The American University in Cairo
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THE REPRESENTATION OF VEILED VERSUS NON-VEILED WOMEN IN
ADVERTISING:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LOCAL AND WESTERN BRANDS’ INSTAGRAM
POSTS

A Thesis Submitted By
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The Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
2020
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Mass Communications

Under the supervision of
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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisors Dr. Naila Hamdy, and Dr. Ahmed Taher for the continuous support of my Masters study and related research, for their patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. Their guidance helped me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. Besides my advisors, I would like to thank the rest of my thesis committee: Dr. Tara Al Kadi, for her insightful comments and encouragement. My sincere thanks also go to the department of Journalism and Mass Com. For their continuous support and guidance. Special thanks to Nesrine Azmy and Nihal Elgammal. I thank my fellow students and graduates who helped me throughout this journey, Yousra Taha, Islam Asaad, Alia El Mohamdes, Basma Taha, Omneya Nagib, and Mona Alsaba. Special thanks to my university friends and mentors. Last but not the least, I would like to thank my family: my parents and to my brothers, and to my friends for 20 years whom I consider family for supporting me throughout writing this thesis and my life in general.
Abstract

This study utilizes content analysis techniques to examine if there is a significant difference in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in both local and western brand’s Instagram posts. The brand’s Instagram posts are all essentially created for the purposes of advertising and promoting products and/or services. The content analysis is based on Erving Goffman’s “gender analysis” model, testing the following five categories: Feminine Touch, Ritualization of Subordination, Licensed Withdrawal, Body Display, and Independence. Only one of the five categories showed a significant difference in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in brands’ Instagram posts. Findings revealed that there is a significant difference in “Body Display” between veiled versus non-veiled women in brands’ Instagram posts. Interestingly, the study analysis showed that, the significant difference in “Body Display” between veiled and non-veiled women appeared only in western brand’s Instagram posts, while local brands’ posts showed no difference in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women along the five categories tested.
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Context of the Study

Despite progress in the frequency and form of representation, the presence of veiled Muslim women in advertising raises many questions about stereotypes that have been impeded in advertising throughout history. Advertising resonates with the norms of the social and work ecosystems. The question is; does hijab dictate a level of respect in dealing with women in society and work. This study attempts to investigate how veiled women are portrayed in advertisements on the social platform Instagram. More specifically, this study investigates whether old sexist stereotypes related to depicting women in traditional advertising are still used in portraying veiled women in advertising on Instagram.

By observing how veiled versus non-veiled women are depicted in ads would reveal the impact of hijab representation on the perception of women in the minds of brand managers, creative and art directors and accordingly affecting the perception of the ads’ targeted audiences.

To single out the effect of hijab representation the researcher had to keep all the other variables of the study equal or constant. For that purpose all other variables of the study will be
fixed as much as possible. The Ads sample therefore includes 100 pairs of Instagram advertisements, in each pair, the medium (Instagram) is the same, the brand origin (Local/Western) is the same, the brand name is the same, the product group is the same, and the time frame of the campaign is the same. Due to all of the above, most likely, the creative director, the art director, and the photographer, and even the positioning of the brand will be the same.

In order to investigate the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in Instagram brands’ posts, and to test the 100 pairs retrieved from Instagram, a quantitative content analysis technique will be utilized. The Content analysis findings revealed that the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in the sample of Instagram posts is indifferent, except when it comes to “body display.” Interestingly, the difference in “body display” between veiled and non-veiled women appeared only between the 50 pairs of western brands’ Instagram posts, and did not appear between the 50 pairs of local brands’ posts. Therefore, the existence of the veil in brands’ Instagram posts, whether local or western did not cause a significant difference in the representation of women in advertising through Instagram.

**Thesis Structure**

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one entails the introduction to the thesis. Chapter two provides the literature of the research where topics such as: The portrayal of women in advertising, The Muslim veiled woman and the representation of hijab in the media, and western versus local brands personality and culture. Chapter 3 explains the conceptual model
of the research that is; Goffman’s gender analysis model. The chapter explains the different
categories of Goffman’s model with a focus on the five categories used in this study and their
variables. Steps of constituting the quantitative content analysis methodology and research
hypotheses are explained in chapter four in relation to Goffman’s the conceptual model. Chapter
five encompasses the research data analysis using SPSS and findings, while chapter six
highlights the results arising from the content analysis, and their relationship to the literature.
Chapter Seven concludes this thesis by summarizing the main findings, focusing on the
limitations of the study and proposing recommendations for further research.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature review

2.1 The portrayal of women in advertising

The representation of women in advertising has been the topic of many studies over the past four decades. In the past advertising studies have revealed that females are usually depicted in domestic roles as housewives or as dependent on male counterparts. The studies of the depiction of women in advertising then developed to conclude that females are highly sexualized and stereotyped in advertisements even if not as dependent on men (Middleton, Turnbull & de Oliveira, 2019). Recent studies have investigated the existence of gender stereotypes in advertising along with studying how the portrayal of women in advertising has evolved over the years, especially now in the age of new media and feminist advocacy.

The stereotypical representation of gender in advertising.

A major significance was given to the study of stereotypes in academia for the past forty years (e.g. Goffman 1979; Furnham and Mak 1999; Wolin 2003; Eisend 2010; Wirtz, Sparks, and Zimbres 2017). Nevertheless, the debate about the harmful societal and individual effects of consistently stereotyping females and female roles in advertising only reached the field in recent years (Association of National Advertisers 2016; World Federation of Advertisers 2018). According to UN Women 2019, retro stereotypes and social customs have a negative impact on
women’s careers and personal lives while, gender portrayal in advertising is a hindrance to change. It is important to address stereotypical portrayals of women in advertising, since advertising that promotes narrow representations of gender acts as an agent in “the social construction of gender identity,” and this narrow representation of gender also has the ability to restrict and limit individual choices, desires and opportunities (Middleton, Turnbull & José de Oliveira, 2019).

Gender stereotypes are widely known and simplified versions of an idea or a person, behavior, and social category. Gender stereotypes or gender role stereotypes are commonly used in advertising in an attempt to send a simple message to the target audience in a short amount of time, “ritual displays” of gender, which could be immediately identified by the audience are also a technique that is commonly used in advertising (Jhally 2014; Windels 2016). (Middleton, Turnbull & José de Oliveira, 2019).

These stereotypes include “roles, behaviors or locations” that are usually associated with a certain gender in society, for instance, women are responsible for domestic household tasks. In addition, depictions of gender that include improper objectification and sexualization are also massively criticized by the public. Advertisements that portray negative stereotypes about gender are considered a potential for harm and wrongdoing in society (Advertising Standards Authority 2018).

Throughout history, advertising represents gender in predictable and definite frames. Women are usually depicted as a nurturing and loving character but rather dependent. They are featured in ads promoting products that are “supposed” to decrease stress and to make managing
life easier. A study of gender representation in 1300 prime time TV ads found that although women are the person who conventionally buys the majority of the products advertised, they were actually underrepresented as a “primary character” in the commercials except when they are featured in a beauty or health advertisements (Chu, Lee & Kim, 2016).

![Figure 1: Robinson’s Patent 1920s advertisement.](image)
Figure 2: Oxo1980s advertisement.

Figure 3: Volkswagen 2018 advertisement.
Table 1: Female role stereotypes in advertising, an anthology of studies since 2000. Source: (Middleton, Turnbull & de Oliveira, 2019.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housewife</th>
<th>Sexual object</th>
<th>Professional/career-oriented</th>
<th>Decorative/object of Beauty</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tan, Ling, and Theng 2002</td>
<td>Uray and Burnaz 2003 (Turkey) Lass and Hart 2004 (United Kingdom, Germany Italy) Frith, Shaw, and Cheng 2005</td>
<td>Dallmann 2001 (Germany and Japan) Acevedo et al. 2006 (Brazil) An and Kim 2007 (Korea, United States) Nassif and Gunter 2008 (Britain, Saudi Arabia) Das 2011 (India) Knoll, Eisend, and Steinhagen 2011 (Germany) Mager and Helgeson 2011 (United States) Paek, Nelson, and Vilela 2011 (Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, South Korea, Thailand, United States) Tartaglia and Rollero 2015 (Italy, Netherlands) Hatzithomas, Boutsouki, and Ziamou 2016 (United States) Tsichla and Zotos 2016 (Cyprus) Matthes, Prieler, and Adam 2016 (Austria, Brazil, China, France, Germany, Japan, Netherlands, Romania, Slovakia, South Korea, Spain, United Kingdom, United States) Verhellen, Dens, and De Pelsmacker 2016 (Belgium)</td>
<td>Frith, Shaw, and Cheng 2005 (Singapore, Taiwan, United States) Acevedo et al. 2006 (Brazil) Döring and Pöschl 2006 (Germany) An and Kim 2007 (Korea, United States) Lin 2008 (Taiwan) Plakoyiannaki et al. 2008 Plakoyiannaki and Zotos 2009 (United Kingdom) Mager and Helgeson 2011 (United States) Shao, Desmarais, and Kay Weaver 2014 (China) Tartaglia and Rollero 2015 (Italy, Netherlands) Hatzithomas, Boutsouki, and Ziamou 2016 (United States) Tsichla and Zotos 2016 (Cyprus)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The rise of feminist advertising “femvertising.”

In response to rising concerns regarding the misrepresentation of gender in advertising, a movement arose in advertising that empower women and adequately represent them. This movement was born from the drive of the consumers and the ethical and moral behavior of the business (Baxter, Kulczynski, and Ilicic 2016; Chu, Lee, and Kim 2016; Åkestam, Rosengren, and Dahlen 2017; Champlin et al. 2019; Royle 2019). Advertising that empowers and accurately represents gender, namely “Gender- positive” advertising makes sense from both the business and the consumer’s sides. For the brands that feature gender positive advertising promoting equality and empowerment receive positive reactions from their audiences (Association of National Advertisers 2016; Facebook Business 2017; Unstereotype Alliance 2018).

In addition and as a response to the massive backlashes to stereotypical ads and the rise of women in leadership positions in the advertising and the creative industry (Hsu 2018), different businesses see this as an opportunity to rebrand their advertising messages to include words of empowerment to women and to promote gender equality. This viral practice, known as “femvertising” (Zeisler 2016) basically increase advertising that empowers women and decreases the tone of gender stereotypes and gender inequality with a celebration tone focusing on women and their achievements (Champlin, Sterbenk, Windels & Poteet 2019).

Femvertising is now a popular advertising “appeal” (Åkestam, Rosengren, & Dahlen 2017), since marketers realized that femvertising sells, and it has a positive effect on the brand’s overall reputation, also it promotes a positive image and message to women about women
(Zmuda and Diaz 2014). Furthermore, many advertising organizations have launched awards that promote and encourage femvertising. For example, The Cannes Film Festival created the Glass Lion award for social change in 2015, and award that recognizes visual works that challenge gender stereotypes in the industry. In addition, in 2015 SHE Media introduced the #Femvertising Award; honoring brands that challenge gender biases (Windels, Champlin, Shelton, Sterbenk & Poteet, 2019).

Recently there have been many examples of award winning and breakthrough advertising campaigns that received favorable feedback from their audiences and practitioners in the field of advertising for their ability to challenge female stereotypes and featuring a suitable representation of women and gender. Some of these examples are Sport England’s This Girl Can, 2016; Ariel India’s #ShareTheLoad, 2016; and State Street Global Advisors’ Fearless Girl, 2017 (Middleton, Turnbull & José de Oliveira, 2019). In spite of change, the usage of gender stereotypes in advertising is a deeply rooted inherited practice in the field, which makes it harder to reconcile. (Windels 2016; Kantar 2019). Despite the fact that 88% male marketers, and 76% of female marketers believe that they stay away from gender stereotypes, almost half of their consumers (whether females or males) think that they are underrepresented in advertising (Kantar 2019).

Despite being highly appreciated and celebrated by many people, femvertising still has its own criticism. Femvertising used female empowerment and gender equality “by leveraging the language of liberation” to sell products (Zeisler, 2016). Also the Guardian negatively criticized femvertising referring to it as a type of sexism (Iqbal, 2015). The critique for femvertising comes
from the fact that in some occasion’s femvertising utilize messages from postfeminist discourses, which uses both feminist and post-feminist messages causing a lot of complexities (Gill 2007; McRobbie 2009). Usually in postfeminist discourses “feminist ideals” can both be incorporated and rejected (Gill 2007). Taking the case of Dove’s femvertising campaign for Real Beauty as an example for postfeminist; the ads in the campaigns tell women that they are beautiful and “sexy at any size” and that women are beautiful just the way they are. Although many view these messages to be positive, the complexity of postfeminist ideals appears when the campaigns messages are viewed as a way to urge women “to control their beliefs through psychic regulation.” it is important therefore to critically evaluate femvertising to limit its ability to cultivate inequality through postfeminist ideals (Windels, Champlin, Shelton, Sterbenk & Poteet, 2019).

Since the focus of the study is to investigate the representation of veiled and non-veiled women in advertising, the study will briefly examine stereotypes regarding the representation of veiled Muslim women in the media and in advertising.

2.2 The Muslim veiled woman

It is important to give context on the choice of comparing veiled and non-veiled women in advertising, and to do so, this section shed light on the concept of the Islamic veil, comparing the representation of veiled and non-veiled women in both western and local media.
**Hijab and the veiled woman identity.**

A Hijab (Muslim veil) is an Arabic word, which was recently commonly used in the English language to identify the religious scarf that a Muslim woman uses to cover her head and hair (Tarlo, 2010). Nevertheless, the word Hijab states to more than a style of clothing; it is the portrayal of a set of ideas about filtration, separation, as well as the hegemony of space, and emotions (Tarlo, 2010). Muslim women who live in western irreligious societies have the choice of publicly wearing their hijab or head veil, however, the issue of Islamophobia has restrained such choice. Ever since the events of the 11 September 2001 attacks on United States, many European countries limited the means in which Muslim women would publicly dress (Kavakci, Kraepelin, 2016). In March 2004, France outlawed public school staff who chooses to wear hijab and other ‘religiously affiliated’ outfits to work. In April 2007, the French government expanded the ban to be applicable for all government personnel or anyone ‘delivering a public service’ (Zerouala, 2014). In 2011, during the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy’s, France banned Niqab wearing or face veil, in public spaces. Veiled women in France protested the ban, considering banning the face veils an unjustified limitation on the right to express their religious distinctiveness (Chrisafis, 2013). According to Agence France-Presse (AFP), similar laws were conceded in the Netherlands, as the Dutch government outlawed ‘face-covering’ in public spaces May 2015.

Emma Tarlo (2010), author of Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith, also suggests that by separating herself, a hijab wearing women aspire ‘to control or modify the way others interact with her.” Similarly in the book Veil: Modesty, Privacy and Resistance, anthropologist Fadwa El
Guindi (1999) states that all what the hijab symbolizes is “about sacred privacy, sanctity, and the rhythmic interweaving of patterns of worldly and sacred life.” When wearing hijab, Muslim women perform the continuous creation of self and body that sociologist Ashley Mears (2011) labels as “aesthetic labor.” In the veiled woman’s case, the term may be re-introduced as Islamic aesthetic labor. The Islamic aesthetic labor concept might integrate what sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1983) has labeled ‘emotional labor’ or the “management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display.” When a woman decides to wear her veil or hijab, she comprehends that she should control her manners and emotions to honor her religious identity. Hence, although hijab, literally speaking, is a head scarf, hijab embodies a comprehensive system of defined manners that include confining bodily space, confining bodily practice, and aesthetic labor execution (Kavakci, Kraeplin, 2016).

Naomi Wolf (1991) states in (The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used against Women,) that in western society’s behaviors and expectations were influenced by the male-controlled standards that set the norms for female appearance and portrayal in the society. Hijab plainly control behavior – both for the woman wearing it and for men with whom she communicates with. According to anthropologist Linda Arthur (1999), “Hijab involves the control of the bodily space of a woman, especially in those instances involving the spatial relationships between men and women.” For women wearing hijab, modest behavior is demonstrated by what Arthur refers to as “the control of the bodily space,” or what sociologist Joanne Entwistle (2000) identifies as “situated bodily practice” (Kavakci, Kraeplin, 2016).
The representation of veiled women in western media.

Despite claiming to be a democratic institute, western media is oftentimes held responsible for validating racism and re-affirming bias against religious groups like Muslims (Bullock & Jafri, 2000). Additionally, literature suggests that conventionalist reporting and antagonistic stereotyping have embodied the media coverage of the Islamic religion and Muslims. Western media consistently represent veiled Muslim women as oppressed, terrorists, or occasionally as suppressed sexual objects (Posetti, 2006). This premise coincides with Edward Said’s theory of Orientalism (Said, 1978). Said’s Orientalism argues that to the western society, the Muslim world and its citizens are viewed as strangers, savages, and unprogressive. This outsider view is especially apparent in western media coverage of Muslim women (Posetti, 2006). The majority of media stories which include Muslim women portray them wearing traditional religious clothing, usually wearing a hijab or Niqab, and their limited role in the media is solely commenting on issues namely the Islamic veil (Posetti, 2006).

In their research about media misrepresentation of Muslim women, Bullock & Jafri argued that Muslim women in the Canadian media are usually portrayed as “outsiders: as foreign and distant others.” They are represented as part of a religion that does not support Canadian values, “anti-Canadian,” and a religion that advocates violence and women oppression (2000). They further elaborate that in western media, there are three different characters for Muslim women: First being the mysterious oriental belly-dancer, second is the "the oppressed Muslim woman," who is commonly shown as a hijab/veil wearer or the woman who cannot drive. The third and last character is the "militant Muslim woman," usually depicted wearing military
clothes and holding weapons (Bullock & Jafri, 2000). These characters presented by the media are in agreement with the western "cultural consensus" (Said, cited in Bullock & Jafri, 2000), which depict Islam as a rigid, non-progressive, violent religion a view on Islam known as "Orientalism" (Said, cited in Bullock & Jafri, 2000). Additionally and in accordance with the frameworks of Orientalism, Wilkins’s study of 230 U.S media photos of Muslim Middle Eastern women, discovered that women are stereotyped as passive, veiled, with no personality. The only exception of this representation is the depiction of female politicians. Wilkins implied that the portrayal of Muslim women in these photos “is a reflection of both the operational practices of editors, who assign a new value to items, and of a moral and political discourse that assigns an ideological value to these photos” (Wilkins, cited in Bullock & Jafri, 2000).

In her study recent study of the U.S news coverage, Rochelle Terman revealed that the coverage of Muslim women (whom she defines as women from “Muslim majority or Middle Eastern Societies”) is led by “confirmation bias” (2017). Muslim women are only shown in the US media had they lived in countries defined by bad records of women’s rights, and gender discrimination. “This framing” of Muslim women according to Terman is biased in two ways. Firstly, by portraying Muslim societies as more sexist than its non-Muslim counter, the US media is reflecting an “Intergroup bias.” Secondly, it also reflects “an inter-reality bias,” as stories concerning women in Muslim societies constantly cover content about gender discrimination regardless of the fact that these societies may have relatively satisfying records of keeping Women’s rights (Terman, 2017).
Terman believes her findings are an important aspect tied to Muslim stereotypes in the American press. Also, the significance of her findings lies in its contribution to the political communication debate about the effects of evasive indirect media stereotypes on shaping the public opinion of societies. Same manner that media stories covering the criminal scene determine the public opinion regarding African Americans (Dixon and Linz 2000; Entman 1992; Gilliam and Iyengar 2000; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Peffley, Shields, and Williams 1996, cited in Terman, 2017), and the different welfare policies (Gilens 1996a, 1996b; Kellstedt 2000; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002 cited in Terman, 2017). Based on her above argument, Terman concluded that the US news media is disseminating a message to the public that Muslims are particularly sexist, which consecutively influence policies concerning Muslims in the US and abroad, in addition to perceptions and attitudes towards Muslims in general (Terman, 2017).

**The representation of veiled women in local media.**

In 2013, and after the various events of the Egyptian uprising the number of veiled women depicted in the local media has increased, comparing to a rarely showing them before the 2011 revolution. Women wearing the Islamic hijab were more frequently represented in talk shows, TV series, and advertising (Ezzidin, 2017). Despite the newly acclaimed right to be frequently depicted in the Media, movies and TV dramas in Egypt continued the negative stereotypes by misrepresenting hijab and the veiled women. In 2017 a TV series called “the seventh neighbor” or Sabee Gar drew the attention of the public for its successful storytelling techniques that related to people's daily lives. Yet, the series did not escape audiences’ criticism when many people accused the show of depicting veiled women as passive and/or religiously
extreme. One character example is a woman who is rather conservative with a cheerless mood that upsets and repels her husband away from her (Ezzidin, 2017). The impractical depiction in the Egyptian series is not limited to Sabee Gar.

In Ramadan of 2017 another show called “the highest price” Le Aa’la Se’r also stirred negative feedback from many viewers as the show told the story of successful ballerina who decided to change the course of her life turn down her whole career and wear the niqab. At the same time, her husband cheats on her and her life began to fall apart. Although the plot of the show justified many of the decisions taken by the main character the outrage of the viewer’s came as a response to the end of the show where she decides to take off the niqab and that's when things began to turn in her favor (Ezzidin, 2017).

On the other hand, the TV series (A girl named Zat) “Bent Esmaha Zat” received recognition and approval from viewers for its inclusive look on the hijab. The storyline of the show follow the different life phases of a girl named “Zat.” The show starts with the different social and political changes that any Egyptian girl had to go through from the 1950s all the way to the 2011 revolution. The show also gives much context on the development of Zat’s character, and sheds light on the social reasons that compelled Zat to wear the hijab in 1990, which was adequately placed in the show (Ezzidin, 2017).
2.3 Western brands versus local brands

Middle Eastern and North African cultures as collectivists generally differ from their western individualistic cultures (Hofstede, 2001). Brand values and positioning made for western countries therefore may not be compatible with the Middle Eastern /North African Markets, at least without localization and standardization efforts.

Western brands and culture.

In the scope of this research, western brands are either American or European brands that have recently started to include Muslim women in their advertising, and since many of the western photos extracted from Instagram accounts are from American, and European brands, this section will focus on American and European advertising cultures, and the differences between western and local techniques of representations.

Since its inception, the American branding and advertising have been packed with national “political” values such as freedom, life and the pursuit of happiness, commonly referred to a “The American Dream.” by the 21st century American advertising companies have managed to open its agencies all over the world, expanding the influence of the American values to become a global aspiration (Grow, 2017).

The American advertising has long been accused of its narrow representation of ethnicities and religions. It wasn’t until the 1970s that African American women were portrayed in American mainstream advertising, and often avoided. Multicultural agencies were established around the same time in the United States focusing their efforts on portraying multicultural
Americans in an appropriate manner, rather than the inadequate representation by the general agencies at that time (Grow, 2017).

Since the beginning of the 21st century and the integration of social media platforms into advertising in the past decade, advertising in the US has changed dramatically to keep up with the changing consumers’ needs. To give an example of this change, in 2004 one of the most iconic advertising campaigns was the Ogilvy campaign for Dove, titled “Real Beauty. “The campaign challenges the objectification of women in advertising and the brand became associated with women advocacy since then for their consistent launch of women empowering advertising campaigns (Grow, 2017).

From a European perspective, identity and personality are usually used to define brand positions in what is called self-brand congruity (Mooij, 2019). Brands in Europe use identities in advertisements for the European consumers relate more to brands where they can see their personalities portrayed or a brand where they can also reflect their self-concepts upon. These self-concept communicative methods however, are more successful in individualistic cultures of Western Europe and might not be as applicable in collectivistic cultures around the world. In most western cultures people tend to evaluate and judge identity of the self and of others based on “personality traits,” and other characteristics like occupation and age, while in collectivistic cultures, which many Middle Eastern countries are, people see themselves in terms of their ability to have strong relationships with others in the society (Mooij, 2019).
Therefore, western brands focus on the “ideal self” as people in western individualistic cultures tend to relate more to these propagating strategies, whereas brand in collectivistic cultures tend to use social status and social collectivism as themes in their advertising more often than western cultures. In western countries therefore bodies are considered part of one’s identity, where body esteem is considered non-separate from self-esteem. Studies conducted on western cultures found that people in western cultures, but even more so in The United States, the physical attractiveness of women in assessed based on very strict concepts, promoting self and body dissatisfaction. Hence and similar to the US, Unilever Europe launched a campaign for Dove beauty encouraging women to love their bodies and their skin. The campaign featured 50 nude women from different ages and body shapes, where the Dutch advertisement for example featured a message saying, “Know yourself, know your skin, let your skin shine” (Mooij, 2019).

As a result of globalization, and global advertising, western concepts of individualism and the ideal self, have certainly reached the Middle Eastern and North African countries including Egypt, where women are pressured to adhere to strict body and identity standards to be accepted in the eyes of the society (Ragab, 2007). As a result and just like western cultures, a movement of respect for women from all ages, body shapes and social status emerged in the society, which was later slightly reflected in the Egyptian advertising.

**Local brands and culture.**

In the context of this research, local brands are brands that are either established in Egypt or multinational brands that have been advertising for the Egyptian public. Egypt belongs to a group of countries geographically located in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa),
where most of its population are Muslims, hence culturally and religiously different from western countries. In the Middle East and accordingly most of the MENA region countries, religious and cultural values are greatly embedded in the lives of the consumers and are mostly regulated by strict governmental laws. Therefore many brands critically review the market and study the behavior of the locals before releasing any advertisements that could contradict with the consumers’ standards and values. Global brands therefore have to rebrand and accommodate the values and beliefs of the consumers in the Middle East, in what is called “Globalization,” where brands change products, advertisements and sometimes the brand identity to suit the countries and markets they are entering (Jazani 2017).

Despite the highly regarded values of the Egyptian culture, and more conservative brands than its western equivalent in some aspects, globalization has opened the Middle Eastern and MENA region to western brand’s values and taste. Therefore, many western ideas and views have been incorporated into branding and advertising local brands. Global brands are influencing local brands in terms of creativity, innovation, consumer insight, and planning. Some western strategies for advertising however, may be harder to incorporate into advertising in the Middle East. For instance, the use of sex appeal, inappropriate language and or nudity in western advertising is not acceptable by the advertising regulators, and is not positively received by the viewers. Also from and Islamic perspective, women are supposed to be portrayed as respected and successful beings, rather than objectified and sexualized for corporate gains in advertising (Jazani 2017).
In Spite of the high respect for cultural, religious, and family values in many advertisements and regulating laws of Egypt, the advertising field is often criticized for violating these values more often. In the case of objectifying women, many local advertisements still do use women as sex objects and use the “sex sells” concept. The negative depictions in ads rage from promoting clothing to snacks and cakes. ("Olé Advertising Campaign: Does Sex Sell?,” 2017). The representation of women in local advertising will be discussed at length in the following sections paving the way for the discussion of Goffman’s stereotypes in advertising model.

2.4 Veiled versus non-veiled women in today’s advertising

The representation of veiled and non-veiled women in advertising has evolved through the years, from never representing veiled women in advertising to a more forgiving advertising and creative environment of inclusion. However, a consistent stereotypical representation of women in general and even of veiled women in is still apparent in many advertising campaigns either on social media or TV and print. It is important for advertising practitioners along with brand managers to separate themselves from the negative portrayals of veiled Muslim women, like the orientalist view of the west, and also to separate their brands from the retro stereotypical representations of females and gender in advertising.


Veiled women in western ads.

Case 1: The Nike Pro Hijab.

US Muslim-owned modest wear companies have been advertising sportswear targeted at Muslim women for decades; however, these products were never labeled as “mainstream” until the arrival of Nike pro hijab and the appearance of veiled athletes in their advertising campaign. The Nike pro hijab ads included German boxer Zeina Nassar and Emirati figure skater Zahra Lari as well as US Olympic figure Ibtihaj Muhammad, who are all depicted performing their sport while wearing the Nike pro hijab (Nike Pro Hijab, 2018).

The creation of Nike pro hijab has revolutionized the appearance of Hijab and Muslim women in product advertising in western countries. Veiled women started appearing in western ads, especially in fashion years before the Nike Pro Hijab, like for example Mariah Idrissi, in H&M advertisement back in in 2015. However what is significant and revolutionary about the Nike pro hijab is the fact that Nike made the existence of veiled athletes a possibility. This shift in the appearance of veiled Muslim women is significant given the past representation of veiled women in Western countries as oppressed, restricted and a subject of brutalization. In contrast to these negative stereotypical representations, the Nike pro hijab campaign actually frames veiled Muslim women to be invincible in facing oppression in the eyes of the white western audiences (Lamiyah Bahrainwala & Erin O’Connor, 2019).
However, such a shift in the representation of Muslim women and hijab in the media and the existence of veiled women in Western advertising had to be justified and gradually introduced to western audiences. In the case of Nike Pro Hijab, on the Nike official website, it was clearly stated that the Nike Pro Hijab was designed by Nike’s “own” product designers in Beaverton, Oregon, USA. The statement on the website also emphasized that the Nike’s designer
collected feedback from Muslim women when developing the product, and that the product was not developed by Muslim women designers. In this statement, Nike are using precise text to fence off any religious association, and hence utilizing Orientalist techniques to position their products as secular in the eyes of the audience. Nike’s strategy therefore is to detach its product from “Orientalist tropes,” despite using orientalist ideas to create a need for the product in their advertisements (Lamiyah Bahrainwala & Erin O’Connor, 2019).

Interestingly, Nike recently released four Swimming suits for veiled women, which were the topic of the world news and advertising practitioners over the Internet. The suits are called Nike’s “Victory Swim,” and will be available to purchase starting from February of 2020.
Figure 5: Nike’s “Victory Swim” collection
Case 2: American Eagle Denim Hijab.

Another common example of including hijab in Western advertisements would be the case of American Eagle releasing their new product the “Denim Hijab.” The widely known apparel company deployed the Muslim veiled Supermodel Halima Aden, who thanked the company and advocated the new product through an Instagram post that “Thank you @americaneagle for encouraging young America to follow their passions, express their individuality, and pursue their unique paths.” The product was debuted the same year as the Nike Pro Hijab, and was unsurprisingly sold out within a week of its release (Moneyish, 2017).

Figure 6: Halima Aden modeling American Eagle Denim Hijab
Despite being sold out in its first week of release and being viewed as a positive addition to the brand’s position on inclusivity, the brand’s campaigns on social media received many hate and negative backlashes from the viewers. Some comments labeled the product as “un-American” and threat to boycott the brand. Also Wajahat Ali, an attorney and an op-ed writer for the New York Times referred to the product as a “step in the right direction,” although it could also be a reason for perpetuating negative stereotypes about hijab and Muslim women. “It continues a long, troubling pattern of fetishizing Muslim women through the hijab. We have to radically change the image and understanding of what being a Muslim means, and what Islam is,” said Ali (Moneyish, 2017). It also worthy to mention that, the Denim Hijab was discontinued from production and no longer available to purchase on American Eagle Website.

Nike, and American Eagle however, are only two of many international companies that have decided to include Muslims wearing hijabs models or individuals in their advertisements. Adidas, Fenty Beauty, H&M, Uniqlo, Gap and many other brands have released advertisements including Muslim women wearing hijab in an attempt to break inherited stereotypes and also to draw the Muslim community attention towards their brands.

Non-veiled women in western ads.

Case 1: Lane Bryant.

Lane Bryant is a big retail store in the US that mainly focuses on selling plus size clothing to women. The chain store has more than 800 around the US. In 2016 and 2017 created two campaigns featuring lingerie clothing for plus size women promoting body positivity. Their
2016 campaign called “This Body Is Made to Shine” featured plus sized models and celebrities replying positively and confidently to body hate comments targeted at them online. The 1:20 minutes ad won the She Knows media Femvertising award in the Inspiration category (Joskowitz, 2018).

The second “body positive” campaign by Lane Bryant debuted in the fall of 2017, featuring plus size models and celebrities propagating the new lingerie line labeled Cacique. The campaign was featured in print, and TV commercials in Times Square, and received a lot of positive critiques from the media and the audiences online. The most interesting concept of this campaign was the motto of the campaign “I’m No Angel” referring to the stereotypical

![Figure 7: Lane Brynat "This Body" award winning campaign](image_url)
representation of thin models and thin ideals in the Victoria Secret's shows. The online campaign was repost by many media outlets such as Buzzfeed, CNN, Today, Fox, USA Today, Time, Glamour, Refinery29 CBS, and Bloomberg Business. The advertising campaign went viral that it reached about 1.8 billion impressions across TV, social media, and digital platforms in just 48 hours of its release. This campaign can be referred to as a supporting evidence of positive feedback to companies who wish to change their advertising strategies to include more diverse representations of women. It is worthy to mention that “I’m No Angel” also received the SheKnows Media Femvertising awards for the Inspiration category same as “This Body Is Made to Shine” the year prior (Jones, 2017).

Figure 8: Lane Bryant “I'm No Angel” award winning campaign
Many media outlets and members of the public viewed this campaign as a positive change and saw it as a tool to give plus sized women the opportunity to be represented in advertising by sending a message of equality and empowerment to women globally. However, the femvertising campaign also did emphasize multiple gender stereotypes that are usually negatively received by the target audience and scholars in the field. Although being chosen by She Knows Media for femvertising awards, the inspiration category specifically, the campaign included many old female stereotypes. For instance, women portrayed in both the TV and print ads were portrayed engaging in negative stereotypical activities such as: Self touching, expansive unnecessary smiling, female lowering, lying on the ground, and more. Interestingly, all these stereotypical representations were mentioned by Erving Goffman in his book Gender Advertisements, which is the basis of the conceptual framework of this research. In addition, both Lane Bryant campaigns were in black and white, which is either used to cover the fact that their representation of plus size models are not inclusive and diverse enough, or it could be sending a visual cue of equality. The black and white representation may also be viewed as a type of visual deception that aims to make the portrayal of plus size bodies more acceptable to the audience. The campaign also features only plus size models, which could be for the product group it’s propagating, however, “I am no angel” messages could be interpreted as an offence by women wearing other sizes. The message could be interpreted as if all smaller size women are trying to be angels or are angels. In conclusion, although it is shedding light on the negative thin ideal, Lane Bryant award winning campaign could be regarded as a discriminatory advertisement against thin bodies or as a negative gender stereotypical ad.
Case 2: Keds.

Another brand that has received much positive feedback from the media and the public is the ladies first Keds campaign starting 2016, which featured an emphasis on women empowerment. Keds was first established in 1916 to give ladies fashionable and comfortable footwear. The brand’s ladies first campaigns urge women to create their own rules and demands respect to females and female power in society. Chris Lindner, president of Keds said that “Keds was created to allow them to be who they wanted to be, and go where they wanted to go, and that this campaign features amazing examples for women like singer Taylor Swift.

Although Keds used the phrase Ladies First since its establishment in 1916, the phrase conveyed a message of empowerment directed towards women. One of the Ads included a female, wearing casual clothing with a keds shoes, reading a newspaper featuring a face of a lion on its front page. The ad copy reads “Never Underestimate the Power of Pretty Face,” which might be interpreted as a humorous copy basically saying don’t underestimate the power of the lion with the pretty face or the power of women with pretty face. In the ad, a female empowerment message is apparent, hoping to entice feelings of strength and success from the viewers of the ads, while gaining the benefit of associating the brand with a social cause or a movement (Case, 2019).
Similar to Lane Bryant, the campaign's received positive feedback from the audience, especially that the campaign featured celebrities, gaining emotional responses of many members of the target audience. However, the campaigns also failed to eliminate gender stereotypes that
affect both the message of the brand and the view of women in the eyes of the viewers. Although
the ads included text (copy) that in its context empowered and accredited women, the campaign
featured celebrities and models engaging in stereotypical representations of women that have
been argued by Goffman to frame women in negative, passive and subordinate frames. Models in
the ads for example are exhibiting acts of subordination such as, the shy knee bend, and female
lowering. They also represent signs of withdrawal by exhibiting expansive smiling and
dependence by relying on objects as a shield or as a support.

Figure 10: Keds women empowering campaign
Non-veiled women in local ads.

In a thesis study titled “Perception of Women in Egyptian Advertising,” Alia Arafa, 2013 concluded that women are generally “demoralized” and represented as sex objects in Egyptian advertising promoting products and services, whether print or TV ads. As a result of such representation, women are wrongly and negatively perceived by the Egyptian public. Arafa therefore, propose “a government- sponsored” awareness campaigns in an attempt to equalize the representation of women in the society. Based on her research, women are commonly portrayed as “sex objects” followed by housewives in most Egyptian TV ads, while on Magazine or print ads women are represented as “sex objects” followed by “family health advisors.” (Arafa, 2013).
Case 1: Cottonil.

Cottonil is an Egyptian apparel company that mostly sells, undergarments, and pajamas made out of Egyptian cotton. The company owns is one of the most known undergarments stores around the country. Despite their success in the past few years, the company is commonly known for their controversial advertising featuring inappropriate language, sexual connotations, and or stereotypical misrepresentations of both males and females. In the context of misrepresenting women in advertising, Cottonil usually features attractive women who might be labeled as “very sexy,” wearing Cottonil’s products or admiring men who wear Cottonil garments. In their 2016 Ramadan campaign, Cottonil launched an ad featuring females engaging in stereotypical acts of female objectification and demoralization, such as a female lowering, excessive makeup, seductive postures, etc. Cottonil ads are also commonly banned by the Egyptian Consumer Protection Agency from airing on public displays, however they could be easily found on the different social media platforms. Cottonil unfortunately is only one of many brands who continue to negatively and stereotypically represent women in advertising affecting the general perception of the public on women and their position in society.
Figure 12: Cottonil's 2016 Ramadan advertisement

Figure 13: Cottonil's 2016 Ramadan advertisement.
Case 2: Olé.

Another controversial example how non veiled women are portrayed in local advertising is the 2017 advertising campaign for Olé Bakeries. Olé is a product of the newly founded FMCG Company named Food Factory, which used the services of KING TUT’S PLAYGROUND Cairo advertising agency to create an advertising campaign that would advertise their new Ole bakeries products. The campaign controversially created ads that explicitly undermine women featuring a model engaging in acts of seduction to promote cakes and croissants, along with a narrator who inappropriately use illicit words to describe the products.

Similar to western brands, Non veiled women are still represented in a demoralized manner feeding into negative gender stereotypes that have been discussed by Goffman and many other scholars who noticed the consistent representation of women in advertising and its effects on the viewers and the consumers’ perception. It is conventional to see inappropriate or negative representations of women in advertising as brands usually try to grab the attention of the viewers and to constantly remind them of the brand and the brand products in efforts to turn the audiences from viewers to actual consumers and hence increase the profitability of the company. However, sex and sexual objectification does not “always sell.”
Figure 14: Ole Bakeries 2017 TV advertisement.

Figure 15: Ole Bakeries 2017 TV advertisement.
Veiled women in local ads

On the other end of Egyptian advertising, a different image of Egyptian women are portrayed in food and home products advertisements, in which women are represented as conservative housewives who care for their families. Examples of such representations are Rawabi and EL-Hanem ghee ads, and even Persil and Zanosi ads where actresses like Hala Fakher and Abla Kamel were chosen to promote the picture of veiled Egyptian mothers who happen to be an excellent cook (Arafa, 2013). The veil concept in Egyptian ads is almost exclusive to women of a certain age (usually late 30s to 60s) represented in a motherly role, making it hard for the viewers to see young modern women in the same position or wearing the veil in advertisements.

Figure 16: Egyptian actress Abla Kamel in Persil advertisement.
In spite of representing almost 90% of the women population of Egypt ("Haughty about the hijab", 2015), veiled women are still undermined in society, usually judged and unmotivated for wearing the hijab in many places in the country. On the bright side, in 2017 FP7 advertising agency, which is part of McCann world group created a campaign advocating the veil and women who wear the veil in the Egyptian society. The campaign mainly focused on the misconception around the veil and veiled women, focusing on correcting faulty stereotypical perception around the idea of hijab. The campaign titled “Ala Rasi” or “On my Head” gained many attractions over the Egyptian social media with more than 3 million views over Facebook, which featured a short video following the inner voice of veiled women accompanied with reverse poetry copy, where the words could be reversed from a negative to a positive depending on the person reading the ad. This campaign is considered as a step in the right direction for local advertising, however mainstream advertising still needs to alter and diversify the depiction of women in advertising to represent a more educated and truthful image of females in the society.

Figure 17: Veiled women in "Ala Rasi" awareness campaign
2.5 Social media and advertising

Many brands have benefited from incorporating social media in their advertising strategies (Tuten, 2008), from advertising on Facebook to Instagram, twitter and recently tiktok, and the different social media marketing tools in between. Therefore, social media is an opportunity for researchers to examine the behavior of both the brands and the consumers and the arising social phenomena from such interaction between the two.

The upside of social media advertising.

Social media are online software, outlets, and media. They enable communication exchange, distribution of content and online collaborations (Richter & Koch, 2007). Social media take several shapes, which includes wikis, weblogs, social blogs, micro blogging, podcasts, visual photographs, videos, ratings and social bookmarking or quick access (Kim, & Ko 2012). As the use of social media increased rapidly, not only social networks, but most businesses, companies and governmental entities are utilizing them as communication means (Kim, & Ko 2012). Contrary to the individual social networks, other organizations are eagerly utilizing social media for their marketing and advertising efforts (Kim, & Ko 2012). While marketing messages collaborate and interact with customers and create partnerships through, media, events, retailers, and digital services through the usage of social media, it has also become easier and cheaper to establish an integrated marketing communication efforts (Kim, & Ko 2012).
As stated by Kim & Ko (2010), social media can significantly affect brand’s reputation, as one third of products survey participants post their reactions about the products on the different brands blogs, and 36% of survey participants think positively about companies and brands who have blogs for consumers to share their opinions. According to a report by DEI Agency, businesses who are not engaged in social media activities and collaborations are losing an essential chance of communicating with their consumers. The value power of online consumer is far more than what he or she pays or spend on products, as a result of the huge percentage of content sharing over social media that consumers usually engage in. therefore, companies nowadays need to heed the value and importance of consumers social media activities and the social media consequences on the company and brand (Kim, & Ko 2012).

**Instagram as a tool for studying representations in advertising.**

Instagram is a treasure trove of content, especially when it comes to new age social phenomena. For researchers, Instagram is a tool to discover and understand online social and cultural behaviors that ultimately affects the society as a whole. In this study, the researcher is studying ways that advertising practitioners and content creators utilize Instagram platform to frame and represent veiled and non-veiled women, in an attempt to discover how they are portrayed and further understand the underlying reasons for such representations, whether positive or negative.

Brand activities on social media are integral to the development of image based platforms like Instagram. Mobile based social media platforms like Instagram are continuously engaged in testing and experiential designing processes to further develop both the mobile devices and
social platforms in order to include more tools for brand’s advertising activities. Over the past 5-6 years, Instagram has developed tools for data analytics, and made major algorithmic changes for calibrating the attention of Instagram users towards the brands, which use the interface to advertise their products. Brands on Instagram try to persuade and grab attention; they are also the main contribution to the creation of new and evolving media systems that have the capacity to “experiment with reality” (Packer, 2013, p. 297) through designing cultural spaces for brands and brand users and the coordination of some social practices on Instagram platform (Carah & Shaul 2015).

Brands on Instagram do not only feature images like any other user on the interface, but rather the use these images of product representation apply branding techniques to their images as a persuasion strategy. Instagram posts that included products only look more promotional, however, when the human element is added to the images a new message of inclusivity and sociability is conveyed through the posts. Including people in Instagram posts therefore gives an “organic approach” to encourage more customers to try and purchase the products of this brand. Hence, brands that include people in their product representation on Instagram achieve a higher level of connectivity with consumers that could eventually increase their brand loyalty and affect their buying behavior (Ginsberg 2015). Therefore the importance of this study lies in its investigation of the portrayal of veiled women as a social media branding strategy on Instagram profiles for Westerns and local brands. In particular, this study seeks to analyze Instagram posts of local and western brands to measure the representation of veiled women and the impact on customer perception?
2.6 An advertising shift

Advertising is a prominent social force that affects how people comprehend social reality, especially impressions about ethnic and religious groups. These impressions can be emphasized by the continuous exposure to stereotypical and biased representations of a certain group. As a consequence, advertising depictions of Muslim veiled models remain limited in certain areas, anticipating ads will participate in the establishment and reinforcement of stereotyped linked to this group. (Ki-Young, and Sung-Hee. 2005). However, media creators and marketers also realize that according to expectancy violations principles (Burgoon, 1970s), mass media contribute to perceived expectations regarding events and people in the environment. In other words, the violation of a negative stereotypical expectation tends to generate more favorable judgments for members of a negatively stereotyped group (Ki-Young, and Sung-Hee. 2005). Therefore the idea of breaking stereotypes and inclusion was born maybe for pure commercial purposes at first, but it has evolved through the years to shift the negative islamophobic frames in advertising to a positive representation of hijab in the media.

Advertising practitioners in the face of pressure.

The reason why advertisers use stereotypes is simple; mainly they are viewed as a “safe option” for creative directors and content creators who view them as “general knowledge” to the public that the majority of customers will relate to them. Stereotypes limit distractions or diversions, and entice viewers to focus on the main brand message rather than visual scene or the social portrayals in the ad, averting the viewer’s form rational thinking and encouraging further attachments to the product service or notion advertised in the ad. Alternatively, ads featuring
gender stereotypes lead the viewers to react based on their emotions, because they often see these stereotypes as an ideal version of themselves (Windels 2016).

Furthermore, despite the growing awareness around the topic of gender stereotypes, advertising practitioners differ in their realization regarding the negative effect of stereotypical images on the audiences. Although many creative directors and creative content creators realize the impacts of using stereotypes in advertising, they also face pressures from the target audiences, media agents along with the professional norms of the industry, which usually prevent them from making radical changes in the way they used to portray gender in advertising. (Tuncay Zayer and Coleman 2015).

These representations therefore calls for advertising practitioners and creative directors to provide richer content and deeper understanding of the advertising managerial practices (e.g. Hackley 2003; Grau and Zotos 2016). This understanding is vital, since advertisers hold different theories about the practices of advertising that differs from those learned from the consumer’s side or even from advertising content analysis (Sasser and Koslow 2008; Nyilasy, Canniford, and Kreshel 2013). Creative directors drive their creative and strategic work from their own cultural knowledge (Kelly, Lawlor, and O’Donohoe 2005) and understanding of societal norms. Creative practitioners are the ones who put meaning in brands and they co-construct it with the consumers, they also develop the rationale behind consumers’ behavior (Belk 2017). Advertisers basically have to be aware of the consumers emotional responses towards advertising; the connection between the brand and advertising; and also with the amount of consumer involvement with the brand. (Kover 1995).
This study will follow the Gender Analysis model of Goffman in an attempt to investigate the portrayal of veiled and non-veiled women in advertising, the relationship between the brand origin, the advertising practitioners, and the representation of women on brand’s Instagram profile. The comparison between western and local brands will give insights of the practices of advertising in the West and the Middle East and is important to view how women and especially veiled women are represented in both cultures. Goffman’s conceptual framework is based on six different categories of framing gender in advertising which will be introduced and further developed in the next section of the study, in order to adequately serve the needs of this study on the representation of veiled and non-veiled women in local and western advertising.
CHAPTER THREE

Conceptual framework

The conceptual model of the study is based on Goffman’s (1979) gender analysis model. In 1979 Goffman conducted an in-depth study of the visual representation of gender in print advertisements, where he argued that cautiously posed models (male & female) along with the highly controlled and coordinated sets in advertisements generate "a pseudo-reality that is better than real." Goffman’s gender analysis model decoded common behavior exhibited by models in ads, focusing on hands, facial expressions, posture, relative size, etc. Goffman understood that most common gestures are taken for granted when it comes to the importance of these cues in the understanding of the relationships between genders and the social aspects behind these gestures depicted in the ads. Moreover, this study further extends Goffman’s gender analysis model by proposing a 2x2 matrix that is utilized in organizing the data for the multiple analysis required at the next stages of the research.

Goffman’s gender analysis model

After studying the different variables and categories represented by Erving Goffman in his book “Gender Advertisements”, a revised version of the variables was developed by the researcher, which best suited the requirements of the study. Unlike the original variables of Goffman’s gender analysis, which compare the depiction of males and females in advertising, in
this study, the variables will be applied only on females in advertisements. However, the variables will be utilized to study the differences in depicting veiled and non-veiled women in advertisements. The original variables of Goffman were developed mainly to study gender stereotypes, and although Goffman’s book was published in the 70s, many studies still refer back to the representation categories mentioned in the book, due to their relevance to advertising in the modern day.

Goffman’s main conceptual framework included six different categories explaining how gender is represented in advertising. In addition to those six categories, the researcher introduced two more categories to further analyze how veiled women are portrayed in advertisements compared to non-veiled women. These categories are “body display” and “independence”. These two categories are based on a study by Mee-Eun Kang with further developments to match the requirements of the present research. The first, third and fourth categories of Goffman’s gender analysis won’t be used in this research but all the original categories of Goffman's will be identified in order to give a holistic view on the study of gender stereotypes in advertising. These categories are as follows:

(1) **Relative Size.**

According to Goffman, individuals in the society define their social weight (e.g., rank, renown, office, power or authority) based on their relative size. By relative size Goffman is referring to the proximity of a person to objects, especially when it comes to height. When it comes to representing males and females in advertising the superiority of the male over the female will be expressed using his size (bulk) and height. This category is based on the
assumption that the contrast in height and size correlate with the contrast in social status. Based on Goffman’s analysis, Relative Size could be expressed in advertising where individuals are either over “masculinized or feminized” depending on their visual scale in the ads (Goffman, 1979).

Figure 18. Example of “relative size” where women are represented visually lower in height than men in a Pyer Moss ad.
(2) Feminine Touch.

In Goffman’s analysis refer to how women are more likely than men to appear in advertisements using their fingers to touch objects gently in what Goffman referred to as (cradling the surface of an object) or to (trace the outline of the object). This “barely touching” act is called “ritualistic touching”, which is different from “utilitarian” touching, which includes “caressing, holding, or manipulation.” Ritualistic touching also can be expressed using the face touching rather than the hands. Besides, “self-touching” might be used in ads to emphasize how fragile one’s body is or to represent the sexuality of the person/s in the ad. (Goffman, 1979). In this study two variables will be measured under the feminine touch. The first variable is caressing objects/ gently touching objects and the second variable is touching self. Self-touching can also be involved, readable as conveying a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing (Goffman, 1979).

(3) Function Raking.

The third category of Goffman’s (1979) gender analysis is Function Raking, which entails that when men and women are portrayed engaging in an activity, males are usually depicted in an executive role while women are usually depicted as stationary, which creates a “hierarchy of function”. This category could be represented in advertisements either in an occupational capacity or outside the occupation as well. This category does not match the purposes of this study and thus was eliminated from the main categories of the research.
(4) Family.

The fourth category according to Goffman (1979) relates to the representation of family in advertising. Families typically are used to be portrayed where a boy and a girl would be present in the ad to achieve the effect of “the full set of inter family relations.” Typically the family would appear in print ads where the father would be holding or touching the son and the mother would be holding or touching the girl. Also fathers would appear as a distant member in the ads, insinuating that his family is not his first priority (Goffman, 1979). The Fourth category also does not match the topic of this study, so it was not included in the study and was not considered a variable in the research.

(5) Ritualization of Subordination.

The fifth category mentioned by Goffman (1979) where he explains the notion of spatial relations in advertisements and how power is distributed accordingly. A major stereotype relating to this concept is the act of lowering oneself physically in an act of subordination. In contrast, holding the head and body up high is stereotypically a mark of dominance or “unashamedness.” men were usually depicted in advertisements as standing next to setting women or depicted visually higher than them. Goffman talked about the fact that in society elevation seems to symbolize social status “high physical space means high social place” referring to court rooms as an example. Based on the concepts Goffman mentioned under ritualization of subordination category like lowering, knee bend, and lying on bed/sofa or floor, the following three variables were chosen to be discussed in this research.
Female lowering.

Like mentioned above, Goffman viewed any type of physical lowering oneself as an act of submission or prostration. Since this research focuses on the portrayal of females in advertising, whether veiled or non-veiled, “female lowering” is expected in some images featured on brands profiles on Instagram.

![Example of “ritualization of subordination” where a female model is physically lowering herself in Keds ad.](image)

Lying/setting on bed or sofa.

According to Goffman (1979) lying on the sofa/bed or the floor is another indicator of sexual readiness and lying is a position where one would be very dependent on the surroundings.
In the scope of this research it is essential to learn how women are portrayed in advertisements, not just to test the existence of gender stereotypes but also to investigate whether veiled women in particular are in any way sexualized in the brand’s posts on Instagram, since sexualization contrasts with the main rules of the Islamic veil, and certainly undermines women in general.

![Example of “ritualization of subordination” where a female model is lying on a sofa in Keds ad.](image)

*Figure 20. Example of “ritualization of subordination” where a female model is lying on a sofa in Keds ad.*

**Shy Knee bend.**

Another interesting addition to the Ritualization of Subordination category is what Goffman calls “the bashful knee bend,” which is a common move exhibited by females in advertisements. According to Goffman (1979) the bashful knee bend which is labeled as “shy
knee bend” in this research is a mark of submissiveness, and victimization. He also referred to the face and body cant as similar moves that suggest submissiveness and “ingratiation.”

Figure 21. Example of “ritualization of subordination” where a female model is displaying a bashful knee bend in Keds ad.

(6) Licensed Withdrawal.

Goffman believed that females are more likely than men to be depicted as psychologically distant. Female subjects according to Goffman tend to be portrayed as if they are removing themselves from the situation, leaving them disoriented and more dependent on the other. In many advertisements women will be depicted covering their mouth or face with their fingers and looking away from the camera, resulting in an image where the female subject is
isolated from the situation almost “passive.” Gazing away from the camera or gaze aversion are signs that the person is submitting to what is happening around them. Goffman also mentioned the “anchored drift” where women would be depicted in ads with their eyes locked on another object, the object can be visible or non-visible in the ad (Goffman, 1979).

Advertisers and creative directors use techniques to exhibit emotions of fear and sadness, sometimes laughter and shyness. These emotions or “social cues” are important in the creative directors’ eyes because they help the audience “digest” the situation featured in the ad and conform to the status quo. These stereotypical ritualized acts become part from the frame in which women are represented within the society and accordingly setting gender norms in the minds of the general public. (Baran and Davis, 2015). For the purpose of this research, four variables were measured under the Licensed Withdrawal category.

Covering mouth /face with hand.

Covering mouth /face with hand are acts of distancing oneself from the situation and surroundings, according to Goffman (1979). Studying this feature is important in the sense that it measures the engagements of women featured in brands posts on Instagram.

Head/gaze aversion (looking down).

A tilted head downwards according to Goffman especially in accordance to other people in the image gives the impression of submission.
Expansive exaggerated smiling.

Intriguingly, laughter and exaggerated smiling is categorized by Goffman as a sign of inferiority in advertising. This finding refers to the notion that women are usually depicted smiling more intensely than their male encounters in cross-sexed advertisements, especially in the American culture (Goffman, 1979).
Figure 23. Example of “licensed withdrawal” where a female model is exaggeratingly smiling in Keds ad.

_Finger to finger/ finger to mouth._

Another mark of distant-self according to Goffman, as he addresses the act of finger to mouth as if the person depicted is distracted from the main stream of attention and being positioned in a distant and disassociated manner. Same applies for finger to finger.
(7) **Body Display.**

This category was not a main focus in the gender analysis study by Goffman, however, it is important to discuss in this research since the comparison is not between males and females, but rather a comparison between the representation of non-veiled and veiled women in western and local brands on Instagram, where women are subjected to stereotypical portrayals of women. This category was measured in the research based on four variables.
Showing parts of the body.

This variable refers to women wearing body revealing clothes. Specifically showing any parts of the body other than the face, hands, and feet, since these body parts veiled women tend not to cover. Revealing clothes are signs of sexualization in the breadth of this research.

Face Makeup.

Excessive makeup tends to situate women in superficial state in the minds of the customers. Advertisers might use this technique because of the convention that advertising audiences want to see themselves as beautiful and as polished as models in the brands.

Nail Polish.

Exaggerated nail polish like very long nails, 3D nail art, very bright and neon colors contradicts with the main concept of hijab or the veil that is modesty.

Seductive posture.

Under the body display category body posture is included in this research to test if women are still sexually objected in advertising along with testing whether the concept of hijab has changed how women are portrayed in brands ads on Instagram.

(8) Independence.

This category based on Mee-Eun Kang addition to Goffman’s model to evaluate the depiction of women in terms of Independence and self-assurance; however the two variables
measured under this category were mentioned in Goffman’s analysis under Licensed Withdrawal. The variables were added in their own category to highlight their importance and relevance to the study.

**Relying on /contacting others in the picture.**

Women seemingly appeared in ads relying on men in two gestures. First is the “arm lock” where females holds onto the male for support, while the second gesture is the “shoulder hold” where typically the male holds the female, and she accepts direction and constrain. Typically this arrangement is not reversible. However, in this category the research will be looking into any kind of physical reliance on other people or objects as a sign of dependence.

**Shielding behind an object or a person.**

Similar to “relying on a person” shielding or hiding behind an object or a person is a sign of distance and dependence. Goffman called this act “participation shielding” where he believes that women are typically portrayed hiding behind a wall/object or a person. Usually men take the rear position to imply participation/engagement, and independence.

**3.2 Analysis matrix**

The study explore the position of veiled vs. non-veiled women in the local and western advertisement and therefore a 2x2 matrix was used to analyze the data derived from the Instagram images retrieved in the sampling phases. Based on this matrix and in addition to the method of measurement (content analysis), five coders were used to analyze brands’ advertisements using Goffman’s model (explained above) as a guide. The study sample consists
of 200 Instagram images distributed evenly on the four cells in the matrix below, each photo (Instagram post) will be evaluated across the five categories of Goffman’s model using 5 point scale (coding scheme) to evaluate 15 different variables that express the five categories mentioned in the conceptual framework.

*Table 2: A matrix showing the distribution of Instagram Images of veiled vs. non-veiled women in local and western brands.*
CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology and research hypotheses

Quantitative Content Analysis

Content analysis is an empirical non-reactive research method which can be applied to several types of media content (Krippendorff, 2004). In media and advertising research, the use of content analysis as a method of research gives the opportunity to compare media images and representations with our reality (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

4.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis was employed in this study to investigate the representation of veiled vs. non-veiled women in advertising through local and western brands’ posts on Instagram. Specifically, the study investigates whether traditional stereotypical representations of women are being applied in advertising, and whether the integration of veiled women have necessitated a culture of respect from the creative directors of brands where they had to portray veiled women differently, avoiding any negative stereotypical representations of women in advertising.

4.2 Unit of Analysis

The main unit of analysis is Instagram posts (Images), extracted from the accounts of local and western brands. Half of the sample (100 posts) contains one or more veiled women,
posing for the purposes of advertising product, service, or promoting a concept, while the other half (100 posts) contains one or more non-veiled women posing for the purposes of advertising product, service, or promoting a concept. All posts were extracted from Instagram as pairs in order to study the differences between the representations of veiled vs. non-veiled women in the same campaign using the same branding strategies.

4.3 Sampling

Our sample consisted of 200 Instagram Images retrieved from local and western brands’ profiles. The Images represent veiled and non-veiled women featured on the Instagram posts for advertising purposes. The sample is divided into 50 posts of veiled women from local brands paired with, 50 posts of non-veiled women from local brands. The sample also included 50 posts of veiled women from western brands, paired with, 50 posts of non-veiled women from western brands, as explained in the matrix below.

*Table 3: A 2x2 matrix showing the distribution of the content analysis sample retrieved from Instagram of local and western brands*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Veiled</th>
<th>Non-Veiled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sample images are from the time frame of 2018-2019, the site was manually searched by the researcher for posts in pairs (the veiled and the non-veiled women were from the same brand mostly promoting same products from the same campaign). Both Western and Egyptian Instagram accounts were searched to yield 200 posts, which included 100 pairs of veiled and non-veiled women pictures.

Table 4: Examples of veiled vs. non-veiled women photos from western and local brands on Instagram

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Western</th>
<th></th>
<th>Non- Veiled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brand name (GAP)</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Veiled" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Non-veiled" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local</th>
<th></th>
<th>Non- Veiled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brand name (Ganubi)</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Veiled" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Non-veiled" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Coding

**Coding Procedure.**

Using a coding scheme developed by Goffman with a few alterations by the researcher, each Instagram post was coded using the following structure represented in table 5.

**Table 5.** Description and coding schemes of variables used as guide for the coders. Source: (Kang, M, 1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Coding Scheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Feminine Touch</td>
<td>1. Caressing objects</td>
<td>Women depicted using their fingers and hands to trace the outlines of an object or to cradle it or to caress its surface or to effect a &quot;just barely touching&quot;</td>
<td>No =1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Touching Self</td>
<td></td>
<td>A little =2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Normal =3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A lot = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Too much=5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ritualization of Subordination</td>
<td>1. Female lowering</td>
<td>Behaviors illustrating actions and acts of subordination, e.g., lowering oneself physically in some form or other of prostration.</td>
<td>No =1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Lying/setting on bed/sofa</td>
<td></td>
<td>A little =2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Shy knee bend</td>
<td></td>
<td>Normal =3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A lot = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Too much=5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Licensed Withdrawal**

1. **Covering mouth / face with hand**
2. **Head / gaze aversion** (looking down)
3. **Expansive exaggerated smiling**
4. **Finger to finger / finger to mouth**

Behaviors that remove depicted women psychologically and physically from the social situation at large, leaving them unoriented in it and to it.

- No = 1
- A little = 2
- Normal = 3
- A lot = 4
- Too much = 5
- N/A

**Body Display**

1. **Showing parts of the body**
2. **Face Makeup**
3. **Nail Polish**
4. **Seductive posture**

Body revealing clothes, excessive face makeup and nail polish, and exhibiting sexual behavior

- No = 1
- A little = 2
- Normal = 3
- A lot = 4
- Too much = 5
- N/A

**Independence**

1. **Relying on / contacting others in the picture**
2. **Shielding behind an object or a person**

This category based on Mee-Eun Kang addition to Goffman’s model to evaluate the depiction of women in terms of Independence and self-assurance

- No = 1
- A little = 2
- Normal = 3
- A lot = 4
- Too much = 5
- N/A
It is important to mention that the fourth category “Body Display” was not originally mentioned in Goffman’s gender analysis model. The Category was mentioned in Mee-Eun Kang 1997 study, which revisited Goffman’s model. However, all four variables under this category (Showing parts of the body, Face makeup, Nail polish, Seductive posture) mentioned in this research were developed by the researcher to suite the purposes of this study. This research studies veiled women, whom usually do not show any parts of their body except for their hands and faces, therefore, the inclusion of Face Makeup, Nail Polish, and Seductive posture as variables.

In order to analyze the brands’ posts retrieved from Instagram, five different coders were asked to conduct a quantitative content analysis. The five coders were employed to create inter-coder reliability and at the same time to avoid any biases by the researcher. The researcher saw that using only one coder could cause a high level of bias and that bias would be hard to detect in the analysis or in the results. Due to the large sample size, and the intense process of focusing on certain elements in each picture, which requires time and effort, the researcher involved several coders to ensure that they don't face any fatigue or any tiredness that would affect their concentration and therefore affect their coding results or eventually lose interest. The coders all have expertise in the field of mass communication, they are either already completed their degrees or in the final stages of completing their Masters. The coders consist of four females, veiled and veiled, and one male. The sample of 200 Instagram images was equally divided between the coders, where each coder had to code 40 images or 20 pairs. The first 10 pairs came from local brands’ Instagram, while the second 10 pairs came from western brands’ Instagram (illustrated in the matrix below).
Training Coders.

Before coding, all five coders received training by the researcher describing in length with the scope of the research and its relation to gender analysis studies by Goffman, while giving examples from previous research. The main research question and hypothesis were represented to the trainees for further understanding of the research. Furthermore, pictures and explanations from Hoffman's original book "Gender Advertisements" were used to explain the research variables and the different coding categories to the trainees.
The coding sheet developed for the study was transformed into an online form to ease the coding process on the coders and to ensure the accuracy of the data collection processes. A hard copy of the coding sheet was represented to the coders during the training, which included all the variables and the coding schemes, in an attempt to familiarize them with the digital version that they will be working on. Along with the coding sheet, a table including a description of all the variables of the study and coding schemes which were represented above in the methodology section was also represented to the coders to make sure they have a holistic view of the research and coding requirements.

At the end of the training session the coders were also asked to try an online pilot of the coding sheet in order to test their understanding of the variables, and to detect any last changes needed for the online form.

4.5 SPSS analysis

For analyzing the data from the coders’ content analysis, SPSS 24 was used to conduct an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) as a base for the research analysis to test whether there are any differences between the veiled group of 100 posts and the non-veiled group of 100 posts. Then a t-test was used to take a deep-dive into the 5 factors in Goffman’s model and determine where the differences were in the case of western brands (100 cases).
4.6 Research Question and Hypotheses

The main research question of the research investigates whether there is a difference in the representation of veiled and non-veiled women in brand posts on Instagram in general and more specifically by local and western brands. Following the research question is five hypotheses based on Goffman’s conceptual framework explained by the 2x2 matrix below.

**Research Question.**

*RQ:* Is there a significant difference in the portrayal of veiled vs. non-veiled women by Western and Local brands’ ads on Instagram?

**Research Hypotheses.**

*H1:* There is a significant difference in the display of “Feminine Touch” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram.

*H1a:* There is a significant difference in the display of “Feminine Touch” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Western brands*.

*H1b:* There is a significant difference in the display of “Feminine Touch” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Local brands*.

*Table 7:* A 2x2 matrix showing the reasoning behind the main hypotheses of the research
H2: There is a significant difference in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram.

H2a: There is a significant difference in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of Western brands.

H2b: There is a significant difference in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of Local brands.

H3: There is a significant difference in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram.
**H3a:** There is a significant difference in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Western brands.*

**H3b:** There is a significant difference in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Local brands.*

**H4:** There is a significant difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram.

**H4a:** There is a significant difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Western brands.*

**H4b:** There is a significant difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Local brands.*

**H5:** There is a significant difference in the display of “Independence” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram.

**H5a:** There is a significant difference in the display of “Independence” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Western brands.*

**H5b:** There is a significant difference in the display of “Independence” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of *Local brands.*
CHAPTER FIVE

Data analysis and findings

Statistical model: Analysis of variable (ANOVA)

ANOVA ("analysis of variance") compares the means of two or more independent groups (populations) in order to determine whether there is statistical evidence that the population means are significantly different. The null hypothesis is when all means are equal is tested by an “f statistic based on the ratio of mean square related to X and mean square related to error.” ANOVA is a parametric test, with at least one dependent variable that is metric which is measured using an interval scale. Also, in the ANOVA test there must be one categorical (non-metric) independent variable.

To analyze the results of the content analysis, and test the five main hypotheses of the research, H1, H2, H3, H4, and H5, an ANOVA test was used to examine the main differences between the representations of veiled and non-veiled women along the five categories of the conceptual model represented in table 7 below.
Table 8: Differences between veiled and non-veiled women in Instagram posts. (N=200)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>F-Statistic</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>P-Statistic</th>
<th>Goffman’s Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1</td>
<td>0.369</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.544</td>
<td>Feminine Touch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>1.673</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>Ritualization of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3</td>
<td>0.266</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.607</td>
<td>Licensed Withdrawal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4</td>
<td>8.632</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.004**</td>
<td>Body Display</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.871</td>
<td>Independence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** H4 shows a high level of significance as p= 0.004 < p= 0.01.

The first Hypothesis H1, which corresponds to the first category of the conceptual model (Feminine Touch), asserts that there is a significant difference in the display of “Feminine Touch” by veiled and non-veiled women. Based on the results of the content analysis coding processes, the first hypothesis was not supported as seen in table 7, the significance is (P= 0.544) which is bigger than (P=0.05), and hence, H1 is not supported. We can conclude that there is no significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Feminine Touch” in Instagram posts of brands.
The second Hypothesis H2, corresponding to the second category of the conceptual model (Ritualization Of Subordination), asserts that there is a significant difference in the display of Ritualization of Subordination by veiled and non-veiled women. The second hypothesis was not supported as seen in table 7, the significance is \( p = 0.198 \) which is bigger than \( p = 0.05 \), and hence, H2 is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “ritualization of subordination” in Instagram posts of brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>Goffman’s Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>1.673</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>Ritualization of Subordination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, the third hypothesis of the research, which corresponds to the third category of the conceptual model (Licensed Withdrawal), asserts that there is a significant difference in the display of licensed withdrawal by veiled and non-veiled women. The third hypothesis was not supported as seen in table 7, the significance is \( p = 0.607 \) which is bigger than \( p = 0.05 \), and hence, H3 is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of licensed withdrawal in Instagram posts of brands.
On the other hand, the fourth hypothesis of the research, which corresponds to the fourth category of the conceptual model (Body Display), asserts that there is a significant difference in body display by veiled and non-veiled women. The fourth hypothesis was well supported as seen in table 7, the significance is \((p=0.004)\) which is less than \((p=0.05)\), and hence, \(H4\) is supported. It can be concluded that there is a significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the way they display their bodies in Instagram posts of brands.

As for the fifth hypothesis of the research, which corresponds to the fifth category of the conceptual model (Independence), asserts that there is a significant difference in the display of Independence by veiled and non-veiled women. The fifth hypothesis was not supported as seen in table 7, the significance is \((p=0.871)\) which is also bigger than \((p=0.05)\), and hence, \(H5\) is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no difference between the veiled and veiled women in the display of Independence in Instagram posts of brands.
Based on the ANOVA test results explained above, only one out of five hypotheses is supported by the content analysis, which is the fourth hypothesis. The fourth hypothesis states that there is a significant difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram. Being supported affirms that there is a significant difference in how veiled and non-veiled women display their bodies in Instagram posts of brands. The fourth category of the research as explained before constitutes of four variables, which are: Showing parts of the body, face makeup, nail polish, and seductive posture. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that this hypothesis was highly supported because of the modesty aspect related to the Islamic veil.

**Statistical model: T-Test**

The t-test is the difference between the means divided by the two sample means and the standard error. The test investigates if the statistical difference between the sample means of the variables happened by chance. (Hair, Bush, & Ortinau, 2006). The chance level is then compared against the sample mean of the test variable.

To analyze the results of the content analysis, and test the significance of hypotheses H1a&H1b, H2a&H2b, H3a&H3b, H4a&H4b, and H5a&H5b a t-test was conducted. The test investigated if there is a significant difference in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in western and in local brands’ posts on Instagram. The t-test investigated differences along the five categories of the conceptual model (Feminine Touch, Ritualization of
Subordination, Licensed Withdrawal, Body Display, and Independence) represented in table 9, and 10 below.

**Table 9: differences between veiled and non-veiled women in Instagram posts by western brands (N=100).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Veiled</th>
<th>Non-Veiled</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Err.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1a Feminine Touch</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.6383</td>
<td>.67326</td>
<td>.09821</td>
<td>.642</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>.522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2a Ritualization of Subordination</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.2847</td>
<td>.50990</td>
<td>.07360</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>.198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H3a Licensed Withdrawal</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.3100</td>
<td>.44767</td>
<td>.06331</td>
<td>.694</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H4a Body Display</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.6583</td>
<td>.65687</td>
<td>.09290</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.007**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H5a Independence</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.3300</td>
<td>.74649</td>
<td>.10557</td>
<td>.140</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.889</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** H4a shows high level of significance as p = 0.007 < p = 0.01.
Hypothesis H1a, which corresponds to the first category of the conceptual model (Feminine Touch), asserting that there isn’t a significant difference in the display of “Feminine Touch” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of western brands was not supported by the results of the t-test. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H1a was not supported as seen in table 8, the significance rate is (p=0.522) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H1a is NOT supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Feminine Touch” in Instagram posts of western brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1a Feminine</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.6383</td>
<td>.67326</td>
<td>.09821</td>
<td>.642</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>.522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touch</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.5532</td>
<td>.61001</td>
<td>.08898</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, Hypothesis H2a, which corresponds to the second category of the conceptual model (ritualization of subordination), asserting that there is a significant difference in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of western brands was not supported by the t-test. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H2a was NOT supported as seen in table 8, the significance is (p=0.198) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H2a is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” in Instagram posts of western brands.
Likewise, Hypothesis H3a, which corresponds to the third category of the conceptual model (licensed withdrawal), asserting that there is a significant difference in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of western brands was NOT supported. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H3a was not supported as seen in table 8, the significance rate is (p=0.489) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H3a is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” in Instagram posts of western brands.

Alternatively, and similar to the ANOVA results, hypothesis H4a, which corresponds to the fourth category of the conceptual model (body display), asserting that there is a significant
difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of western brands was supported. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H4a was supported as seen in table 8, the significance is (p=0.007) which is smaller than (p=0.05), and hence, H4a is well supported. It can be concluded that there is a significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women in “Body Display” in Instagram posts of western brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H4a Body Display</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.6583</td>
<td>.65687</td>
<td>.09290</td>
<td>-2.769</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.1283</td>
<td>1.00470</td>
<td>.14209</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for hypothesis H5a, which corresponds to the fifth category of the conceptual model (Independence), asserting that there isn’t a significant difference in the display of “Independence” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of western brands. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H5a was not supported as seen in table 8, the significance is (p=0.889) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H5a is NOT supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Independence” in Instagram posts of western brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H5a Independence</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.3300</td>
<td>.74649</td>
<td>.10557</td>
<td>.140</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.3100</td>
<td>.68430</td>
<td>.09677</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the T-test results explained above in table 8, only H4a is supported by the results of the content analysis, which corresponds to the fourth hypothesis. The fourth hypothesis states that there is a significant difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram posts of western brands specifically. As explained in the study variables, the fourth category constitutes of four variables, which are: Showing parts of the body, face makeup, nail polish, and seductive posture. Therefore, as mentioned in the ANOVA analysis, it is reasonable to believe that H4 was highly supported because of the modesty aspect related to the Islamic veil. However, it is interesting to see that there is a significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women body display in western brands, which could refer to the influence of the veil on western cultures and the veil’s ability to constitute how Muslim women should be represented whether in advertising or generally.

Table 10: Differences between veiled and non-veiled women in Instagram posts by local brands (N=100).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1b Feminine Touch</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.0000</td>
<td>.78019</td>
<td>.11380</td>
<td>.263</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>.793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.9565</td>
<td>.81531</td>
<td>.12021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2b Ritualization of Subordination</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.3043</td>
<td>.67705</td>
<td>.09983</td>
<td>-.501</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>.618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.3759</td>
<td>.70065</td>
<td>.10220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hypothesis H1b, which corresponds to the first category of the conceptual model, asserting that there is a significant difference in the display of “Feminine Touch” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of local brands was not supported. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H1b was not supported as seen in table 8, the significance is (p = 0.793) which is bigger than (p = 0.05), and hence, H1b is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Feminine Touch” in Instagram posts of local brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H1b</td>
<td>Feminine Touch</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2.0000</td>
<td>.78019</td>
<td>.11380</td>
<td>.263</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.9565</td>
<td>.81531</td>
<td>.12021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, Hypothesis H2b, which corresponds to the second category of the conceptual model, asserting that there is a significant difference in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of local brands was not supported.
Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H2b was not supported as seen in table 9, the significance is (p=0.618) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H2b is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between the veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Ritualization of Subordination” in Instagram posts of local brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H2b</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.3043</td>
<td>.67705</td>
<td>.09983</td>
<td>-.501</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>.618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordination veiled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1.3759</td>
<td>.70065</td>
<td>.10220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-veiled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, Hypothesis H3b, which corresponds to the third category of the conceptual model, asserting that there is a significant difference in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of local brands was not supported. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H3b was not supported as seen in table 9, the significance is (p=0.970) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H3b is also not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Licensed Withdrawal” in Instagram posts of local brands.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H3b Licensed</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.3650</td>
<td>.45235</td>
<td>.06397</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Withdrawal veiled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.3617</td>
<td>.42278</td>
<td>.05979</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, hypothesis H4b, which corresponds to the fourth category of the conceptual model, asserting that there is a significant difference in the “Body Display” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of **local** brands was not support. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H4b was not supported as seen in table 9, the significance is (p=0.206) which is bigger than (p=0.05), and hence, H4b is NOT supported. It can be concluded that there isn’t a significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women in “Body Display” in Instagram posts of **local** brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H4b Body</td>
<td>1.00 veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.0667</td>
<td>.66496</td>
<td>.09404</td>
<td>-1.274</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>.206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Display</td>
<td>2.00 non-veiled</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2.2467</td>
<td>.74516</td>
<td>.10538</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for hypothesis H5b, which corresponds to the fifth category of the conceptual model, asserting that there is a significant difference in the display of “Independence” by veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of **local** brands was not supported. Based on the results of the t-test, hypothesis H5b was NOT supported as seen in table 9, the significance is (p=0.667) which is
bigger than \( p=0.05 \), and hence, H5b is not supported. It can be concluded that there is no significant difference between veiled and non-veiled women in the display of “Independence” in Instagram posts of local brands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hyp.</th>
<th>V-NV</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error. Mean</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| H5b
Independence | 1.00 | 50 | 1.1800 | .52255          | .07390           | -.431- | 98 | .667           |
| 2.00 non-     | 2.00 |    | 1.2300 | .63254          | .08945           |      |    |                |

A seen from the t-test of hypothesis H*#b, which asserts that there is a significance in the representation of veiled vs. non-veiled women in Instagram posts of “local” brands, was not supported along all five categories of the research. From the results of the t-test represented in table 9 above, it can be concluded that there isn’t any significant differences in the representation of veiled vs. non-veiled women on Instagram of local brands. It is interesting to see that H4b corresponding to the fourth category (Feminine Touch) is not supported in local brands. This could be due to the fact that local brands on Instagram usually represent women in a culturally acceptable frame, which tend not to overwhelmingly display women’s’ bodies, whether veiled or non-veiled.
CHAPTER SIX

Discussion and Conclusion

Based on the results of the content analysis analyzed in chapter five, this research uncovered three important findings. In this chapter the three findings will be discussed and their contribution to the literature. This chapter ends with the limitations and directions for future research.

**Difference in body display between veiled and non-veiled women**

The first statistical test conducted (ANOVA) clearly showed that there is a significant difference (p> 0.01) in the body display of veiled models versus non-veiled models in Instagram brands’ posts. The ANOVA test also showed that all the other four categories of Goffman's gender analysis model (Feminine Touch, Ritualization of Subordination, Licensed Withdrawal, and Independence) were not significantly different, whether female models used in brands’ Instagram posts were veiled or non-veiled. This indifference is somewhat contradicting with literature where the general belief is that there are significant differences in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in advertising, and in the media. The only difference that the findings of this research can support is the difference in the body display. A great part of this can be contributed to the very definition of “veiled.” By definition a veiled woman is a woman that covers her body except for her face and her hands Therefore, it is expected that there will be a significant difference in terms of body display, as non-veiled women tend to be more liberal in her body presentation. However, having read the literature, one would expect to see significant
differences across all five categories of gender representations according to Goffman's conceptual model. According to the literature, veiled women engage in acts of “emotional labor,” where veiled women usually manage their feeling and expressions and hence their facial and bodily display (Hochschild, 1983). While on the other hand, the rise of femvertising in non-veiled societies, encourage women to show off their bodies and not to be afraid of expressing their feelings. Femvertising also encourage women to cut free from traditional roles and representations set by practitioner in the advertising filed.

Difference in body display between veiled and non-veiled women in western brands

As expected, and based on the results of the t-test, a significant difference was found in “Body Display” between veiled and non-veiled women in western brands’ Instagram posts. That finding came as no surprise given the results of the ANOVA test mentioned in the previous section. Body Display is the only significant difference that was found between veiled and non-veiled women in all the other categories tested. No significant differences were found between veiled and non-veiled women in the other four categories of the Goffman’s model in Instagram posts of western brands. Differences in body display could be explained from the literature as in western cultures people tend to evaluate and judging identity of the self and of others based on “personality traits.” In western countries, as mentioned before, consider bodies to be part of one’s identity, where body esteem is considered non separate from self-esteem. Therefore as an individualistic culture, in western culture the physical attractiveness of women is assessed based on very strict concepts, promoting self and body dissatisfaction, unlike collectivistic cultures, which many Middle Eastern countries are (Mooij, 2019).
Differences in body display between veiled and non-veiled women in local brands

Interestingly, there was no significant difference in body display between veiled and none veiled woman in the local brand posts on Instagram. The research studied 50 local brands’ veiled women Instagram posts versus 50 local brands’ non-veiled women Instagram posts. By design, it was made sure that the 50 posts for veiled and non-veiled women were for the same 50 brands. The significant difference in body display that was seen in the general sample of veiled versus non-veiled and in the sample of western brands Instagram posts wasn't found in the local brands Instagram posts.

This finding showed that for local brands, body display does not differ, whether the model is veiled or non-veiled. This could be explained by the fact that in the local culture body display is limited by culture regardless of the veil. Exaggerated body display is considered distasteful in the local culture, and probably not acceptable, particularly if the ad is targeting female audience.

According to a study of local ads by Alia El-Mohandes (2019), when women are the target audience gender in the ads and the purchase decision makers, they are portrayed more positively than when the ad targeted men. Most if not all the ads that were retrieved from Instagram were targeting women. Therefore it is expected that the representation of women in these local posts to be positive. As stated in the literature, in collectivistic cultures, which many Middle Eastern countries are, people see themselves in terms of their ability to have strong relationships with others in the society, rather than individualistic cultures where body display is
considered a big part of the self-esteem and culture. The local culture therefore tends to be more conservative when it comes to displaying women’s bodies regardless veiled or non-veiled, as it is considered to be a sign of distastefulness from the brands.

**Conclusion**

Based on the analysis and discussion above, we can conclude that there are not significant differences between the representations of veiled versus non-veiled women on Instagram posts of both western and local brands. The content analysis of the different variables under the five categories of Goffman’s model revealed a big discrepancy between the results of the content analysis and the literature of the study. The literature suggests significant differences in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in the media and advertising.

First, the fact that most of the categories showed no difference in the representations of veiled versus non-veiled women is surprising, since the concept of the veil “hijab” urges and encourages veiled women to engage in different emotional and physical expression of self than non-veiled women. However, this might be the reason behind the significant difference the “body display” category.

Second, differences in representations between local and western brands were highly expected, since there are many difference between local and western brands’ cultures. Western cultures are individualistic cultures, where the expression of self is part of self-esteem and highly
regarded in the society. Middle Eastern countries on the other hand are collectivist cultures, where the ability to form relationships with other members of the society and social status is very important for people.

In addition, the results showed no significant differences in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women in local brands Instagram, which also contradicts with the literature. Based on the literature non-veiled women are very much negatively stereotyped and misrepresented. In many occasions, local advertising sexualize women, represent them as passive and submissive beings, while veiled women are represented in motherly domestic roles. The indifference in representation could be explained in relation to Instagram itself as a social media platform. The importance of Instagram as a visual platform and its ability to affect brand’s reputations and engage with target audiences has forces marketers and creative directors to change the representation of both veiled and non-veiled women. Advertisers are demanded to provide richer content to the audiences, providing the gains of positively representing women especially that many Instagram users are young, active and modern individuals.

Despite the overall no difference in the representation of veiled versus non-veiled women on Instagram posts of western and local brands’ Instagram, It is essential to mention that this research is not measuring if women are still stereotyped in advertising or not. The research topic explains if there is a difference between veiled and non-veiled women in the five categories of Goffman's model and no differences between veiled and non-veiled women in these five categories except for the difference in body display were found. This research investigates the relationship between the veil and the other four categories that did not show any significance.
For instance, if there is Instagram a post where women are posing in a very seductive manner whether veiled or non-veiled the results cannot show if these women are stereotyped or not. The results will only show that there is no difference. It will not be explained if the indifference is because both veiled and non-veiled women are stereotyped or if the indifference originated from both veiled and non-veiled not being stereotyped. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the indifference is either positive or negative, because veil is the independent factor that changes, while everything else is kept equal. Furthermore, according to the research results, the existence and the non-existence of the veil did not change anything regarding the representation of women except in the body display category.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Limitations and future recommendations

In this final chapter, six limitations of the research will be discussed, along with recommendations for future research.

7.1 Instagram

This research should be applied across all social media and can also even be expanded to include traditional Media. The impact of the research is important to test if the results of the content analysis based on the five categories of Goffman is still applicable in other social media forms such as Facebook and Twitter, etc.,

7.2 Timeframe

This research was conducted in 2019 and with the passing of time and with the new technologies and developments these results will be changed. Social media is a fast evolving industry, advertising as a field therefore needs to keep up with the new trends and the new ways of promotion and branding in social media. Hence, in three years or even sooner, this research could be replicated to test the validity of the results with the passing time. It is also important to investigate whether the results still applies on the representation of women in advertising.
7.3 **Target Audience**

In the discussion above almost all of the ads retrieved from Instagram are targeting female audiences; therefore if more generic products were included in the sample pool, the representation of women will probably differ. On a global scale, veiled women are just starting to regularly appear in advertisements and it is rare to find ads for products or services that are targeting men or the general public including representation of both veiled and/or non-veiled women. These representations are not available right now and or not the mainstream but maybe in the near future the use of the veiled women in promoting general products and services will be more common. It would be interesting to replicate the study using posts targeting men and the general public and to see the difference in the results regarding the representation of veiled versus non veiled women in advertising.

7.4 **Western versus local**

Another limitation in the study is that the research examined western versus local, and in the scope of this research local indicates Egyptian. Also, the research did not include any other global brands outside of the US and Europe. The study did not include Russian, Southeast Asian, African, or Latin American brands. In future research such brands should be included along with an expansion of local brands to include all of the Middle East and North African countries.

7.5 **Goffman's model**

We used a modified version of Goffman gender analysis model. In future research other models measuring the representation of women may be developed for further relevance to the modern age advertising.
7.6 Methodology

Our methodology in this research is a blend between qualitative research which is Goffman's conceptual model and the other quantitative research content analysis. In future research other combinations of quantitative and qualitative research could possibly yield interesting insights for both researchers and/or advertising practitioners.
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   https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/03/france-muslim-women-home-working.

APPENDIX

Instagram brands’ names table
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Ads</th>
<th>Local Brand</th>
<th>Western Ads</th>
<th>Western Brand Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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