

FRAMING MODESTY THROUGH MUSLIM FEMALE FASHION INFLUENCERS

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## **Abstract**

This study examined how Muslim female fashion Instagram influencers framed the changing notion of modesty throughout their posted content. Posts that used framing theory were purposively selected from six top Arab Gulf influencers from July 1 through December 31, 2019. The captions were studied, categorized into type of framing used (story and spin) and repeated themes were noted. Results demonstrated that these influencers spoke positively of regional modesty trends, especially regarding the range of abaya, hijab and modest wear colors and designs available on the market. This was generalizable across all Gulf influencers, with the exception of Saudi Arabia, as the top influencer in the region shared limited content on framing modesty.

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## Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	4
Research Questions.....	20
Method.....	20
Artifact Selection.....	24
Research Design.....	25
Data Analysis.....	25
Results.....	27
Discussion.....	37
Limitations.....	56
Future Research.....	56
Appendix 1.....	59
Appendix 2.....	61
Appendix 3.....	62
References.....	80
Vitae.....	90

## **Introduction**

Prior to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there was a small number of traditional media outlets that were being used to send out information (Picard, 2011). In today's world, there are countless ways to communicate with an audience, so much so that it is now extremely difficult to captivate and retain people's attention (Iyer & Katona, 2016). Influencers, or individuals who shape audience attitudes through blogs, tweets, and the use of other social media," created a solution for that problem (Freberg et al., 2011, p. 90). These individuals are able to create content by channeling their unique style, deep knowledge and entertaining personality to engage their target audience and, for this reason, marketing practitioners began to use influencers as a component for their campaigns (Glucksman, 2017). With influencer marketing, the focus is on using influential people as a tool to reach their target audience, rather than directly delivering the message from the brand to the target audience (Forbes, 2017). Marketers will select influencers that are relevant to their brand, sponsor or send influencers their products, and, in exchange, influencers will raise awareness of their brand (Mathur et al., 2018). Through affiliate discount codes or links, marketers are able to track the success of the influencers' efforts (Mathur et al., 2018). These codes are often unique to the influencers' brand or name. For example, Jackie Aina is a popular blogger with numerous discount codes that contain her name, such as "JACKIE," as well as codes that reference jokes she has made throughout her content (Jackie Aina, YouTube, 2019).

Influencer marketing is an enormous phenomenon worldwide and it was found that "the \$8 billion global influencer market is slated to nearly double in size by 2022" (Vogue Business, 2019). Influencers have a major presence in the Middle East, especially

the Arab Gulf. A study by Northwestern University's campus in Qatar found that "nationals in the Gulf countries are more likely than other Arab nationals to look at stories and posts from social influencers" (Dennis et al., 2019). This survey included seven Arab nations, three of which were Gulf countries: Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. The study found that 94 percent of Saudis, 84 percent of Qataris and 80 percent of Emiratis look at posts from social media influencers, with Instagram listed as the most popular platform (Dennis et al., 2019). Gulf Arabs are also the most likely to engage with influencers. "One in four Qataris and Saudis and one-third of Emiratis say they act upon influencers' commercial recommendations, and at least one in four Saudis and Emiratis subscribe to influencers' accounts/channels or actively engage with them (Dennis et al., 2019). Ten percent even say that they adopt the political, religious, or cultural views of social media influencers (Dennis et al., 2019). These results show that influencers play a role in shaping the way that people think in the region. That said, little research has been done so far on the content that influencers in the region are producing and the ways in which they frame their messages.

This thesis aimed to explore the world of fashion influencers in the region, particularly modest fashion. The majority of Gulf Arabs are Muslim and, therefore, many wear the hijab or sheila, which translates to headscarf (Gonzalez, 2011; Sobh et al., 2014). In some countries, is also traditional to wear an abaya, which is a long-sleeved, floor or ankle-length gown that covers the entire body (Sobh et al., 2015; Lindholm, 2013). While some women wear the most traditional version of this garment, which is all black and plain, others have instead opted for a modern version, which involves a variety of colors and designs (Gonzalez, 2013; Botz-Bornstein & Khan, 2014). Women also wear

modest outfits, which are comprised of tops, skirts or pants in a variety of styles (Gonzalez, 2013). The interpretation of the word “modest” differs across the world, but for the purposes of this paper, it will address the aforementioned abaya, hijab and modest wear most commonly worn by female Muslims in the Gulf.

Modest fashion influencers could be at the forefront of this changing notion of modesty, as they often use their platforms to spread awareness about local modest brands and the latest trends. They may also often serve as a motivation and a guide for followers who have difficulty finding or putting together outfits that are both modest and stylish, which might be seen as a challenge (Lewis, 2015). This study will focus specifically on the ways in which six top Gulf Arab Instagram influencers frame modesty. The study will focus on the influencers’ Instagram posts, especially the captions, as they provide the most insight into how the influencers choose to package and present their message to their audiences.

Framing is an important part of communication and marketing research. Framing is defined as a message that is portrayed in a specific light, typically with the intention of shaping the opinion of the viewer of the message (Hallahan, 1999). This study focused on two types of framing: spin and story. The function of spin framing is to put a subject in a positive or negative light (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The function of a story is to frame a subject through the storyteller’s eyes by using the storyteller’s experience as an example. (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). These terms were important to the study, as framing was used as the lens through which the posts were analyzed.

This study examined how Muslim female fashion Instagram influencers framed the changing notion of modesty throughout their posted content. Posts that used framing

theory were purposively selected from six top Arab Gulf influencers from July 1 through December 31, 2019. The captions were studied, categorized into type of framing used (story and spin) and repeated themes were noted.

This paper will add insight and depth to the growing industry of modest fashion and the online phenomenon of influencer marketing. It will benefit communication and marketing professionals who want to harness the power of influencer marketing and incorporate it in their campaigns, specifically those targeting young consumers of social media. Brand owners may use this study to determine whether or not this marketing method is appropriate for their company. Communication researchers can gain valuable insight on framing theory and how it can be used as an effective way to shape the opinions of an audience. These benefits hold especially true for professionals in the Middle East, as well as those beyond.

### **Literature Review**

The once-cemented idea of female modesty in the Arab Gulf is changing (Sobh et al., 2015). In the past, the majority of women in the Gulf would dress in all-black traditional *abaya* gowns and *sheila*<sup>1</sup> headscarves (Sobh et al., 2015; Lindholm, 2013). Over recent years, women began to dress in a wider variety of ways, depending on politics, culture, religion, family pressure, social status and/or personal preference (Al-Qasimi, 2010; Lindholm, 2014). For example, in October 2019, Saudi Arabia revoked the law that women must wear the *abaya*, but women wear it due to cultural norms (Wall Street Journal, 2019). Similarly, Qataris and Emiratis wear the *abaya* for cultural reasons

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<sup>1</sup> The *sheila* is not necessarily synonymous with *hijab*. Some women wear *sheila* while in their Gulf country, but when they travel, they do not cover their hair. They simply wear the *sheila* for cultural reasons while inside the country.



(Shimek, 2012). However, women from the aforementioned countries wear the *abaya* in a unique way, with a variety of embellishments, colors, cuts and designs (Lindholm, 2010). Kuwaiti women mostly do not wear the *abaya* and instead wear Western clothing, as well as local designers' clothes that marry Western trends with Arab innovative styles, such as flowing, colored open *abayas* or embellished coordinated sets (Gonzalez, 2013; Botz-Bornstein & Khan, 2014). Each Gulf country has their unique notion of female modesty that has changed over time.

To help navigate this challenging world of modest fashion, Muslim women took to the Internet to disseminate tips and tricks on how to dress (Lewis, 2015). This started with women writing up blog posts and filming YouTube videos, and it has now transformed into female influencers taking to numerous platforms, most popularly Instagram, to share links to specific outfits, discount codes for modest fashion brands, designing unique headscarf and turban collaborations with brands, and some even starting their own lines (Marwick, 2013). In order to understand this phenomenon, it is important to know how modesty was once interpreted and how that interpretation has evolved over time. This literature review will discuss historical and current notions of female modesty in Islam, as well as the rise of the modest fashion influencer. Most importantly, it will discuss how framing theory could be used to examine modesty as portrayed through Muslim female fashion influencers on social media. This paper argues that these influencers use social media as a tool to portray a new individualistic definition of modesty.

### **Traditional Female Modesty**

One of the main reasons for the female Muslim veil is a specific verse in the Quran (Syed, 2010, p. 152). The Quran's text on modesty was initially instated as protective provisions for women and later "reinterpreted and transformed under patriarchal influences after the Prophet Muhammad's death" (Syed, 2010, p. 161). Barlas (2019) provided the translated verse of the Quran that Islamic scholars typically quote when discussing the concept of modesty: "They should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; and they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty" (p. 57). This is commonly perceived to justify why Muslim women cover their hair and bodies (Barlas, 2019). There are different ways this verse could be interpreted, depending on sociocultural context, subtle differences in translation from Arabic to other languages, and biases of the reader, such as orthodox Islamic scholars who may lean towards patriarchal understandings of the holy text (Barlas, 2019). For example, many of the verses in the Quran that address modesty are addressed towards the Prophet's wives (Barlas, 2019). Those who may be against the hijab interpret this as a form of protection for the Prophet's wives from his enemies, while those who are with hijab view it as a guide for other Muslim women to follow. Ultimately, Syed (2010) found that "the institution of Islamic modesty remains subject to the forces of context, history and ideology in various Muslim societies. There is not one Islam, but many Islams in different cultural contexts" (p. 155).

As discussed prior, there are many ways in which the Quran can be interpreted, especially when it comes to gender roles and equality. Muhibbu-Din (2019) discussed how the Quran has historically been interpreted in different ways and how culture can

often influence the ways people perceive their religion. Certain aspects of the Quran can be downplayed or highlighted, depending on the context that the reader understands the text within (Muhibbu-Din, 2019; Barazangi, 2016). People from different backgrounds and cultures may interpret the Quran differently. The “contextualist approach,” or the reading of the Quran which allows room for different interpretations depending on context, can pose challenges (Saeed, 2008). One main challenge is that this type of reading can threaten *ijma*, which is a term which refers to consensus among Islamic scholars on certain religious topics (Ali, 2011). Reading the Quran contextually differs person to person, which can sometimes cause people to disregard *ijma*. While some scholars misuse *ijma* by reading the Quran in a patriarchal way, some other scholars use their Islamic knowledge to provide more context for why certain rules are in place (Ali, 2011). This paper does not seek to point out one method of interpreting religion as superior than the other, but rather to note that people read the Quran differently.

Hijab is a personal journey that can be influenced by a wide variety of factors, especially political religious movements (Hafez, 2015). One of the biggest factors impacting women covering in the Arab Gulf was and continues to be Wahhabism. Wahhabism, a conservative Saudi Islamic movement, found its way into many nations that adopted Saudi educational systems, most of which were Arab Gulf nations (Ayoob & Kosebalan, 2009). “This movement built upon the earlier development of the Muslim Brotherhood, a pious movement that reacted to colonialism and used Islam as the means to build adherents. It blossomed into a resistance movement toward secular governments” (Hafez, p. 190). Simply put, many nations following Wahhabism put pressure on women to wear the veil in order to push Arab nationalism and resist Western influence. Similar to

the aforementioned study by Muhhibu-Din, Hafez (2015) concluded that “there are many discourses around the hijab and no one discourse is sufficient to pin down the complexity of international hijab-wearing” (p. 185). On the other hand, Western governments used their own nationalist sense of identity as a means of deterring women from wearing the headscarf. For example, a study by Sinclair (2012) studied the case of a Muslim teacher in Germany who refused to take off her hijab at her workplace. The researcher conducted an analysis of a party-political debate that recognized the value of democratic rights, yet still found that Germany’s national identity was incompatible with the stereotypical image of the hijab as “gendered oppression” (Sinclair, 2012, p. 19). Another study on the three cases of France, Russia, Quebec by Chandler (2015) examines these countries’ laws against women covering in public places, as well as the debates that surrounding those laws. The study found that these countries ruled against allowing women to cover in public places because it threatened their secular states, and these laws allowed the states to reinforce their secular power (Chandler, 2015).

Culture can also play a major role in a woman’s choice to wear the veil (Al-Mahadin, 2013; Sobh et al. 2015). A study by Al-Mahadin conducted anonymous interviews with 156 Jordanian female students on their opinions on the hijab. The researcher asked questions that provided insight into whether hijab was viewed as simply a religious obligation, or whether there were other factors at play. For example, interviewees were asked whether they felt that their families pressured them to be religious by wearing the veil and performing other religious duties. “When asked if under pressure to perform other religious duties, only 17 percent said that their parents pressured them to pray or fast but were strict with hijab. This demonstrates that hijab is

often social rather than religious” (Al-Mahadin, p. 13). Another sign that lent evidence to the idea that the hijab was a social obligation was that most of the young women interviewed viewed the hijab as a way to improve their marriage prospects and follow the social norms in their country (Al-Mahadin). This study was limited, as it focused on Jordanian Muslim female university students. Sobh et al. (2015) conducted in-depth interviews with twenty-four Emirati and Qatari female university students in order to understand the social implications of wearing the hijab while also dressing fashionably. The study investigates the commonly held notion that modesty and fashion are incompatible, as fashion’ draws attention and modesty is supposed to deter attention. The study looks closely at the *abaya* in order to understand what it once symbolized and what it means today. “The abaya that used to be a unifying garment that expresses women collective religious and cultural identity has evolved into a singularly self-identifying look that is expressive of status, distinctiveness and personal identities” (Sobh et al. 2015, p. 906). The findings of these studies draw attention to the traditional notions that many once held and some still do. However, they also hint towards the beginning of a new definition of modesty.

### **Modern Female Modesty**

Perceptions of the veil have transformed over time, which is largely thanks to the rise of Muslim feminism (Grech, 2014). A study by Grech on Muslim feminism looks at the history of the movement in Egypt. There were several waves of feminism. The first was from the 1880s until the early 1920s and focused on freedom of expression. According to Grech, there were initially perceived to be two types of feminists: those who viewed the veil as a choice and those who viewed the veil as oppressive and not

required in Islam. Some feminists, especially women who had power and the freedom to speak openly, wrote autobiographies and discussed their desire to remove the veil, as well as receive education and refuse arranged marriage. Grech found that with this first wave of feminism, Egyptian women were able to have public discourse on topics like the veil and even remove the veil if they did not prefer to wear it. The second was from 1923 until the 1950s and focused on laws pertaining to women, such as voting, personal status, and “impropriety” or modesty laws. When Gamal Abdel Nasser came into power in 1956, he gave women the right to vote but also limited women’s independence by expelling feminists who worked within state bodies “when their voice became too autonomous” (Grech, p.352). Similarly, when Anwar Sadat came to power, there were advancements and setbacks, such as women gaining the right to divorce yet being discouraged to join the workforce. The third wave of feminism began in the 1980s and differentiated between Islamic feminism and secular feminism (Grech). Islamic feminism highlighted women’s rights in the Quran and challenged patriarchal interpretations of the Quran. Secular feminism, on the other hand, was closer to Western feminism in that it called for equality between men and women, regardless of what the Quran stated. With regards to the veil, this wave of feminism held the same two beliefs that the first wave of feminism held: the Islamic feminists believed that the veil was a choice and the secular feminists viewed the veil as oppressive. Many other countries in the Middle East experienced waves of feminism, resulting in some wins and some losses. The majority of women in the Arab Gulf are still expected to wear the headscarf, even if they show some hair and wear new fashionable *abaya* designs (Golkowska, 2019). However, major changes have taken place as women received greater access to higher education. For

example, Qatar started an initiative called Education City, importing top American universities such as Northwestern, Georgetown and Cornell, to name a few (U.S. News, 2019). Due to the fact that many Qatari women cannot travel abroad without a male guardian, women make up a large percentage of the student body in these universities (Golkowska, 2019). More women are continuing their postgraduate education and are entering the workforce as a result (Golkowska, 2019). Other Gulf countries have also imported Western universities with the same goal and result in mind (U.S. News, 2019).

As many Muslim women explored whether they wanted to cover, women gained more options when it came to fashion (Sobh et al., 2015). A study on modesty and style by Mossiere (2012) interviewed Muslim converts living in the West and found that many Islamic garments were refashioned to suit the Western environment. The traditional black *abayas* (or dresses that covered the entire body) were replaced with “loose-fitting pants or long skirts under long tunics that are usually discrete in color (dark or very light colors with minimal contrast), and fluid fabrics that ripple over their silhouette, revealing only a hint of their body shape” (Mossiere, p. 120). Mossiere ultimately found that this “negotiation of modernity and tradition” allowed women the freedom to enjoy fashion trends while also practicing their religion (p. 133). In the Gulf, modest fashion businesses are on the rise, many of which are still new and make most of their sales through Instagram accounts (Wally & Koshy, 2014). Sales are also made at pop-up temporary exhibitions. The exhibitions bring a small number of well-known Gulf brands, but the majority of the brands are small female-owned businesses that sell unique tailored *abayas*, traditional *jalabiya* gowns which are worn during the holy month of Ramadan, and unique clothing to be worn underneath the *abaya*, during travel and/or at female-only

gatherings (Heya, 2019; Fashion Forward Dubai, 2019; Vogue Exhibitions, 2019). Many women also shop online on websites like Net-a-Porter which offer many luxury brands (New York Times, 2019). Due to the fact that Middle Eastern women are some of the largest consumers of these websites, many have created a modest section or “Ramadan edit” with designs that are similar to those one may find at an exhibition (New York Times, 2019). Oscar de la Renta kaftans can often be found in these sections, as they look similar to *jalabiyas* (Net-a-Porter, 2019).

The Internet played a large role in transforming the traditional notion of the veil. As discussed prior, the aforementioned Quranic verse on the veil is interpreted differently depending on context. A study on interpreting Islam through the Internet by Akou (2012) studied how Muslims conducted *ijtihad* (interpretation) on forums and blogs by looking at the content of the messages on these platforms. Akou found that women used these forums to debate and understand how the Quran could be interpreted in the modern world. For example, Muslims living in the West discussed whether it was appropriate to modify their wardrobes and possibly even remove the veil entirely if they feared that they were unsafe or they could lose their jobs due to discrimination (Akou, 2012). The study found that many users discovered these platforms to be a great resource, both because practical advice was shared and because *ijtihad* is an important part of Islam. Mainstream media outlets can also play a role in shifting the traditional notion of the veil towards a more modern path. A study by Abd. Latiff et al. (2013) conducted a survey-based quantitative analysis of 80 hijab-wearing women residing in Malaysia and their consumption of mainstream media in order to determine whether there was an impact on their perception of the hijab. The study found that the media offered information on



modern ways to wear hijab fashionably, often referencing individuals who dressed in modest fashion as role models (Abd. Latiff et al., 2013).

### **The Rise of the Influencer**

An influencer is “a new type of independent third-party endorser who shape audience attitudes through blogs, tweets, and the use of other social media” (Freberg et al., 2011, p. 90). Influencers often achieve this by creating a brand for themselves on social media platforms and becoming micro-celebrities, whether on a local, national, regional or sometimes even international scale (Khamis et al., 2016). According to Glucksman (2017), by creating content that is targeted at a specific audience, influencers are able to grab the attention of viewers and in many cases gain trust. Brands capitalize on this trust. If a brand would like to target a specific audience, they may look to an influencer who has already cultivated trust with that same demographic. They would then collaborate on marketing a product or raising awareness about the brand. The influencer’s job is then to ‘influence’ their audience into clicking a link, purchasing a product, or some other desired action, by sharing positive information and reviews about the brand.

Though there is debate about when and where precisely in the last decade the term “influencer” arose and who the first influencers were, they have become increasingly widespread. Google Trends (2019) reported that there were less than tens of thousands of searches for the term “influencer” leading up to 2016 worldwide, which then jumped to hundreds of thousands of searches in 2019. A study by Backaler (2018) calls the rise of influencers a "global phenomenon," citing influencer marketing cases all over Asia, Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa and North America. In a study focusing specifically on social media in the Middle East, a survey of 100 in-house marketing

experts conducted by BPG Cohn & Wolfe in the UAE found that “43 percent of marketers spend up to \$10,000 per social media influencer campaign” (Radcliffe & Lam, 2017). Ninety-four percent of those polled felt that influencer marketing was important to their campaigns, 50 percent worked with influencers from the Middle Eastern region and 55 percent said that the biggest challenge was selecting relevant influencers (Radcliffe & Lam, 2017). This data shows that, in just three years, influencers rose and became an important part of marketing campaigns in the region.

Religion can have an impact on an influencer’s content. In an interview with Vogue, a Muslim influencer in Norway discussed her motivations for continuing to wear hijab on her platform even after receiving negative comments about her faith. “I’m definitely using it to make a statement that, yes, I’m a Muslim woman, I’m doing this, and you guys have to deal with it. I feel like I’m doing the exact same thing with fashion” (Vogue, 2019). Being a Muslim in Norway also forced her to be creative with fashion and find ways to dress modestly, despite the lack of options available. “Most of the followers I had at the beginning were Muslim girls and they liked the fact that I was using Western clothes, the stuff that you buy from the shops here, and making them more modest; kind of like how East meets West” (Vogue, 2019). Negative comments online can also do damage to influencers who choose to share modest fashion content. Ascia Al-Faraj, a modest fashion Kuwaiti-American blogger, recently chose to remove her headscarf due to reasons relating to her mental health and personal identity (Grazia, 2019). The YouTube video she shared explaining her reasons has nearly one million views as of October 2019 and her first Instagram post without the headscarf was reported to have over 25,000 comments (Grazia, 2019; YouTube, 2019). However, comments on

the post were later disabled (Instagram, 2019). Influencers have spoken up on their platforms to share what it is like to be at the intersection of religion and marketing. Al-Faraj, for example, shared on her Instagram Stories that she informed campaign partners of her decision to remove her headscarf in order to discuss whether there would be an impact on the campaign (Instagram, 2019). Leena Asad, a Texas-based modest fashion influencer, also took to her Instagram Stories to share how she tries to find pieces at large, accessible brands such as Nordstrom and Walmart (both brands that she has formerly partnered with) so that she can help her followers practice their religion more effortlessly. Whether positive or negative, religion can impact an influencer's content.

### **Framing Theory**

This thesis will use framing theory to understand the phenomenon of modesty as portrayed by Muslim female fashion influencers. Framing theory was originally introduced by Goffman (1974) who defined frames as "a set of concepts and theoretical perspectives that organize experiences and guide the actions of individuals" (p.11). Similarly, framing was later defined by Hallahan (1999) as a message that is portrayed in a specific light, typically with the intention of shaping the opinion of the viewer of the message. Powell et al. (2015) found that "when images and text are presented together, the frame carried by the text influences opinions regardless of the accompanying image" (p. 997). This information is important to note in a study on influencers, as they combine images and text captions on their social media platforms. According to a study on the psychology of online persuasion, people are most influenced by both visual and textual messages (Nahai, 2012). A post's success can often be attributed to an influencer's ability

to consistently stream and interweave their message through their caption and image in a highly personal way (De Veirman et al., 2017).

Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) found that there are many tools that can be used to frame messages, especially for marketing purposes, and two of which may be the focus of this study: spin and stories. Before discussing these tools, it is important to first understand the role of context. Due to the fact that this study will cover modest Muslim fashion influencers, it is important to consider relevant religious, historical, cultural and geographical contexts. As discussed prior, the Quran can be interpreted in different ways (Syed, 2010). Due to the fact that men have historically interpreted the Quran, researchers have found that there are patriarchal biases in the ways in which the text was interpreted and communicated to Muslims (Syed, 2010). The verse which mentions modesty is particularly open to interpretation, as it is vague (Barlas, 2019). Therefore, feminism in the region has taken many forms, particularly when it comes to modesty (Grech, 2014). Some women took the Quranic verse “draw their veils over their bosoms” to mean that they must simply cover their chests, while others interpreted it to mean that the veil was already a head covering, but that they must ensure that they draw that over their bosom to ensure their chests are covered (Golkowska, 2019). In the Arab Gulf region, the spread of Wahhabism caused Muslims in the region to lean more towards the conservative reading of the verse, which meant that women were covering both their hair and bodies (Hafez, 2015). Now, as women struggle to maintain modesty while also looking fashionable, the definition of modesty is changing (Sobh et al., 2015). The Arab Gulf culture now incorporates a wide variety of modest looks, from full abaya gowns to modest Western ensembles (Al-Qasimi, 2010; Lindholm, 2014). The aforementioned contexts are

essential to understand as they shape people's understandings (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). It helps to shed light on important information about Arab Gulf Muslim female fashion influencers, such as the topics they might choose to cover throughout their content. If a marketing professional wants to shift a person's perspective on a certain topic, they should first consider the context through which this person perceives the topic. The professional should "determine what frames people have by asking questions, testing whether their frames are permeable and helping them find space for new thinking" (p. 98). Then, the professional may consider the aforementioned tools of spin and stories.

The function of spin framing is to put a subject in a positive or negative light. It is used because it clearly defines the subject's strengths and weaknesses (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996, p. 101). Spin is commonly practiced by politicians and public relations professionals (p. 113). In many cases, it can be a helpful tool to reframe an idea in the audience's mind. However, spin can be harmful when the "ratio of spin to reality" is excessive (p. 101). Fairhurst and Sarr gave the case of a presidential debate in 1988 that went so poorly that the audience could not believe any attempts to shift the audience's opinion. A journalist from NBC even said, "there was so much spinning going on here tonight, it's a wonder that Omaha Civic Auditorium didn't lift off into orbit" (p. 115). Other studies also documented the use of spin as a framing device. A study by Nandagiri and Philip (2018) discussed the impact of influencers from Instagram and YouTube on their followers, specifically looking at whether influencers' endorsements of products has a positive effect on their followers. Followers were shown influencers' YouTube and Instagram product reviews and were then interviewed to determine whether followers were impacted. Influencers were also interviewed about their work. The researchers used

framing theory as a framework for the paper. According to Davie (2014), frames are ways in which the media communicate their message in order to influence the audience's choices. Nandagiri and Philip applied this to their study by stating that influencers (the media) present their message (product endorsements) in a frame to their audience (followers). The study found that by framing their subject (product) in a positive light, influencers did in fact have a positive impact on followers, as they stated that they would be willing to try the products endorsed. This example is a clear demonstration of spin framing, and studies like these let public relations professionals know that spin can be a useful tool when it comes to delivering messages and framing perceptions.

Stories can also be powerful framing tools. The function of a story is to frame a subject through the storyteller's eyes by using the storyteller's experience as an example. Stories are used to attract attention and build rapport (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The goal of this tool is to communicate a memorable frame that the audience adopts. The simple reason behind this is that people may not remember all the details around a specific brand of product, but they will remember a story. Listeners also tend to build rapport with a storyteller, as they feel that they know the storyteller on a more personal level (Fairhurst & Sarr). Because stories are often so personal, the message of the story tends to apply mostly to the storyteller, which allows the storyteller to highlight the positives and downplay the negatives (p. 121). Taylor (1999) studied members of an organization after the organization underwent major change by asking them to share their story. He found that people in different levels of hierarchy made sense of the change in different ways, due to the fact that they were perceiving the story through their personal lens. Another study by Morgan and Dennehy (2004) found that stories were used to reframe the social

construction of reality. The researchers conducted in-classroom activities which asked students to gather stories and retell them from the original storyteller's perspective. The paper found that there were differences between the original storyteller's perspective and the way the listener/reteller heard the story through their own perspective. A study by Romo et al. (2017) discussed storytelling and social networking as luxury fashion marketing tools. They studied a number of marketing tools, from video, social media, events and public exhibitions. Within social media, bloggers were discussed as one of the tactics Prada and Louis Vuitton used in order to influence their target audience. Romo et al. shared a quote from a blogger on why they felt that they are able to successfully influence their audience and the reason was that they will only work with brands that fit in with the story they are telling: "I always study carefully that the brand, garment or accessory go with my style, even if they are well-known brands or are offering me a good deal, I do not accept if it does not go with my style, my blog and my followers" (p. 146). The study concluded that millennial consumers of influencer content trust ads from friends over companies, and when influencers use storytelling techniques, it helps them appear more friendly and trustworthy. These examples show that stories can be powerful framing tools that people tend to experience through their own individual perspective.

The notion of modesty has transformed from traditional and single to modern and complex. Muslim women choose to express their modesty in different ways. One of the clearest ways this is illustrated is through Muslim fashion female influencers, as they frame modesty through their individual lens. There is a gap in research when it comes to the huge female players on social media that many young Muslim women follow. The

goal of this paper is to shed light on these influencers who are framing and shaping the notion of modesty today.

### **Research Questions**

*RQ1: What were the overall themes in the framed messages by the Muslim female fashion influencers?*

*RQ2: How do top modest fashion influencers in the Arab Gulf use spin throughout their Instagram content?*

*RQ3: How do these influencers use stories throughout their content?*

*RQ4: How do these influencers use their platforms to contribute to the changing perception of the notion of modesty?*

### **Method**

A qualitative content analysis was used to examine these questions. According to Creswell and Poth (2018) "Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices" such as interviews, photographs and field notes" (p.41). The goal of qualitative research is to help people make sense of a phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Qualitative research involves "inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p.41). This approach allows qualitative researchers to accurately describe and interpret the data, as well as discuss the contribution of the data to literature (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Qualitative research was the selected approach for this study because it looks specifically at Instagram influencers qualitative content (photos and videos) in an effort to make sense of the way they are contributing to a changing cultural phenomenon. Qualitative data was selected over



quantitative data (number of followers, likes, comments) because, to an influencer's followers, the photos and videos stand out most, as that content appears on the influencer's profile, as well as on the followers' feeds. People follow influencers because of their content and, therefore, an influencer's popularity is linked to their content. Therefore, since this study examines the six most popular influencers in the Arab Gulf and the ways in which they use framing through their Instagram content, qualitative research was the best method for this study. Also, quantitative data would be very difficult to access as Instagram recently stopped showing likes (BBC, 2019). Instagram stories disappear within 24 hours, making stories very difficult to track as well. While comments still show on Instagram, it is likely that the number of comments is increasing every day, making comments difficult to track as well. Influencers and brands would have the quantitative insights on sponsorships and partnerships, and they may be reluctant to share that information with a researcher for professional and legal reasons. While an influencer may occasionally delete a post or edit their captions, this content was the most easily accessible data to analyze qualitatively for the study.

A content analysis was the best method for this paper, according to a five-phase research process by Denzin and Lincoln (2011). The first phase was to consider the researcher's perspectives and experiences. The researcher is a former Qatar resident with a background in fashion journalism and digital communications. This perspective will provide a familiarity with fashion in the Gulf region, as the researcher has personally witnessed the transformation over the fifteen years residing in Qatar, as well as visiting the UAE, Saudi Arabia and Oman (Appendix 1). However, the researcher is most familiar with Qatar and less familiar with other Gulf countries, which could cause

unintentional bias. In order to ensure that bias does not impact the study, the researcher will practice realist ethnography, which is an approach used by cultural anthropologists where the researcher takes notes on the individuals being studied from a third-person objective point of view (Creswell & Poth, 2018). They provide notes on the data, so as to ensure that there is no personal bias or judgement (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This has been incorporated into the methodology by adding a “notes” column to the data sheet where the researcher will provide unbiased information on the influencers’ content. The second phase was to consider the researcher’s beliefs and the impact they could have on research. Since the researcher has witnessed the change over time and has had conversations with women from the region who speak positively about the change, this belief could impact the researcher to view the change as positive, which could unintentionally be reflected in the data. However, the researcher will follow the methodology step by step in order to ensure this risk is minimized. This study predominantly considered two frameworks: postmodernist perspectives and feminist theory.

Postmodernism was chosen as one of the frameworks for this study because it aims to change ways of thinking by examining the conditions of the world today, taking into consideration perspectives of class, race, gender and other affiliations (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This framework was the right lens for this study because it looks at fashion while taking into consideration the perspective of Muslim females from Arab Gulf countries. This unique perspective was important to consider because it explained why fashion may be different for these individuals and provided insight into the world of modest fashion. This framework was also applicable to the study because postmodernists deconstruct

texts in order to make interpretations. Thomas (1993) stated that post modernists believe that texts need to be challenged in order to find “subtexts” of dominant meanings (p. 25). This was ideal for this research because the influencer’s content (specifically the text caption) could be deconstructed in order to make an interpretation that could change the way people think about modest fashion.

Feminist theory was also relevant to this study, as the influencers seemed to be creating their own definitions of modesty that are framed through women’s fashion trends, as opposed to men’s impositions. According to Stewart (1994), women have the ability to make choices. Stewart suggests that researchers study how women perceive gender, and also acknowledge that gender is different for each individual. This is especially important to note for this study, as the notion of gender and feminism may be different for women from the Arab Gulf.

This led to the third phase according to Creswell and Poth (2018), which was to consider how the theoretical frameworks informed the research approaches. Framing theory was chosen as the lens to conduct this study, as there were different types of framing that influencers may have been using to shift notions of modesty in the region. The two frames this study will be looking for are story and spin. As mentioned prior, spin framing puts a subject in a positive or negative light and reveals the subject’s strengths and weaknesses (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996, p. 101). Stories frame a subject by example, attract attention and can build rapport (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996, p. 101). Therefore, this study will categorize posts by the type of framing used: positive spin, negative spin, or story.

The fourth phase according to Creswell and Poth (2018), was to consider how the research approach influenced methods used for data collection and analysis. As mentioned prior, it is necessary to deconstruct artifacts and texts in order to make interpretations. This study focused on Instagram influencers, and due to this the primary research was an analysis of Instagram content of the most popular regional influencers, specifically the text captions. This will be discussed in greater depth in the artifact selection section. The fifth and final phase according to... considered what contributed to the researcher's decisions related to rigor, inferences and use of findings. The researcher chose to simplify the judging criteria as much as possible by selecting posts that frame modesty and determining which type of frame was used.

### **Artifact Selection**

Six influencers were selected, one from each Arab Gulf country. For the purposes of this study, “Arab Gulf country” refers to countries with a coastline along the Arabian (also known as Persian) Gulf and where Arabic is the official language. The countries selected were Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Iraq was the only country to be omitted from the study, as the Iraqi social climate is still reeling from a range of recent and historical events including the impact of ISIS, which have caused women to dress in ways that cannot be classified as “modest fashion” (Dietrich & Carter, 2017). Fashion magazines were used to find the most followed influencers in the region (Harper’s Bazaar, 2019; Vogue Arabia, 2016). A regional influencer management representative from Webedia Arabia was also consulted. The names from the lists and consultant were compiled, listed in order of popularity and the top influencer from each country was selected. The six influencers in this study were

the most followed in their respective countries. A data sheet was compiled with basic facts about each influencer including their name, country, number of followers and number of posts as of December 31, 2019, which is the date the data collection ended (Appendix 2).

### **Research Design**

Posts from July 1 through December 31, 2019 from each of these six influencers were then coded to determine which of the posts used framing and, if so, which of the two types: spin or story. The posts which used framing were therefore selected purposively and included in the study. Posts were screenshotted and saved in case the influencer chose to delete the post in the future. Six data sheets were compiled, one for each influencer, with the following categories: link to post, date posted, caption (original and translated to English, if in Arabic), hashtags, type of frame used (spin or story), and the researcher's notes on the frame (Appendix 3). Purposive sampling is the "deliberate choice of a participant due to the qualities the participant possesses," where in this case the participant is the post (Etikan et al., 2016, p. 2). The strengths of this method are that the purposive sampling will allow the researcher to focus on the most impactful posts that will shed light on how framing is used by modest fashion influencers. This study does not aim to make generalizations about all the modest fashion influencers in the Arab Gulf, rather it aims to understand how framing is used as a tool among the top influencers in the region. The weaknesses are that purposive sampling can sometimes lead to human error and bias on the part of the researcher.

### **Data Analysis**

A thematic analysis is a type of analysis “that focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of behavior.” This analysis is most commonly used with textual data (Anderson, 2007). In order to determine which type of framing was used, the researcher had to determine whether the influencer intended to use spin or story as the type of framing. The influencers often shared images of fashion, beauty and travel, but the images were not enough to determine whether a frame was being used. However, the text caption allowed the researcher to understand what message the influencer was trying to send to their followers. The caption was therefore more helpful in determining whether the influencer was using framing and, if so, which type.

The themes occurred in both manifest (evident) and latent (underlying) ways. A theme was manifest if, for example, the influencer explicitly put a positive spin on an abaya by drawing a distinction between the traditional and modern garment, highlighting the positive traits of the modern version. A theme was latent if, for example, the influencer told a personal story about how much they enjoy selecting abayas that have a unique design or color, thus subtly placing a positive frame on modern abayas. The researcher does not aim to claim that the influencer intended to frame the abaya in a certain way, but rather point out the ways that an audience may interpret a possible frame. Within the codebook, the researcher made a note regarding what may be interpreted as frames. The analysis also provided information that answered the larger overarching question of how influencers used their platforms to contribute to the changing notion of modesty.

## Results

Overall, this study aimed to compare the region's traditional notion of modesty to today's modesty. The purpose of this study was to examine how Muslim female fashion Instagram influencers framed the changing notion of modesty throughout their posted content. The posts were analyzed in order to determine which type of framing was used and which themes were repeated in the post's captions.

### **RQ1: What were the overall themes in the framed messages by the Muslim female fashion influencers?**

The first research question examined the overall themes in the framed messages by the Muslim female fashion influencers. The themes were similar across all influencers and primarily focused on positively framing modest wear. The themes were (1) beauty of the abaya, (2) beauty of modest wear, (3) hair care and visibility, (4) the abaya as modern, (5) beauty and love of hijab, (6) Arab and international trends in modest wear, (7) breaking traditional gender roles, (8) self-expression through fashion, (9) the shift from traditional to modern national dress and the abaya as modern and (10) the variety of abaya and hijab colors and designs. The second research question on spin framing will discuss themes 1 through 5, since spin framing was used more frequently than story framing and included more discussion of themes. The third research question will discuss themes 6 through 9. The tenth and final theme, the variety of abaya and hijab colors and designs, was the most repeated theme and will be discussed in both the second and third research questions, as it was discussed in 44 out of 77 post captions. Overall, the posts shared a positive message about modesty, which will be discussed in the fourth and final research question.

**RQ2: How do top modest fashion influencers in the Arab Gulf use spin throughout their Instagram content?**

The second research question asked how top modest fashion influencers in the Arab Gulf use spin framing throughout their Instagram content. Of all the posts, 68 percent used positive spin framing. There were no instances of negative spin framing. Influencers repeated several themes. In order of most to least frequency, the themes were: the variety of abaya and hijab colors and designs, beauty of the abaya, beauty of modest wear, hair care and visibility, the abaya as an international garment, the abaya as modern and beauty and love of hijab.

***The variety of abaya and hijab designs and colors***

The main way influencers used spin framing was by indirectly taking the stereotypical idea of a black abaya as traditional and framing it as a standard, classic garment. While they did not feel that there was anything wrong with the black abaya, they use their posts to discuss the ways in which the garment has become more compatible for the modern Arab woman as many of the abayas now have varied designs such as pockets or an additional piece to wear underneath (pants/skirt/dress) so that the abaya can be worn open and women can move more freely, as the quotes below will demonstrate. The women discussed today's abaya as the perfect garment for occasions, lounging, working, or running errands. Wearing a suit-like abaya with gold zippers and pockets, Khawla Al-Maraghi, an influencer in Bahrain who does promotional work ranging from food to tourism, said, "I like this practical abaya for everyday wear, especially for working hours. If you're in a rush and don't want to take a bag, the abaya has pockets where you can store your things" (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). Al-



Maraghi's abaya was pictured outdoors in the sunlight, along with a video of the wind blowing against the abaya's fabric, making it appear light and airy. Outdoor shoots were common among the influencers.

They also spoke about the ways in which the garment has changed from the classic and plain to unique and available in a wide variety of colors. It is important to note that each blogger has their unique brand and often selected pieces that were compatible with their image. Some bloggers are more daring and wear bright colors, while others wear black abayas with subtle pops of color or unique designs. For example, Haneen Al-Saify, a feminine, elegant influencer in Qatar shared an image of a black abaya with a muted pink trim and said, "I am glad that abaya designers lately are becoming more creative, especially by adding colors to abayas. Although black is a classic, colors add a softness to the look of the abaya" (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). Basma Al-Issa, an Omani influencer who shares content surrounding fashion, beauty and motherhood, shared a photo of herself in a light pink abaya outdoors by a water fixture and wrote, "I really love this abaya because it is colorful and can be worn in more than four ways" (Al-Issa, Instagram, 2019).

### ***Beauty of the abaya and modest wear***

Fatma Husam, a modest fashion influencer and jewelry brand co-owner from the United Arab Emirates, has a bolder aesthetic than Al-Saify and often enjoys wearing monochromatic looks, especially pastel abayas and modest wear. Husam took a briefer approach with captions by posting a powder blue abaya and asking, "Hi, can i [sic] have every shade of this abaya" and sharing an all-white oversized outfit and captioning, "Can't go wrong with a full white look," as well an all-yellow outfit and captioning,

“baby yellow, my new fav [sic] color” (Fatma Husam, Instagram, 2019). Each post incorporates movement, either with the Husam taking a step forward as the fabric billows out behind her, or with wind blowing through the fabric in similar fashion to the influencers’ posts described above. Through her visual imagery and positive captions, the beauty of the abaya and modest wear is always the focus. It is important to note that all bloggers captured images of their abayas and modest wear in a very glamorous way, focusing on the details of the pieces and pairing the garments with matching handbags, shoes and accessories. For example, Dalal AlDoub, a makeup and fashion influencer in Kuwait, shared a shot taken on Eid (a Muslim holiday) and styled her “beautiful beige suit” with a maroon Dior saddle bag, oversized chrome sunglasses, an embellished white headscarf and jewelry (AlDoub, Instagram, 2019). Al-Maraghi shared a post of a green embellished abaya and paired it with a Gucci bag and high-end diamond jewelry (Al-Maraghi, Instagram, 2019). All of the aforementioned influencers also wore a full face of makeup. All of these styling elements show that these influencers are positioning the abaya and modest wear as beautiful.

### ***Hair care and visibility***

Husam is also a bolder influencer due to the fact that she often displays half of her hair and discusses hijab styles and hair care. For example, in a video where she was wrapping her hijab with her hair to the back, she asked her followers, “Hair to the back today...how are we feeling about this?” (Fatma Husam, Instagram, 2019). Country music played in the background as she sat in her car adjusting her headscarf. This particular influencer’s Instagram bio mentions that she is a modest fashion influencer. As one of the most popular bloggers in the region, her comfort with making her hair visible indirectly

sends the message that modesty is different for everyone. While some may prefer to cover all of their hair, Husam is comfortable showing some hair. AlDoub also shared numerous posts where she discussed haircare, despite wearing a headscarf in all the photos. In a video where AlDoub can be seen scrolling through a shopping application, she scrolls through hair products and writes, “We all love taking care of ourselves and looking for the best products. The Amavi application provides a variety of skin and hair products from different brands” (Dalal AlDoub, Instagram, 2019). While her hair is not visible, the discussion of hair care is still important to note, as it conveys the idea that a woman in a headscarf can invest in her hair for herself.

### ***Beauty and love of hijab***

The beauty and love of hijab was another repeated theme. Al-Maraghi shared a four-minute long tutorial of several different hijab styles and captioned the post with two simple emojis: a woman wearing a headscarf emoji and a heart emoji (Al-Maraghi, Instagram, 2019). While she did not directly state that she loves her hijab, she signaled to her followers that the versatility of the hijab was one of the factors that made her love hers. Similarly, Al-Saify shared a post of herself in a modest patterned jumpsuit and used the following hashtags: #hijab #hijabi #beautiful #hijaboutfit (Al-Saify, Instagram, 2019). Many of Al-Saify’s posts share the same hashtags. This also sends the message that hijab is beautiful and that the blogger takes pride in wearing hers.

It is important to note that the bloggers’ posts described above were all shot outdoors as the bloggers were going to work, running errands, and lounging indoors and outdoors, which sends the message that the modern Arab Gulf woman’s place is both inside and outside of the home. As evidenced by these examples, these bloggers are

taking the abaya, hijab and other modest pieces and positively spinning them to display and praise the garments as both beautiful and must-haves for today's Arab Gulf woman.

**RQ3: How do these influencers use stories throughout their content?**

The third research question inquired as to how these influencers tell stories in order to frame their content. Stories refer to the narrative messaging that influencers used throughout their posts, not their use of Instagram's story feature. Of all the posts, 32 percent used story framing. Influencers repeated several themes, in order of most to least frequency: Arab and international trends in modest wear, breaking traditional gender roles, self-expression through fashion, the shift from traditional to modern national dress and the abaya as modern. The main way the influencers used story framing was to use their own stories as examples of how modesty can be beautiful, especially when a person feels happy and comfortable in the clothing they are choosing to wear.

***Arab and international trends in modest wear***

Al-Maraghi, who often wears abayas in Bahrain and modest wear when traveling, shared a photo of herself in a turban and light blue suit with a golden fringe and said, "Shein is one of the most popular sites that I love to shop from, especially when I have an upcoming trip and I only have time to shop online. I love the looks that are Arabian and modest, those that combine international fashion and our styles in the Middle East" (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). The coordinated set she shared is a trend that influencers in the region popularized, as they directed their followers to the brands that specialize in them. E-commerce sites like Shein now carry these brands and influencers continue to direct their followers there. Other influencers wore similar sets in their posts. For example, at a press event for a local boutique, Al-Issa wore a pink trench coat dress

over a white slip dress (Basma Al-Issa Instagram, 2019). Husam wore a similar look, a blue trench coat dress over white jeans and a white top, and captioned the post “blue for @hessafalasi,” praising one of the most popular modest wear designers of the region (Fatma Husam Instagram, 2019). Many other post displayed trends where the bloggers wore garments that married Western and Arab styles together. As Al-Maraghi stated in the aforementioned post and caption, these coordinated sets offer modest wear that incorporate Arabian and Western designs, which allow women to feel comfortable wearing them in both the Middle East and when traveling abroad.

### ***Breaking traditional gender roles***

Modest wear can also take more of a Western form. For example, AlDoub shared an image of herself in a casual denim shirt, white headscarf, black pants and combat boots and said “I was shopping in Balenciaga when I saw this shirt in the men's section. Of course, when I like something, I do not care if it's for men or women. I take it and wear it. Do you dress in menswear?” (Dalal AlDoub Instagram, 2019). The photo showed her edgy look while the story illustrated her opinion on gender-bending, which is not common in the Arab Gulf, as men and women tend to dress in a stereotypical masculine and feminine way, respectively. AlDoub posed the question to her followers after sharing her opinion, which could prompt followers to consider her opinion when shaping and sharing their own. Al-Maraghi also shared a post of herself in an oversized red suit while on a business trip to Turkey, which could also be perceived as dressing in a more masculine way and shifting away from gendered norms (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019).

### ***Self-expression through fashion***

AlDoub also shared a story about why she feels white suits her: “Today’s look is white on white. I always get the question: ‘why do you wear a white veil?’ The answer is that it lights up my face and I feel like it is pretty on me. I don't have to wear different colors every day, but it is very important to me that I wear my veil in colors I like” (Dalal AlDoub Instagram, 2019). This is noteworthy because it demonstrates that people often ask her why she chooses to wear a white veil, which shows that this is not something that has been accepted by everyone in the Gulf yet. However, she is using her platform to state that she chooses to dress in a way that makes her happy and allows her freedom of self-expression through fashion, as opposed to wearing the traditional black abaya and veil. Al-Saify also shared a similar sentiment on a post of herself in a black, gray and floral patterned abaya, where she wrote, “Dress to impress yourself” (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). Overall, the influencers often shared positive comments about their garments, which indicated that they were personally happy with what they were wearing and were choosing to express themselves through their clothing.

### ***Shift from traditional to modern national dress***

The shift from traditional to modern national dress was also discussed in the data collected for the third research question. Al-Issa shared a photo on the country’s national day of herself in a belted gown, which accentuated her waist and differed from the less form-flattering traditional costume, and said, “In the past, I used to wear a traditional Omani costume on our national day, but this year I decided to wear a different style that is full of creativity” (Basma Al-Issa Instagram, 2019). It is important to note that Oman is one of the most traditional Gulf states, as the country itself has retained its historical landmarks and prides itself on its heritage and culture. Al-Issa’s short story on how she

used to dress in traditional costume but has now moved on to unique designs is illustrative of modesty's changing throughout even one of the most traditional countries in the region. This story shows that Al-Issa is an influencer who respects her country's tradition but is also taking part and leading the shift in modest fashion. Other influencers were pictured in similar garments which took a traditional national dress and put a modern twist on it. Al-Saify wore a maroon and white ensemble on the Qatar national day. While this was not a traditional national outfit, Al-Saify still paid homage to the country's flag colors in a modern way (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019).

### *Abaya as modern*

AlDoub was pictured outside of an Abu Dhabi mosque in an abaya with beige shoelace stitching down the chest and shoulders. AlDoub said, "The abayas from this brand are so modern and comfortable. Their designs are unique and beautiful. Most of the abayas have two pieces, a skirt and top. You can also change the skirt to pants and it becomes like a suit" (Dalal AlDoub Instagram, 2019). Similarly, this abaya was shot in the daylight, with wind blowing through the hijab and making the fabric appear cool. Al-Issa also shared a story about one of her favorite abaya shops and mentioned that the store's low prices offered a "great opportunity for anyone who wants to stock up on abayas for work or college" and notes that "they have thousands of designs" (Basma Al-Issa Instagram, 2019). This further shows that women see the abaya as a modern garment compatible with work and college, and they are seeking a variety of designs.

**RQ4: How do these influencers use their platforms to contribute to the changing perception of the notion of modesty?**

The fourth and final research question asked how these influencers use their platforms to contribute to the changing perception of the notion of modesty. In both the spin and story framing, all posts commented positively on modesty. Al-Maraghi posted photos of herself in a white abaya and wrote “When I am wearing a white abaya, it means my mood is great. White abayas are especially amazing for the summer. The white abaya is so easy to style, you can wear any color with it without thinking twice” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). The Arab Gulf summers are very hot and humid, with temperatures reaching 130 degrees Fahrenheit (Gulf News, 2017). Rather than commenting negatively on the black abaya by saying it makes her feel hot, she chose to share an image of a white abaya and left a positive comment about how perfect they are for the summer. Al-Maraghi shared the same message in two other posts, stating that her abayas were “cool and light” and “light and practical” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019).

Some influencers used framing more latently by simply describing abayas, hijabs and modest wear positively without directly making a statement about the change in modest fashion. Al-Saify shared a post of herself outdoors in a gray-beige abaya and sneakers and asked, “What color is my abaya? All the magic is in the gray” (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). The use of the word “magic” makes it clear to her followers that she feels positively about her colored abaya, even though she did not explicitly address it. In another post, Al-Saify shared a video of herself walking down the stairs of a Roman-style theater in a blue, black and beige color-blocked abaya and wrote “the colors talk” along with a heart emoji (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). Again, this subtly shows her followers that she feels positively about her garment. All influencers had several



examples of times they used framing to communicate a positive message about modesty over the six-month period, with the exception of the Saudi Arabian blogger who only had one instance of spin framing which commented on the beauty of the abaya. The blogger posed in a pink embellished abaya and the caption promoted “beautiful abayas from the UAE” (Sarah Al Wadani Instagram, 2019). She shared many images of modest wear and abayas, but she only used framing in the aforementioned caption.

With the exception of Al Wadani, all bloggers shared quotes that described the modernity and variety in abayas, hijabs and modest dress. It was also interesting to note that some bloggers discussed a love of hijab while others discussed and showed their hair, which illustrates that modesty in the region comes in differing forms. The themes were repeated and consistent across all posts and paint a new picture of modesty in the region.

## **Discussion**

After coding and analyzing the data, the primary takeaway was that Muslim female fashion influencers are contributing to the changing notion of modesty in the Arab Gulf. As the data showed, the influencers all spoke about modesty in a positive way and put forward a new image of what it means to be a modest woman in the Gulf. By setting the trend that modesty is beautiful, they are paving the path for women in the region to follow suit. In order to understand how the influencers positively framed modesty, it is important to look back at the theories that explain why this framing was important and how it may influence people’s opinions on modesty.

**RQ1: What were the overall themes in the framed messages by the Muslim female fashion influencers?**

As mentioned prior, the major takeaway from the data was that the influencers contributed to the changing notion of modesty by presenting their own unique definition of modesty. This message was examined through the framing theory, specifically spin (positive or negative) and story framing (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). Hallahan (1999) defined framing as a message that is portrayed in a specific light, typically with the intention of shaping the opinion of the viewer of the message. Vision-based framing, or “enabling people to see the world you see,” was also used by the influencers (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996, p. 50). The results of this study showed many cases where influencers shared their personal opinion by using “I” and then shifted the conversation to appeal to their followers by using “you.” The following are examples of vision-based framing, where the influencer had to frame their perspective in order to help their followers make sense of their vision, see its relevance in their lives, feel enthusiasm for it and pave the way for them to share their vision. In a post about an abaya designed with pockets, Al-Maraghi said, “I like this practical abaya for everyday wear, especially for working hours. If you're in a rush and don't want to take a bag, the abaya has pockets where you can store your things” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). Here, Al-Maraghi is not only sharing her perspective on this abaya, but she is also prompting her followers to consider the benefits of the garment. Al-Maraghi’s intention could also be to engage her audience and help them to understand her perspective, as she first discusses how much she personally enjoys her garment, and then provides reasons for why her audience would also like the garment. A documentary film on teaching behaviors produced by Illinois State University refers to this as “communicating immediacy” (Angell & Simonds, 2009). In a classroom

setting, teachers can try to engage students by sharing an “I” statement and then making a “you” statement (Angell & Simonds, 2009).

Influencers also used the term “we” to make their followers feel that they were involved in a conversation. The aforementioned film on communicating immediacy refers to this as inclusion (Angell & Simonds, 2009). Teachers use phrases such as “our classroom” and “we are going to...” in order to make the students feel included (Angell & Simonds, 2009). The influencers used the same principle. For example, Husam shared a photo of her hair slicked to the back underneath her headscarf and asked, “Hair to the back today...how are we feeling about this?” (Fatma Husam, Instagram, 2019). By looping her followers into the conversation about hair, she is starting a conversation about modest dressers showing hair and experimenting with hairstyles, and she is welcoming her followers to join her in that conversation. Captions and posts like these lay the groundwork for a relationship between the influencer and her followers.

Another important aspect of framing theory is the fact that frames can be enhanced when images and text are presented together (Powell et al., 2015). It is essential to note the importance of images when discussing influencers because images are what grab the audience’s attention. The image serves as a form of entertainment while the text allows the influencer to send their message, whether that is organic content or an advertisement. Lou and Yuan (2019) found that influencers “stamp their posts with personal aesthetic touches and personality twists, which usually create an enjoyable experience (entertainment value) for their followers” (p. 60). However, it is not enough to entertain followers. Influencers must also provide information (Lou & Yuan, 2019). The successful balance of entertainment (image) and information (text) allows influencers to

send a message to their followers (Lou & Yuan, 2019). The Gulf influencers were able to send a message through their caption and provide an entertaining photo that complimented their message and grabbed the attention of their followers. Each post could be provided as an example, but one of the best examples would be Al-Maraghi sharing ten aesthetically pleasing photos of different outfits she found on an e-commerce site. “Shein is one of the most popular sites that I love to shop from, especially when I have an upcoming trip and I only have time to shop online. I love the looks that are Arabian and modest, those that combine international fashion and our styles in the Middle East” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). Each photo provides a stylish outfit that combines Western and Eastern trends, which allows her followers to understand what she means by “looks that are Arabian and modest” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). These images indirectly reinforce the message she is trying to send, which is that modest wear can be trendy, both in the Middle East and beyond. Another example would be when AlDoub was pictured outside of a mosque in a beige abaya and said, “The abayas from this brand are so modern and comfortable. Their designs are unique and beautiful. Most of the abayas have two pieces, a skirt and top. You can also change the skirt to pants and it becomes like a suit” (Dalal AlDoub Instagram, 2019). AlDoub shared three images of the abaya in order to zoom in on the details and show her followers the versatility of the garment and further reinforce the message that abayas can be modern. Posts like these allow an influencer’s followers to understand the influencer’s message more clearly. Although many of the posts are ads, the influencers go above and beyond to send captions and share accompanying images that proves the message to be true.

Cultural, religious, historical and geographical contexts are essential to consider when studying frames, as these contexts shape people's understandings (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). These contexts can also determine what topics Arab Gulf Muslim female fashion influencers might choose to discuss. This study used two theories in order to better understand these contexts: postmodernism and feminism. Postmodernism aims to change ways of thinking by examining the conditions of the world today, while taking into consideration perspectives of class, race, gender and other affiliations (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Within the context of this study, this meant examining fashion while considering the impact of gender, religion, politics and the history of the Arab Gulf. By deconstructing the influencers' captions, it was possible to interpret how the influencers' words could change the way people think about modest fashion. In many cases, the women were direct in communicating that they felt positively about the way modesty is changing and enjoyed the options now available to them. For example, Al-Saify shared a black and pink and said, "I am glad that abaya designers lately are becoming more creative, especially by adding colors to abayas. Although black is a classic, colors add a softness to the look of the abaya" (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). In other cases, the captions sent more subtle messages, such as an overall positive sentiment about their new abaya or modest wear, which can be found in numerous examples from the results section. Husam left brief but positive comments such as, "Hi, can i [sic] have every shade of this abaya," "can't go wrong with a full white look," and, "baby yellow, my new fav [sic] color" (Fatma Husam, Instagram, 2019).

Although these comments are not particularly aggressive or forward, they still make a statement that falls in line with postmodernist research on women's movements

(Creswell & Poth, 2018; Thomas, 1993). Similar to the ways in which women in the West have been advocating for wearing pants since the 1800s, which were typically seen to be a male garment, women in the Middle East are advocating for modest wear that allows them to express themselves (Bain, 2019). In his article detailing the history of Western women's fight to wear pants, Bain mentions that women could be jailed for disobeying the law in the 18th and 19th centuries in countries such as the US, England, and France (Bain, 2019). Women slowly went from wearing skirts to bloomers (baggy undergarments worn underneath skirts) to yachting pants (loose trousers for leisure) and finally to pants (Bain, 2019). In feminist history, change often takes place gradually. By making subtle comments on the direction that modest fashion is heading towards in the region, such as "pink abayas win" or "white abayas are for happy days," the influencers are sending a positive message about the redefinition of female modesty (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019).

Feminist theory was also important to this study, as the influencers created their own unique definitions of modesty, as opposed to allowing the men in their life to define modesty for them. Stewart (1994) stated that women have the ability to make choices. It is important to note that feminist theory allows researchers to study how women perceive gender, and also acknowledge that the perception of gender is different for each individual (Stewart, 1994). Following this reasoning, this means that one woman's choices will offer differ from another's. From an outsider's perspective, it may not be clear that modest fashion has changed in the region, as many women still cover their hair and wear the abaya. However, by considering this definition of feminist theory, it

becomes clear that the notion of gender and feminism is different for women from the Arab Gulf.

The results of this study showed that women turned to modest fashion as a way to express themselves. For example, AlDoub said, “Today’s look is white on white. I always get the question: ‘why do you wear a white veil?’ The answer is that it lights up my face and I feel like it is pretty on me. I don't have to wear different colors every day, but it is very important to me that I wear my veil in colors I like” (Dalal AlDoub Instagram, 2019). The key takeaway is that she chose how she wanted to dress for the simple reason that it made her happy. Al-Saify shared a similar, brief statement on one of her posts in modest wear and said, “Dress to impress yourself” (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). There are countless other examples provided in the results section where the women started their captions by saying “I love...” and then going on to describe the garment they are wearing. These women seemed to perceive fashion as a way to express and impress themselves, rather than a way to please someone else. They have created a notion of modesty that comes from within. Arab Gulf women made this choice for themselves, a choice that made sense within their local context. This finding coincides with Stewart’s (1994) aforementioned definition of feminism. It also coincides with a study by Droogsma (2007), which surveyed Muslim women on why they chose to wear a headscarf and found that the answer differed for each woman. Some felt that it provided a visual reminder of their religious beliefs, while others felt it gave them the freedom to walk in public without feeling sexually objectified (Droogsma, 2007). Ultimately, this means that modesty is defined differently by each individual.

None of the influencers mentioned their fathers, husbands or any other male family member when discussing their choices of clothing. This is interesting to note, as studies discussing the history of the Gulf region often showed that many factors could influence how women dressed, such as male figures in religion and politics (Barazangi, 2016; Barlas, 2019; Hafez, 2015; Muhibbu-Din, 2019; Syed, 2010). Syed (2010) discussed how the Quran, especially verses pertaining to women and modesty, were reinterpreted under patriarchal influences and biases. Barlas (2019) showed how different sociocultural contexts can cause people to interpret the Quran in different ways, which explains why Muslim women from Gulf countries dress differently from Muslims in America or other parts of the world. Certain aspects of the Quran can be downplayed or highlighted, depending on the context that the reader understands the text within (Muhibbu-Din, 2019; Barazangi, 2016). Although the influencers did not specifically discuss their religious views, the results of this study seemed to be most in line with the results from Hafez (2015)'s study who found that hijab is a personal journey, as all the influencers appeared to dress in a way that made them personally happy. The results of this study found that beauty and love of hijab was a repeated theme, where the influencers subtly discussed their own personal hijab journeys. For example, Al-Maraghi shared a video tutorial of different hijab styles and captioned the post with two emojis: a woman wearing a headscarf emoji and a heart emoji (Al-Maraghi, Instagram, 2019). She demonstrated the versatility of the hijab, and indirectly showed her followers one of the reasons that she loves her hijab. Al-Saify also shared a post of herself in a modest outfit and hijab and used the following hashtags: “#hijab #hijabi #beautiful #hijaboutfit” (Al-Saify, Instagram, 2019). Many of Al-Saify's posts share the same hashtags. This also



sends the message that hijab is beautiful and that the blogger takes pride in wearing hers. Overall, this demonstrated that hijab is indeed a personal journey and each influencer's aim throughout that journey is to achieve happiness.

**RQ2: How do top modest fashion influencers in the Arab Gulf use spin throughout their Instagram content?**

As discussed prior, spin framing was one of the types of framing that this study focused on. The function of spin is to put a subject in a positive or negative light, or to reframe an idea in the audience's mind. (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996, p. 101). It was clear from the results that all influencers spoke positively about modesty. There was not a single instance of negative framing. In fact, the influencers often took negative situations (such as the heat in the Gulf region) and positively spun those situations in a positive light (framing a garment as light, airy and perfect for the heat). For example, Al-Maraghi shared a photo of a white abaya and wrote, "white abayas are especially amazing for the summer," due to the fact that it would absorb less sun than a black abaya (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). The results that used spin covered the following themes: the variety of abaya and hijab designs and colors, beauty of the abaya and modest wear, hair care and visibility, and beauty and love of hijab.

***The variety of abaya and hijab designs and colors***

Many people have the impression that Muslim women must wear all-black garments that cover everything from head to toe (Zine, 2006). The women in this study took this outdated image and positively spun it by framing the garments as colorful and fashionable. For example, Al-Maraghi shared multiple images of unique abaya designs, often zooming into various details and stating that the garments are "perfect for working

hours,” “come in many colors” and “tailored to girls my height” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). Al-Issa also shared multiple photos of different abaya and hijab styles and wrote that they are “colorful” and “can be worn in [several] ways,” (Al-Issa, Instagram, 2019). Al-Maraghi and Al-Issa’s posts always highlight the different features that abayas and hijabs can have, which breaks the stereotypes that some may hold about women who wear the garment by offering an alternative image. This particular theme proved that frames are enhanced when images and text are presented together, as the images often showcased the variety of the garments while the text pointed out specific positive features (Powell et al., 2015).

### ***Beauty of the abaya and modest wear***

As mentioned earlier in this study, abayas and modest wear are often difficult to style, and modest fashion influencers often serve as a guide for followers who struggle to put outfits together that are both modest and stylish (Lewis, 2015). Therefore, modest fashion influencers took this negative aspect of modesty and spun it into a positive. Husam did this on multiple occasions by styling easy and monochromatic pieces. For example, she styled an all-white outfit and wrote, “can’t go wrong with a full white look,” as well an all-yellow outfit where she said, “baby yellow, my new fav [sic] color” (Fatma Husam, Instagram, 2019). This is a stark contrast to the usual all-black image that many are accustomed to seeing Muslim women wear (Barlas, 2019). AlDoub took styling a step further and guided women on how to accessorize their outfits, such as the time she shared a post in a “beautiful beige suit” with a Dior saddle bag, chrome sunglasses, a white headscarf and jewelry, not to mention a full face of makeup (AlDoub, Instagram, 2019). All of these styling elements show that these influencers framed the abaya and

modest wear as beautiful. This theme was an excellent example of Lou and Yuan (2019)'s finding that influencers "stamp their posts with personal aesthetic touches" while also providing useful information (p. 60). The Gulf influencers were able to successfully send a message through their caption (modesty is beautiful) while also providing an entertaining photo (beautifully shot images) and helpful information (tagging accessories, styling tips).

### ***Hair care and visibility***

The hijab is commonly associated with Muslim women, but not everyone is aware of the fact that the hijab comes in many forms (Marwick, 2013). The influencers in this study took the hijab and presented the image in many different ways, ultimately sending the message that the hijab is what the woman makes of it. For example, Husam displayed a portion of her hair and discussed hijab styles and hair care with her followers. In a video where she was wrapping her hijab with her hair to the back, she asked her followers, "Hair to the back today...how are we feeling about this?" (Fatma Husam, Instagram, 2019). As one of the most popular modest fashion bloggers, her hair visibility indirectly sends the message that modesty is different for everyone. The use of "we" also helps to make her followers feel that they were included in the conversation (Angell & Simonds, 2009). AlDoub also shared numerous posts where she discussed haircare, despite wearing a headscarf in all the photos and not showing any hair. In a video where AlDoub scrolled through hair products, she advertised haircare products to her followers (Dalal AlDoub, Instagram, 2019). While her hair is not visible, the discussion of hair care is still important to note, as it conveys the idea that a woman in a headscarf can invest in her hair for herself. This aligns with Droogsma's (2007) aforementioned study which

found that modesty is defined differently by each individual. To some, wearing the headscarf may mean that it is essential to cover everything but the face, while others may feel that it is alright to show some hair. The discussion and visibility of hair on these influencers' platforms is important because each woman is choosing to represent her own definition of modesty to her followers.

### ***Beauty and love of hijab***

The beauty and love of hijab was another repeated theme. It is interesting to note that spin was used in the category of beauty and love of hijab. The hijab has many negative connotations in the West, due to the fact that some believe that it is a tool used to oppress Muslim women (Zine, 2006). It could be that the influencers used spin to take this negative stereotype and put a positive spin on it, which would not be the first time that Muslim women tried to spin the stereotype. In a study on the experiences of veiling among Muslim girls in a Canadian Islamic school, Zine (2006) found that this stereotype negatively impacted the way that the girls constructed their gendered religious identity. Muslim women in the Middle East are aware of these stereotypes, which is why those who do freely wear the veil choose to represent the religion in a positive light (Huffington Post, 2019). In an opinion piece by a Muslim woman on redefining Islam in the eyes of Westerners, the author wrote, "the representation of us in media and politics is too often decided by others, but we can speak for ourselves" (Huffington Post, 2019, n.p.). The article then made the case that some Westerners who believe in negative stereotypes tend to only be interested in a Muslim woman's story if she is oppressed or if she is a trailblazer fighting back against her oppression (Huffington Post, 2019). This is countered with the discussion of how Muslim women's stories are valuable and cannot be

placed in two simple categories. Similarly, a study by Van Es (2016) on stereotypes of Muslim women found that many Muslim women have “subverted, internalized, and appropriated prevailing stereotypes through their self-representations, dis-identified from particular stereotypes, and developed counter-stereotypes in response.” Van Es (2016) also refers to this as self-representation.

This phenomenon would accurately describe the influencers in the Arab Gulf, as they often chose to represent the hijab in a way that accurately reflected their positive personal experience with the garment. For example, Al-Maraghi shared a four-minute long tutorial of several different hijab styles and captioned the post with two simple emojis: a woman wearing a headscarf emoji and a heart emoji (Al-Maraghi, Instagram, 2019). While she did not directly state that she loves her hijab, she signaled to her followers that the versatility of the hijab was one of the factors that made her love hers. Similarly, Al-Saify shared a post of herself in a modest patterned jumpsuit and used the following hashtags: #hijab #hijabi #beautiful #hijaboutfit (Al-Saify, Instagram, 2019). Many of Al-Saify’s posts share the same hashtags. This also sends the message that hijab is beautiful and that the blogger takes pride in wearing hers. The aforementioned examples align with the study by Van Es (2016) which found that Muslim women practice self-representation by defining modesty for their selves and communicating that positive definition to others.

### **RQ3: How do these influencers use stories throughout their content?**

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the function of a story is to frame the subject by example. It is used to attract attention, build rapport and create a memorable frame that the audience adopts. The goal of this tool is to communicate a memorable

frame that the audience adopts. The influencers used this tool to offer their personal experience with modesty in a positive way. Influencers repeated several themes: the variety of abaya and hijab colors and designs, Arab and international trends in modest wear, breaking traditional gender roles, self-expression through fashion, the shift from traditional to modern national dress and the abaya as modern.

### ***Arab and international trends in modest wear***

As mentioned prior, the successful balance of entertainment (image) and information (text) allows influencers to send a message to their followers (Lou & Yuan, 2019). Al-Maraghi often struck this balance in order to communicate the theme of Arab and international trends in modest wear by sharing a gallery of well-composed photos of different outfits. “I love looks that are Arabian and modest, those that combine international fashion and our styles in the Middle East” (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). Without the images illustrating what she means by “Arabian and modest,” it would be difficult to clearly send the message that modest wear can be trendy, in the Middle East and internationally. Other influencers used this same technique of sharing a gallery of images, whether to share multiple different outfits, or to zoom in on the different features of one outfit. Posts like these that strike a balance between a beautiful image and useful information allow an influencer’s followers to receive the influencer’s message more clearly.

### ***Breaking traditional gender roles, self-expression through fashion***

AlDoub was one of the influencers who often opted to tell stories in her captions. For example, AlDoub shared an image of herself in a casual denim shirt, white headscarf, black pants and combat boots and said “I was shopping in Balenciaga when I saw this

shirt in the men's section. Of course, when I like something, I do not care if it's for men or women. I take it and wear it. Do you dress in menswear?" (Dalal AlDoub Instagram, 2019). Similar to the women in Zine's (2006) article on Western women's fight to wear pants who advocated for the ability to dress freely, AlDoub made a bold statement on gendered clothing in her caption, which is not common in the Arab Gulf. She then took it a step further by posing the question to her followers after sharing her opinion, which could cause her followers to consider AlDoub's opinion when shaping or sharing their own. Many of the influencers shared images of themselves in suits or suit-like garments, such as Al-Maraghi's posts of herself in an oversized red suit while on a business trip to Turkey and another post in a suit-like abaya with gold details (Khawla Al-Maraghi Instagram, 2019). Al-Saify also shared a post of herself in a black leather blazer while on an influencers' trip to Milan (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). Through storytelling, AlDoub was able to send the message that clothing is clothing, regardless of which section the garment is in, and that she should be able to express herself and feel happy in what she chooses to wear. This finding is in line with Kesselman's (1991) study on the women's dress reform movement in the United States from 1848-1875. "Dress reformers were committed to an exemplary action model of social change that assumed that a few intrepid individuals who had the courage to live according to principle could inspire enough other people to transform the world" (Kesselman, 1991, page 496). This study specifically discussed suits as a traditionally masculine garment that women then wore as a way to change gendered norms (Kesselman, 1991). The way in which AlDoub shared her story on breaking gendered stereotypes and then turned to her audience to ask them how they felt about the topic allowed her to share her personal experience as a way to

inspire possible change. While it is unclear if the suit holds the same meaning in the Middle East as it does in the West, it is evident that the influencers are slowly leading a shift from the traditional notion of modesty.

***Shift from traditional to modern national dress, abaya as modern***

Stories were also used to discuss the shift from traditional to modern national dress. Al-Issa shared a photo on Oman's national day, where she wore a belted gown, which accentuated her waist and differed from the less form-flattering traditional costume. "In the past, I used to wear a traditional Omani costume on our national day, but this year I decided to wear a different style that is full of creativity" (Basma Al-Issa Instagram, 2019). Despite the fact that Oman remains one of the most traditional Gulf states, Al-Issa short story shows that she respects her country's tradition but is also taking part and leading the shift in modest fashion. Other influencers were pictured in similar garments which took a traditional national dress and put a modern twist on it. Al-Saify wore a maroon and white ensemble on the Qatar national day. While this was not a traditional national outfit, Al-Saify still paid homage to the country's flag colors in a modern way (Haneen Al-Saify Instagram, 2019). Al-Issa's story does not fall in line with studies on feminism in the West, as women in the West went from wearing skirts to pants for practicality reasons (Bain, 2019). This study instead found that women in the Middle East are seeing a shift from overly baggy clothing (such as abayas, intended to hide a woman's figure), to more form-flattering garments. However, the element of modesty is still retained, as the women are still covering their bodies and hair. To return to Barlas' (2019) translated verse of the Quran that Islamic scholars typically quote when discussing the concept of modesty: "They should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; and they



should not display their beauty and ornaments except what appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty” (p. 57). This verse has been commonly interpreted through a patriarchal understanding of the holy text, which called for women to wear a the traditional version of the abaya, an all-black garment that entirely covers the woman’s hair and body, despite the fact that the text does not explicitly call for such a garment (Barlas, 2019). This study found that women in the Gulf are reinterpreting and redefining modesty, which affirms another study by Syed (2010), which states that “the institution of Islamic modesty remains subject to the forces of context, history and ideology in various Muslim societies. There is not one Islam, but many Islams in different cultural contexts” (p. 155).

**RQ4: How do these influencers use their platforms to contribute to the changing perception of the notion of modesty?**

In both the spin and story framing, all posts commented positively on modesty. Some influencers used framing in an indirect manner by simply describing abayas, hijabs and modest wear positively, while others made more bold and explicit statements about the change in modest fashion. All influencers had several examples of times they used framing to communicate a positive message about modesty over the six-month period, with the exception of the Saudi Arabian blogger who only had one instance of spin framing which commented on the beauty of a pink embellished abaya (Sarah Al Wadani Instagram, 2019). She shared many images of modest wear and abayas, but she only used framing in the caption of the aforementioned pink abaya, which she simply captioned “beautiful abayas from the UAE” (Sara Al Wadani Instagram, 2019). As mentioned, this could be due to the fact that Saudi Arabia revoked the law that women must wear the

abaya in October 2019, but women still wear it due to engrained cultural norms (Wall Street Journal, 2019). In a study on the slow nature of change when it comes to feminism, Segal (1989) showed that women's issues often take a long period of time to change, as the society has to slowly shift its collective mindset. This is certainly the case in the Middle East as well, as the influencers documented small, gradual changes in modesty. With the exception of Al Wadani, the themes were repeated and consistent across all posts and paint a new picture of modesty in the region.

Not only did the influencers communicate this empowering definition of modesty through their style pages, but they also founded other brands and pages which sent the same message. For example, Husam is the co-owner of Mas Jewels, which is a jewelry and watch brand that draws inspiration from the region and its women. For example, the opening collection was shot in the desert and inspired by the way that a single grain of sand can become a pearl. The brand encourages women to "be that single grain of sand" (Mas Jewels Instagram, 2019). Other collections send also empowering messages, such as "be you" and "the power of a mother's love" (Mas Jewels Instagram, 2019). The brand has been worn by the Queen Rania of Jordan, as well as modelled by Husam and other popular social media influencers from the region. Husam also uses her Instagram bio to link to a page called "Team Bint," which translates to "Team Girl" (Team Bint Instagram, 2019). The page is listed as a community organization and the page calls for women to "lead the tribe" and posts inspirational quotes from women like Amelia Earhart, Meryl Streep, Mother Teresa, Oprah Winfrey, Malala Yousafzai and Maya Angelou, to list a few. There is also a story feature titled "You Did," which features women from the Gulf region and shares their major accomplishments, such as the first

Saudi woman to be made an ambassador. While the goal of the page is unclear, it seems that it is tied to International Women's Day celebrations and is dedicated to empowering women. While these pages do not fall under the category of modest fashion, it is still powerful for a modest fashion influencer to create content with messages like these. A study on the content and consumers of inspirational Facebook posts found that people who viewed and shared the content felt positive feelings such as hope and appreciation (Dale et al., 2020). This means that women who consume Husam's inspirational content could also experience the same positive effects. On the other hand, it is important to note the juxtaposition between the positive empowering posts regarding her own brand and passion project, and then the marketing posts she creates for other brands. A study found that, when an Instagram influencer switches between organic (unpaid, unsponsored) posts to paid posts for other brands, followers are more likely to think twice before sharing the paid post or purchasing the promoted product (Evans et al., 2017).

Al-Issa also has two pages linked in her bio, one of which is titled BH Designs and feature modest fashion designs by the influencer, and the other is titled Misty Rose Tailor and offers private tailoring services for ladies. BH Designs offers colorful modest fashion wear that are advertised for both casual and formal occasions. The tailoring service is especially noteworthy, as many women who cover in the Gulf are unable to go to male tailors because they would fear their bodies being exposed. This service is specifically tailored to modest women and seems to have female tailors that can either visit women in their homes or receive women in their shops. There are many initiatives being featured in mainstream news sites that call for women to support female-owned businesses and enterprises, which could lead women to feel encouraged to support

businesses like Al-Issa's, especially when targeted specifically to trends in the region (Forbes, 2020). The page also shares inspiring messages similar to Husam's Team Bint page such as, "beauty begins the moment you decide to be yourself," which would cause women to feel the same aforementioned positive effects (Dale et al., 2020; Misty Rose Tailor Instagram, 2019). Pages like these are expanding the notion of modesty in the region and are inspiring women to dress for their selves.

### **Limitations**

There were a number of limitations of this study. The paper only analyzed six influencers: one influencer per country, which made the results difficult to generalize based on such few individuals. Posts were selected purposively and, while precautions were taken to minimize any researcher bias, the purposive sampling may have led to unintentional bias. The posts came from a six-month time period, which may not provide a large amount of information on how modesty has changed over time. Additionally, as mentioned prior, Saudi Arabia lifted the law that women must wear abaya in the middle of this study (October 2019), which may have had an impact on the Saudi Arabian influencer's content. Finally, influencers are often making money off of sponsored ads and it is not always clear when an influencer is sponsored or not. Therefore, the sponsorships may have influenced the spins and stories that spoke about modest garments in a positive way.

### **Future Research**

Further studies could help increase understanding of female Muslim influencers in the Arab Gulf region and provide insight on the changing notion of modesty. Researchers could do a deeper dive into the influencers. They could include a larger number of

modest influencers from the region, in order to provide more generalizable results. It would be interesting to conduct a similar study in the Levantine countries (such as Lebanon, Jordan, etc.) in order to compare and contrast with the Gulf countries. Additionally, it would be interesting to see a study that compared posts from different periods of time, in order to track whether an influencers' messages about modesty changed over time. A future study could also conduct interviews with the top influencers in order to understand their thoughts on the changing notion of modesty in the region and how that change translates throughout their content. It would be interesting to study influencers from different fields, with varying degrees of popularity, and so on, in order to make the study more general and widely applicable to most influencers.

Future studies could also cover the response of followers by coding and analyzing comments on posts, which would provide a greater understanding of how people perceive influencers' framed messages. It would also be interesting to request access to influencers' metrics, such as the affiliate links and codes, which would provide concrete data that proves whether followers are engaging with the influencers' content and making purchases based on their recommendations. Future researchers could also use a quantitative analysis by conducting a survey with followers of top influencers in order to determine whether or not the influencer actually impacts the followers' perceptions and purchasing habits, which influencers are the most and least successful, and why.

### **Conclusion**

This study set out to examine how Muslim female fashion influencers in the Arab Gulf framed the changing notion of modesty throughout their Instagram content. After analyzing these influencers' content through the lens of framing theory, it is clear that

they have chosen to define modesty for their selves, as opposed to letting it be defined for them by an external party. The women highlight how they feel they have freedom and flexibility in what they choose to wear, and they feel positively about their choices. This causes them to spread an overall positive message about the changing notion of modesty to their followers, and they invite their followers discuss this change. It is possible that engaging in these conversations will play a role in whether young women in the Arab Gulf will follow suit and shape their own definitions of modesty.

There a number of considerations influencers must face in today's world, especially as social media is constantly changing. Changes such as Instagram removing likes may impact influencers' ability to measure their community building efforts and cause them to rely on other metrics. Influencer marketing may be policed more strictly over time, as seen when the Federal Trade Commission said influencers must disclose advertisements which caused the use of #ad on Instagram to grow by 90% in 2019 (Marketing Technology News, 2019). This could have a possible impact on influencers and their relationships with their followers, particularly when it comes to establishing trust. Another challenge Instagram influencers may face could be appealing to the next generation, Gen Z, who are steadily drifting towards new platforms like TikTok (Forbes, 2020). Influencers may consider using more sound in their Instagram content, as one of the main pulls of TikTok is the fact the use of sound, which "drives emotional reactions and engagement" (Forbes, 2020). Overall, influencers should be ready to adapt and adjust to the rapidly changing world around them.

## **Appendix 1**

### **Researcher Bias**

As mentioned prior, the researcher is a former Qatar resident with a background in fashion journalism and digital communications. The researcher lived in Qatar for nearly fifteen years and also visited the UAE twice, Saudi Arabia once and Oman once. Therefore, the researcher is most familiar with Qatar and less familiar with other Gulf countries. Her time in the region led to two possible biases: the exclusion of Iraq as one of the selected countries and the positive impression of the modest fashion movement in the Gulf.

During her time in Qatar, the researcher became familiar with the Gulf Cooperation Council, which is a regional union of all Arab states of the Persian Gulf, except for Iraq. She was also living in the region during Iraq's civil war from 2014 through 2017. Iraq's social climate was still reeling from the impact of ISIS, which influenced women's dress codes (Dietrich & Carter, 2017). For these reasons, especially the latter, the researcher felt that Iraq was the only Arab Gulf country that should be omitted from this study.

The researcher also noticed a change in modest fashion over the period of time she was residing in Qatar. When she first arrived in 2005, she noticed that the majority of Qatari women wore plain black abayas. This was a stark contrast to the way the country looked when the researcher left the region in 2019. The researcher noted that women wore abayas in a wide variety of designs and colors. She had conversations with women from the region who spoke positively about the change. This may have impacted the researcher to view the change as positive.

Although this was the knowledge that the researcher held prior to beginning the study, she set this information aside and ensured that the method and data analysis was conducted as objectively as possible. She followed the steps and took the precautions detailed in the method section in order to reduce the risk for bias as much as possible.



## Appendix 2

### Top Modest Fashion Influencers in Arab Gulf Metrics as of December 31, 2019

#### Kuwait:

- [Dalal AlDoub](#)
- 2.6m followers
- 4,300 posts

#### Saudi Arabia:

- [Sarah Al Wadani](#)
- 2m followers
- 1,031 posts

#### Bahrain:

- [Khawla Al-Maraghi](#)
- 612k followers
- 1,436 posts

#### United Arab Emirates:

- [Fatma Husam](#)
- 558k followers
- 948 posts

#### Oman:

- [Basma Al-Issa](#)
- 520k followers
- 595 posts

#### Qatar:

- [Haneen AlSaify](#)
- 503k followers
- 1,000 posts

## Appendix 3

### Data Collection

Dalal Al Doub

Link to post	Date	Caption (original)	Caption (English)	Hashtag	Frame used	Notes
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B55mL10h3Se/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B55mL10h3Se/</a>	12-Dec	اليوم ابيض بابيض □ دايماً اييلي سؤال! ليش تلبسين حجاب ابيض؟ الجواب انه ينور ويهي واحسه حلو علي .. مو مهم كل يوم اغير ، بس والابيد مهم عندي كل يوم اكون لابسه ألوان مريحتي □ القميص من □ وشكراً كرييف ستايل □ انزلت عندهم مجموعة شتوية جديدة □ @creativestyle kw	Today is white on white □ I always get the question! Why do you wear a white veil? The answer is that it lights up my face and I feel like it's pretty on me .. I don't have to change the color every day, but it is very important to me that I wear my veil in comfortable colors □ And thank you for listening! The shirt is from Creative Style □ They just released a new winter collection □ @creativestyle kw	N/A	Story	Variety of hijab colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B50hkVNhb18/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B50hkVNhb18/</a>	8-Dec	كلنا نحب نهتم ببشرتنا وندور على احسن المنتجات عشان نعتني فيها تطبيق أمافي يوفر □ مجموعة متنوعة من منتجات البشرة والشعر من ماركات مختلفه حبيبييل سهل الطلب منه والتوصيل مجاني للكويت ومتوفر □ توصيل لدول الخليج @amavi.kw	We all love taking care of ourselves and looking for the best products to care for □ The Amavi application provides a variety of skin and hair products of different brands It is easy to order, free delivery to Kuwait and delivery to the Gulf countries □ @ Amavi.kw	N/A	Spin (positive)	Hair care
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5slzueh8cx/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5slzueh8cx/</a>	5-Dec	حبيبييل احب الدينوم! وانا أتسوق ب بلنسياغا شفت هالقميص بالقسم الرجالي! طبعاً انا اذا عجيني شي ما يهمني رجالي ولا نسائي! اخذه وألبسه بطريقي! □ □ □ عادي تلبسون من □ □ □ قسم الرجالي؟	I love denim so much! I was shopping in Balenciaga when I saw this shirt in the men's section! Of course, if I like something, I do not care if it's for men or women! I take it and wear it on my way! □ □ Do you wear clothes from the men's section?	N/A	Story	Breaking traditional gender roles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B51KBo_gBUZ2/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B51KBo_gBUZ2/</a>	2-Dec	عباتي اليوم من @ab.abayaline ومودرن ومريحة حيل .. تصاميم العبي عندهم قصاتهم غريبة وجميلة .. اغلب العبايات تكون قطعتين من تنوره وتوب وتقدرون تغيرون التنوره	My abaya today is from @ab.abayaline. They are so modern and comfortable.. Their designs are unique and beautiful .. Most of the abayas have two pieces, a skirt and top. You can		Spin (positive)	Abaya as modern

		لبنطرون فتصير نفس البدله عندهم بوتيك في ٨٩ □□ مومل الدور الاول	also change the skirt to pants and it becomes like a suit. They have a boutique in 89 Mall 1st floor □□	N/A		
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4fsciih3v1/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B4fsciih 3v1/</a>	5- Nov	صارلي أسبوع استخدم مجموعة جارنييه Garnier ultra doux حيل حبيبتها! ترطب وتطري الشعر من مكوناتها حليب اللوز العضوي و نكتار الأغاف الي مجرب □□ العضوي المجموعة كتبونا ارائكم □□ بالكومنتس @garnierarabia	It has been a week of using Garnier ultra doux! It moisturizes and softens the hair because of its great ingredients, organic almond milk and organic agave nectar. □ To those who have tried the product, write me your comments and let me know what you think.	#ultradou x #nurturing almondmi lk #ad	Story	Hair care
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4FwEdUBEOp/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B4FwE dUBEO p/</a>	26- Oct	البدله الي سألتوا عنها وايد حبيبييل احب □ وايد قصه البنطلون عندي منه اسود وهذا اللون .. اللون خريفي ينفع حق هالفترة! وفي منه بيع بعد □ □ اي لون راح تختارون؟ (الفديو الأخير ، معاناتي مع رفيجاتي لما يصوروني فيديو .. ما يصبرون .. يعبرون عن مشاعرهم بأي لحظة □□□)	The suit that you asked about time and time again □ I love the cut of the trousers I have it in black and this color .. This color is beneficial for autumn! □ And they have it in beige too ♥□ What color would you choose? (The last video shows my struggles with my buddies when they film a video of me .. they are not patient .. and they are expressing their feelings□□)	N/A	Story	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1_86N3hbNA/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B1_86N 3hbNA/</a>	4- Sep	□ وايد سألتوا عن قميصي المنقط، من زارا.. لبسته مع تنوره وتحت جاكيت .. وايد انيق □	You guys asked me a lot about the dotted top I was wearing, it's from Zara. I wore it with a jacket and skirt...really elegant	#portofino #dalalidxit aly	Story	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1jt3-sB-zx/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B1jt3- sB-zx/</a>	24- Aug	احب هالدرجة من الأخضر □□ ضغطوا عالصورة □□ للتفاصيل	I love this shade of green □□ tap on the photo for details	N/A	Story	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1BgAwahBcO/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B1BgA wahBc O/</a>	11- Aug	عيدكم مبارك □ بدلتي الجميلة من تصميم حصة □ الفلاسي @hessafalasi	Eid mubarak! My beautiful suit is from @hessafalasi	N/A	Spin (positi ve)	Beauty of abaya, modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B09KH">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B09KH</a>	9- Aug	بدلتي الي حبيتها وايد من بوكا اند بوكا □ عبارة عن جمبسوت جداً مرتب □ وجميل @pocaandpoca	The jumpsuit you liked from Poca and Poca. It's basically a jumpsuit that is really elegant and pretty	N/A	Story	Beauty of modest wear

<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B06ViohByQa/">3yhm4 A/</a>						
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B06ViohByQa/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B06Vio hByQa/</a>	8- Aug	الأبيض والبيج من أكثر الألوان التي أحب البسهم مع بعض .. المشكله اليوم واحنا نبي نصورهم صار لوني ولون الجو واحد من لين مرينا على الغبار حسيت هالباي الجميل على جني بديرة ثانيه ، طاري الديرة الثانية ، بتسافرون بالعيد؟؟	White and beige are some of my favorite colors to wear together. Unfortunately, the day we decided to do a shoot was the same day it had to be really dusty out. When we passed by this door I felt like I was in a whole different world. On the topic of being in different worlds, are you guys traveling for Eid?	N/A	Story	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B0BtluNhr6k/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ B0Btlu Nhr6k/</a>	17- Jul	في حب الفساتين من شي ان .. استخدموا كود ل 15% على مشترياتكم واستمتعوا في خصومات شي ان لعيد الاضحى	For the love of dresses You can use my code: dalalid15 and save 15% off and enjoy Shein Eid al-Adha sale...code valid until July 31st	#shein #sheineidaladha شي ان	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/Bz8LqxUhsIR/">https:// www.in stagram. com/p/ Bz8Lqx UhsIR/</a>	15- Jul	اليوم لابسة فستان انوتا @flydubai @thechedilusticabay	Today in Anotah dress @flydubai @thechedilusticabay	#flydubai withme #flydubai #lifeasitshouldbe #chedilusticabay #montenegro #flydubai withme	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear

#### Sara Al Wadani

Link to post	Date	Caption (original)	Caption (English)	Hashtag	Frame used	Notes
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1Wc4AalSu1/">https:// www.in stagram. .com/p/ B1Wc4 AalSu1/</a>	19- Aug	. @designersempire عبايات موووت من الإمارات. خصم خاص لمتابعي سارة الودعاني Sarah007# رقم الكوبون	. @designersempire Beautiful abayas from the UAE. Special discount for followers of Sarah Al-Wadani Coupon No. Sarah007 #	N/A	Spin (positive)	Beauty of abaya

#### Khawla Al-Maraghi

Link to post	Date	Caption (original)	Caption (English)	Hashtag	Frame used	Notes
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<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B6TYXaSHCR0/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B6TYXaSHCR0/</a>	20-Dec	<p>KAM x  @zahi.al3ood  أي عباية حبيبتو أكثر  أو ١، ٢، ٣  أخيراً ؟  نزل كولكشن خولة  المراغي للشنا  بالتعاون مع زاهي  العود بمحلها الراقي  في  السعودية  </p>	<p>KAM x  @zahi.al3ood  Which abaya did  you like more 1,  2, 3 or 4  Finally, Khawla Al  Maraghi Winter  Collection in  collaboration with  Zahi Al Oud in its  elegant store in  Saudi Arabia</p>	<p>#ksa #bahrain  #oman #abaya  #style  #hijabstyleicon  #damam  #photoshoot  #blogger #blogging  #abayafashion  #dammam #jeddah  #fashion  #fashionblogger  #model #saudiarabia</p>	Spin (positive)	Beauty of the abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5-Tlj4n4kU/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5-Tlj4n4kU/</a>	12-Dec	<p>أي عباية حبيبتوا  أكثر .. الأولى و لا  الثانية ؟  @segha_bh</p>	<p>Which abaya did  you like more? The  first or second?  @segha_bh</p>	<p>#ksa #bahrain  #oman #abaya  #style  #hijabstyleicon  #damam  #photoshoot  #blogger #blogging  #abayafashion  #dammam #jeddah  #fashion  #fashionblogger  #model #saudiarabia  #JumeirahRoyalSara  y #JRSB  #ExperienceJumeira  h #staydifferent  #jumeira #bahrain  #ksa #oman #kuwait  #uae #blogger  #beach #hotels  #hotel #hotelroom  #dubai #abaya  #blogger  #photoshoot #arab</p>	Spin (positive)	Beauty of the abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B57rPZwHUUE/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B57rPZwHUUE/</a>	11-Dec	<p>دائماً أي عباية  فيها وردي أو  بيبي بنك تاخذ قلبي  أحسها تخلي اللوك  ناعم و هادي و  حبيبت هالنتنين لأنه  الأولى صابرة  كاجول أكثر ممكن  تكون عملية للدوام  خصوصاً إن  قماشها بارد و  خفيف و الثانية  القطعة الي فيها  وردي تقريباً  صابرة كأنها لذر  بس مات  @segha_bh و  لا نتسون خصم</p>	<p>I always feel  like any abaya in  pink or baby pink  captures my heart  because it gives a  look a lot of  softness. I loved  these two because  the first one is more  casual and practical,  especially because  its fabric is cool and  light, while the  second piece looks  leather but matte  @segha_bh Don't  forget you can save  20% on these abayas</p>	<p>#ksa #bahrain  #oman #abaya  #style  #hijabstyleicon  #damam  #photoshoot  #blogger #blogging  #abayafashion  #dammam #jeddah  #fashion  #fashionblogger  #model #saudiarabia  #JumeirahRoyalSara  y #JRSB  #ExperienceJumeira  h #staydifferent  #jumeira #bahrain  #ksa #oman #kuwait  #uae #blogger</p>	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors, designs

		٢٠٪ على كل العبايات □□□		#beach #hotels #hotel #hotelroom #dubai #abaya #blogger #photoshoot #arab		
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B55yJSUnX-I/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B55yJSUnX-I/</a>	10-Dec	شنوو □□ طح □ هالجمال ت بغرام العبايات خلاص ، و صيغه دائماً تيدع بالعبايات □□□□ و عشان فووز المنتخب البحريني لازم نسعد بناتنا □□ الجميلات تخفيض ٢٠٪ على و □ كل العبايات العرض من ١٠ إلى ٢٠ ديسمبر يعني يمدبكم تطلبون و عندهم توصيل لكل □ □ الدول @segha_bh	These abayas are so beautiful, I fell in love with abayas that's it. And especially because of Bahrain's win! Segha is always so creative with their abayas. Because of the win, Segha is givings you beautiful girls a 20% discount on all abayas and the offer is from 10 to 20 December. Delivery available worldwide @segha_bh	#ksa #bahrain #oman #abaya #style #hijabstyleicon #damam #photoshoot #blogger #blogging #abayafashion #dammam #jeddah #fashion #fashionblogger #model #saudiarabia #JumeirahRoyalSara y #JRSB #ExperienceJumeirah #staydifferent #jumeira #bahrain #ksa #oman #kuwait #uae #blogger #beach #hotels #hotel #hotelroom #dubai #abaya #blogger #photoshoot #arab	Story	Beauty of the abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5uWwrmH7t/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5uWwrmH7t/</a>	6-Dec	وايد حابة فكرة و □ الحجاب العباية لونها غريب مايل للبنفسجي و □ البيبي بنك أكثر طبعاً صابرة ما أحب البس الشيلة إلا و فيها فكرة مثل التطريز أو الشك □□ أحسه وايد □ يصير حلو بالبس و يعطي فخامة حق □ اللوك نفسه @almakhroza	I really love the idea behind the design of this hijab □ and the color of the abaya is really unique, between purple and baby pink □ lately I've started only liking to wear a hijab if it has a unique design or embroidery □□ I feel like it elevates your look in a royal and beautiful way □ @almakhroza	N/A	Story	Beauty of hijab
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5kHZConGDx/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5kHZConGDx/</a>	2-Dec	شي إن من أكثر المواقع الي أحب أتسوق منها خصوصاً لما تكون عندي سفرة قريبة و ماعندي وقت أتسوق إلا اونلاين و أحب □ الإطلاات العربية المحتشمة في الموقع خصوصاً	Shein is one of the most popular sites that I love to shop from, especially when I have a close trip and I do not have time to shop except online □ And I love the looks that are Arabian and modest in the site	#shein #sheinblackfriday #meetshein #sheinblackfridaysale #شي إن	Story	Arab and international trends in modest wear

		<p>لما ودج بإطلالة تجمع بين الموضة العالمية و ستايلاتنا بالشرق الأوسط ممكن تحصلينها عندهم ، و طبعاً ما نسيتمكم في البلاك شي ☐☐ فرايدي إن تعتبر من المواقع الي خصوصتها بهالفترة ☐☐ رهيببببب استخدموا كود kamm25 خصم عشان تحصلون خصم ٢٥٪ للدول الكود ☐ العربية فعال إلى ١٠ هذا ☐ديسمبر ☐ غير إن الموقع أساساً فيه تخفيض يوصل لـ ٨٠٪ ملاحظة : ☐☐☐ كثير يسألوني إن خولة نحس احنا نفس مقاسج ف انتي أي سايز تطلبين ) أنا طولي ١٥٩ و وزني ( ٥٤ ) في الغالب للملابس المحتشمة أخذ مديم أما لملايس المناسبات أخذ يوم ☐سمول الأربعاء راح أنزل في سنابي كل تفاصيل القطع مع اللنك عشان تشوفونها بفيديو تابعوني ☐أوضح ☐على سناب ☐kam272 @shein_ar Enjoy 25% on SHEIN app until 10th December plus BLACK FRIDAY with 80% on their site!!! Code : kamm25</p>	<p>especially when the look combines international fashion and our styles in the Middle East, and of course don't forget Black Friday ☐☐ Shein is one of the sites that has insane discounts. Use the kamm25 discount code to get 25% discount for Arab countries ☐ The code is effective until December 10 ☐☐ The site even has discounts reaching 80% ☐☐ Note: Many people ask me for my size so they can compare (I am 159cm and I weigh 54kg) for modest clothes, I usually take a medium but for occasionwear I can wear a small. On Wednesday, I will share a Snapstory so you can see everything in clearer video ☐ Follow me on Snap ☐ kam272 @shein_ar Enjoy 25% on SHEIN app until 10th December plus BLACK FRIDAY with 80% on their site !!! Code: kamm25</p>			
<p><a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4c">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4c</a></p>	<p>4-Nov</p>	<p>Style is a way to say who you are without having to</p>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>#dressedindutti</p>	<p>Spin (positive)</p>	<p>Self-expression</p>

<a href="#">byHCHmrk/</a>		speaking @massimodutti				through fashion
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4O79CznbS/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4O79CznbS/</a>	30-Oct	Lady in RED @chic_moda_bh "Traveling with @travelers_bh	N/A	#arab #traveller #travelblogger #turkishcoffee #gulfair #ksa #oman #dubai #bahrain #beauty #travel #europe #asia #zara #kamtravel #azerbaijan #baku #اذريجان #خولة_المراغي #بأكو #travel #travelers #travelers_bh	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4A0ANtHSFC/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4A0ANtHSFC/</a>	24-Oct	Style is a way to say who you are without having to speak @massimodutti	N/A	#dressedindutti	Spin (positive)	Self-expression through fashion
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3Z16GQH1cf/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3Z16GQH1cf/</a>	9-Oct	وانتهت رحلتنا . مع شي إن أول مرة ألبس لكن برتقالي دائماً أحب التغيير وخصوصاً لما يكون اللون مميز @shein_ar @sheinofficial @emirates	Our trip with Shein has come to an end. This is the first time I wear orange but I always love the change especially when the color is distinctive @shein_ar @sheinofficial @emirates	N/A	Story	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B2gVoYXnuVc/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B2gVoYXnuVc/</a>	17-Sep	دائماً اللوك الوردية يفوز بالنسبة لي ، تعاون جميل بجمعني بخبيرة التجميل الراقية نجلا من صحار ، و المصور المميز و البراهيم و عبايتي من صديقتي الجميلة شيم @najla_artist69 @7i.xx @shim_collection	□□□ The pink look is always a win for me. This beautiful collaboration is with the high-end beauty expert Najla and the distinguished photographer Al-Brahim and my abaya is from my beautiful friend Shim @najla_artist69 @7i.xx @shim_collection	#oman #travel #bahrain #blogger #blogging #fashion #abaya #style #photoshoot #gulf #omanair #gulfair #travelblogger #traveling #bloggerstyle #bloggerfashion #muscat	Story	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B2C2DXCnhAd/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B2C2DXCnhAd/</a>	5-Sep	□□□	N/A	N/A	Spin (positive)	Love of hijab



<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B18JPHXNg/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B18JPHXNg/</a>	3-Sep	<p>عبايات و هج اسم □□ على مسمى العباية عملية و أحب هالقطع للبس اليومي خصوصاً للدوام لأنه تقدرين ماتمسكين معج شنطة لو مستعجلة و تكون عنديج بالعباية أماكن تقدرين تحطين فيها الي يلزمج ، خامتها □□ باردة</p> <p>@abayabywh</p>	<p>"Glow" abayas are perfectly named. The abaya is practical and I like this cut for everyday wear, especially for working hours, because if you're in a rush and don't want to take a bag, the abaya has pockets where you can store your things, and also its material is nice and cool □□</p> <p>@abayabywh</p>	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya designs, wearability
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B11TLKNH-T3/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B11TLKNH-T3/</a>	31-Aug	<p>لما أكون لايسة عباية بيضة يعني مزاجي عال □□ العالال خصوصاً للصيف العباية البيضة تجنن و تقدرين تلبسين معها أي لون و تتسقين أي شنطة بدون ما تتردددين بتكون مناسبة أو لا العباية من @inc.bh و الشنطة لوحة فنية □</p> <p>@stainbynoon</p>	<p>When I am wearing a white abaya, it means my mood is great. White abayas are especially amazing for the summer. The white abaya is so easy to style, you can wear any color with it without thinking twice. The abaya is from @inc.bh and the bag is from @stainbynoon</p>	<p>#ksa #bahrain #oman #abaya #style #hijabstyleicon #damam #photoshoot #blogger #blogging #abayafashion #dammam #jeddah #fashion #fashionblogger #model #saudiarabia #staydifferent #jumeira #bahrain #ksa #oman #kuwait #uae #blogger #beach #hotels #hotel #hotelroom #dubai #abaya #blogger #photoshoot #arab</p>	Story	Self-expression through fashion
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1zK27_naLb/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1zK27_naLb/</a>	30-Aug	<p>العبايات الوردية □□□□ نفوز @segha bh</p>	<p>Pink abayas win @segha.bh</p>	<p>#ksa #bahrain #oman #abaya #style #hijabstyleicon #damam #photoshoot #blogger #blogging #abayafashion #dammam #jeddah #fashion #fashionblogger #model #saudiarabia #JumeirahRoyalSara y #JRSB #ExperienceJumeira #staydifferent #jumeira #bahrain #ksa #oman #kuwait</p>	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors

				#uae #blogger #beach #hotels #hotel #hotelroom #dubai #abaya #blogger #photoshoot #arab		
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1tsMivH4Aw/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1tsMivH4Aw/</a>	28-Aug	أحب التغيير دائما و □□ في عباياتي خصوصا لما تكون العبايات بقطع خفيفة و عملية تنفع للدوام و المشاوير □□ اليومية ، طبعاً أحب إضافة الشيلة الي تكون بلونين لأنها إضافة بسيطة لكن تضيف كثير حق اللوك و تخليه أجمل أنتو □□□ شرايكم بحجاب اللونين هل تحسونها هبة و لا □راح تظلل	I always love changing up my abayas. Especially when the abayas are light and practical for work and errands. I also love adding a two-toned sheila because it is a simple addition but it adds a lot to the look and makes it more beautiful. Do you guys like two-toned veils or do you feel like it's a trend that will come and go?	#ksa #bahrain #oman #abaya #style #hijabstyleicon #damam #photoshoot #blogger #blogging #abayafashion #dammam #jeddah #fashion #fashionblogger #model #saudiarabia #staydifferent #jumeira #bahrain #ksa #oman #kuwait #uae #blogger #beach #hotels #hotel #hotelroom #dubai #abaya #blogger #photoshoot #arab	Story	Variety of abaya and hijab designs, colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1hOznGn7kM/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1hOznGn7kM/</a>	23-Aug	هالتصميم من العبايات يناسب البنات الي نفس طولي تقريبا و □يعتبرون نتف على العموم الي أحبه في التصميم □□ إنه رزة و اليد هالعباية في منها كثير ألوان بس أنا حبيت النود أكثر □ حسيته أرقى و @segha_bh طبعاً بمناسبة الافتتاح فيه أسعار خاصة لمتابعيني	This design of abayas is suitable for girls that are my height. Generally what I love about this abaya is its design, it's very unique. This abaya has many colors, but I liked nude the most because it was the most elegant. And of course @segha_bh is offering special prices for my followers in honor of their opening.	#ksa #bahrain #oman #abaya #style #hijabstyleicon #damam #photoshoot #blogger #blogging #abayafashion #dammam #jeddah #fashion #fashionblogger #model #saudiarabia #JumeirahRoyalSara y #JR #ExperienceJumeira h #staydifferent #jumeira #bahrain #ksa #oman #kuwait #uae #blogger #beach #hotels #hotel #hotelroom #dubai #abaya #blogger #photoshoot #arab	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors, designs
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1g">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1g</a>	23-Aug	وايد صايرة أحب التغيير و العبايات الملونة .. الأخضر □□ ملك قلبي قماشها بارد و	I really love wearing different colored abayas. This green stole my heart □ The fabric is cool	#ksa #bahrain #oman #abaya #style #hijabstyleicon #damam	Story	Variety of abaya colors



<p><a href="#">UxB-nSwf/</a></p>	<p>الوجنتين بارزة و مافيه زوايا بالويه ماينفع تزمينه لانه بيرز تدوير الوجه ، حاولو تكون فيه كسره بشكل آخر كانه كونتور للوجه و الحجاب الكويتي الي يحدد الراس ماراح يناسب بعض المرات ٢- شكل المثلث جبهه صغيرة و الحنك كبير ، ابتعدو عن حجاب النسفه يوضح شكل الجبهه اكثر اعتمدو ان مايكون في كثافة ف الحجاب من تحت يعني نقط الشيله من جهة و جهة نتركها ، منطقة الجبين حاولو تبيينونها كلها فيكون توازن بشكل جميل ٣- الوجه المربع عريض من الحنك و عريض من الجبين اكثر وجه نقدر نلعب فيه بشكل الحجابات لانه فيه زوايا ف نستغني عن ستايل الحجاب الكويتي ونتخلص من الزوايا من خلال الابه او نظهر منطقة الحنك ( الفك ) ، او حتى تقرب عشان نغطي منطقه الحنك للي مو حابة تظهره ٤- الوجه الطويل ابتعدو عن اللفة الي تعطيك طول زيادة ابتعدو عن ستايل الحجاب المنسدل ، حاولوا تنزلون الامطة ، تقربون الشال من الحنك عشان ينقص الشكل و يقل طول الوجه ٥- شكل القلب منطقة الذقن بارزة اذا الجبين كثير عريض ابتعدو عن</p>	<p>faces and whose faces do not have clear lines and angles, it is not suitable to wrap it in a circle shape because it will accentuate the roundness of the face. Try to create folds in the hijab so that it contours the face. Also, the Kuwaiti style which defines the head is also not very suitable. 2. Triangle: The triangular face has a small forehead and large jaw. Avoid the veil that shortens the forehead or enlarges the jaw. Try to expose the entire forehead and cover the jaw to create a balance. 3. Square: The square face is wide at both the forehead and jaw. This is the face shape we can play around with the most with hijab because it has angles. We would also want to avoid the Kuwaiti style here and we would avoid anything that creates angles because the face already has angles. You could show the full jaw or hide it, depending on preference. The square face has a lot of options. 4. Long: The long face should avoid the wrap that further lengthens the face and the loose style. Try to lower your</p>		
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		<p>الشيلة الي تعتبر قطه لانه بيعطيكم قوليوم و بيخفي جمال الذقن ، وتقدرتون تنزلون الشال من الجوانب اكثر ٦- الوجه البيضاوي يعتبرونه الأسهل للتطبيق بس أكيد كل وحدة وجها جميل اذا عرفت شلون تلف الشيلة بالطريقة المناسبة لها□□□□</p>	<p>undercap and bring the veil closer to the jaw so that it shortens the face. 5. Heart: Those with a heart shape often have a prominent chin and wide forehead. Move away from styles that give volume and hide the beauty of the chin. Instead, you can lower the from the sides. 6. Oval: It is considered the easiest to wear hijab, but certainly each face is beautiful especially if wearing the hijab in a suitable way □□□□</p>		
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/BzYUiiPHaIh/">https://www.instagram.com/p/BzYUiiPHaIh/</a>	1-Jul	<p>حجاب ب اللونين □□□□</p>	Two-toned hijabs	N/A	Spin (positive) Variety of hijab styles

### Fatma Husam

Link to post	Date	Caption (original)	Hashtag	Frame used	Notes
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B57RHSM40J/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B57RHSM40J/</a>	11-Dec	<p>bts shooting for something new! wearing abaya from @surrealdubai. I have this abaya in 6 shades!! theyre my everyday abayas, the finishing / cut / quality is amaaazing. (not an ad)</p>	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors/ designs
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5ph8pzAyd/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5ph8pzAyd/</a>	4-Dec	<p>Hair to the back today.. how are we feeling about this? □Back home in Dubai, thank you @abudhabiedition for a great staycation this past week!</p>	N/A	Spin (positive)	Hair visibility/ variety of hijab styles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5c9LfoA7jQ/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5c9LfoA7jQ/</a>	29-Nov	<p>hi can i have every shade of this abaya□□♀□ @alsamha.boutique</p>	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5c9LfoA7jQ/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5c9LfoA7jQ/</a>	17-Nov	<p>Happy sundayyy□□□ I get asked about my hair ALOT. Obsessed with</p>	N/A	Story	Hair visibility

<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B49ZitjgwhJ/">gram.com/p/B49ZitjgwhJ/</a>		taking care of it ☐☐♀ I get the best hair treatments from @nstylebeautylounge, and you have to check their exclusive Tony Sawaya hair extensions, just wow!			y/ hair care
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4mVRL8gnNY/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4mVRL8gnNY/</a>	8-Nov	blue for @hessafalasi ☐	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B39TVP8A3Aq/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B39TVP8A3Aq/</a>	23-Oct	I love it when girls wear their sheila like this! Sadly i don't think it suits me, what do you guys think? Should i change the way i wrap my scarf to this or stay the same way? احب البنات اللي يلبسون شيلهم جي، احس رالقي و مرتب!! لكن للأسف ما اشوف انه يناسب ويهي، شو رايمك اغير طريقة لفتي للشيله ولا اتم على نفس الشهي؟	N/A	Story	Hair visibility/ variety of hijab styles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3rRUH9gnGH/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3rRUH9gnGH/</a>	16-Oct	Protecting my hair against heat damage with the Dyson Supersonic™ ☐ hairdryer. Love that it's fast + powerful, and doesn't damage my hair! @dysonhair	#silhouettesofsucces #dysonsupersonic	Story	Hair visibility/ hair care
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3EY-VMgO55/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3EY-VMgO55/</a>	1-Oct	do you guys have flying strands of hair problem or is it just me?	#chill #relax #settledown #noneedtogetallworkredup	Story	Hair visibility/ hair care
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/fa6ma7sam/">https://www.instagram.com/p/fa6ma7sam/</a>	24-Sep	can't go wrong with a full white look	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B2WLYLbgMhS/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B2WLYLbgMhS/</a>	13-Sep	baby yellow, my new fav color	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of outfit colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B2OrSIRg6oB/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B2OrSIRg6oB/</a>	10-Sep	acting like i wanna stop a cab but really i just want to show u the sleeves	N/A	Story	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1OMfbg-gu/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1OMfbg-gu/</a>	4-Sep	no one does it like @hessafalasi	N/A	Spin (positive)	Beauty of abayas, modest wear

Link to post	Date	Caption (original)	Caption (English)	Hashtag	Frame used	Notes
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B6fmSTCnVU/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B6fmSTCnVU/</a>	25-Dec	كثير حبيبت هالعبايه لان ممكن البسها ب اكثر من ٤ طرق ! @meesati_collection	I really love this abaya because it can be worn in more than 4 ways! @meesati_collection	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya designs
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4IezznLyJ/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4IezznLyJ/</a>	18-Nov	كل عام و #عمان و قائدها #قابوس و شعبها بخير و . . كل السنوات □□ سلام الماضيه كنت البس زي تقليدي هالسنة قررت يكون لبس مختلف من تصميم و wani_daily المبدعه @ و صمته خصيصا لي □□	Every year, Oman and its leader #Qaboos and its people are fine and peaceful. In the past, I used to wear a traditional costume, but this year I decided to wear a different style that is full of creativity @wani_daily and I designed it specifically for me ♥□	#November_Al-Majid #National Day 49 #Farah_National #Muscat #Sultanate_Oman #National Day Omani #Qaboos_Hazaat	Story	Shift from traditional national dress to modern
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B42pR4Gnlwn/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B42pR4Gnlwn/</a>	14-Nov	I felt so much, that i started to feel nothing .. ♥□	N/A	#red	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4gx80THZ5x/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4gx80THZ5x/</a>	6-Nov	من حضوري للعرض العسكري ( عمان و العالم ) لتفاصيل اكثر تابعوا باقي @roh_muscat يومين الي يحبوا يحضروا العرض تاريخ ٥ و ٦ و ٧ من نوفمبر الساعه ٧ مساء . . العبايه الجميله من @khalijiboutique □ . @mahir.101 تصوير	A shot taken during my attendance at the military show (Amman and the world) for more details, follow @roh_muscat if you would like to watch the remaining two days of the show. The show is on 5, 6 and 7 of November at 7 pm. The beautiful abaya is from @khalijiboutique □. Photography @ mahir.101	N/A	Spin (positive)	Beauty of abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4dBbTxnLWV/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4dBbTxnLWV/</a>	4-Nov	□□ بنات بلادي غير @mamacitaoficial @buthaina_alraisi1 . . #boutiqaat #kuwait #معرض العطور_الكويت #muscat #oman #pink	The girls from my region are different □□□ . @mamacitaoficial @buthaina_alraisi1	#boutiqaat #kuwait #perfume_show_kuwait #muscat	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear

		#fashion #style #bloggerstyle		#oman #pink #fashion #style #bloggerstyle		
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3MoUzTHuh1/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3MoUzTHuh1/</a>	4-Oct	U can never go wrong with a little pink .. A lot works for me ☐ .	N/A	#pink #hotpink #shein #fahion #style #photography #gucci #miumiu #black #trend #fashionblogger #bloggerstyle	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B00Ek6dHbPh/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B00Ek6dHbPh/</a>	6-Aug	من عبايات متخيلين ان @salat_al_fakhr_abaya_al_azyah الاسعار عندهم من ٦ ريال الى ١٥ ريال فقط !! يعني فرصه الي تريد كميه عبايات للدوامات و الكليات أو بعدكم ما مخلصين للعيد عندهم موديلات بالالاف	These abayas are from @salat_al_fakhr_abaya_al_azyah can you believe that their prices are from 6 riyals to 15 riyals only!! This is a great opportunity for anyone who wants to stock up on abayas for work or college or if you still have not found anything for Eid, they have thousands of designs	N/A	Story	Variety of abaya designs
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B0Y3Q20HHnh/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B0Y3Q20HHnh/</a>	26-Jul	✦*	N/A	#photooftheday #gold #anotahfashion #white #beauty #summer	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B0YpZmXni1G/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B0YpZmXni1G/</a>	26-Jul	لن تستطيع أن تمنع الناس من الكلام لكن تستطيع أن تمنع نفسك من التأثر بما يقولون .. فمفتاح عقولنا بأيدينا وليس بأيديهم	You will not be able to prevent people from speaking, but you can prevent yourself from being influenced by what they say. The key to our minds is in our hands, not theirs.	#photooftheday #white #gold #girl #beauty #fashion #streetfashion #elegant #blogger #bloggerst	Spin (positive)	Beauty of modest wear



				yle #anotahfashion #summer #muscat		
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## Haneen Al Saify

Link to post	Date	Caption (original)	Caption (English)	Hashtag	Frame used	Notes
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5-Wqx1hOcy/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5-Wqx1hOcy/</a>	12-Dec	Linen abaya with green color □ عباية لذن باللون الاسود والاخضر.. بتقدرو تستخدم كود الخصم Haneen20 @arabianporter website: www.arabianporter.com	Linen abaya with green color □ You can use my code for a discount. Haneen20 @arabianporter website: www.arabianporter.com	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5lHeCthheA/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5lHeCthheA/</a>	2-Dec	اي لون شايفين العباية؟ @ke_designn_ @ke_designn_ All the magic is in the gray □□□	What color is my abaya? @ke_designn_ @ke_designn_ All the magic is in the gray □*□	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5a356wBlKA/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5a356wBlKA/</a>	28-Nov	Life is like a rainbow. You need both rain and sun to make its colors appear □□□□ الدريس □□□□ من مودانيسا .. و عليه خصم SAIFY20 : ٢٠٪ الكود @modanisa_gcc dress code: 1238732	Life is like a rainbow. You need both rain and sun to make its colors appear □□□□ The dress is from Modanisa. Use my code for a discount: SAIFY20 @modanisa_gcc dress code: 1238732	#modanisa #hijab #hijabi #dress #beautiful #hijaboutfit	Spin (positive)	Beauty of hijab
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5X3oV6hgov/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5X3oV6hgov/</a>	27-Nov	@maryam.aldarwish □ الالوان بتتكلم □	The colors talk @mariamdarwish	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B5Ffy18hw2U/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B5Ffy18hw2U/</a>	20-Nov	□□ عباية في ميلان @malachite.doha	Abaya in Milan □□ @malachite.doha	N/A	Spin (positive)	Abaya as modern
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4nlJExhQXL/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4nlJExhQXL/</a>	8-Nov	لفة الشيلة العمليه معتمده هالفه هالفتره خصوصا فالشيل الطويله □□	New hijab style , i like doing it specially with long headscarf □□	#haneentutorial #hijab #hijabi #headscarf #tutorial	Spin (positive)	Variety of hijab styles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4nlJExhQXL/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4nlJExhQXL/</a>	3-Nov	□ نيون @sheen_designs	N/A	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of

<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4atUhbh2WE/">m/p/B4atUhbh2WE/</a>						abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4U2KsvBDTj/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4U2KsvBDTj/</a>	1-Nov	سكارف سككرف مربع كيف تلفو سكارف مربع الى توربان ♡ How to do turban with square scarf ♡	N/A	#hijab #hijabi #style #turban #scarf	Spin (positive)	Variety of hijab styles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B4HzgNBBnVt/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B4HzgNBBnVt/</a>	27-Oct	كل عباية احلى من الثانية موجودين في معرض هي @sheen_designs	Every abaya is prettier than the last available in the Heya exhibition @sheen_designs	N/A	Spin (positive)	Beauty of the abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3-TGb7hNha/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3-TGb7hNha/</a>	23-Oct	عباية بييج من @maryam.aldarwish	Beige abaya from @maryamdarwish	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3wT495hkUo/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3wT495hkUo/</a>	18-Oct	توربان بيغطي الرقبه Turban tutorial, How to cover your neck توربان توتريال لكن هالمره كيف نغطي رقبتنا بالشيلة نفسها	N/A	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of hijab styles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3aXKYyBgUe/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3aXKYyBgUe/</a>	9-Oct	سعيدة ان مصممات العبايات في اخر فترة صارو بيدعو خصوصا بالالوان في العبي .. مع انه لا غنى لنا عن اللون الاسود لكن الالوان الزاهيه بتضيف نعومه لشكل العبايه .. انتو شو راككم؟	I am glad that abaya designers lately are becoming more creative, especially by adding colors to abayas .. Although black is a classic, the bright colors add a softness to the look of the abaya .. what do you think?	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B3HiHyzhOGt/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B3HiHyzhOGt/</a>	2-Oct	أسود و أبيض By @lavaline09	N/A	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya colors
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B2oQ3r4BILz/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B2oQ3r4BILz/</a>	20-Sep	العباية هالمرة من الكويت 2 pieces Abaya by @melissia_abaya من ميليسيا	This abaya is from Kuwait. Two piece abaya by @melissia_abaya	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya designs
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B12">https://www.instagram.com/p/B12</a>	31-Aug	This outfit is so me! هالستابل حده انا ! مريح وعملي وانيق الترنش كوت من @modanisa_gcc القطعه 866857	This outfit is so me! It's comfortable and practical and elegant! The trenchcoat is from	N/A	Spin (positive)	Self-expression through fashion

<a href="#">LNeBhwTg/</a>			@modanisa_gcc and the code of the piece is 866857			
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1rOxMGBdEN/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1rOxMGBdEN/</a>	27-Aug	Dress to impress your self ☐ .. This abaya is made by ☐ @ay.dafa	N/A	N/A	Spin (positive)	Self-expression through fashion
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B1OefHKHzE/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B1OefHKHzE/</a>	16-Aug	كيف يستفيد من الجزء الزايد ببداية الشيلة بدل ما اخبيه تحت العباية والشيله من ☐ العباية @waar.qa	How to take advantage of the leftover part of your hijab, instead of just tucking it into your abaya. The abaya and shaila are from @waar.qa	#haneentutorial	Spin (positive)	Variety of hijab styles
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B01GmfNHWaT/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B01GmfNHWaT/</a>	6-Aug	لعباية من لازولاي ، معناه حجر اللازورد هو حجر الحب ☐ والموده @ la.zulii	This abaya is from lazulay, which is the name of a stone that represents love and affection ☐ @ la.zulii	N/A	Story	Beauty of the abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/B0oq26SB9ZC/">https://www.instagram.com/p/B0oq26SB9ZC/</a>	1-Aug	Classic and chic ☐☐ @algalah_collection	N/A	N/A	Spin (positive)	Beauty of the abaya
<a href="https://www.instagram.com/p/Bz-R0lh_oH/">https://www.instagram.com/p/Bz-R0lh_oH/</a>	16-Jul	Women in BLACK ♣☐ العبي بالشك الاسود ماينتتهي موضتها	Women in BLACK ♣☐ @joyacouture embroidered black abayas are always in style	N/A	Spin (positive)	Variety of abaya designs

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## **Vitae**

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