connection to the arts does not appear as strong as it does for women portrayed in the newspaper. This could be because even though these influencers come from elite classes in Qatar, the arts tradition that is prevalent among the upper classes in the West is simply not as common in Qatar.

The other two topics in this broad category both featured much more widely on Instagram posts than in *The Gulf Times*. These were celebrity news and fashion, representing 41 percent each of all topics in this category, compared to 4 percent of articles and 2 percent of photographs in *The Gulf Times*, which is not surprising. *The Gulf Times* is not free from celebrity or fashion news, but the majority of related items that do appear come from international wire services and thus did not meet the criteria to be included in the dataset. On Instagram, though, many of the posts were categorized as celebrity because the influencers were simply posting about themselves, and most "ordinary" people would consider them minor celebrities precisely because of their influencer status (Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Senft,

2008). The influencers' content was worthy of posting simply because it was of them. For example, Eileen Lahi posted a photograph with her mother accompanied by the English caption, "Look who is in town!!! It's Kissy Krissy!!!!! (Not kidding, this used to be her username.) #momtime." Lahi engages in a practice of celebrity in several ways articulated by Marwick and Boyd (2011). First, she employs public recognition by using the second-person imperative instructing her followers to "look who is in town," and with the parenthetical aside in which she engages her audience in good-natured teasing of her mother. And by inviting her followers to witness her #momtime, Lahi establishes closeness with her audience through intimacy. Finally, she also uses authenticity in the gentle teasing of her mother's former internet username. Her mother, too, had a cringeworthy username in the early days of the internet, just as we all once did. In another example of this microcelebrity genre, Haneen Al Saify posted a photograph of herself in an outdoor garden with the Arabic caption, "Good morning from the goodness herself 😎😂." Al Saify simply positions herself as a celebrity by rhetorically placing herself on a higher plane than her followers. Finally, the increased fashion coverage on Instagram reflects that several of the influencers' paid endorsements were for clothing boutiques, beauty products, and other high-end fashion goods. These findings were certainly expected, and very much in line with extant literature (Iqani, 2018; Marwick, 2015, 2016; Marwick & Boyd, 2011; Senft, 2008). In Qatar, where these women come from elite social classes and appear to have significant disposable income to enable their luxury consumer lifestyles, they are well suited for their influencing role, in part for modeling their consumer behavior to their followers. While that consumer behavior may be aspirational for some, it is certainly achievable for their many followers who have similar resources. But beyond that, their celebrity serves a public pedagogical role (Mendelson & Papacharissi, 2011; Schmeichel et al., 2020). Whether in regards to femininity or consumerism, these influencers instruct followers not only how it *can,* but also how it *should* look. And because the influencers are subject to Qatar's 2014 cybercrime law that criminalizes content that "violates social values or principles" (State of Qatar, 2014), their content has the tacit consent of the state.

Finally, as described in Chapter 6, women were significantly more likely to be quoted in articles associated with the science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sports categories, reflecting current trends (Macharia, 2015). Overall, self-representations of women on Instagram largely mirror the representations in the newspaper, at least in regard to the topics and categories defined by the Global Media Monitoring Project. The most significant difference is that none of the Instagram influencers' posts were related to politics and government or the economy. Otherwise, proportionally, content was most

frequently related to celebrity, arts and media, and sport, social and legal, and science and health.

8.3 Sports

As discussed in Chapter 6, Qatar has invested heavily not only in hosting high-profile international sporting events, but also in sport as a means to achieve health and wellness goals among the population, including by declaring the second Tuesday in February a national holiday to engage in fitness and sports. There were some significant differences between how sport and fitness were covered in the newspaper and how they appeared on Instagram, the most significant of which was evident by comparing the number of newspaper articles and photographs with Instagram posts. Where 68 percent of the overall celebrity, arts and media, and sports category's stories and 72 percent of the category's photographs were coded as sports in *The Gulf Times*, only 5 percent of the Instagram posts in this category were coded as sports. As described in Chapter 6, women were significantly more likely to appear in both articles and photographs coded as sports that occurred during the time period of two international sports championships held in Doha in 2019, the IAAF World Athletics Championships and the ANOC World Beach Games. This suggests foreign non-resident women athletes were overrepresented in sports coverage in the newspaper, compared to citizen and resident women athletes who would have been represented at other times. On Instagram posts, only two women included any items related to sports, and neither was a participant. Haneen Al Saify posted twice as a spectator, once at the IAAF World Athletics Championships and once at a horse show at the Qatar Racing and Equestrian Club. Yezenia Navarro posted three times about football, all in relation to her role as the Mexican Community Ambassador for the 2022 FIFA World Cup.

However, on Instagram stories, one day of data collection coincided with the Arabian Gulf Cup quarterfinal match-up between Qatar and rival United Arab Emirates, a game that Qatar won 4-2. Half of the women posted content related to this football game, either captured in person or reposted from another source. These five women attended the match in person, but of these, only Yezenia Navarro shows any footage of herself watching the match, when she turns the camera on herself and her friend celebrating a penalty call against the Emirati team. Otherwise, the women provide their first-person view of the stadium through their cameras. Two of these women also reposted a highlight video originally broadcast on the local Al Kass Sports channel featuring highlights of the Qatari team's goals under a soundtrack of patriotic music. This football match held special significance for Qatar, so it is understandable that it would be represented so prominently by these women. Beyond the significance of this particular football match due to the ongoing political rivalry between

Qatar and the UAE, Qatar has devoted significant resources to developing football fandom since they were awarded hosting rights to the 2022 FIFA World Cup. Attending any international-caliber football match is an act of nationalism in Qatar, as stadiums full of cheering fans help Qatar overcome the criticisms that their nascent football culture should have prevented them from being awarded hosting rights. Also, because none of the original content these women included about the football match was professionally shot or curated, the way many of their posts are, it makes sense they included these items in their stories, rather than in their more permanent posts. The ephemeral nature of Instagram stories lends that particular platform feature the more candid and energetic coverage that is reflective of this kind of first-person in-real-time sports coverage.

Among other Instagram stories related to sports, Dana Al Fardan included two reposted items showing her friend Eglantina Zingg speaking at the 2019 UN Impact Summit about the non-profit organization she founded to empower girls through football. Additionally, one each of Al Janahi's and Lahi's back region stories refer to their fitness routines, but neither actually shows herself participating in any sporting activity. On the other hand, one of Dana Al Fardan's stories shows her working out at the gym. Women-only gyms and dedicated women-only times at gyms are common in Qatar, both for *hijabi* women who prefer to uncover during exercise, and for other women who prefer to exercise in the absence of men. Given that Al Janahi and Lahi both cover their hair, they would not show themselves on public-facing social media accounts uncovered. Al Fardan, on the other hand, though Qatari, does not cover, and in the stories she posted on Instagram, she wears the type of tight-fitting tank top and leggings that were *de rigueur* for the 2010s exercising woman globally. Superimposed on these stories Al Fardan has included text that reads, "In the meantime, focusing on strengthening mind body and spirit 🙏❤️❤️❤️. That's the foundation for everything." She presents her fitness activities as not only physical exercise, but also an exercise in self-discipline and self-efficacy. Ultimately, Al Fardan indicates, she wants to be strong, and by showing herself in the very act of building that physical strength, she emphasizes that part of her life, and by doing so, is an outlier among the Instafamous women included in this study. This is not the only area where Al Fardan is an outlier—she is also the only Qatari woman among the influencers who does not cover her hair, for example. This is likely because her family does not observe conservative social norms, nor require her to. Additionally, as described in the previous chapter, she comes from a family with immense wealth and influence in Qatar, which likely affords her more privilege to operate outside of the most conservative social norms.

Overall, when comparing the newspaper coverage and Instagram posts related to sports, the newspaper coverage more robustly reflected national sports priorities, at least in terms of international sporting events. But as has already been discussed, women were significantly less likely to be included in sports articles and photographs that did not occur during those international sporting events. The presence of an international sporting event nearly doubled the appearance of women in sports articles, from 27 percent to 49 percent, and in sports photographs, from 36 percent to 57 percent. Even the percentage of women appearing in sports coverage as part of general, everyday news coverage far exceeded the frequency with which women on Instagram included items about sports in their posts. In some ways, it is a surprising finding that newspapers do a better job of representing women in sport than women themselves. However, the Instafamous women included in this study were selected for reasons related to their local popularity on Instagram. None of these women is an elite athlete, and even if any of them is involved in organized sporting activities or everyday fitness, the majority of them chose not to depict that on their Instagram accounts. Especially for the more professional influencers like Qataris Kholoud Al Ali, Samar Al Ahmed, and Haneen Al Saify, engaging in fitness and sport is off-brand, when so many of their posts are related to endorsing high-end luxury fashion, beauty, and car brands.

8.4 Pregnancy, Motherhood, and Kinship

Pregnancy, motherhood, and kinship merit discussion here for several reasons. First, as described in Chapter 6, the empirical data showed that kinship mentions were very infrequent across the dataset of 933 individuals named or quoted in news stories. Only 2 percent of those individual mentions included mention of a family role, though among those that did, the majority were women. In four of these cases, motherhood was mentioned both in the writer's third-person prose, and in direct quotes from the women themselves. In one example, a Doha-based Turkish cakemaker Nukhet Dora is described in the third paragraph of a two-page profile as, "a civil engineer by qualification and mother of two daughters" (Raja, 2019b). And Dora herself discusses publishing a "web page updating my experiences of by a mother [sic]. I got very famous back in Turkey as number of mothers [sic] visited my page and took advantage from my experiences of motherhood." In another example, in a story about breast cancer survivors, South African expatriate Zarina Mohammed describes her experience with the disease through the lens of motherhood (Raja, 2019a). She is directly quoted in the story saying, "Just like any other mother, I was broken. I thought only about my children." And in a story about Jordanian medical doctor Nuha Abu Yousef giving birth to a child during her tenure as a contestant on the science-based reality competition show "Stars of Science," she is

quoted as being proud "to represent female innovators and working mothers who continue to do amazing things every day" ("'Stars of Science' welcomes new-born to the family," 2019).

The sports coverage provided two notable examples of women being identified as mothers. And without comparable coverage of men in sports being identified as fathers, this suggests that women are less likely to be able to exist as successful humans in sport separate from their familial roles. In one example, South African track and field coach Ans Botha refers to herself as a "mother figure" to Olympian Wayde van Niekerk, competing in Doha at the 2019 IAAF World Athletics Championships. Even though not the athlete's mother herself, she takes on that role, saying, "…his pain in your pain, his disappointments are your disappointments. On the other hand, I also have to be strong and positive, and not allow my pain that I feel for him to be carried over on to him. I have to be strong for him, and be there for him" (Bhat, 2019). A striking example from coverage of the same track and field championships is an article headlined, "Today is Mother's Day at the athletics worlds," despite describing a day in September on which no country in the world celebrates the occasion ("Today is Mother's Day at the athletics worlds," 2019). As mentioned in Chapter 6, the article reads like a roll call of all women competitors who have children, initially focusing on three athletes who have recently returned to competition after giving birth, which was noteworthy due to increased attention given to sponsorship deals and pregnant athletes at the time[9]. The article then lists a number of women athletes who happen to be mothers, including a Dutch Olympian from 1948 and tennis greats Serena Williams and Kim Clijsters. Returning to the coverage of those actually competing at the 2019 event, the athletes' pregnancies are in part discussed in the same terms as injuries, and attention is paid to how well the women have recovered. For example, Jamaican Shelly-Ann Fraser-Pryce "has fully returned to top form this season," and Chinese Liu Hong has "shown in impressive fashion that she hasn't lost her form after maternity leave." American Allyson Felix, on the other hand, "has not managed to reproduce her form of the past." Felix herself is quoted as saying, "Right now I am far from my best, working with a whole new body." While success in these athletic pursuits is directly related to the physical form, similar attention is not paid to male athletes who have recently become parents. Beyond the discussion of these athletes' physical forms, both Fraser-Pryce and Felix are quoted discussing their athletic participation in relation to motherhood. Fraser-Pryce said of her young son, "He gives the energy in my life and makes everything easier, and

[9] Earlier in 2019, American women track and field athletes publicly called out their sponsor Nike for the lack of maternity protections in their sponsorship deals and the resultant loss of income in the months surrounding childbirth (Felix, 2019; Montano, 2019). This led to a U.S. congressional inquiry and Nike and other apparel companies updating their maternity policies.

he gives me that extra motivation to keep going…he's actually made me better at what I do and a lot more relaxed by remembering that after a race, there's still more to life." Felix says something similar of her young daughter, "My motivation is different now, I am doing things that my daughter can see them so that she can have a great example [sic]."

The lack of comparable coverage of male athletes discussing how fatherhood has influenced their sports performance suggests that women alone are being asked about their parenthood, and that results in the specific narrative seen in this article, which confirms that sportswomen continue to experience sexism in media coverage (Cooky & Antunovic, 2018). Other scholars have explored such representations of motherhood among elite athletes, identifying several dominant media narratives that can also be found in the constructions in this article. For example, McGannon, Curtin, Schinke, and Schweinbenz (2012) identified the constructed identity of "more than an athlete; first and foremost a mother" in their analysis of media coverage of elite British distance runner Paula Radcliffe. Traditional values of motherhood and an ethic of care take precedence over the athletic career, and this identity construction is apparent in the treatment of both Fraser-Pryce and Felix ("Today is Mother's Day at the athletics worlds," 2019). In their quotes described above, these women's motherhood experiences are positioned as more important than their athletic performance, despite that the coverage is ostensibly about the latter. Another identity construction apparent here is "motherhood and athletics as a transformative journey" (McGannon, Gonsalves, Schinke, & Busanich, 2015), which focuses on the physical transformation of pregnancy and the comeback narrative. Hong and Fraser-Pryce have succeeded at this comeback, having "not lost her form" and returning to "top form," while Felix "has not managed to reproduce her form of the past." That description of Felix also represents the "athlete and mother in conflict" identity (McGannon et al., 2015), in part because she is not credited with succeeding in the transformative journey, meaning her role of mother has prevented her from achieving peak athletic performance. Finally, in the case of Hong and Fraser-Pryce again, because they have succeeded at their transformative journeys, they have also unlocked access to the identity construction of "athlete and mother as superwoman" (McGannon et al., 2015), because they are both mothers and "hot gold medal contenders in their return to action after giving birth." So, we see in all of these discussions of motherhood and kinship, that women who are mothers continue to be identified through that lens. This is important, because it suggests that their more newsworthy achievements, whether competing in a televised science competition or winning a gold medal in athletics, are unimportant unless viewed through the lens of motherhood. Further, these findings suggest only women are subject to this narrative, likely

due to traditional values of motherhood and an ethic of care. Men, on the other hand, are able to be represented as their full professional selves without those constraints.

On Instagram, pregnancy and motherhood are represented by five of the seven influencers who were either pregnant or already mothers during the time of data collection. One of the women, Sabrine Saadmalek, was pregnant with her first child during the data collection period, but there are no posts or stories that refer to the pregnancy[10]. Two women, Alftoon Al Janahi and Yezenia Navarro, did post images of their children, but infrequently enough during the three-month data collection period that they did not appear in the final dataset. Navarro's three sons did appear in her stories, mostly in cases where she was shooting first-person video of what she was doing, including taking the metro to a football match and eating lunch at a restaurant. In one story, Navarro records one of her sons playing the piano, and a graphic badge reading, "Proud Mom," is superimposed on the image. Samar Al Ahmed made no explicit mention of her two young children, though they appeared in her stories in a repost of a professionally-produced video from 2017 celebrating Qatar National Day. Dana Al Fardan's young daughter appeared in photographs in five posts, though she does not discuss motherhood explicitly. One portrait shows Al Fardan and her daughter sharing a tender moment on a beach at night with the Doha skyline behind them. Al Fardan has bent down to her daughter's height and has her arms around the young girl. The post is accompanied by the caption, "'Oceans disappear and reappear inside this pearl that you are' – Rumi ❤️🙏." In another post from Christmas Day, Al Fardan sits at a holiday table with her daughter, her sister, and her sister's children with the caption, "Happy holidays from my family to yours 🙏❤️🎁." These women don't deny their motherhood, but it is not presented as central to their Instagram selves.

For the other two of the seven mothers or mothers-to-be, on the other hand, their pregnancies are central to their self-presentation on Instagram. Husnaa Malik includes images directly related to pregnancy and motherhood in eight of her 11 posts that were included in the dataset. As discussed in the previous chapter, Malik also emphasizes the physicality of her pregnancy, by positioning her hands prominently on her pregnant belly in all but one of the images posted before she gave birth (Figure 7.12). Eileen Lahi similarly focuses on the physicality of her pregnancy, also by posing with her hands on her belly, and by referring to clothes that no longer fit (Figure 7.8). This focus on feminine corporality with the addition of the feminine touch, is femininity squared, not only highlighting the pregnant female body, but

[10] I continued following the Instagram accounts of many of these women beyond the data collection period, and Saadmalek posted about baby showers in early January 2020, indicating she was pregnant at that time. She gave birth to a daughter in March 2020.

also by doing so in a stereotypically gendered manner. The husbands of both of these women appear only once each in the dataset, though neither man's face is shown. Both women adopt variations of a stance that has the hand on the pregnant belly and the gaze averted from the viewer, whether by looking off camera, or down at the belly itself. The licensed withdrawal of the averted gaze paired with the cradling of the belly removes the woman from engagement with the viewer. This serves to subordinate the mother to the pregnancy itself, not unlike the coverage of the track and field athletes or the Jordanian medical scientist discussed above. In all of these cases, motherhood subsumes the woman, and she is no longer presented as a woman outside the scope of her familial and reproductive role. For Lahi and Malik, who both carefully curate the personal attributes they present as influencers, this emphasis on pregnancy can be read as genuine excitement as first-time mothers. But the pregnancies both of them share with their Instagram followers are free of mention of the challenges of pregnancy, whether physical or emotional. As such, emphasizing their pregnancies in this way can also be viewed as a calculated business move to transition into the world of "mommy influencers."

Neither all of the coverage of women in the newspaper nor all of the influencer mothers on Instagram emphasized motherhood. Again, kinship mentions in all of *The Gulf Times* articles was very low, and only two of the influencers devoted much of their posts to their pregnancies. For the majority of women included in both phases of the study, pregnancy and motherhood were not privileged over other aspects of their lives. Similarly, less than half of the influencers explicitly mention their relationship status. Lahi and Malik both mention their husbands in relation to their pregnancies, though they reveal only their husbands' presence, but not their faces. Saadmalek shows her husband in one post about a trip to Morocco, and Al Saify refers to her fiancé once in a caption. None of the other women explicitly mentions a marriage or any other romantic partnership. In some ways, this was a surprising finding in society that values family relationships more so than in Western nuclear-family-based societies. As in other Muslim societies, some women in Qatar are addressed as "mother of [child's name]" once they have a son. For example, a woman who has a son named Khalifa may be addressed as Umm Khalifa. However, the persistent gender segregation may be a reasonable explanation for the relatively spare mentions of husbands or romantic partners on Instagram. While family ties are extremely important, socially, men and women lead fairly separate, gender-segregated social lives. If these women's Instagram accounts reflect dominant societal values, then it is not likely their husbands or male romantic partners would figure prominently. Rather, when not focusing their posts exclusively on themselves, these

women incorporate female friends and family members, in other words, those who are in their immediate social worlds.

8.5 Other Professional Endeavors

As discussed in Chapter 7, half of the women influencers have professional lives outside of their influencing activities. Alftoon Al Janahi is an artist and art educator, Dana Al Anzy is the Qatar Youth Ambassador for an international youth assembly, Dana Al Fardan is a musician and composer, Haneen Al Saify is a radio personality, and Sabrine Saadmalek is a modest swimwear designer and small business owner. The other five women do not discuss professional lives outside of their influencing activities on Instagram, and that will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent section on visibility labor. This section will focus on how influencers present their professional activities, as well as consider data from the first phase of the study related to individual mentions of occupation in the news.

Both Al Janahi and Al Fardan focus at least half of their posts on their non-Instagram professional activities, expressing both pride and agency. In a post from October 20, 2019, Al Janahi includes a photograph of herself on the dais of an event at Qatar University with the caption, “You are not what has happened to you ... you are what you choose to become.” The English-language caption indicates not only that she has chosen to become this person who has been chosen to speak at a university event, but also that she has overcome some adversity. Similarly, Al Fardan alludes to adversity she had to overcome in staging the musical “Broken Wings” in the story from December 2, 2019, in which she refers to people who did not support her efforts. In doing so, she, too, asserts her agency, saying, “I will never give up on my dreams and will keep fighting.” Neither woman describes the exact nature of the challenges she overcame, but in mentioning adversity at all, they both not only position their successes as earned, but also highlight their personal resilience. To Al Fardan especially it appears important to emphasize her efforts, and it can be read as an attempt to prove that despite her privilege as a billionaire’s daughter, she too faces challenges and must work to overcome them and succeed. Al Anzy does not take the same first-person approach to agency, and makes no mention of overcoming adversity. However, personal agency is clearly expressed in her posts encouraging other Qatari youth to apply to join the Qatari Youth Delegation to the Youth Assembly (Figure 7.3). The captions on two posts include the phrase, “Change starts with YOUth,” including once as a hashtag. She invites her followers to “represent the voice of Qatari youth on global and pressing issues!”, again indicating a belief in personal agency by encouraging it in others. Additionally, in Al Anzy’s 11 posts that feature the other steering committee members of the Qatari Youth Delegation, the quotes from the individuals illustrate a belief in agency. For example, in a post from November 12,

2019, steering committee member Huda Al Thani is pictured with the quote, “I believe it is upon us to spread awareness to ensure prosperity for all.” All of Al Anzy’s posts from the data collection period are about the Youth Assembly, indicating that her Instagram presence is driven by her offline activities, rather than the opposite. The same is true for Al Fardan, and slightly less so for Al Janahi, though for all three women it still suggests their imagined audience is comprised both of supporters of their offline professional pursuits and other women they want to inspire.

Saadmalek and Al Saify both post about their non-Instagram professional activities, though less frequently than Al Janahi, Al Fardan, and Al Anzy. Saadmalek posted three times about her swimwear line, and one of those posts showed the swimwear itself (Figure 7.15). The other two were from the social events related to the launch of her brand, and focus more on the catering than on the brand launch itself. So even though Saadmalek has a separate Instagram account specifically for her business, she does not regularly post about her non-Instagram professional activities on her public-facing personal Instagram account, indicating it is not central to her public self-presentation. Similarly, Al Saify’s position as a radio personality only appears in her stories. Al Saify does, however, identify herself as a “chemical engineer by degree” in her Instagram profile, and in one of her posts, she displays a photograph from her university graduation two years before. So, while Al Saify does not work as a chemical engineer, it is clear the educational credential is an important part of her self-presentation. And despite that her social media influencing is in no way related to chemical engineering, this credential provides her with more gravitas than her Instafamous activities would on their own, especially among an increasingly highly educated Qatari female populace (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2019). She may feel this credential is important to be taken seriously, which is important in Qatar, where even though women outpace men in higher education attainment, they continue to be underrepresented in the workforce (Planning and Statistics Authority, 2020a). Women must invoke their education achievements even in jobs that don’t require them, an echo of the global rhetoric that women must work twice as hard as men to get half as far. In the Arabic-language caption accompanying her graduation photo, Al Saify writes, “Firstly, the feeling of accomplishment can’t be described in words, whether you graduated after 4 or 10 years … Until now I remember my graduation day and I’m so happy with this achievement.” The caption also includes advice and encouragement for fresh graduates, including to try working in a field that may not even be related to the degree subject. This suggests Al Saify believes in the primacy of education, which reflects a dominant narrative in Qatar’s national rhetoric. In addition to establishing the Qatar Foundation for Education, Science, and Community Development, which hosts several

American universities, Sheikha Moza bint Nasser, the current emir's mother, also founded Education Above All, which provides education support to communities across the globe experiencing conflict and poverty. To demonstrate how central education is to the national narrative, every flight on the national flag carrier Qatar Airways features a short promotional video about Education Above All, and an in-flight announcement from cabin crew soliciting donations to the organization. Educational attainment is a point of pride in Qatar. Certainly, Al Saify's graduation post and the other women's achievement-oriented posts indicate these women see themselves as role models for other women, seeking to inspire and encourage them. So, women in Qatar can find role models and representation among other women in the largely gender-segregated world of the Instafamous, especially when the majority of mediated representations in the newspaper are of men.

Of the 180 individual women that were among the first three named or mentioned in all of the news articles in *The Gulf Times,* the occupations of only six were not included. As described in Chapter 6, women named or quoted were most frequently sportspeople (23 percent), businesspeople, executives, or managers (22 percent), or academic experts or teachers (11 percent). It is important to note that although 23 percent of the women who were among the first three named or quoted were sportspeople, of those 42 women, 38 of them appeared in coverage related to international sporting events held in Doha. In other words, they were foreign, non-resident women athletes in Doha to compete. When we remove the international athletes, the number of individuals named or quoted whose occupation is sportsperson drops to 4, which is more in line with the global trend (Macharia, 2015). And while the occupation that had the next highest frequency among the individual women was businessperson, executive, or manager, compared to men, women were still significantly less likely to be businesspeople, executives, or managers. In other words, men who held those occupations were significantly more likely to be named or quoted among the first three in a news article. Women were significantly more likely to be named or quoted if they held positions as academic experts or teachers, doctors or health specialists, or civil society workers, in other words, stereotypically feminine jobs.

8.6 Visibility Labor

As mentioned above in relation to the small number of Instagram posts coded under the economics category, further discussion is warranted in relation to the economic impact of the labor of being an Instagram influencer in the first place. First, it is important to understand and carefully parse the notion of economies of labor, as described by Banet-Weiser (2015b). Unlike the *politics* of visibility, which are by definition a means to the end of increased political power, the *economies* of visibility position visibility as an end in itself. Greater

power or equality in society does not necessarily result from these economies. Rather, in economies of visibility, the product for sale is the feminine body itself, and in the case at hand, the women influencers who embody that product engage in visibility labor. These influencers need to perform femininity to make themselves marketable for consumption by their followers. And because the femininity must be marketable to attract audiences, it must reflect the preferred embodiment of that femininity, which in Qatar, is typically thin, light-skinned, well-coiffed, well-manicured, and for Muslim women, modestly dressed. This preferred femininity also includes public behavior that would not bring shame, for instance, maintaining gender segregation from nonfamilial men, as described earlier in this chapter. The measure of public consumption they attract is the currency they then use to buy access to companies that want to sell their products to the same consumers. These companies, whether luxury clothing brands or five-star hotel chains, impose the standard consumer economic superstructure onto this secondary visibility economy, and the social media influencer labors at the intersection of those two economies, though they do so consciously. But because the central currency of her economy—visibility—is not a convertible currency in the consumer economy we actually eat, breathe, and sleep in, the influencer must perform labor a second time in order to acquire sponsors that may only pay them in product, whether hotel nights for the travel influencer or makeup samples for the beauty influencer. These influencers are agentic in choosing to participate in the visibility economy, and they are rewarded, both tangibly in cash or product from endorsement deals, and intangibly in popularity.

So while none of the Instagram influencers' posts were overtly related to the topic of economy and business, that metric obscures the very specific economic activity many of the influencers perform every day. Five of the influencers exemplify this visibility labor: Eileen Lahi, Husnaa Malik, Kholoud Al Ali, Samar Al Ahmed, and Yezenia Navarro. None of these women posted about professional activities or economic labor off of social media platforms. Two other women, Alftoon Al Janahi and Haneen Al Saify, perform some visibility labor, but they both have other professional endeavors, as discussed in the immediately preceding section. The visibility labor the five women perform begins with the female body, and these influencers fulfill many dominant constructions of femininity. All of the influencers included in this study could easily be described as traditionally feminine and beautiful. They also largely come from the high social classes in multi-national Qatar. That is, the women are Qatari or Western expatriates. They actively perform traditional femininity in many ways. For the Muslim women, that includes covering their hair and dressing modestly, with Dana Al Fardan serving as the single exception. For the one non-Muslim woman, Navarro, traditional femininity is performed according to her home culture of Mexico. Navarro does not dress

modestly, except in Qatari contexts that may require it, such as attending an Arabian fashion show (Figure 7.19). Some practices of traditional femininity are common across cultures, such as wearing makeup, maintaining a thin body, celebrating pregnancy as the ultimate manifestation of femininity, conducting oneself with measured poise, and otherwise conforming to heteronormative ideals, and all of these women engage in these behaviors. By practicing femininity in this way, and partnering it with authenticity, these influencers offer an idealized feminine body that also appears desirable to their followers and achievable to the other similarly elite women among them. Then the influencers can turn around and sell that authentic, idealized visibility to advertisers. While those advertisers may not be invested in influencer authenticity in principle, they are when it results in a higher number of followers they can capitalize on.

Beyond the labor of visibility, some of these women also perform types of traditional women's work that has long existed outside of the wage economy. There are several examples of this among the influencers. In one post from November 6, 2019, Navarro stands outside in the sun in a tank top and short skirt, with her hair, makeup, and nails fully made up. She has her hands in stylized fruit baskets that also feature L'Occitane beauty products, and the image is accompanied by a caption offering advice on their lipsticks. "I'm in love with the new @loccitaneme lipstick collection, the colors are so beautiful and I love how it feels on my lips." In a post from December 2, 2019, Husnaa Malik stands with a hired domestic worker in front of her infant son's closet. The caption offers advice on domestic activities, reading, "We organized and cleaned baby Khalifa's room & I❤️ it! Need help cleaning and organizing your home too? Download @maticservices app and use my code husnaa50 for 50% off your first cleaning session." These two posts are examples of typically unpaid women's labor of providing beauty and domestic tips to other woman. And the latter example encourages employing poorly paid domestic laborers to do the work she herself would not be paid to do. So, not only is Malik not getting paid for domestic work performed inside her home, she is actually outsourcing it to another woman, and instead being paid by Matic Services to direct other elite-status women to also hire domestic workers. Kholoud Al Ali performs a different kind of women's labor in a post from December 21, 2019. In the caption accompanying a photograph of herself, Al Ali writes, "You'll never be criticized by someone doing more than you. You will only be criticized by someone doing less." Here Al Ali is doing the emotional labor of providing inspiration and support to her followers, and simultaneously implying she does more of that emotional labor than most.

So, while these women are performing typically unpaid women's labor, in many cases they are actually earning something, whether the product itself, money, or the influencer

currency of amassing more followers. Earning more followers in posts like these can be achieved by their use of hashtags and account tags, because this makes their posts discoverable through the search function of the platform. Anybody searching for @loccitaneme, for example, may come across Navarro's post and begin following her, just as anyone following Navarro may choose to begin following @loccitaneme. That these women are performing visibility labor positions them in the economy as something other than the consumers women are usually essentialized as. The influencer is a productive actor in the economy, rather than simply a consumer of a beauty product or household service for visibility's sake (Duffy, 2015). Even so, their role as visibility laborers is highly gendered and classed, and more often than not, reinforces traditional constructions of both gender and class.

8.7 Invisibility

As described in Chapter 6, women in *The Gulf Times* were seen much more frequently than they were heard, appearing in only 35 percent of articles, but in 52 percent of photographs. These findings echoed those of Len-Ríos et al. (2005) and Jia et al. (2016), who also found that women were more likely appear in photographs than articles both in the U.S. newspapers and in global online English-language news outlets. But beyond this invisibility by absence, there is also invisibility through presence on Instagram, a primarily visual platform. This is evident in both Dana Al Anzy and Kholoud Al Ali's posts.

In order to promote the Qatari Youth Delegation of the 25th Youth Assembly, Al Anzy posted headshots and quotes of her 11 fellow steering committee members in individual posts. One was a young man, and the remaining ten were women. Of those ten women, three chose not to include their portrait, and instead used the multi-colored Sustainable Development Goal "O" logo as a graphic stand-in (Figure 7.4). Even though their photographs were not included, their names and quotations about global sustainable development appeared just as they did for those that included photographs. These women don't desire to be unknown. They simply desire not to be seen in this public-facing medium. Had they simply been absent, without their names or words included at all, on the other hand, the viewer never would have known of their invisibility. Choosing to be present without being visually represented renders these women known and gives them voice, even though they are not visible. In conservative corners of Qatari society, it is not acceptable for women to show their faces publicly. But rather than dismissing the lack of visual representation as a sign of their oppression, these women are asserting agency in being conscious of how their actions are perceived publicly. These women, then, choose to construct an online identity that protects themselves and their families.

While the three women in Al Anzy's posts included no visual representation of themselves at all, Al Ali instead engages in creative placement and erasure in order to maintain her visual anonymity. She never shows her face, and it is in only a few images that even her entire body is shown. When she does show her body, in one instance it is in silhouette, and in another instance she has covered her face artfully in the image (Figure 7.13). Al Ali had nearly 350,000 followers at the time of data collection, so she, too, does not desire to be unknown. She is very well-known, in fact. Instead, she cultivates a kind of intimacy by showing only a well-manicured hand here, or a high-heeled foot there. By creating this mystery around her visual persona, she invites the viewer to create their own story to fill in the gaps. The viewer can use their imagination to superimpose whatever they want onto a nearly blank slate, like changing the clothes on a paper doll. In that sense, she has created an image that can be an everywoman for the luxury consumer class. In one reading, she has erased her individual identity in the service of creating an archetype for consumption. In another reading, like the women in Al Anzy's posts, her choice to obscure her face may be a measure to protect herself and her family from criticism or other negative social consequences. Both of these instances are important in understanding the nuance of visibility on social media in Qatar, and exemplifying the specific manner in which Qatari women are able to forge a mediated visibility within societal constraints.

8.8 Empowerment as Communal

Among the Instagram influencers, the term "feminism" did not appear a single time in any captions accompanying posts. In contrast to Gill's postfeminist sensibilities (2016), this term was not used as an identity marker. In addition, Gill's postfeminist sensibilities consider the trend of conceptualizing empowerment as an individual struggle and ignoring the structural forces that lead to gender-based inequality. Only three posts among the influencers was categorized as such. One post by Dana Al Fardan was a snapshot of a plaque on a New York street featuring the Virginia Woolf quote, "If you do not tell the truth about yourself you cannot tell it about other people." The accompanying caption read, "When the ground speaks #NewYork." While this was not an explicit message about female empowerment, it does focus on individuality in way few other posts do. Sabrine Saadmalek captioned a photograph of a latte and a croissant from November 25, 2019, "You get what you work for, not what you wish for. #MondayMotivation 🖤." She has also tagged her location in the post, indicating to her audience that she is dining at the luxury Mandarin Oriental Hotel. That provides an extra layer of meaning to her post, indicating that her labor not only allowed her to succeed, but also to dine at one of the finest hotel properties in the city. And by using the hashtag #MondayMotivation, she attempts to motivate both her followers and herself to work hard.

While Saadmalek does not explicitly address structural oppression she may face as a woman, she does convey the centrality of individual effort in success. Finally, one post made by Alftoon Al Janahi expressed the postfeminist sensibility of the individual struggle the most clearly. In this post from October 20, 2019, also mentioned earlier in this chapter, she includes the English caption, "You are not what has happened to you .. you are what you choose to become." Al Janahi tells her audience they have the agency to overcome external forces. A feminist reading of this would identify the external forces of "what happened to you" as structural sexism and misogyny. So, this post implies that it is up to the individual to overcome those forces and harness her agency to find success. All of the posts that were categorized in this way were in English. Further, both Al Fardan and Saadmalek used very popular hashtags—there are over 100 million posts tagged #NewYork and over 24 million tagged #MondayMotivation—that rendered them discoverable across the Instagram platform. This indicates these women intended for these posts to be read by multiple, broad audiences across the globe. This postfeminist sensibility is adopted when the imagined public stretches beyond Qatar.

In contrast, there were several posts made by Dana Al Anzy, Haneen Al Saify, and others by Al Fardan that directly speak to empowerment as a communal effort. These posts weren't exclusively in Arabic, but some were, and many were clearly directed to a Qatari audience. For example, as discussed in the previous chapter, in seeking more participants from Qatari youth in the 25th Youth Assembly, Al Anzy tells her followers "to be a part of this movement." And other Steering Committee members whose images and words were posted on Al Anzy's account, use language that describes "the youth" as a collective identity capable of introducing change in the world. Al Fardan uses the hashtag #WomenEmpowerment alongside a caption where she uses first-person plural pronouns like "our," and "us," and refers to a "collective consciousness" that can result from women expressing solidarity for one another. Further, she compliments the friend who appears alongside her in the photograph for her specific efforts in "being a force behind women everywhere."

Only two articles from *The Gulf Times* were coded as women's movement, activism, gender equality advocacy, and in both of those articles, female empowerment is also expressed as a communal effort. The first of the two articles recounts Dr. Dipa Dube's presentation about the #MeToo movement in India at the World Congress of Criminology hosted in 2019 in Doha ("#MeToo movement gave women a global space to speak up," 2019). In addition to giving a space to women to speak up, the article paraphrases Dube addressing the need to "build social cohesion and networks that will support and sustain

change, foster mass movement and aid in transforming power relations in the society." The second of the two articles profiles pioneering Sana Mir, a former captain of the Pakistani national women's cricket team, who received the 2019 Asia Society Game Changers Award (Rehmat, 2019). The writer begins the article acknowledging "female empowerment is a universal subject regardless of where the action is—the First World or the Third." The author then names several formidable Pakistani women, from Benazir Bhutto to Malala Yousafzai, indicating their inspirational role for others. And Mir herself is quoted about the impact her role in women's cricket had on others. "When I started in 2005, people would ask me why I'm doing this, it's not a women's game…but now when I talk to people they say, 'We are so proud of the team. We want our daughters to be a part of this team.'"

In both the newspaper and on Instagram, despite female empowerment coming up only a small handful of times, when it did, it was primarily treated as a communal effort, and rarely as an individual struggle. That's not to say any of these instances that encouraged communal effort refuted individual empowerment. Clearly, all of these women have achieved successes in individual endeavors, whether teaching children's art workshops or staging a musical. Rather, the majority of the representations by other and representations by self do not adopt the postfeminist sensibility that the individual alone must simply work hard enough to overcome the structural forces that perpetuate their oppression. Instead, they focus on communal empowerment. This is a departure from Gill's notion of postfeminist sensibilities, and is notable in the Arab Gulf context. First, the Arab Gulf is a more family- and clan-based society compared to the Western individualistic societies Gill was drawing her conclusions from. It is also notable that there was little difference in this standpoint between the newspaper and Instagram. Even though social media is a largely individualized venture, these Instagram influencers still take a communal approach in their perspective on female empowerment on that platform. That was also evident in the several expressions of gratitude that often accompanied mentions of success on Instagram. For example, in her posts about teaching children's art workshops, in addition to thanking the venue, Alftoon Al Janahi writes, "thank you for all of your support (my amazing followers)." Similarly, in a post after the Doha premiere of her "Broken Wings" musical, Dana Al Fardan wrote, "Thank you to everyone who walked with me in this journey. 🙏" And while this expression of gratitude is not linked to a particular successful venture, Eileen Lahi expresses her gratitude on Qatar's National Day, "Thank you Qatar for all the opportunities you have given me, and all the ways in which you have helped me grow. And most importantly – for accepting me for who I am and giving me a sense of belonging. Blessed to call this place my home." Expressing gratitude, whether for specific accomplishments or not, also indicates these women take a

more communal and holistic view of the positive experiences in their lives by acknowledging they did not achieve them entirely on their own.

While Qatar has identified overcoming the gap between women's education and women's employment as a priority in the national development strategy (National Development Strategy, 2018), indicating they have a vested interest in women's empowerment, it must still happen within cultural constraints that frown upon individualism. And individualism is not only frowned upon as an alternative to communalism—in Qatar's deeply religious Islamic traditions, the belief that an individual is solely responsible for their success would be read as an affront to God. Allah is typically invoked at the mention of any success or good fortune. Whether commenting on good health in a mundane conversation with a friend or celebrating a momentous achievement, the conversation will not move on without an utterance of "*Allhamdulillah,*" or "Praise be to God." So, between the overt expressions of communal empowerment and the repeated expressions of gratitude, Qatar's influencers are largely conforming to the narrative of empowerment available to them.

8.9 Revisiting Visibility

Sarah Banet-Weiser wisely wrote, "Culture is simply too rich and complex to take at face value, and it is profoundly unproductive to approach a study of culture within binary frameworks" (2015b). The same can be said of media. It is reductive and unhelpful to describe media representations of women or women's own self-representations as one thing or another, and the discussion provided in this chapter illustrated the nuance of both. In answering the research questions at the heart of this study, the findings indicate that *The Gulf Times'* representations of women largely mirror global trends, and that self-representations by Qatar's Instafamous women simultaneously conform to and subvert those representations. For example, for the Qatari women among the influencers, all but one of them conform to cultural norms and representations in *The Gulf Times* by dressing in *abaya* and *shayla,* or at minimum dressing modestly and covering their hair when abroad. The only influencer in the study who subverts that representation is Qatari national Dana Al Fardan, who is never shown covering her hair, and who does not consistently wear *abaya* in Qatar. In another example, Yezenia Navarro often wears revealing clothing that is not seen in the newspaper, subverting the dominant representations of physical modesty in the newspaper, even among non-Muslim women. Most importantly, the majority of time women appeared in newspaper articles and photographs, it was alongside men, indicating that women were not able to stand on their own in the newspaper. For the influencers, on the other hand, very few of them included men in their posts, indicating it was not important for a man to be present in order for the women to present their mediated selves to the public.

In answering the research questions, one of my goals was to develop a new definition of visibility and consider that in the Arab Gulf context. As described in Chapter 4, I engaged in a robust concept explication and arrived at a new working definition of visibility for consideration in this dissertation: visibility means to be designed to be seen by a particular audience, and within a culturally-specific social and psychological context. Whether that visibility is mediated or unmediated, it serves a pedagogical role in society and can provide self-awareness and historical agency to the public.

How, then, does the women's visibility described in this study measure up to that definition? First, visibilities in *The Gulf Times* and on Instagram are indeed designed to be seen by particular audiences. The audience of *The Gulf Times* is English-speaking, and while that includes local Qataris and other Arab speakers, those audiences also have several Arabic-language newspapers to choose from, including *The Gulf Times'* sister publication *Al Rayah.* For English-speaking expatriate audiences, on the other hand, this is one of the three similar English-language publications available. The Instagram influencers have multiple audiences, which could vary from post to post, or even between posts and stories. The stories are more likely to be seen by regular followers, as they disappear after 24 hours, while the posts would be seen both by followers and other Instagram users who may look at the influencer account less frequently. As such, the social role performances on posts and stories can vary, with the influencers performing a looser, more back region social role on their stories, which are more likely to be seen by close followers. These visibilities do serve a pedagogical role, either by explicit instruction, as in Husnaa Malik's directive to download an app and use a discount code, or by modeling and showing an audience how to perform femininity or consumerism, for example. Finally, we do see evidence of both self-awareness and agency offered to the public, to a degree. Women are not represented significantly in fields like politics and government or the economy, where real power is held. Another finding that problematizes this conception of visibility is the invisibility displayed by Kholoud Al Ali and three women in Dana Al Anzy's posts. These women were not seen by the viewer in the most literal sense, yet through their selective erasure, they maintained visual anonymity while simultaneously expressing their identity and making themselves known to the public. In that sense, these women gave more historical agency and self-awareness to those in society who do not want their visages to be known by teaching them a method of achieving that. Women who don't want to show their faces in public would otherwise not find historical agency or self-awareness in these venues.

Finally, "media visibility is not … a guaranteed access to power" (Banet-Weiser, 2015a, p. 190). If visibility did equal power, then scantily-clad young white women would be

running Western societies (Phelan & Lane, 1993). And the Instagram findings show that women can have power without being visible, as in the case of the three young women on the steering committee for the 25th Youth Assembly. Visibility can lead to greater access to power, and visibility need not be achieved through photographic evidence. If young women see examples of powerful women in the media, whether the news or on Instagram, then they can begin to emulate that. Duffy (2015) argued that platforms such as Instagram don't disrupt the problematic gender, race, and class relations that champions of the internet often claim they do. However, there is still a liberatory possibility. As shown here, Qatar's top women influencers perform self-representations that adhere to cultural norms that form the dominant public narrative. But at the same time, they are also able to present themselves in ways that distinctly challenge the narrative found in the press.

Chapter 9. Conclusions

I begin this final chapter by reiterating the primary research questions asked in this dissertation and summarizing the central findings from both phases in the study. Then, I assess the theoretical and conceptual frameworks used in this study and identify how these frameworks can be developed further based on the empirical findings. Next, I discuss both avenues for future research in this area and limitations of the study at hand. After that, I identify the contribution this dissertation makes to scholarship on women's representations in the news media and on social media. Finally, I conclude the chapter with some personal reflections on the research process.

9.1 Mediated Visibilities of Women in Qatar

This study sought to address research gaps in current scholarship on the relationship of gender to media in non-Western contexts, both in terms of mainstream media representations and in terms of women's self-representation on social media, focusing on Qatar as a specific case study. In order to do so, this study asked two primary research questions with a dual-phase study incorporating both quantitative content analysis of newspaper content and qualitative ethnographic content analysis of social media content. The first quantitative phase of the study asked what the quantity and nature of women's representations were in the English-language newspaper *The Gulf Times* in Qatar. The second qualitative phase of the study asked how top women influencers in Qatar presented themselves on the social media platform Instagram.

First, the quantitative content analysis of *The Gulf Times* revealed that women in the Qatari news media generally fared better than the global average in representation in the news, though several global trends were similarly apparent. In *The Gulf Times,* women appeared in 35 percent of articles and 52 percent of photographs, which exceeded the 2015 Global Media Monitoring Project figures. Globally, in 2015, women made up only 26 percent of newspaper subjects globally, and even less—18 percent—in the Middle East (Macharia, 2015). And women were represented in only 30 percent of newspaper photographs globally in 2015. Women in *The Gulf Times* were directly quoted at a rate of 55 percent, less than the global figure of 61 percent in 2015 (Macharia, 2015). And in *The Gulf Times,* only 19 percent of all individuals named or quoted among the first three were women.

Despite exceeding the overall global averages of representations in newspapers, when women did appear, their representations mirrored global trends. Women were significantly more likely to appear in articles and photographs in the community section over any other, and when they were named or quoted, they were significantly less likely than men to appear across all sections, echoing previous scholarship (Len-Ríos et al., 2005; Shor et al., 2015;

Shor et al., 2014; Stanley, 2012). Women were significantly more likely to appear in both articles and photographs associated with science and health, social and legal, and celebrity, arts and media, and sport topics, and less likely to appear in articles and photographs associated with politics and government and the economy, which again mirrored the 2015 GMMP trends globally and in the Middle East (Macharia, 2015). And women were fittingly more likely to be associated with occupations that map onto those sections and topics, such as academic experts or teachers, doctors or health specialists, or celebrities. One notable exception was sportspeople. Women in leadership positions also appeared less frequently in the news, as found by several scholars (Golder, 2012; Jung Yun et al., 2007; Lachover, 2012; McKenzie & McKenzie, 2017; Vos, 2013a; Vu et al., 2018). Finally, the sports coverage in *The Gulf Times* mirrored global trends, with women appearing less frequently in everyday sports coverage (Adams & Tuggle, 2004; Huffman et al., 2004; Kaiser, 2018; Pedersen, 2002), but achieving more parity with men in coverage of high-profile international sporting events, which represents an improvement over global trends (Angelini et al., 2012; A. Billings & Eastman, 2002; A. C. Billings et al., 2018; Capranica & Aversa, 2002; Jones, 2013; MacArthur et al., 2017).

Second, the qualitative ethnographic content analysis of social media content revealed that among Qatar's most well-known Instagram influencers, men are largely absent in this gender-segregated universe. Regarding topic, the majority of posts were related to similarly gender stereotypical areas in the lifestyle realm, including fashion, arts, education, and celebrity. None of the influencers posted anything that was coded as politics and government or economy. In several ways, Qatar's Instafamous women presented themselves in ways consistent with what other scholars have found, including that they engage in microcelebrity practices (Marwick, 2015; Marwick & Boyd, 2011), as in posts by Eileen Lahi and Haneen Al Saify described in Chapter 8; that pregnancies conformed to dominant ideals of heteronormative femininity and incorporated self-surveillance (Mayoh, 2019; Tiidenberg, 2015), seen in posts by both Lahi and Husnaa Malik, described in Chapters 7 and 8; and that many of the women engaged in visibility labor (Abidin, 2016), including Lahi, Malik, Kholoud Al Ali, Samar Al Ahmed, and Yezenia Navarro, described in both Chapters 7 and 8. Self-surveillance was also used as a means to achieve authenticity (Dubrofsky, 2011), specifically in their back region social role performances in their Instagram stories, as opposed to their Instagram posts. Like the *niqabi* women in Piela's (2013) and Peterson's (2020) studies, the findings here refuted that one must show her face to assert her identity. Further, similar to the findings of Islam (2019) and Kavakci and Kraeplin (2017), the influencers here constructed hybridized, or composite, identities on their Instagram accounts,

through the use of both Arabic and English, and through the different social roles performed on their stories and posts.

This phase of the study incorporated Goffman's work on social role performance (1959) and stereotypical gender expressions (1979), finding the majority of posts reflected the front region social role performance. Additionally, the majority of the influencers adopted a manner that conformed to the Qatari cultural context, such as wearing the *abaya* and *shayla* or dressing modestly. Interestingly, only three stereotypical gender expressions defined by Goffman were identified in the data—subordination, feminine touch, and licensed withdrawal—and they appeared in the minority of posts. Finally, the self-representations of top influencers in Qatar largely did not reflect Gill's framework (2007, 2016) for postfeminist sensibilities. In fact, in the case of dominant discourses of female empowerment, the findings support a discourse of a communal, rather than individualized struggle, which suggests that mediated feminist practices in the Arab Gulf diverge from those in the West.

Finally, the synthesis of these two phases examined both the overlap between the two constructions of women, and the differences between them, revealing both similarities and differences in the social constructions of reality in the newspaper and on social media. Kinship ties were emphasized neither in the newspaper nor on Instagram, and pregnancy and motherhood were not consistently constructed on either medium. That women's kinship ties were not emphasized in newspaper representations is in contrast to what recent scholarship has found (Macharia, 2015). When in control of the world of representation, Qatar's top influencers largely created a gender-segregated one. While the world presented in the newspaper was by no means completely gender integrated, it was not as segregated as one presented by the influencers. As described previously, when women did appear in newspaper articles and photographs, they were more than twice as likely to appear alongside men than not (Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2), while on Instagram men appeared in only 14 percent of posts. Sports figured much more heavily in the newspaper than on Instagram, though that is largely due to several international sporting events that were staged during the data collection period. Overall, the findings indicate that *The Gulf Times'* representations of women largely mirror global trends, and that self-representation by Qatar's Instafamous women simultaneously conform to and subvert those representations. One example of this is in relation to visual narratives of feminine modesty: Dana Al Fardan subverts the expectation that as a Qatari woman she must cover her hair, while the other Qatari women in the study conform to that same expectation.

9.2 Conceptual and Theoretical Development

This dissertation incorporated three prominent communication frameworks from extant literature and applied them in this Arab Gulf context: symbolic annihilation, the presentation of self in everyday life, and postfeminist sensibilities. Each of these frameworks offered a different lens through which to understand women's representations and self-presentations in the media. Previous studies examining the symbolic annihilation of women in media, including the Global Media Monitoring Project (Macharia, 2015), provided a useful conceptual framework and methodological approach to understanding representations in the news and comparisons with self-representations on social media. Furthermore, using the GMMP codebook allowed for the empirical findings from this study to be easily contextualized in the global landscape. Goffman's framework on social role performance (1959) was instructive in the analysis of Instagram influencers and how they publicly define their identities and attempt to control others' perceptions of them. For example, being able to characterize front and back region social role performances allowed for further distinction between the function of the more permanent Instagram posts and the ephemeral Instagram stories. Goffman's framework for stereotypical gender expressions in advertisements (1979) allowed me to identify commonalities and differences across cultural contexts. Few of these gender expressions were evident in self-representations on Instagram. The framework was based on American advertisements in the 1970s, and that the minority of the gender expressions appeared here indicates not that this framework isn't useful, but rather than it is in need of a reconceptualization for the 21st century Arab Gulf. Additionally, Gill's postfeminist sensibilities (2007, 2016) comprised the most interesting framework of these three, in part because it is the most recently articulated. Without this framework, it would have been much more difficult to identify the communality of female empowerment in Qatar, even though this communality challenges the element of postfeminist sensibility that positions female empowerment as an individual struggle. Finally, the redefined concept of visibility described in Chapters 4 and 8 provided a yardstick by which to understand what visibility means in practice in the Arab Gulf. The most striking insight from considering the empirical data through that lens of visibility is that selective visual erasure and visual anonymity not only did not prevent women from expressing their identities, but it instead allowed their presence to be known in the first place. As this selective visual erasure was observed in women's self-representations on Instagram, it suggests that social media does offer women freedom in crafting their own visual narratives even when constrained by social norms and cultural traditions that would otherwise prevent their public visibility.

In a recent edited volume, Byerly (2018) challenged feminist media scholars to return to the roots of our dominant theories and "reflect on the seriousness of today's world and women's communicative presence in it" (p. 31). The world is changing, and we cannot be lazy in our theoretical efforts to understand it. Among the areas Byerly suggested revisiting was identifying women's silences and the structural forces that contribute to those silences. While this dissertation did not expressly focus on structural forces silencing women, it did identify both the ways women are silenced and the ways they forge their own visibilities. In doing do, it is my hope that I have heeded Byerly's call.

9.3 Future Research and Limitations

This dissertation focused on women's representations in an English-language daily newspaper, and it did not engage with the Arabic-language press. Additionally, it did not consider broadcast or online news, nor did it consider advertising or entertainment media. All of those venues also contribute to the social construction of reality and dominant gender narratives, and are worthy venues of investigation. Future research could apply the conceptual frameworks outlined in this study to these other forms of media. Moreover, the world of social media moves fast and furious, and in the time since this study was conceived, two popular new social media platforms have become popular in the Arab Gulf, Tik Tok and Clubhouse. As this study focused on visibility, future research that assesses visibility in an audio-based platform like Clubhouse could be useful in identifying another tool women can use to achieve visibility through visual anonymity. Further, this study showed that politics and the economy were largely absent from top influencers' Instagram accounts. In Qatar, the preferred platform for political debate is Twitter (Dennis & Martin, 2018), and researchers should apply a similar theoretical framework to understand how women participate in conversations on current events on that platform. Additionally, further research could engage in a visual analysis of newspaper photographs, as that would provide even greater insight into women's visibility practices in the press. Furthermore, while audience and production analyses are essential in understanding communication in the modern world, this dissertation focused exclusively on media content. Future research incorporating both audience and production analyses is encouraged.

One of the more interesting findings from this study was that even though female empowerment came up infrequently, when the topic did arise, it was framed as a communal effort rather than an individual struggle. Arab Gulf societies are more clan- and family-based than individualistic Western societies, and this is a topic worth further exploration. In a wider sample of media, will female empowerment be presented as an individual or a communal struggle? Beyond that, future researchers could use Gill's postfeminist sensibilities (2007,

2016) to gain insight into the shape of feminist activism in the Arab Gulf, and craft a new set of sensibilities that is rooted in the local history and feminist movement.

This study is not without its limitations. First, the sample of newspaper articles was created from a constructed two-week period, which limited the generalizability of the findings. To increase the generalizability to a greater time period, future research based on a constructed four-week sample from a year-long period would bolster the external validity of the findings. As it is, because two major co-ed international sporting events occurred during the newspaper data collection period, stories on women in sport were overrepresented. Second, this study examined only the English-language press. Even though studying the Arabic-language press was beyond my language proficiency, the empirical findings from the first phase of this study could still serve as a point of comparison for similar work in the Arabic-language press. Third, in the second phase of the study, analyzing all 733 posts made by the influencers during the data collection period was prohibitive. While winnowing the dataset to a more manageable size allowed me to complete the study, it also prevented me from seeing many more aspects to these women's self-representations on Instagram. Fourth, women's experiences and representations in the world cannot be divorced from their race, class, physical ability, or other identity markers. I attempted to analyze ethnicity in the first phase of the study, but the overwhelming majority of women were Arab, preventing the dataset from meeting thresholds necessary to perform statistical tests of significance. I was able to focus on religiosity to the extent that could be measured by the presence of a head covering. Otherwise, this study ignored intersectionality in measuring women's representations, and women in Qatar would be well-served by future research that embraced deeper exploration of intersectionality on several dimensions, including race and class. Fifth, this study did not include interviews with the influencers themselves, which would have provided additional data to analyze in understanding how they choose to represent themselves on Instagram.

Finally, it is important to position myself as a white Western woman studying media representations in an Islamic Arab country. That said, Qatar is a country whose population is overwhelmingly made up of foreigners, so as a white Western woman who has lived in Qatar for over seven years, I am very much part of the national milieu. All the same, Qatar is socially very segregated, and how I experience the country is very different how Qatari nationals and other foreign expatriates experience it. It is impossible to remove the researcher from her research, and it is quite possible that a Qatari woman conducting similar work would draw different conclusions. I eagerly anticipate the opportunity to discuss those differences should the opportunity arise.

9.4 Importance and Relevance of the Dissertation

Ultimately, this dissertation sought to make a theoretical, methodological, and empirical contribution not only to the growing body of global scholarship in feminist media studies, but also to the scholarship on Qatar. By understanding how women are presented in the news media and the alternative ways women present themselves on social media, scholars gain insight into the culture of the country, as well as how that culture informs the lives and representations of the women who live there. This dissertation also sought to understand how the interplay between the symbolic constructions of reality created by the news media and social media generate a more nuanced understanding not only of women's mediated representations in Qatar, but also of women's lived reality.

First, the study's theoretical contribution is derived from undertaking a study on the visibility of women in a country where their very visibility is contested. This study showed both the usefulness and the limitations of applying a universal codebook to studying the news media in Qatar. But relying exclusively on such an analysis that renders women relatively invisible would have done a tremendous disservice to a project that intended to highlight visibility. It would simply have reified the symbolic reality the news media constructed. By parsing the very notion of visibility, and analyzing an alternative outlet for such representation on social media, this dissertation allowed for theoretical development in the synthesis of the two phases of the study. The first phase alone would have simply conformed to current Western stereotypes about the invisible Gulf woman. Second, this dissertation offered a methodological contribution both by adapting the Global Media Monitoring Project codebook for the local context, and by comparing the news media with social media.

Finally, the empirical contribution is found in both phases of the study. The first phase showed that when women appeared in the news in Qatar, they appeared in a minority of news articles and photographs, but at rates higher than the global average. However, when considering the aggregate of individuals in the news, the rate at which women were named or quoted is lower than the global average, which reflects silencing, if not outright erasure, and neither is desirable. Additionally, the first phase showed that women were more likely to be associated with stereotypically "female" topics, such as social, health, and arts and media, and less likely to be associated with so-called masculine topics such as politics or the economy, despite, for example, a woman holding the spokesperson position at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These findings represent the first quantitative empirical investigation of women's representations in the news media in Qatar. The second phase of the study showed that when women can present themselves on social media, they are successful entrepreneurs, artists, diplomats, and leaders, though it is important to note the women were chosen because they

were leaders in their influencing field. Importantly, though, this phase did not intend to create a dichotomy between women in news media and women on social media. These women are artists and mothers and interested in beauty and fashion, but they create their own identities. And more often than not, they engaged in these activities as entrepreneurs themselves, as the job of an Instagram influencer is just that—a job. These women participate in the labor force through their social media activity.

Ultimately, this dissertation showed a symbolic construction of reality that reflects the predominant social values in the state of Qatar—men are in charge, and women aren't equally visible. But the dissertation also showed an alternate construction of both symbolic and material reality where women are mothers *and* leaders, artists *and* innovators, fashion mavens *and* entrepreneurs. This dissertation showed the nuanced reality of women in Qatar, which is more similar to than different from the nuanced reality of women in the rest of the world.

9.5 Reflections on the Research Process

Throughout this research, I was reminded of an interaction with a white American male academic I had at a conference after I had been living in Qatar for two or three years. In the hotel lobby, he saw the institutional affiliation on my name badge, and said, "Qatar, huh? What's it like to be a woman there?" After explaining that it wasn't so bad, especially for an educated white Western woman, I said, "But, really, what's it like to be a woman *anywhere*?" Indeed, there are stark gender-based inequalities written into laws in Qatar that I would not be subject to in my home country. These range from the bureaucratic, like expatriate women being barred from sponsoring their husbands' work permits, to the violent, like women likely facing prosecution for extramarital sex even in cases of rape. And women who come from low-income countries to work in blue-collar and domestic positions will always be more likely to experience the worst of these violations. But to look only at those examples and claim that it's easier or better to be a woman in the U.S. or UK is, at its heart, neocolonialist and Orientalist. The attitude also serves to erase the systemic misogyny that is still very much woven into any patriarchal culture, which Western cultures still very much are. This research project, as well as over seven years' residence in Qatar, have shown me again and again how similar the challenges are that women in the world face. In her Instagram stories from the dataset, Dana Al Fardan wrote of "malice" directed toward her, and of people trying to bring her down and take advantage of her. Sabrine Saadmalek shared poll questions in her Instagram stories that showed how viewers attempted to police her femininity through the perceived shortcomings of her religious practice. Unfortunately, this is how women across the world experience the internet. In a very recent post on International Women's Day on March 8, 2021, that fell outside of the data collection period, Alftoon Al Janahi captioned a portrait,

“You must think like a man, act like a lady, look like a young girl, and work like a horse 😇 #womensday.” These statements could have been written by any woman, anywhere. While there are certainly location-specific cultural and social constraints in every locale, what the data from the Global Media Monitoring Project show us, and what I learned again and again throughout this research project, is that women everywhere face limitations based on their gender. While social media provide some liberatory power to women to actively choose how they are presented in the media, they are still subject to misogynistic forces.

As I discussed above, I am a white American scholar, and with that I bring specific assumptions about gender equality, specifically in relation to gender segregation. On the one hand, my blood boils when I see a sign for a “Ladies” waiting area in even benign places, like the doctor’s office or the immigration department. On the other hand, I don’t think twice at the “Ladies Only” sign on the door of the salon where I get my hair cut. In the former example, I perceive gender segregation to be imposed in a situation where it is entirely unnecessary. In the latter example, I perceive gender segregation to be a protective force for a space for women to feel safe and free from the male gaze and the performative femininity that feels required. (Yes, even if the beauty salon is the very place where many women undergo maintenance on that performative femininity. The irony is rich!) I perceive my moral objection to gender segregation in the former case to stem from the immorality of “separate but equal” dictates that governed race relations in the United States for so long. The U.S. Supreme Court decreed separate could not be equal for Black Americans. Similarly, separate cannot be equal for women. So I was quite surprised when I found the world of the Instagram influencers to be so gender-segregated. I had conflated the liberatory promise of Instagram with gender integration. But, in fact, the Instagram universe of these influencers is more akin to the hair salon than it is to a government office. Women belong in equal spaces as men in government offices, but they are also entitled to the spaces that allow them to be woman among other women.

I also want to talk briefly about my relationship with these influencers. Prior to undertaking this dissertation research, I had had very little exposure to Instagram, as I generally do not interact frequently with social media. But after over a year following these ten women on Instagram for the purposes of this study, I continued following many of them after the data collection period ended on December 31, 2019. By that point, I was invested in parasocial relationships with them. I know that if I ran into one of them at a café or the grocery store, some part of my brain would believe that they know me as well as I think I know them. So when I saw on April 4, 2020, that Eileen Lahi’s husband posted on her Instagram stories that she had a full-term stillborn birth, it felt like a punch in the gut. Of

course, my emotions were quite raw at that point as a global pandemic was freshly underway, but I still mourned for her and her husband. But then I had an uncomfortable realization that I was also mourning the performance of new motherhood that would not be forthcoming on my Instagram feed. That's not to say I privileged my loss of entertainment over this family's loss of life. Rather, Lahi was a performer on my phone, not unlike the actors in my favorite scripted dramas on television, and I had been consuming her performance. When the script deviated from the normally upbeat palate of scenes from her life, I didn't like it. And I didn't like the realization that my relationship with social media was so foundationally an escapist one. And once it ceased to be, I wanted out.

It seems that Lahi may be having a similar conversation with herself. On February 21, 2021, Lahi posted a photograph of herself with a large platter of Turkish breakfast items. The accompanying caption describes the conflict she feels:

> Confession: I have been in a really weird place with Instagram for the last couple of months. I've had phases like this before, but never for this long. It starts off by me questioning the value of all that I am doing on here, and then it sort of spirals. Initially I thought I would just take a few days off from posting, but then those days ended up being weeks, and now I find myself here on-and-off and I don't like that. I genuinely don't want to disappear, because I LOVE the community we have built over here, and I thrive on connecting with all of you. It brings me SO much joy. However, I have to admit I have been really confused what to share and what not to share, and questioning the value of the content I put out there and pretty much doubting everything. When it comes to content creation, I am such a perfectionist and my goal is to stop obsessive overthinking and become a bit more easy-going about it all. 🤓

For Lahi, Instagram has been a community that provides her with positive experiences. But there is an expectation for her to create perfect content, and while she describes that as intrinsically motivated, this is likely extrinsically motivated through follower feedback, as well. Visibility labor requires perfection, and Lahi had been reliably providing that. However, the economy of visibility in which she actively participates also served to exploit the profound pregnancy loss she experienced. The stillbirth, while certainly not her fault, does fall short of the perfection required of her to succeed in the visibility economy. The traumatic event provided a space for Lahi to perform authenticity in her grieving, but it also positioned her loss as more content for consumption. As one of her followers, I consumed that loss. In the aftermath of that consumption, the exploitative, capitalist wheels of social media influencing has become ever more clear to me. It is my hope that these women influencers of Qatar, in their commitment to the communal struggle for female empowerment, can harness the platform not only to subvert dominant representations of women in the press, but also to subvert the dominant mechanisms of the visibility economy.

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Appendix A. Codebook for Newspaper Content Analysis

Q1: Headline

Are there people mentioned in the headline?

Groups of people are people; institutions ("Consumer Watchdog," "Hamad Medical Corporation") are not people. If gender can be identified from the article or photograph, then indicate the gender for the headline. The final choice, **person/people mentioned, but no gender identified**, should be restricted to references to groups of people. In other words, if the headline refers to an individual in a gender-neutral way, you should be able to read more from the article or photograph to determine that person's gender.

1: no headline
2. no person/people mentioned
3: only men mentioned
4: men and women mentioned
5: only women mentioned
6: person/people mentioned, but no gender identified

Q1B: Type of Item

What type of item is this?

A standalone photograph may or may not be accompanied by a caption. The caption may be short or long, but it will be in sans serif font. Even if it is a very long caption with a lot of information, if it uses a sans serif font, it is not considered an article. A standalone article has no photograph accompanying it. It is text only, or perhaps text with a graphic accompanying it (like the Ooredoo logo). An article with a photograph or multiple photographs is an article package.

1: standalone photograph with or without caption
2: standalone article with NO photograph
3: article with photograph(s) (Article Package)

Photographs

Q2-Q10 are to be coded for standalone photographs and photographs that are part of article packages. If there are multiple photographs, consider all of them together.

In all cases, gender-neutral collective nouns (people, persons, nurses, doctors, teachers) should not be coded by gender.

In photographs with groups of generally unidentifiable people (crowds, backs of heads, etc.), code categories as **unclear**, but if one or more people of that group are identifiable by gender/ethnicity, then do NOT code as unclear, and instead, code those individuals appropriately. As an example, in the photographs of the Georgetown professor's lecture—you should code unclear for Arab and non-Arab women, and for Arab men. However, because it is very clear there is a one non-Arab man (the professor), be sure to code that as **one non-Arab man/boy**, even though there may be other non-Arab men in the photograph (backs of heads). Similarly, in the photograph of the VCU-Q student at the tennis tournament, code **unclear** for non-Arab women, Arab men, and non-Arab men, but be sure to code **one Arab woman**, even though there may be other Arab women in the photograph that are unidentifiable (crowd shots).

Q2: Photograph—Arab women

An Arab woman is defined as a woman of Arab ethnicity, either by explicit mention, by inference by name, or by inference by appearance. This would include people assumed to be from Arabic-speaking cultures/countries, including, but not limited to: GCC countries, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Western Sahara. This would also include women of Arab ethnicity who are citizens/residents on non-Arab countries. For example, a European national of Arab ethnicity. A woman wearing an abaya and shayla should be considered Arab unless the context specifically suggests otherwise. An example is a woman wearing abaya at the Sri Lankan Embassy opening. She would be coded as non-Arab. However, in another photograph that includes multiple women in abayas at a Qatar National Library event, the women should be coded as Arab.
1: no Arab women included
2: one Arab woman/girl
3: more than one Arab woman/girl
4: unclear

Q3: Photograph—non-Arab women

A non-Arab woman is any woman who does meet the above definition.
1: no non-Arab women included
2: one non-Arab woman/girl
3: more than one non-Arab woman/girl
4: unclear

Q4: Photograph—Arab men

An Arab man is defined as a man of Arab ethnicity, either by explicit mention, by inference by name, or by inference by appearance. This would include people assumed to be from Arabic-speaking cultures/countries, including, but not limited to: GCC countries, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Western Sahara. This would also include men of Arab ethnicity who are citizens/residents on non-Arab countries. For example, a European national of Arab ethnicity.
1: no Arab men included
2: one Arab man/boy
3: more than one Arab man/boy
4: unclear

Q5: Photograph—non-Arab men

A non-Arab man is any man who does meet the above definition.
1: no non-Arab men included
2: one non-Arab man/boy
3: more than one non-Arab man/boy
4: unclear

Q6: Photograph—prominence

1: No people
2: No women
3: woman/women/girl(s) not prominently featured
4: men/women equal in prominence
5: woman/women/girl(s) prominently featured

Prominence can mean different things depending on the photograph. In general, by prominence we mean that the viewer's eye is naturally attracted to the female figures first due to their placement, appearance or behavior in the photograph. A woman/women/girl(s) could generally be considered prominent in a photograph if they meet the following criteria: the female(s) are positioned in or near the center of the photograph, and/or they appear closest to the camera, and/or they take up a significant portion of the photographic space, and/or they are looking directly into the camera, and/or are performing some sort of attention-grabbing action in comparison to others in the photograph. Note, sometimes a woman or girl's appearance, such as a distinguishable or colorful outfit, can cause them to stand-out in a photograph, giving them prominence in it. Also note, a woman could be considered prominently featured even if she is surrounded by all men, depending on her positioning, action, appearance, etc. Go with your gut – if your eye is naturally attracted to a female figure(s) more so than to the males in the photograph, then she is prominently featured.

Not-prominently featured could be described as the female figure(s) are positioned near the edges of a photograph (particularly if they are standing at the ends of a row of many men), and/or behind men, and/or they are not looking into the camera, and/or they appear to be performing a submissive action compared to others in the photograph (such as looking down, quietly listening to a male speaker, etc.) thereby diminishing their photographic charisma/pull factor, and/or they are significantly outnumbered in the photograph, and/or their appearance/behavior does not help them to "stand out" amongst the sea of men. Women photographed from behind are not prominent.

Men and women equal in prominence in a photograph could be described as that there are equal numbers of men and women in an image, and/or the dress and/or behavior of the sexes does not cause one to stand out over the other, and/or the camera is so far away from the people in a photograph that, even if gender can be determined, the subjects' facial features are hard to distinguish and the men and women look evenly staggered.

Q7: Photograph caption—Arab women

An Arab woman is defined as a woman of Arab ethnicity, either by explicit mention, by inference by name, or by inference by appearance. This would include people assumed to be from Arabic-speaking cultures/countries, including, but not limited to: GCC countries, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Western Sahara. This would also include women of Arab ethnicity who are citizens/residents on non-Arab countries. For example, a European national of Arab ethnicity.
1: no Arab women referenced (named or quoted)
2: one Arab woman/girl referenced
3: more than one Arab woman/girl referenced

Q8: Photograph caption—non-Arab women

A non-Arab woman is any woman who does meet the above definition.
1: no non-Arab women referenced (named or quoted)
2: one non-Arab woman/girl referenced
3: more than one non-Arab woman/girl referenced

Q9: Photograph caption—Arab men

An Arab man is defined as a man of Arab ethnicity, either by explicit mention, by inference by name, or by inference by appearance. This would include people assumed to be from Arabic-speaking cultures/countries, including, but not limited to: GCC countries, Iraq, Syria,

Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Western Sahara. This would also include men of Arab ethnicity who are citizens/residents on non-Arab countries. For example, a European national of Arab ethnicity.
1: no Arab man referenced (named or quoted)
2: one Arab man/boy referenced
3: more than one Arab man/boy referenced

Q10: Photograph caption—non-Arab men

A non-Arab man is any man who does meet the above definition.
1: no non-Arab man referenced (named or quoted)
2: one non-Arab man/boy referenced
3: more than one non-Arab man/boy referenced

Articles

Q11-Q15 are to be coded for standalone articles and articles that are part of article packages.

Q11: Article—Arab women

An Arab woman is defined as a woman of Arab ethnicity, either by explicit mention, by inference by name, or by inference by appearance. This would include people assumed to be from Arabic-speaking cultures/countries, including, but not limited to: GCC countries, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Western Sahara. This would also include women of Arab ethnicity who are citizens/residents on non-Arab countries. For example, a European national of Arab ethnicity.

A person is mentioned when they are simply referred to in the third person. This includes paraphrased quotes such as, “The Sudanese president said he was happy about relations with Qatar.” A person is quoted when their exact words are attributed to them via a direct quote, such as, “The Sudanese president said, ‘I am happy about relations with Qatar.’”

1: no Arab women included
2: one Arab woman/girl mentioned, but not quoted
3: more than one Arab woman/girl mentioned, but not quoted
4: one Arab woman/girl quoted (once or multiple times)
5: more than one Arab woman/girl quoted
6: more than one Arab woman/girl quoted – mix of mentions and quotes

Q12: Article—non-Arab women

A non-Arab woman is any woman who does meet the above definition.
A person is mentioned when they are simply referred to in the third person. This includes paraphrased quotes such as, “The Sudanese president said he was happy about relations with Qatar.” A person is quoted when their exact words are attributed to them via a direct quote, such as, “The Sudanese president said, ‘I am happy about relations with Qatar.’”
1: no non-Arab women included
2: one non-Arab woman/girl mentioned, but not quoted
3: more than non-Arab one woman/girl mentioned, but not quoted
4: one non-Arab woman/girl quoted (once or multiple times)
5: more than one non-Arab woman/girl quoted
6: more than one non-Arab woman/girl quoted – mix of mentions and quotes

Q13: Article—Arab men

An Arab man is defined as a man of Arab ethnicity, either by explicit mention, by inference by name, or by inference by appearance. This would include people assumed to be from Arabic-speaking cultures/countries, including, but not limited to: GCC countries, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania, Western Sahara. This would also include men of Arab ethnicity who are citizens/residents on non-Arab countries. For example, a European national of Arab ethnicity.
A person is mentioned when they are simply referred to in the third person. This includes paraphrased quotes such as, "The Sudanese president said he was happy about relations with Qatar." A person is quoted when their exact words are attributed to them via a direct quote, such as, "The Sudanese president said, 'I am happy about relations with Qatar.'"
1: no Arab men included
2: one Arab man/boy mentioned, but not quoted
3: more than one Arab man/boy mentioned, but not quoted
4: one Arab man/boy quoted (once or multiple times)
5: more than one Arab man/boy quoted
6: more than one Arab man/boy quoted – mix of mentions and quotes

Q14: Article—non-Arab men

A non-Arab man is any man who does meet the above definition.
A person is mentioned when they are simply referred to in the third person. This includes paraphrased quotes such as, "The Sudanese president said he was happy about relations with Qatar." A person is quoted when their exact words are attributed to them via a direct quote, such as, "The Sudanese president said, 'I am happy about relations with Qatar.'"
1: no non-Arab men included
2: one non-Arab man/boy mentioned, but not quoted
3: more than one non-Arab man/boy mentioned, but not quoted
4: one non-Arab man/boy quoted (once or multiple times)
5: more than one non-Arab man/boy quoted
6: more than one non-Arab man/boy quoted – mix of mentions and quotes

Q15: Article—prominence

1: No people
2: No women
3: woman/women/girl(s) present, but not prominent
4: woman/women/girl(s) prominent, but not equal
5: woman/women/girl(s) prominent and equal
6: woman/women/girl(s) prominent and dominant

To be classified as **present, but not prominent**, a woman/girl would not be considered prominently featured if she is simply named and no real context is given as to why she is important to the story or what role she played in it. Perhaps she is included simply in a list of names. Perhaps her credentials are missing, such as the organization she works for and her title. Perhaps she is only referenced as a direct object rather than as a subject of action (for instance, a male doctor describes one of his female patients in a quote).

To be classified as **prominent**, a woman/girl's full name (and possibly title) should be given and the article should explain or describe why she is central to the news story. She might be mentioned or referenced near the beginning of the piece. However, even if she not, she would still be considered prominent if she is quoted or referenced substantially elsewhere in the article. She would be considered prominent if she comes across as either the main

character/selling point of an article, and/or she is used as an expert source. Note, for some stories (such as crime reports), a woman's name might not be given. But if she and her behavior/actions/story are the main topics of the piece, then she would be considered prominent in it.

To be classified as **prominent, but not equal**, there is still more space allocated to men than woman/women in the article, despite meeting above criteria for prominence.

To be classified as **prominent and equal,** the article meets the above criteria for prominence for women, and there is the same amount of space given to men and women in the article.

To be classified as **prominent and dominant**, the article not only meets the criteria for prominence, but the woman/women are given more space than the man/men.

Q16: Article package—prominence

1: No people
2: No women
3: woman/women/girl(s) present, but not prominent
4: woman/women/girl(s) prominent, but not equal
5: woman/women/girl(s) prominent and equal
6: woman/women/girl(s) prominent and dominant

To be classified as **present, but not prominent**, a woman/girl would not be considered prominently featured if she is simply named and no real context is given as to why she is important to the story or what role she played in it. Perhaps she is included simply in a list of names. Perhaps her credentials are missing, such as the organization she works for and her title. Perhaps she is only referenced as a direct object rather than as a subject of action (for instance, a male doctor describes one of his female patients in a quote).

To be classified as **prominent** in an article package, a woman/girl's full name (and possibly title) should be given and the article should explain or describe why she is central to the news story. She might be mentioned or referenced near the beginning of the piece. Her photograph may appear alongside the article. However, even if she not, she would still be considered prominent if she is quoted or referenced substantially elsewhere in the article. She would be considered prominent if she comes across as either the main character/selling point of an article, and/or she is used as an expert source. Note, for some stories (such as crime reports), a woman's name might not be given. But if she and her behavior/actions/story are the main topics of the piece, then she would be considered prominent in it.

To be classified as **prominent, but not equal**, there is still more space allocated to a man/men than a woman/women in the entirety of the article package, despite meeting above criteria for prominence.

To be classified as **prominent and equal,** the article meets the above criteria for prominence for women, and there is roughly the same amount of space allocated to men and women in the holistic package—including accompanying photographs.

To be classified as **prominent and dominant**, the article not only meets the criteria for prominence, but the woman/women are given more space than the man/men in the holistic package—including accompanying photographs.

Photograph/Article Qualities

Q17-Q26 are to be coded for photographs and articles. If this is an article package that includes an article and photograph/s, answer for the whole package.

Q17A: Section

There are four sections that appear In *The Gulf Times.* These are distinct standalone parts of the newspaper noted by each appearing as a separate .pdf in the archives of gulf-times.com. Each is also demarcated by a different color masthead, header, and/or page layout: the main front page section that contains primarily national and international news carries a maroon masthead and header and is in a broadsheet format; the business section that contains a navy blue masthead and header and is in a broadsheet format, the sport section that contains a forest green masthead and header and is in a broadsheet format, and the community section that contains a maroon masthead and header and is in a tabloid format. These four sections appear seven days a week, with the exception of the community section, which does not appear on Saturdays.

1: Front page section
2: Business section
3: Sport section
4: Community section

Q17B: Article/Photograph Placement

1: Top of page
2: Middle of page
3: Bottom of page

Q18: Space

1: Full page
2: Half page (1/2 page)
3: One third page (1/3 page)
4: Quarter page (1/4 page)
5: Less than quarter page (1/4 page)

Q19: Article/Photograph Type

1: News
2: News analysis
3: Brief
4: Feature
5: Opinion
6: Other

A **news** article/photo is meant to inform readers about something that is currently happening or an important issue and provides a summary of facts. An article would be several paragraphs long and also include quotes. Weather reports should always be coded as news. A news article is also a record of an event happening.

A **news analysis** is an evaluation of a news report that goes beyond the represented facts and gives an interpretation of the events based on the data, current facts and/or history. It is an

effort to give more context to the news story/event.

A **brief** is usually not more than 3-4 paragraphs, but can be definitely much less, and a maximum of 5-inches in length. Usually appears in the left column of a newspaper's front page. Very short and concise. They are usually labeled as briefs, but not always. Briefs typically appear in the left-hand column of the first page, but they don't always. A brief is a very short story with no byline that is in a sans serif font.

Features can cover any topic, but are generally written with more descriptions, scene-settings and anecdotes. They are typically longer than the average news story, and the pacing is also more leisurely and less straight-to-the-point. Features also tend to focus on people and the human element of a story. Features are generally seen has "softer, non-hard news," such as cultural events, theater, lifestyle, travel, etc., but that is not always the case. Features can definitely cover controversial, gritty and pressing issues, too. But generally, the writer would illustrate the issue by focusing on one or a few people's individual stories.

Example: if a hard news story recounts how 1,000 people are being laid off from a local factory, a feature story might focus on just one of those workers, portraying their grief at losing their job.

An **opinion** article is one in which the writer expresses his or her personal opinion.

Only use the category **other** as an absolute last resort. You should use this category sparingly, if at all.

Q20: News Value

1: The power elite
2: Celebrity
3: Entertainment
4: Surprise
5: Bad News
6: Good News
7: Magnitude
8: Relevance
9: Follow-up
10: Newspaper agenda

The news value is the reason that article or photograph made it into the newspaper that day. You may feel that stories can fall into multiple categories, so base your judgment on the headline and first few paragraphs. In the journalistic principle of the inverted pyramid, the most important information comes first, and the least important information will be included at the end.

Stories coded as **the power elite** concern powerful individuals, organizations, or institutions. Think about the power elite as the people who make things happen in the world. They have real power. Politicians, business leaders, royals, ministers, and similar. Examples: Sheikha Moza, the Emir, Akbar Al Baker, Donald Trump after being elected president, etc.

Stories coded as **celebrity** are about people who are already famous, but not famous for being powerful. These would include movie stars, musicians, social media influencers. Examples: Dana Al Fardan, Kim Kardashian, Donald Trump as the host of Apprentice before he began his political career, sports stars, well-known news anchors. The litmus test is whether this

person could get an endorsement deal—would Rolex pay them to sell their watches, would Ooredoo pay them to endorse their service, for example.

Stories coded as **entertainment** are meant to serve as entertainment for the reader. This may or may not include stories about the entertainment industry (which may instead be coded as celebrity). These stories concern sex, show business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs, or witty headlines. Sports articles should always be coded as entertainment.

Stories coded as **surprise** have an element of surprise and/or contrast. Something that is novel, strange, different or weird. Something you would not expect to see or hear about in everyday life. Examples could include: a masked man who climbs the Torch for publicity, a cow born with two heads, etc., Think of this journalism cliché: "When a dog bites a man it's not news. But when a man bites a dog, it is news."

Stories coded as **bad news** are stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy. This is the presence of particularly bad news. A story about a recent battle in Syria that focused on loss of life would be coded as bad news. A story about a summit with Syrian, Russian, and Arab leaders about ending the war, would be coded as power elite. Crime stories should be coded as bad news, as should stories about condolences or condemnations of violence.

Stories coded as **good news** are stories with particularly positive overtones, such as rescues or cures. This would be a story about researchers finding a cure for cancer, or an organization making a donation to charity (like Qatar ExxonMobil making a donation to a Qatari orphans' organization). Articles about charity should be coded as good news.

Stories coded for **magnitude** are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in potential impact. This would include news that affects many people's lives. The more people it affects, the more important the story. For instance, a bus crash that killed 60 people would be considered more important than a car crash that killed one. Impact also depends on the audience. Stories that specifically emphasize the number of people affected. It's basically all about numbers.

Stories coded for **relevance** are stories about issues, groups, and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience. These could also include articles that provide useful information, such as an article describing how the country's new custom procedures will work, how to change a tire efficiently, a piece about a Vodafone raffle and how to enter, roads to avoid because of construction, **weather forecasts**, etc. Consider what is more interesting and important to Doha readers: a road closure that will affect traffic in Lusail for a week, a tax hike for petrol, layoffs at Qatar Foundation, article explaining what changes to Qatar's sponsorship law will mean for expats, etc.

Stories coded for **follow-up** are stories about subjects already in the news. For example, a story about a chemical attack in Syria affecting a dozen people this morning would be coded as bad news, but a story about the survivors of last week's chemical attack in Syria would be coded as follow-up.

Stories coded for **newspaper agenda** are stories that set or fit the news organization's own agenda.

Q21: Article/Photograph Topic

Sometimes several topics will be covered within the same story. Choose the one that is given most prominence - e.g. in terms of the amount of time or commentary devoted to it.

Politics and Government

1. Women politicians, women electoral candidates, …
2. Peace, negotiations, treaties… (local, regional, national)
3. Other domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process …
4. Global partnerships (international trade and finance systems, e.g. WTO, IMF, World Bank, debt) …
5. Foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping …
6. National defense, military spending, military training, military parades, internal security …
7. Other stories on politics and government

Economy

8. Economic policies, strategies, modules, indicators, stock markets, ...
9. Economic crisis, state bailouts of companies, company takeovers and mergers …
10. Poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need …
11. Women's participation in economic processes (informal work, paid employment, unemployment, unpaid labor)
12. Employment
13. Informal work, street vending, …
14. Other labor issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, other employment and unemployment
15. Rural economy, agriculture, farming practices, agricultural policy, land rights …
16. Consumer issues, consumer protection, regulation, prices, consumer fraud … (any product recall should be coded here)
17. Transport, traffic, roads …
18. Other stories on the economy (business stories could be coded here)

Science and Health

19. Science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments
20. Medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (not EBOLA or HIV-AIDS) …
21. EBOLA, treatment, response…
22. HIV and AIDS, incidence, policy, treatment, people affected …
23. Other epidemics, viruses, contagions, Influenza, BSE, SARS …
24. Birth control, fertility, sterilization, amniocentesis, termination of pregnancy …
25. Climate change, global warming
26. Environment, pollution, tourism …
27. Weather forecast
28. Other stories on science or health

Social and Legal

29. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Post 2015 agenda, Sustainable Development Goals
30. Family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents …

31. Human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities …
32. Religion, culture, tradition, controversies, teachings, celebrations, practices …
33. Migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia …
34. Other development issues, sustainability,
35. Education, childcare, nursery, university, literacy
36. Women's movement, activism, events, demonstrations, gender equality advocacy …
37. Changing gender relations, roles and relationships of women and men inside and outside the home …
38. Family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights …
39. Legal system, judicial system, legislation (apart from family, property & inheritance law) …
40. Disaster, accident, famine, flood, plane crash, etc.
41. Riots, demonstrations, public disorder, etc.
42. Other stories on social or legal issues

Crime and Violence

43. Non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice) …
44. Violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence …
45. Gender violence based on culture, family, inter-personal relations, feminicide, harassment, rape, sexual assault, trafficking, FGM…
46. Gender violence perpetuated by the State
47. Child abuse, sexual violence against children, neglect
48. War, civil war, terrorism, state based violence
49. Other stories on crime and violence

Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports

50. Celebrity news, births, marriages, deaths, obituaries, famous people, royalty …
51. Arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance …
52. Media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men
53. Beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery …
54. Sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding …
55. Other stories on celebrities, arts, media

Other

56. Use only as a last resort and explain

Q22: Scope of story

1: Local: Has importance within your city, community, area
2: National: Has importance across your country
3: Sub-Regional and Regional: Involves your sub region and region
4: Foreign, international: involves other countries or the world in general (e.g., global warming)

Code the widest geographical scope that applies: if the event has both local and national importance, code national. Code scope from your own perspective in the country where you live. Examples: A story on the new design of the Al Thumama World Cup stadium is important both locally (in the Al Thumama neighborhood), and nationally (hosting the 2022 World Cup is relevant to the entire country), so you would “code up” to the widest

geographical scope that applies: **2: National: Has importance across your country**. A story on the completion of Sports Intersection is **1: Local: Has importance within your city, community, area.** Generally, stories about localized road construction in Doha should be coded as **1: Local: Has importance within your city, community, area.**

3: Sub-Regional and Regional is defined as the GCC countries (Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE) and the wider Middle East geographic region, as defined by Wikipedia's listing for "Middle East" (Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Yemen).

4: Foreign, international is defined as any country outside of the list of Sub-Regional/Regional countries.

Q23: Is the story about a particular woman or group of women?

1: Yes
2: No

Most newsmakers - i.e. the people whose actions and opinions are reported in the news - are men. But women do sometimes 'make the news' in a significant way. We want to establish the kinds of story that focus centrally on women. Some news stories focus on a group of women, or on an individual woman - e.g. a story about a women's football team, or about a woman who commits a crime. Other stories deal with matters that affect women in a particular way - e.g. a story about women's unemployment, or about the incidence of HIV-AIDS among women. In all the examples above, the stories are about particular women or groups of women.

Q24: Does this story clearly highlight issues of inequality between men and women?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Don't know/unclear

Stories that highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men include those that focus directly on an area of inequality. For example, career advancement, wages and salaries, distribution of and access to resources, or discrimination in relation to rights of various kinds. It is important to note that stories that focus centrally on women do not necessarily highlight issues of inequality. For example, an item that features an interview with a female economics minister might focus on her views about trade tariffs, or general economic policy. This story would be coded **2: No**. However, if the minister spent time in the interview describing government strategies to reduce the earnings gap between women and men, the story would indeed highlight inequality issues. In this case you would code **1: Yes.** Similarly, it is important to note that some stories that do not focus centrally on women may in fact highlight inequality issues. For instance, a story about the launch of a scheme to provide loans and subsidies for small-scale businesses might examine whether women and men are likely to benefit equally from the scheme, whether information about the scheme is reaching equal numbers of women and men, and so on. In this case you would code **1: Yes.** But a story about the launch of such a scheme that simply reports on the amount of money available, or the kinds of business that are eligible, would be coded **2: No.** If you are unsure, or cannot decide whether or not the story clearly highlights equality issues, code **3: Don't know/unclear**.

Q25: Does this story clearly challenge gender stereotypes?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Don't know/unclear

Some stereotypes about women and men are fairly universal. For example, women are generally perceived to be unambitious, irrational, fragile, dependent; men are usually regarded as ambitious, rational, strong, independent. You will be aware of the stereotypes that are commonly attached to women and men in your own culture. Many news stories clearly reinforce stereotypes. Some stories clearly challenge these stereotypes. Examples on 'challenging stereotypes' Stories that challenge stereotypes include those that overturn common assumptions about women and men in relation to their attributes, their expertise of competence, their interests, etc. For example, a story in which women experts are discussing economic policy, or a story about male nurses. Some stories may challenge stereotypes in more complex ways. For example, a story on voting preferences may dispel the perception that women are politically uninformed. Stories that challenge stereotypes will often introduce new ways of thinking about an issue, new angles and fresh perspectives. The language (choice of words) and images (choice of photos) in the item will help you to decide what code to use. If you are unsure, or cannot decide, code **3: Don't know/unclear**

Q26: Does this story warrant further analysis?

1: Yes
2: No

We intend to make a detailed analysis of some of the news stories, but we need your help in identifying suitable stories. We want to draw attention to certain tendencies or patterns in news coverage – from the worst to the best. For example: stories that perpetuate stereotypes, stories that challenge stereotypes, stories that fail to include women's opinions or points of view, stories that have a gender balance of sources, stories that contribute to an understanding of inequalities between women and men, etc. Considering this list of examples do you think that this particular story would be a useful example to analyze in more detail? Other factors to consider are: Whether the story challenges assumptions about women's roles and their responsibilities, or men's roles and their responsibilities; Whether the story respects the human dignity and rights of the people in it; Whether the headline reflects the essence of the story fairly or whether it conveys stereotypes; Whether the images illustrate the content of the story fairly or whether they convey stereotypes; Whether the language is overtly sexist or gender-biased; Where the story is placed or positioned on the page and what articles surround it; etc.

People in the News

Q27-Q50 are to be coded for standalone articles and articles appearing as part of packages.

For each newspaper story, you should code the first three individuals mentioned/quoted in the article. **Do not include people whose names simply appear among a single list of five or more names.** Instead, include any person if:
The story is substantively about them, even if they are not interviewed or quoted.
The story is substantively about them, even if they are not named (GCC man, Arab man, Qatari man)
The person is interviewed in the story.
The person is quoted in the story, either directly or indirectly

A person is quoted directly if their own words are printed in the story - e.g., "'I am disappointed and angry about the continued use of drugs in sport,' said the President of the Olympic Committee."
A person is quoted indirectly if their words are paraphrased or summarized in the story - e.g., "The President of the Olympic Committee today expressed anger at the incidence of drug use."

Do not code:
Groups (e.g. a group of nurses, a group of soldiers)
Organizations, companies, collectivities (e.g. political parties)
Characters in novels or movies (unless the story is about them)
Deceased historical figures (unless the story is about them)
People who are simply mentioned or listed in the story (unless the story is about them)

Q27/Q35/Q43: Sex

1: Female
2: Male
3: Other: Transgender/Transsexual
4: Unclear/Do not know

Q28/Q36/Q44: Ethnicity

1: Arab
2: Non-Arab
3: Unclear/Do not know

Q29/Q37/Q45: Age

1: Do not know/not explicitly mentioned
2: 12 years or under
3: 13-18
4: 19-34
5: 35-49
6: 50-64
7: 65 years or more

Code the age of the person only if it is specifically mentioned in the newspaper story. A person's age is not always relevant to the news. We want to find out whether women and men are equally likely to be described in terms of their age. Even if you know the age of the person concerned, you must code **1: Do not know/not explicitly mentioned** if this person's age is not explicitly stated in the story. Similarly, although you might be able to guess the age of the person - e.g. because there is a photograph - you must code **1: Do not know/not explicitly mentioned** unless their age is actually mentioned in print.

Q30/Q38/Q46: Occupation or position

1: Not stated. Story does not describe the person's occupation or position.
2: Royalty, ruling monarch, deposed monarch, any member of royal family
3: Government official, politician, president, government minister, political leader, political party staff, spokesperson …
4: Government employee, public servant, bureaucrat, diplomat, intelligence officer
5: Police, military, para-military group, militia, prison officer, security officer, fire officer …
6: Academic expert, lecturer, teacher

7: Doctor, dentist, health specialist
8: Health worker, social worker, childcare worker
9: Science or technology professional, engineer, technician, computer specialist…
10: Media professional, journalist, video or film-maker, theatre director ..
11: Lawyer, judge, magistrate, legal advocate, legal expert, legal clerk …
12: Business person, executive, manager, entrepreneur, economist, financial expert, stock broker, university presidents and deans (unless speaking in an academic role)
13: Office or service worker, non-management worker in office, store, restaurant, catering …
14: Tradesperson, artisan, laborer, truck driver, construction, factory, domestic worker, chef
15: Agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry worker …
16: Religious figure, priest, monk, rabbi, mullah, nun …
17: Activist or worker in civil society organization, non-governmental organization, trade union, human rights, consumer issues, environment, aid agency, peasant leader, United Nations
18: Sex worker,
19: Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, singer, radio or television personality …
20: Sportsperson, athlete, player, coach, referee, those in leadership roles in athletic federations and associations …
21: Student, pupil, schoolchild
22: Homemaker, parent, either female or male. (Code this only if no other occupation/position is given.)
23: Child, young person (up to 18 years). (Code this only if no other occupation/position is given.)
24: Villager or resident engaged in unspecified occupation. (Code this only if no other occupation/position is given.)
25: Retired person, pensioner. (Code this only if no other occupation/position is given, e.g. a retired police officer is coded 5; a retired politician is coded 3.)
26: Criminal, suspect. (Code this only if no other occupation/position is given, e.g., a lawyer suspected of committing a crime is coded 11; a former politician who has committed a crime is coded 3.)
27: Unemployed. (Code this only if no other occupation/position is given, e.g. an unemployed actor is coded 19; an unemployed person who commits a crime is coded 26.)
28: Other. Use only as a last resort, and specify the occupation/position in the text box.

Code one occupation or position for each person in the news. If the person is described as having two occupations, you will have to make a choice - e.g. choose the occupation that seems most relevant in the context of the news item.
People who are self-employed should be coded in the category that corresponds to their area of work - e.g. a self-employed computer analyst is coded **9: Science or technology professional, engineer, technician, computer specialist**, or a person who owns a small business is coded **12: Business person, executive, manager, entrepreneur, economist, financial expert, stock broker**.
In the case of persons who are well-known to the general public - e.g. Barack Obama, Malala Yousafzai, your country's president - code the occupation even if it is not apparent from the content of the news item.
In the case of persons who are not well-known to the general public, but who are known to you personally, code **1: Not stated. Story does not describe the person's occupation or position** if the occupation is not apparent from the content of the news item.

Q31/Q39/Q47: Function in the news story

In what function or capacity is this person included in the story?
1: Do not know: the person's function is not clear.

2: Subject: the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said, etc. (e.g., an official of an organization, even though they may be speaking on behalf of the organization.)
3: Spokesperson: the person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group or an organization. A spokesperson does not hold a role of power in the organization; in other words, they would never have the power in the organization to have done something newsworthy. ("Mike" character from VEEP.)
4: Expert or commentator: the person provides additional information, opinion or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise
5: Personal experience: the person provides opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience; the opinion is not necessarily meant to reflect the views of a wider group
6: Eyewitness: the person gives testimony or comment, based on direct observation (e.g. being present at an event)
7: Popular opinion: the person's opinion is assumed to reflect that of the 'ordinary citizen' (e.g., in a street interview, vox populi etc.); it is implied that the person's point of view is shared by a wider group of people.
8: Other. Use only as a last resort, and specify the occupation/position in the text box.

Choose one code only for each person in the story. If there are several people in the story, some of them may have the same function. E.g. the story might be about two people, in which case both of these people would be given code **2: Subject: the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said, etc**.; the story might include three eyewitnesses, in which case all three would be given code **6: Eyewitness: the person gives testimony or comment, based on direct observation**. Code **2: Subject: the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said, etc.** takes precedence over other codes. E.g. if the person is both a subject and a spokesperson, choose code **2: Subject: the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said, etc.**

Q32/Q40/Q48: Is the family role given?

1: Yes
2: No

Women are often defined in the news in terms of their familial relationships (wife of, daughter of etc.). Men are sometimes defined in this way, too (husband of, son of etc.). Is this person described, at any point within the story, in terms of a family relationship (e.g. wife, husband, daughter, son, aunt, uncle, grandmother, grandfather etc.)?

Q33/Q41/Q49: Is this person directly quoted in the story?

1: Yes
2: No

A person is directly quoted if their own words are printed, e.g. "The war against terror is our first priority" said President Bush. In this case, you would code **1: Yes**. If the story paraphrases what the person said, that is not a direct quote, e.g. President Bush said that top priority would be given to fighting the war against terror. In this case, you would code **2: No**.

Q34/Q42/Q50: Is there a photograph of this person in the story?

1: Yes
2: No
3: Don't know/unclear

Appendix B. Codebook for Ethnographic Content Analysis of Instagram Influencer Posts and Stories

Photographic and Social Media Conventions

Subject stance. This captured whether the subject of the photograph posed for the picture, or if it was a candid shot.

Photographer. This indicated whether the photograph was a selfie or taken by someone else, even if the other person is unknown.

Selfie. If an image was a selfie, this captured whether it was taken with the subject looking directly into the camera, or if it was a selfie taken in a mirror.

Effects. This asked whether the subject was using any obvious photo filters or effects, such as dog ears or a "beauty" filter that may show smooth skin or plump lips.

Lighting. Did the image make use of the light in the environment, or did the photographer use extra lighting, such as a ring light?

Environmental Markers

Home. This indicated whether the image was made inside or outside the home.

Public-ness. This indicated whether the subject was in a public space or a private space. Spaces outside the home that could be private could include a women's hair salon or spa, as men are not allowed, or a hotel room.

Location. Was the exact geographical location included, either by geotag or some other indicator?

Setting. What was the generic location of the image, for example, a shop, the bedroom, or on the street?

Content of the Posts

People in the photograph. The number and names of any people who appeared in the photograph were coded.

Topic. The same 55 topics from the Global Media Monitoring Project that were used in the first phase of the study were used here to indicate what the topic of the post or story was.

Function. The function of the post or story could include an explicit paid partnership, a promotion of self that was not tied to a brand or product, a post explicitly tied to the woman's non-influencer profession, or a personal post.

Caption. The content of the caption was included to understand the dominant themes.

Social Role Performance and Impression Management (Goffman, 1959)

Region. Front-stage was coded when the post or story was very intentional, and back-stage was coded when the post or story was more candid.

Appearance. This was relatively fixed for each woman, and noted her ethnicity, along with other physical characteristics, like hair color or height.

Manner. This indicated the subject's more short-lived appearance in the particular post, such as facial expressions, tone of voice, or posture.

Gender Displays in Advertisements (Goffman, 1979)

Relative size. If the woman was in an image with others, what was her size relative to them?

Function ranking. If there were multiple people in the image, were they larger or taller if they had a more important function in the image?

Family. In cases where the woman was pictured with family members, it was noted how she appeared in relation to others in her family.

Feminine touch. This was coded if the woman was touching, holding, or caressing an object or part of their own body in a ritualistic, rather than a utilitarian, way.

Subordination. This was coded if the woman adopted a subordinating posture, such as a canted head, or a bashful knee bend.

Licensed withdrawal. This was coded when the woman appeared to be at some psychological remove from the situation or the viewer, such as looking off in the distance.

Postfeminist Sensibilities (Gill, 2007, 2016)

Feminine corporality. This was coded if the woman's femininity was noted through her body, rather than through other parts of self, such as words or actions.

"Natural" differences. This was coded if there was any explicit discussion or mention of the inevitability of the gender roles based on sex.

Makeover paradigm. This was coded to see if any of the women participated in acts of transformation that would lead to some kind of feminine perfection.

Self-surveillance and self-discipline. This was coded if the women explicitly spoke or displayed acts of watching or disciplining their emotional selves.

Sexual subject. This was coded if any of the women presented themselves as sexual subjects with agency, but that still conformed to male fantasies.

Sexualization. This coded for whether women were sexualized through infantilization.

Feminism as identity marker. This was coded if the women made explicit expressions of feminism or allying with the feminist movement.

Empowerment. This was coded individual for when women discussed empowerment as an individual struggle, or structural, if she discussed it on a macro-level.

Technical Elements of Social Networked Sites (Boyd, 2011)

Persistence. For Boyd, this meant content that could be recorded and archived. Technically, Instagram posts and stories can be archived, as I have done here with a third-party app function. However, from the user's perspective, only posts are automatically archived, and stories are intended to disappear after 24 hours. So, all posts were considered persistent, while all stories were not considered so.

Replicability. Posts or stories that are re-posts of others' posts or stories were considered replicable. However, reposts of these ten women's posts by others outside of this group were outside the scope of this data collection.

Scalability. By Boyd's definition, scalability is the "*possibility* of tremendous visibility, not the guarantee of it" (2011, emphasis in original).While one does not have to formally follow a public Instagram account to view the content, the number of followers is an appropriate indication of scalability, as is the number of likes (denoted by a heart). So, the number of likes on a post is a measure of this. Stories do not have a public-facing "like" function.

Searchability. While any of these women are searchable by their real name or @accountname, when it comes to individual posts, hashtags or indicating the @accountname of someone else is the only searchable element. So, searchability here was indicated by whether the woman posting used hashtags or @accountnames of others.

Appendix C. Phase 1 Findings

Table A1 Gender Representation in Newspaper Articles by Topic

(Category: Politics and Government)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Domestic Politics/ Government	Count	3	0	0	**3**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Global Partnerships	Count	12	3	2	**17**
		% within Topic	70.6%	17.6%	11.8%	**100.0%**
	Foreign/International Politics	Count	34	5	0	**39**
		% within Topic	87.2%	12.8%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	National Defense/Military/Security	Count	5	0	1	**6**
		% within Topic	83.3%	0.0%	16.7%	**100.0%**
	Other Politics/Government	Count	1	1	0	**2**
		% within Topic	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		**Count**	**55**	**9**	**3**	**67**
		% within Topic	**82.1%**	**13.4%**	**4.5%**	**100.0%**

Table A2 Gender Representation in Newspaper Photographs by Topic

(Category: Politics and Government)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Domestic Politics/ Government	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Global Partnerships	Count	8	5	0	**13**
		% within Topic	61.5%	38.5%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Foreign/International Politics	Count	35	14	0	**49**
		% within Topic	71.4%	28.6%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	National Defense/Military/Security	Count	5	1	1	**7**
		% within Topic	71.4%	14.3%	14.3%	**100.0%**
	Other Politics/Government	Count	1	1	0	**2**
		% within Topic	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		**Count**	**50**	**21**	**1**	**72**
		% within Topic	**69.4%**	**29.2%**	**1.4%**	**100.0%**

Table A3 Gender Representation in Newspaper Articles by Topic

(Category: Economy)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Economic Policies/ Strategies/Indicators	Count	13	0	1	**14**
		% within Topic	92.9%	0.0%	7.1%	**100.0%**
	Poverty/Social Welfare/Aid	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Women's Participation in Economy	Count	0	1	1	**2**
		% within Topic	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	**100.0%**
	Employment	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Labor Issues	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Rural Economy/Agriculture	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Consumer Issues	Count	26	5	3	**34**
		% within Topic	76.5%	14.7%	8.8%	**100.0%**
	Transport/Traffic/Roads	Count	15	5	0	**20**
		% within Topic	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Economy	Count	23	3	1	**27**
		% within Topic	85.2%	11.1%	3.7%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**83**	**14**	**6**	**103**
		% within Topic	**80.6%**	**13.6%**	**5.8%**	**100.0%**

Table A4 Gender Representation in Newspaper Photographs by Topic

(Category: Economy)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Economic Policies/ Strategies/Indicators	Count	13	1	1	**15**
		% within Topic	86.7%	6.7%	6.7%	**100.0%**
	Poverty/Social Welfare/Aid	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Women's Participation in Economy	Count	0	1	1	**2**
		% within Topic	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	**100.0%**
	Employment	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Labor Issues	Count	1	2	0	**3**
		% within Topic	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Rural Economy/Agriculture	Count	4	0	0	**4**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Consumer Issues	Count	14	11	0	**25**
		% within Topic	56.0%	44.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Transport/Traffic/Roads	Count	5	8	0	**13**
		% within Topic	38.5%	61.5%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Economy	Count	11	7	0	**18**
		% within Topic	61.1%	38.9%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**50**	**31**	**2**	**83**
		% within Topic	**60.2%**	**37.3%**	**2.4%**	**100.0%**

Table A5 Gender Representation in Newspaper Articles by Topic

(Category: Science and Health)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Science/Technology/ Research/Funding/ Discoveries	Count	14	5	5	**24**
		% within Topic	58.3%	20.8%	20.8%	**100.0%**
	Medicine/Health/Safety	Count	12	11	9	**32**
		% within Topic	37.5%	34.4%	28.1%	**100.0%**
	Epidemics/Viruses/ Influenza	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Climate Change	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Environment/Pollution/ Tourism	Count	7	0	0	**7**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Weather Forecast	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Science/Health	Count	4	1	2	**7**
		% within Topic	57.1%	14.3%	28.6%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**40**	**18**	**16**	**74**
		% within Topic	**54.1%**	**24.3%**	**21.6%**	**100.0%**

Table A6 Gender Representation in Newspaper Photographs by Topic

(Category: Science and Health)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Science/Technology/ Research/Funding/ Discoveries	Count	12	7	2	**21**
		% within Topic	57.1%	33.3%	9.5%	**100.0%**
	Medicine/Health/Safety	Count	4	16	6	**26**
		% within Topic	15.4%	61.5%	23.1%	**100.0%**
	Epidemics/Viruses/ Influenza	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Climate Change	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Environment/Pollution/ Tourism	Count	1	3	0	**4**
		% within Topic	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Science/Health	Count	2	3	2	**7**
		% within Topic	28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**19**	**31**	**10**	**60**
		% within Topic	**31.7%**	**51.7%**	**16.7%**	**100.0%**

Table A7 Gender Representation in Newspaper Articles by Topic

(Category: Social and Legal)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Sustainable Development Goals	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Family Relations	Count	0	0	2	**2**
		% within Topic	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	**100.0%**
	Human/Women's/Children's/Minority Rights	Count	2	2	0	**4**
		% within Topic	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Religion/Culture/Tradition	Count	9	5	1	**15**
		% within Topic	60.0%	33.3%	6.7%	**100.0%**
	Migration/Refugees/ Asylum Seekers	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Development Issues/Sustainability	Count	2	1	1	**4**
		% within Topic	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	**100.0%**
	Education	Count	17	16	3	**36**
		% within Topic	47.2%	44.4%	8.3%	**100.0%**
	Women's Movement/ Gender Equality	Count	1	0	2	**3**
		% within Topic	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	**100.0%**
	Changing Gender Relations	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Legal System	Count	2	1	0	**3**
		% within Topic	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Disaster/Accident	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Social/Legal	Count	4	1	0	**5**
		% within Topic	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**41**	**27**	**9**	**77**
		% within Topic	**53.2%**	**35.1%**	**11.7%**	**100.0%**

Table A8 Gender Representation in Newspaper Photographs by Topic

(Category: Social and Legal)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Sustainable Development Goals	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Family Relations	Count	0	1	1	**2**
		% within Topic	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	**100.0%**
	Human/Women's/Children's/Minority Rights	Count	2	1	0	**3**
		% within Topic	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Religion/Culture/Tradition	Count	8	8	1	**17**
		% within Topic	47.1%	47.1%	5.9%	**100.0%**
	Migration/Refugees/ Asylum Seekers	Count	0	2	0	**2**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Development Issues/Sustainability	Count	2	2	0	**4**
		% within Topic	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Education	Count	6	28	7	**41**
		% within Topic	14.6%	68.3%	17.1%	**100.0%**
	Women's Movement/ Gender Equality	Count	0	0	3	**3**
		% within Topic	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	**100.0%**
	Changing Gender Relations	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Legal System	Count	1	2	0	**3**
		% within Topic	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Disaster/Accident	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Other Social/Legal	Count	2	4	0	**6**
		% within Topic	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**23**	**50**	**12**	**85**
		% within Topic	**27.1%**	**58.8%**	**14.1%**	**100.0%**

Table A9 Gender Representation in Newspaper Articles by Topic

(Category: Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Celebrity News	Count	2	1	1	**4**
		% within Topic	50.0%	25.0%	25.0%	**100.0%**
	Arts	Count	9	12	2	**23**
		% within Topic	39.1%	52.2%	8.7%	**100.0%**
	Media	Count	1	0	1	**2**
		% within Topic	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	**100.0%**
	Beauty Contests/ Models/Fashion	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Sports	Count	64	30	8	**102**
		% within Topic	62.7%	29.4%	7.8%	**100.0%**
	Other Celebrity/Arts/Media	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		**Count**	**77**	**44**	**12**	**133**
		% within Topic	**57.9%**	**33.1%**	**9.0%**	**100.0%**

Table A10 Gender Representation in Newspaper Photographs by Topic

(Category: Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports)

			Men Only	Women and Men Present	Women Only	Total
Topic	Celebrity News	Count	1	1	1	**3**
		% within Topic	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	**100.0%**
	Arts	Count	6	15	1	**22**
		% within Topic	27.3%	68.2%	4.5%	**100.0%**
	Media	Count	0	1	0	**1**
		% within Topic	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
	Sports	Count	57	33	15	**105**
		% within Topic	54.3%	31.4%	14.3%	**100.0%**
	Other Celebrity/Arts/Media	Count	1	0	0	**1**
		% within Topic	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	**100.0%**
Total		**Count**	**65**	**50**	**17**	**132**
		% within Topic	**49.2%**	**37.9%**	**12.9%**	**100.0%**

Table A11 Gender of Quoted Individuals in Newspaper Articles by Category

		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Category	Politics and Government	2	2.0%	21	6.6%	**23**	**5.5%**
	Economy	17	17.2%	96	30.2%	**113**	**27.1%**
	Science and Health	28	28.3%	60	18.9%	**88**	**21.1%**
	Social and Legal	16	16.2%	39	12.3%	**55**	**13.2%**
	Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	36	36.4%	102	32.1%	**138**	**33.1%**
Total		**99**	**100.0%**	**318**	**100.0%**	**417**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=12.056, df = 4, p<.02

Table A12 Gender Representation in Occupations of Individuals Named in Newspaper Articles

		Female		Male		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Individual Occupation	Royalty	4	2.4%	57	7.9%	**61**	**6.9%**
	Government Official	7	4.2%	119	16.6%	**126**	**14.2%**
	Government Employee	9	5.4%	51	7.1%	**60**	**6.8%**
	Academic Expert/Teacher	19	11.4%	48	6.7%	**67**	**7.6%**
	Doctor/Health Specialist	10	6.0%	19	2.6%	**29**	**3.3%**
	Media Professional/Filmmaker	1	0.6%	9	1.3%	**10**	**1.1%**
	Businessperson/Executive/Manager	39	23.4%	201	28.0%	**240**	**27.1%**
	Civil society/NGO/UN Worker	9	5.4%	39	5.4%	**48**	**5.4%**
	Celebrity/Artist/Actor	17	10.2%	14	1.9%	**31**	**3.5%**
	Sportsperson	42	25.1%	153	21.3%	**195**	**22.0%**
	Student	10	6.0%	9	1.3%	**19**	**2.1%**
Total		**167**	**100.0%**	**719**	**100.0%**	**886**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=72.679, df = 10, p<.001

Table A13 Gender Representation Among Leaders Named in Newspaper Articles

			Female	Male	Total
Individual Occupation	Royalty	Count	4	57	**61**
		% within Individual Occupation	6.6%	93.4%	**100.0%**
	Government Official	Count	7	119	**126**
		% within Individual Occupation	5.6%	94.4%	**100.0%**
	Businessperson/ Executive/Manager	Count	39	201	**240**
		% within Individual Occupation	16.3%	83.8%	**100.0%**
Total		Count	**50**	**377**	**427**
		% within Individual Occupation	**11.7%**	**88.3%**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=10.968, df = 2, p<.005

Table A14 Gender Representation and Space Allocation in Newspaper Articles

		Women Absent		Women Present		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Article Space Allocation	One Third Page	76	29.1%	50	39.4%	**126**	**32.5%**
	Quarter Page	103	39.5%	57	44.9%	**160**	**41.2%**
	Less than Quarter Page	82	31.4%	20	15.7%	**102**	**26.3%**
Total		**261**	**100.0%**	**127**	**100.0%**	**388**	**100.0%**

Note. x^2=11.352, df = 2, p<.005