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MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMALE LEADERS ON INSTAGRAM

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| Abstract <p>Media occupies large amount of our time and attention every day. For that reason, every one of us is under the influence of media representations. Media representations but also media representations of female leaders are largely studied themes. Regardless of that, social media representations have remained understudied, and within the context of leadership there is a research gap.</p> <p>This study elaborates how leading business media houses, The Economist and Forbes, represent female leaders on their social media accounts. Social media representations are studied by social media critical discourse analysis, which focuses on the phenomenon through the critical approach also considering the multimodality of the representations. The empirical research material includes 44 Instagram postings of female leaders in 2022 on the profiles of The Economist and Forbes. This material is encoded separately regarding the visual and verbal element of the representations, but after that considered together in the data analysis to conduct the multimodal research of representations.</p> <p>The research discovered that social media representations of female leaders have a more neutral approach than traditional media does. With a brief view, the representations represent leaders in a neutral picture settings and professional text. However, the power relations between the viewer and the subject of the representations are diminished by close-up portraits within the shared level, so the leader is not represented being in a higher position than the viewer. Mainly neutral background of the pictures draws the attention towards the leader, but at the same time she is not represented in her working settings, which decreases the power relations. In verbal element female leaders are represented by highlighting her name, title, and actions. The gender of the leader is mentioned regularly and the age of hers is brought into a representation especially when the leader is relatively young or old. The majority of the representations express the name and the title of the leader already within the headline, but minority of the representations do not consider these as important factors. From social media representations can already be recognized discourses of helplessness, problem, and superwomen besides duality setting femininity versus masculinity.</p> <p>Together these multimodal social media representations send mixed signals for the consumer, which challenges individual's meaning construction. Consequently, based on the more neutral representations of social media, this attitude needs to be transformed into traditional media's representations in the future. These social media representations characterize the development towards more gender-neutral media representations of leadership and leaders.</p> | | | |
| Keywords female leaders, media, multimodality, representation, social media critical discourse analysis | | | |
| Additional information | | | |

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Representations are essential for all of us, while they are the tools for example for communication, meaning making, remembering, and thinking (Ivarsson, Linderöth & Säljö, 2009, p. 201). Representations are formed of symbolical structures (Hall, 2013, pp. 1–2; Orgad, 2012, pp. 17–25) and these systems of signs within the meaning construction create the process of *re*-presenting something (Orgad, 2012, p. 17). Media has a growing importance in an individual's sense making of themselves and their place in the world (Pickering, 2001, p. 81). Media and social media together are occupying larger amount of time and requiring larger attention both in our personal lives and in the society (Jännäri, 2018). The growing importance of media can be called mediatization and today also leadership is argued to being affected by the mediatization (Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014). Most adults and adolescents use social media every day (Khosraviniik & Unger, 2016, p. 206), the average user spending over 2 hours and students even over 6 hours on the daily basis on social media (Walsh, Carleton, Hancock & Arnold, 2022). This phenomenon is still ever growing (Jännäri, 2018), which highlights the currency of this study.

Today, the news consumption of younger audiences is based on social media (Power & Zhao, 2018, p. 350). Already the third of US adult population finds the news that they are interested in from social media from where they follow the links to the websites of news agencies (Khosraviniik & Unger, 2016, p. 206). Social media has captured consumers' usage time of the TV and magazines for itself, which has resulted in social media being the platform for both entertainment and information (Walsh et al., 2022). Media houses can utilize social media to reach new audiences that do not follow actively newspapers or watch TV (Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014). Social media's characteristics are that it is user centered and interactive on the contrary of traditional media's one way information flow (Khosraviniik & Unger, 2016, p. 211). For example, today's politicians utilize the social media themselves to reach citizens and this phenomenon is still rapidly developing while changing the media communication at the same time (Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014). Besides that, social media provides faster

news reporting for audiences than the traditional media (Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018).

Like stated above, media is affecting and developing people's opinions about the social phenomena of which the leadership is only one example (Hansson, Gottfridsson & Raanaes, 2019; Holmberg & Åkerblom, 2001). Media representations do not only reflect the current society, but they also rebuild the understandings of consumers regarding genders, for example (Paasonen, 2010, p. 41). When combining these two points together, it can be stated that media affects our expectations regarding women in the leadership positions (Cukier, Jackson, Elmi, Roach & Cyr, 2016; Mavin, Elliot, Stead & Williams, 2016; Nagar, 2021). The framing of media creates expectations for the society regarding how female leaders should act and perform as leaders (Eikhof, Summers & Carter, 2013; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022). In external cases, media has the power to develop our opinions even about the certain politicians or leaders (Trimble, 2017, p. 34). For that reason, media can furthermore increase or decrease the gender inequality (Power, Rak & Kim, 2019).

According to organizational studies organizations, are gendered social spaces, which leads to organizational constructions to be built on the concepts of femininity and masculinity (Jännäri, 2018; Koveshnikov, Tienari & Piekkari, 2019). However, it is important to note that organizational terms and discourses have been historically based on masculinity (Bendl, 2008; Koveshnikov et al., 2019) as well as have the image of a successful leader (Bryans & Mavin, 2003; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell & Ristikari, 2011). Business and management are based on masculinity and media has been one important actor in building up that image (McGregor, 2000). Still even today female leaders are underrepresented in the media (Power et al., 2019) and their media representations include for example gendered language and constructions (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Tienari, Holgersson, Meriläinen, Höök, 2009).

1.2 Research problem and research question

Female leaders' representations in media are gendered (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Mavin et al., 2016; Tienari et al., 2009). Gendered media representations signal to the audience women's unacceptability and incompetence as

leaders (Mavin, Bryan & Cunningham, 2010). In representations of female leaders, it is typical that male is presented as the norm while the woman is described as the other (Bendl, 2008; Bryans & Mavin, 2003; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Tienari et al., 2009). Female leaders for example face duality settings in their representations (Bendl, 2008; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). Besides dualities, stereotyping is typically highlighting certain characteristics, such as empathy, team playing and orientation towards family, when a female leader is in the spotlight (Mills, Torteiz & Gallego-Pace, 2016, pp. 19–21). Media representations of female leaders have been studied before in the context of different fields, such as politics or entrepreneurship (Eikhof et al., 2013; Hall & Donaghue, 2012; Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014; Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018), in the context of different regions like specific country or bunch of countries (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011; Cukier et al., 2016; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Tijani-Adenle, 2016; Williams, 2017) and relating to the publishing media, like the certain newspaper (Poutanen, Kovalainen & Jännäri, 2016; Power et al. 2020; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022). On the boarder level it has been studied that in some cases, the social media and the Internet offer consumers more diverse media representations but also media representations that include Others, such as female leaders (Orgad, 2012, pp. 101–102). However, media representations of female leaders have not been studied in the context of media representations of social media platforms.

Female leaders are underrepresented in media (Cukier et al., 2016; Power et al., 2020; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022) when comparing with male leaders' media representations. The lack of women in top positions is recognized at the global level as an issue of pressing significance (Paule & Yelin, 2021). An opposing argument towards that has been that it is a result of fewer women being in the top positions of organizations, but regardless of that, women leaders can still be said to being underrepresented in media (McGregor, 2000). Media representations present typically the most famous part of the group, like the leaders, in the media (Shor, van de Rijt, Miltsov, Kulkarni & Skiena, 2015). For example, the media coverage of female top athletes is connected to their success in Olympics (Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018). According to Shor et al., (2015) this is the reason for the minor number of female leaders' media representations, while female leaders are still a minority compared with male leaders, especially at the highest top-level. Gender differences in leadership have

been studied before and for example Simon and Hoyt (2022, p. 421) name human capital differences, gender differences and prejudice plus discrimination as explaining factors for underrepresentation of women in leadership positions. Koveshnikov et al. (2019) then again define gender differences as a consequence of social construction, which privilege men through history. Media has the power to change or develop certain images and present something and someone as an important for the society (French & Baker Webster, 2016, pp. 39–40; Shor et al., 2015). Therefore, the importance of this study is evident based on the media's power.

The verbal mode of meaning construction has been the core of organization and management research (Meyer, Höllerer, Jancsary & Van Leeuwen, 2013). Visuality is an increasing research field, but multimodal aspect of the media is still less studied (Bell & Davison, 2013). If the research regarding social media studies only the verbal side, then as equal information included in the visual side of the representations end up ignored (Yuan, Tang, Xu & Lau, 2021). For this reason, this study focuses on both the visual and the verbal aspects of the postings on Instagram. Typically, media utilizes the multimodality and media's visual side is used for attracting more attention from the consumers (Jancsary, Höllerer & Meyer, 2016, p. 195). Visual representations of a female leader evolve her public media persona and make her recognizable in the eyes of the public (French & Baker Webster, 2016, p. 40), which connects the leadership and the importance of multimodality together.

Today media houses participate more and more also in social media. This mainly means that a news agency shares the main points or an abstract of their article on for example Instagram. Based on the character limits of social media, media representations are in there shorter than in traditional media, but they reach ever growing audiences both locally and globally, while the number of social media users still increases. Because of the limited space, the media representations in social media needs to be able to shorten their main message without losing it. Social media is a platform that is in a continuous change, so it is interesting to see whether it reflects traditional media's gendered representations or whether it is already wiser than that. Representations of social media have remained unstudied subject regardless of their growing effect on the society. Based on this, it is important to study how female leaders are represented in social media.

Based on the research problem of the gendered media representations and the previous research regarding female leaders' media representations in the traditional media, this study aims to establish the nature of the media representations of female leaders in social media. This aim is settled to fill the research gap regarding the social media representations of female leaders but also regarding the social media representations of leadership overall.

To find answers to that this study aims to find the answer to the following research question:

What kind of media representations of female leaders do the leading business media houses produce on their social media?

This research question describes the studied phenomenon in a more broad view. When going into details, these leading business media houses chosen for the study are The Economist and Forbes. In addition, the social media in the context of this study refers to Instagram.

1.3 The objective of the study

Media has the power to change or develop certain images and present something and someone as an important or unimportant for the society (French & Baker Webster, 2016, pp. 39–40; Shor et al., 2015). Individuals repeat discourses and cultures that surround them and therefore express performativity by constituting their subjectivity and its conflicting subjectivities, which build groundings for individual's identity (Jackson, 2004). It is important to note that the consumers of the today's media are the future's leaders and employers so media representations of female leaders can normalize women in top positions in the eyes of the next generations (Mavin et al., 2016). Media representations of female leaders affect women's advancement into top positions both negatively and positively (Cukier et al., 2016), because they have the power to make top positions or certain fields to seem desirable in the eyes of female population (Eikhof et al., 2013).

Media representations affect our own capability to see ourselves as a part of the society and its various complex levels (Paasonen, 2010, p. 46). An individual cannot shut out the discourses that participate in the creation of their identity, but they can affect the meaning construction of discourses in a direction of accepted and common-sense truths (Jackson, 2004). Therefore, the information on female leaders' representations is useful especially to any female making their career decisions. More specifically this information could be utilized in schools and universities to encourage young people, especially women, to reach towards leadership positions and better education on the way for that. The object of this study is to encourage and therefore increase the number of women in the top positions.

According to Mills et al. (2016, p. 26), especially young people whose attitudes and opinions about genders and gender roles are forming are the most fragile group to adopt and accept the messages of gendered media representations. French and Baker Webster (2016, p. 40) have revealed how women have even opted out from the leadership career because they do not meet any encouraging role models in media. Masculine stereotyping leads to prejudices towards female leaders but also to the decreasing performance and self-identification of the female leaders (Koenig et al., 2011). The information on this study can help to decrease these negative attitudes towards female leaders but also lessen negative pictures of them, that are created by not just the subordinates but also the leaders themselves. The aim of this study is to raise the awareness of how media typically represents female leaders. It is recognized that just increasing female leaders' media presence is not enough, if media representations are gendered and have a negative tone in them, while those do not lead to better equality or encourage women to top positions (Paule & Yelin, 2021). Therefore, the aim of this study is also to provide tools for consumers and media professionals to recognize possible gendered manners in media representations.

1.4 Research methods

The research is conducted as qualitative research while the basic research data, in this thesis referred as empirical material, will be collected from the social media. The social media platform that the empirical material will be collected from is Instagram. Instagram is chosen as a research field, while it is widely used by different media

houses, but also by consumers. The empirical material of the thesis is so called “updates” or “posts” of media houses, The Economist and Forbes, on Instagram. The update from Instagram will be chosen to be a part of the empirical material, if it includes a leading woman. This empirical material will be analyzed to form an understanding how social media describes female leaders. The empirical material is analyzed through multimodal analysis, so through both the visual and the textual side of the update.

The research question of this study aims to describe how these two media houses represent female leaders in social media platform Instagram. Based on the question, the research will be conducted as multimodal discourse analysis, which concentrates on both visuality and verbality of representations (Meyer et al., 2013). Therefore, essential research data or in other words empirical material, is the social media updates of female leaders, which need to be collected and examined by hand. From that empirical material, the social media critical discourse analysis (SM-CDA) will be conducted to gain a generalized picture of social media representations of female leaders. Discourses (Ghaffari, 2022; KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 586) and their social orientation (KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 593), but also the power relations are in the center of social media critical discourse studies (Bouvier & Machin, 2018).

Social media representations published on Instagram by The Economist and Forbes are captured as empirical material. As important restrictions are settled the publication year 2022 and the focus of the social media representation of the female leader. Difficulty in the data collection is that the social media updates are usually short based on the character limits. This can affect the needed amount of the empirical material. To ensure adequate empirical material the whole year is used as a timeline. However, it is important to keep the analyzed empirical material as new as possible, because of the rapid development of social media and its phenomena. For that reason, the timeline is no longer than the year 2022.

For the theoretical part of the study, chapters two and three, a narrative literature review is conducted to form a coherent picture of traditional media’s representations. The scientific literature is collected mainly from the University of Oulu’s databases, such as Ebsco Databases, OulaFinna, Proquest Database and Scopus. Besides these,

some literature is collected also from Google Scholar. The main research words to find references were *female leader* or *politician*, *gendered media*, *media representation*, *media discourse*, and *multimodality* besides the combinations and shortens of them. All the scientific references that are used in the study are peer reviewed to ensure the liability of them. To increase the liability of the references they are as new as possible. Almost every source in this study is in English, a few being Finnish books or scientific articles.

1.5 Key concepts of the study

Underneath the key concepts of the thesis are briefly defined, before going into more details with them in the theoretical part of the study.

Female leader

As the attitudes towards the leadership and leaders are in a change towards the more gender-neutral attitude, more females acquire leadership positions, even though the female leaders are still minority when comparing with male leaders (Ward, Popson & DiPaolo, 2010). In this study, the term female leader is used to describing all different top positions of the organizations or society, such as executive, manager, politician, leader, top athlete, or entrepreneur that are captured by a woman. There is no differentiation between these terms in the thesis.

Gender

In this thesis, the term gender is referred to West and Zimmerman's approach of *doing gender*. Gender is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, pp. 194–196; Deutsch, 2007; Martin, 2003), so on this approach the gender is not our quality because it is rather something that we construct (Deutsch, 2007). Doing gender can be defined as social interactions that strengthen gender differences (Deutsch, 2007). The gender is constructed through language (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 55; Martin, 2003), through those endlessly continuing social interactions (Deutsch, 2007). On the research it is difficult to adapt only one explanation or aspect of the doing gender,

while the term itself is so complex, but on the other hand that enables studying the subject from different point of views (Jännäri, 2018).

Representation

Representations construct from symbolic structures that describe something in a certain way while at the same time representations participate in the meaning construction (Hall, 2013, pp. 1–2; Orgad, 2012, pp. 17–25; Paasonen, 2010, p. 40). Besides describing, representation can also refer to physical presenting (Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 44–47). Representations can reflect the current society, but they also improve it (Holmberg & Åkerblom, 2001; Kress, 2010, pp. 52–53; Paasonen, 2010, p. 41). Representations contain power relations (Hall, Lehtonen & Herkman, 1999, p. 102–105; Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 47–51; Weedon, 1987, pp. 113–125) that affect everyone and that transpires in the circular mode on every level of the representation (Hall, 2013, pp. 250–251). A media representation is a representation that transpires in media and has some symbolic content, such as text, picture, or video, within it (Orgad, 2012, p. 17).

Media representation

Media representation constructs from the same symbolic content than representations described above, but it is situated in media. Another significant difference between representations and media representations is that media representations' main purpose is to represent and therefore the meaning making. (Orgad, 2012, p. 17.)

Traditional media

Traditional media refers to media that is produced by professionals and that has the so-called audience and consumers (Matikainen, 2010). Traditional media includes papers and magazines (Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014; Matikainen, 2010), TV (Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014) but also the Internet publications of newspapers (Matikainen, 2010). Generally traditional media is also seen a more reliable resource of information than social media (Matikainen, 2010). Regardless of the rise of social media, the traditional media still provides the most news traffic (Power & Zhao, 2018, p. 358).

Social media

Social media can be defined as Internet based applications, that are based on the ideological and technological features of Web 2.0 (Kaplan & Mazurek, 2018, p. 273). Among consumers the social media is seen as the least reliable source (Power & Zhao, 2018, p. 348), regardless of its fast speed in communication (Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018). Social media platforms facilitate the producing and sharing of content that is generated by the users itself (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; Kaplan & Mazurek, 2018, p. 273). Journalists can deepen their story in social media through links, videos and audios (Power & Zhao, 2018, p. 348). Social media intrigues especially young users, while it is free space for reading the news or for the entertainment (Power & Zhao, 2018, p. 350).

1.6 The structure of the thesis

The thesis includes six main chapters and their subtitles. The Appendix at the end of the thesis presents the collected empirical material alias Instagram postings in the table by the date and the headline. The study is organized in the following structure. The first chapter offers a brief introduction to the research topic by presenting the background and goals of it. On Introduction, the research question that the research aims to answer at is presented. Besides that, the main terms of the thesis are briefly overviewed.

Chapter 2 focuses on explaining the main term in the thesis, representation, clearly. The term will be defined and the theoretical research about the topic introduced through literature review based on the previous research literature. The following subchapters called Identity, Subjectivity and Otherness clarify the central concepts in the context of representation. The term multimodality is added into this chapter as a subchapter while it builds the basis for the specific study.

Chapter 3 presents the already made research of the media representations of female leaders through the narrative literature review. This chapter is based on the traditional media and its representations of female leaders while the previous research of the topic is mainly in that field. Here the main phenomena in female leaders' media

representations are presented as subchapters: Dualities, Discourses, Stereotyping and Private life. The last subchapter summarizes the findings of the conducted literature review.

Chapter 4 forms Methodology, which describes the concluded research, its methods, and how the research is done. One subchapter also discusses the agency of the researcher, which has its own effect on the research, reliability, and the research's results. The empirical material and its collection are described in this chapter, but in addition the Appendix at the end of the paper includes the used social media postings as a list.

Chapter 5, Social media representations of female leaders, overviews the empirical material that the research collected from Instagram. First the data codes of visual element and verbal element of representations are presented separately, but after that they are combined in the multimodal critical discourse analysis. Besides the analysis, the chapter presents the examples of Instagram postings and ponders themes that remain unrepresented within the social media representations.

Chapter 6, Conclusions, all the main points of the conducted study are connected. The main findings of the research are highlighted and summarized at the beginning of the chapter. During the discussion, the results of the conducted study are reflected with previous research and its findings. In addition, the theoretical contributions and managerial and social implications of the study are pondered. Besides that, the limitations of the study and possible future's research topics are presented.

2 REPRESENTATION

This chapter introduces the main term of the thesis, representation. Subchapters include identity, subjectivity, and otherness while they are central subjects in the concept of representation. The last subchapter multimodality explains the connection of visual and textual representations, which form the groundings of the empirical material of this study.

The term representation means expressing something in a certain way (Jännäri, 2018; Lehtonen, 1996, p. 23). Representation is constructed of symbolical structures that are used to describe and represent something else, while at the same time representation also means the process of providing meanings (Hall, 2013, pp. 1–2; Orgad, 2012, pp. 17–25; Paasonen, 2010, p. 40). In other words, representation is a process of *re*-presenting something, by utilizing the systems of signs in the meaning construction (Orgad, 2012, p. 17). A representation can be defined as physical presenting but also as symbolizing or describing something (Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 44–47). Representations are at the same time expressing, representing, and producing something (Paasonen, 2010, pp. 40–41). A media representation is located in media and includes symbolic content (Orgad, 2012, p. 17).

According to Hall (2013, pp. 3–5) the representation includes two processes or systems, the first one being creation of mental representations of different things linked to the set of concepts in our minds, and second one being the common language which forms from the sign systems. The first system enables us to create the meanings of the world around us (Hall, 2013, p. 3). Representations do not only reflect the current society, but they are also developing it besides people's attitudes and opinions (Holmberg & Åkerblom, 2001; Kress, 2010, pp. 52–53; Paasonen, 2010, p. 41). In the progress and changes of knowledge, skills, identities, and social practices representations are in the crucial role in the society (Ivarsson et al., 2009, p. 201).

The semiotic approach considers words, images, but also objects as signifiers in the meaning construction (Hall, 2013, p. 22). Representations present something as significant to spark meanings in others' minds (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 45). Media can with its power decide which phenomena or people are considered as an important in the

society by representing positive representations (Holmberg & Åkerblom, 2001). Preferred meaning refers to a meaning that the teller intends to send with their representation (Hall, 2013, p. 218).

Based on Butler's thoughts, the performativity is expressed by individuals through the constitution of their subjectivity, when they go through surrounding discourses and cultures (Jackson, 2004). According to the philosopher Austin's first views, the performativity describes how the utterance is the doing or in other words, the utterance is the same as an action (Austin, 2007, pp. 8–9). Performativity is closely connected with the produce of genders, while through representations and the performativity the gender is constructed and performed (Jackson, 2004).

The language does not provide just the way of communication for us but also the possibility for creating representations (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 44). Both the representation and the communication can be referred to as social processes, while representation appears in social environment the communication being one constructor of the social environment (Kress, 2010, p. 51). Language does not only reflect meanings, while as a complex system, the meanings are constructed through it (Nixon, 2013, p. 299). Therefore, meanings arise from the language (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 72). Discourse is a way of representing something by the language that is formed through the group of different statements (Hall et al., 1999, p. 98). Representations and discourses are also essential for the meaning making of individuals (Ivarsson et al., 2009, p. 205). Discourses are not just tools for thinking and meaning producing, but also representation systems for knowledge comprising with social practices, subjectivity, and relations of power (Hall, 2013, pp. 29–35; Weedon, 1987, p. 108). Discourse is a group of different statements that together form a language which can be used to represent something (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 98–101).

Theoretically discourse is used in different contexts for example in the micro-textual level or regarding social interests and knowledge (Jewitt, 2009, p. 31). The concept of discourse stems from the meanings that are the result of the meaning construction, while the term discourse includes also the action besides the language (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 69). Discourse means information producing through the language (Hall et al., 1999, p. 99). Discursive formation explains how the same discourse can appear in

different texts or in different contexts (Hall, 2013, p. 29). Multimodal discourse is able to create stronger emotions in its consumers than other representations or discourses (Meyer et al., 2013).

Discourses and representations contain power and power relations (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 102–105; Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 47–51; Weedon, 1987, pp. 113–125). Discourse can also be seen as a system through which the power spreads around, while it affects social practices in its environment, and therefore has real effects and consequences (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 104–105; Wodak & Meyer, 2016, pp. 9–12). Power relations are included in every media representation and on the other hand, media representations also produce and reproduce them by value, belief, and the conception building (Orgad, 2012, p. 25). Discourses regarding power relations, that can be related for example to gender, social class, or institutional norms, affect social rules that people adapt (Jewitt, 2009, p. 23).

Power in the context of representations is circular, which means it is not just emerging from the upper level to downwards (Hall, 2013, pp. 250–251). Power pervades and is active at all the levels and sites of the social life (Hall, 2013, pp. 34–35). It is important to notice that a single text or a picture does not have an effect of power, but the discourse that is constantly repeated in media has an effect to knowledge and therefore it also contains power (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p. 118). Every one of us is under the effects of the power relations of representations (Hall, 2013, pp. 250–251). Social media has changed the traditional view of media's power relations, which means that in social media power is considered being accumulated and exploited by regular consumers (Ghaffari, 2022).

Through the power relations representations are capable of stereotyping, which means simplification and naturalization of differences (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 189–190). Stereotyping describes people or groups through few overly simplified characteristics, that are described as natural in the discourses (Hall, 2013, pp. 247–248; Pickering, 2001, pp. 9–10). Stereotypes remain quite stable and the same for a long time and are for that reason discriminatory while they lead to negative attitudes (Pickering, 2001, pp. 10–13). However, stereotypes related to genders are easily activated resulting in biased judgements (Simon & Hoyt, 2022, p. 404). Stereotyping can be seen as a result

of the power and power relations, while it occurs against the subordinate therefore connecting stereotyping of representations with differences and power (Hall, 2013, pp. 248–249). In that sense, stereotyping is also a social control's form (Pickering, 2001, p. 5). Stereotyping has discursive nature, while stereotypes are conducted, standardized, and internalized through discursive constructions (Ghaffari, 2022).

2.1 Identity

Identities are constructions and fictions that are essential for all of us to operate in the world, to identify ourselves in relation to others, and to make the sense of whom we are as individuals (Nixon, 2013, p. 298). All identities locate in the symbolical time and space (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 45–47; Leander & Vasudevan, 2009, p. 128), which are affected by representations (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 45–47). In the identity construction, an individual uses different representations, which are in the different forms (Leander & Vasudevan, 2009, p. 131). These aspects connect identities and representations together. Individuals are at the same time both the site and the subject of their own identity construction's discursive fight (Weedon, 1987, p. 87).

Every identity is located in culture, language and history (Hall et al., 1999, p. 16). As a reader an individual has several identities at the same time, while different texts awake different readers inside an individual, which in turn activate also different identities inside an individual (Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 207–209). An individual is a different self in different situations but has the same time a so-called core identity (Lemke, 2009, p. 147). Media affects an individual's meaning construction through its representations and based on those meaning constructions the individual forms and develops their own personal identity (Adami & Kress, 2010, p. 185; Lemke, 2009, p. 141). Nowadays the commercial media utilizes different identities in their advertisement while aiming at consumers' identification on their products (Lemke, 2009, pp. 147–150).

Individuals' identities form and change in the relation and as a part of representations (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 46–47; Howarth, 2002). By our own representations of ourselves, we can describe ourselves to others, which develops our identity further (Orgad, 2012, p. 157). Representations affect our way of seeing ourselves as a part of the society and

its social relations, which guides us further in the identity construction (Howarth, 2002; Orgad, 2012, p. 157; Paasonen, 2010, p. 46). For example, when an individual's social group is targeted by negative representations, it might lead to the lower self-esteem of an individual (Howarth, 2002). Texts and representations offer tools for an individual to develop their own identity (Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 207–209). Identity can be called an always incomplete invention (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 11–39; Howarth, 2002) while it develops constantly within individual's subconscious processes (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 11–39).

Social practices are linked to representations, which include values and meanings that participate in forming our cultural identity (Gledhill & Ball, 2013, p. 335). An individual's identity is constantly challenged by representations of their social group (Howarth, 2002). It is important to note that the identity of an individual develops also through differentiation and the Otherness, while through differentiation the unique identity is formed (Rantakari, 2016). Identities, as well as for example masculinity, are invented categories which are the result of the cultural meanings linked to certain characteristics and forms of conduct (Nixon, 2013, p. 298). Our gendered identities form through our repetitions, so through these repetitions our genders are constructed (Jackson, 2004). Both the identity and culture are considered as mobile and translocal phenomena (Leander & Vasudevan, 2009, pp. 128–129). An individual's continuous transformative engagement with its environment results in the identity (Kress, 2010, p. 174).

2.2 Subjectivity

Subjectivity refers to how subjects form discourse but also are constructed by and subjected to discourses (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p. 112; Rantakari, 2016). An individual's subjectivity and selfhood are located in the language (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 28; Weedon, 1987, pp. 51–53). The subjectivity of a social subject develops from an individual's own social experiences but also from their indirect experiences like the reading (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 191). Individual's subjectivity and along that also their own picture of themselves forms in and through language (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 28; Weedon, 1987, pp. 51–53).

Subjectivity itself is constructed from knowledge and therefore makes representations possible (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). Besides language, subjectivity builds also through different discourses (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p. 112; Weedon, 1987, p. 21): economic, social, and political aspects, which are in the continuous site of the power struggle (Weedon, 1987, p. 21). Assumptions like competitiveness, efficiency, productivity, and profit are the basis for the organizations and therefore individuals are forced into subjects that strengthen these characteristics (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). Conflicts and power struggles between the discourses offer for an individual new way for thinking and by those also new possible forms of subjectivity (Weedon, 1987, p. 91). However, subjects are full of contradictions and gaps (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 208), so in a way they are always incomplete.

The subjectivity of an individual is in a continuous change because of the discourses that they go through (Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 70–71; Weedon, 1987, pp. 35–42). Therefore, an individual continuously remake and develop themselves in the relation of their subjectivity (Kress, 2010, p. 14). The reconfiguration of individual's subjectivity is possible, while discourses' fractures and unfixed nature enable the alternative configurations of subjectivity (Jackson, 2004). Founding subjects through discourses are a result of the social play of power (Rantakari, 2016; Weedon, 1987, p. 113). Discourses and representations enable binary subjectivity that has opposed men and women as binary opposites, when again those gender representations create even more gender binaries (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). Subjectivity constructs through continuous, never-ending, and unconscious dialogues with the 'Other' (Hall, 2013, p. 227; Rantakari, 2016).

According to the discourse-theoretical studies a subject is the result of discourses, while they construct collective subjects and consciousness which results in the creation of both individual and collective reality (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p. 117). The meaning construction of an event or a thing is dependent on individual's current discourses and their own way of elucidating the world (Weedon, 1987, p. 79). Representations include meaning potentials, but the context determines which one of them are used (Ivarsson, et al., 2009, p. 210). Subjects are also constructing representations (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004). The way we represent others influences on how we view them, which then again influences how we represent them (Paasonen, 2010, p. 45).

Our subjectivity forms in the relation to something that supplements us even though at the same time there is something unattainable for us while it is located outside of us (Hall et al., 1999, p. 159). Subjectivity refers to the individual's conscious and unconscious views and emotions but also their sense of themselves and their relations to the world around themselves (Weedon, 1987, p. 32). An individual is a viewing subject through their ways of seeing the world, but also a doing subject through their body, and at the same time these both result the individual being a knowing subject (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009, p. 261).

The subjectification is a process, within discourses and other symbolical structures obtain a subjective meaning (Cuyckens, Davidse & Vandelanotte, 2010, p. 4; Langacker, 2006, p. 17). When an individual forms their own subjectivity, the positioning within a certain discourse is needed and by this positioning they can become the subject of the discourse (Rantakari, 2016). During the subjectification, meanings are progressively based on the individual's subjective beliefs of the representations and discourses that they are going through (Athanasiadou, Canakis & Cornillie, 2006, p. 3; Closs Traugott, 2010, p. 35; Cuyckens et al., 2010, p. 10; Langacker, 2006, p. 17). These statements are based on Traugott's views on subjectivity and subjectification, which sees subjectification as a diachronic process (Athanasiadou et al., 2006, p. 3).

2.3 Otherness

The Otherness can be for example an individual's or a group's ethnicity, gender, sexuality, or social class (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 152–160). Compared with men women and femininity are labelled as the Other (Knights & Kerfoot, 2004; Pickering, 2001, pp. 61–69), especially when comparing them with the white men. Regarding some views Otherness is mainly or even only produced by the gender (Pickering, 2001, p. 63). Masculinity as a norm also reaches the language, which transpires as masculine basics in the language (Engelberg, 2010, p. 167; Gledhill & Ball, 2013, p. 341). Therefore, Otherness is located in the language (Pickering, 2001, pp. 72–73), as well as the identity (Hall et al., 1999, p. 16) and the subjectivity (Lehtonen, 1996, p. 28; Weedon, 1987, pp. 51–53).

Arbitrary nature of the sign explains how meanings are constructed through differences (Hall, 2013, p. 16), for example different colors can be understood about the relation to their differences between each other. These binary oppositions produce power relations between oppositions (Orgad, 2012, p. 30), even though the differences are essential for distinguishing these meanings from each other (Hall et al., 1999, p. 153). Stereotyping produces symbolic order, while it distinguishes the Otherness from the norm (Orgad, 2012, p. 30). Difference is formed through the symbolic order of the culture, so the way a certain culture defines meanings (Hall, 2013, pp. 225–227). When some individual or a group is labelled as Other, they are positioned unequally compared with those doing the so-called othering (Pickering, 2001, p. 73). However, difference is ambivalent, meaning that it can be both positive and negative at the same time (Hall, 2013, p. 228).

According to Howarth (2002) an individual's identity is formed on the relation to the Other and in center of that process are how individuals see themselves versus how others see them. Difference is essential for the meaning construction in a dialogue with the Other, while the power relation is always present between two opposites (Hall, 2013, pp. 224–226). Whereas representation is self-oriented, communication is other-oriented referring to that in self-orientation the meaning is constructed and then shared with the Other (Kress, 2010, p. 51). When a discourse shares knowledge and expresses commonly recognized parts of it, at the same time it hinders other parts of knowledge so that the reality builds on the common factors (Jäger & Maier, 2016, p. 117). Pickering (2001, p. 49) sees the transformation of difference into Otherness as a declining of the change and dialogue.

Media constantly provides for consumers differences between *us* and *them* by media representations (Orgad, 2012, p. 21). Besides that, media also offers us representations of femininity and masculinity (Weedon, 1987, pp. 101–105). The Other is essential to an individual's constitution of themselves as a subject but also their constitution of their sexual identity (Hall, 2013, pp. 226–227). One of the individual's discursive struggles is the masculinity and femininity, which is based on the expectation that there is a natural way for both men and women, and that struggle lasts for the individual's whole life (Weedon, 1987, pp. 98–99).

Representations question or strengthen the images of femininity and masculinity that are dominating the current society (Weedon, 1987, p. 101). Fictions produce gendered representations and stereotypes or stereotyping (Gledhill & Ball, 2013, pp. 338–340). Fictive representations, such as TV-series or films, can affect our minds of the normal sexuality or the roles of men and women in both spare time and career (Weedon, 1987, pp. 103–106). In stereotyping the norm differentiates from abnormal by the help of power, and by this separation abnormal outsiders are constructed as the Other (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 190–192). It is impossible for a representation to be gender neutral regardless of their form (Weedon, 1987, pp. 100–101) and overall media is considered as highly gendered space (Hansson, 2019).

2.4 Multimodality

Communication and representations are seen in multimodality more than just a language or a textual aspect (Jewitt, 2009, p. 14). Multimodal research focuses on the communication that is a combination of different communication modes such as texts, images, and videos (Ball & Davison, 2013; Höllerer, Jancsary & Grafström, 2018; Meyer et al., 2013). In this study, the focus is on visual and verbal modes of social media. The visual aspect of the multimodality is seen as a potential and unique meaning creator being as an important factor as verbality (Cartel, Colombero & Boxenbaum, 2017; Meyer et al., 2013; Jancsary, Meyer, Höllerer & Boxenbaum, 2018). Multimodality has always been an everyday phenomenon of the society and discourses, even though the verbality has been previously defined as the most important form in the critical discourse analysis research (KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 587). Representation's textual narrative can be advocated by images, which then together form the multimodal representation (Höllerer et al., 2018; Yuan et al., 2021). Intertextuality refers to meaning accumulation among different words or pictures (Hall, 2013, p. 222). In representations, the visuality can be better remembered by the audience and have a stronger effect on them depending on the context (Yuan et al., 2021).

Discourses and representations can take spoken, written, or visual form (Hall et al., 1999, pp. 98–101, 140; Höllerer et al., 2018; Weedon, 1987, pp. 111–113). Language is besides written and spoken systems also visual systems (Cartel et al., 2017; Hall,

2013, pp. 4–5; Jewitt, 2009, p. 16) and sounds (Hall, 2013, pp. 4–5; Jewitt, 2009, p. 16). Visual representation can be seen as important as textual representation, while it also includes presenting and its own kind of language (Hall et al., 1999, p. 140; Lehtonen, 1996, pp. 87–88). It is possible to produce conjunctions between different forms by representations, which clarifies the message of the different elements of representations more specifically (Jancsary et al., 2018). Visual representations affect the values and beliefs of the certain group by delivering messages that have an impact on them through color, contextualization, representation, depth, illumination, and the light (Jancsary et al., 2018).

Multimodality can assist representations and theorization (Höllerer et al., 2018). Written or spoken representation can speak directly to the audience when visual representation uses the embodied positions of the viewers (Jancsary et al., 2018; Meyer, Jancsary, Höllerer & Boxenbaum, 2018). Visual representations like pictures and drawings, can be called as iconic representations (Cartel et al., 2017; Hall, 2013, pp. 5–7; Jancsary et al., 2018), because they resemble to objects that they represent, when again written and spoken signs are indexical (Hall, 2013, pp. 5–7). Multimodality influences not just the textual narrative but also the attractiveness of the representation (Höllerer et al., 2018). The dual coding theory refers to how both the verbal and the visual forms of representation can transfer information to the viewer (Yuan et al., 2021). Multimodal research is based on the assumption that communication, regardless of its form, aims to fulfill the following metafunctions: The ideational metafunction aiming to communicate thoughts and experiences, the interpersonal metafunction aiming to create social relations and identities, and the textual metafunction to produce coherence (Ledin & Machin, 2019).

Typical in multimodal representations is to present the object from different distances and angles (Höllerer et al., 2018; Jancsary et al., 2018) while the distance reflects the power relations of the multimodal representation (Kress, 2010, pp. 130–131). If the viewers of the representation have more power, than the subject of the representation, the communication of the representation is focused on their needs and interests (Jancsary et al., 2016, pp. 184–185). Embodied positions in representation consider the viewer as passive, when there is no direct contact, or active, when some direct gesture draws the attention to the representation (Jancsary et al., 2018). Distances

range from intimate, interpersonal and impersonal, the first one referring to the viewer seeing the object closely and the last one from afar and out of reach in a literal but metaphorically (Jancsary et al., 2018). The higher power is represented by bigger distance (Kress, 2010, p. 131). The angle and perspective also affect the viewer and strengthen subjectivities (Jancsary et al., 2018; Meyer et al., 2018). Looking from up gives the strength to the viewer, while they are the one looking downwards to the object (Jancsary et al., 2018), when the object is given the power, the angle is from down to up (Cartel et al., 2017; Jancsary et al., 2018). Angle from front highlights that viewer and the object are on the same level. An oblique angle refers to difference or otherness between the viewer and the object. (Jancsary et al., 2018.)

Non-verbal communication on the representations builds on the kinesics codes such as different body movements like gestures and facial expressions but also on contact codes such as interpersonal space or spatial arrangements (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009, p. 254). Multimodality is based on the following assumptions: representations are based on several modes that all participate in meaning construction, each of these modes offer different communication, viewers construct the meaning by selecting different modes and the meaning of the signs in multimodal representation is the result of current social context (Bell & Davison, 2013; Jewitt, 2009, pp. 14–16). Multimodal dialogue in social media includes also used emojis (Jovanovic & Van Leeuwen, 2018).

Multimodal compositions are together included in sensemaking processes (Höllerer et al., 2018). In meaning making visuality and textuality have different features that cooperate in meaning construction (Unsworth & Cléirigh, 2009, p. 155). Visuality can supplement verbal representations so that together they reach meanings which they cannot both reach on their own (Höllerer et al., 2018; Meyer et al., 2018; Unsworth & Cléirigh, 2009, pp. 162–163). In other words, new representations can be defined that do not appear on solely textual representations (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 154). Social media has increased the multimodality and its resources of our everyday life (Bouvier, 2015). Nowadays the content on social media is mainly multimodal, while the majority of the posts in there include both the text with emojis and the video or the photo (Jovanovic & Van Leeuwen, 2018). Multimodal analysis is useful for making sense of meaning construction in social media (Ball & Davison, 2013). The form of an

individual's self-representation is for example their posts and updates in social media (Paasonen, 2010, pp. 46–47).

3 MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMALE LEADERS IN THE TRADITIONAL MEDIA

This chapter focuses on the traditional media's representations of female leaders. The most common elements in them are presented in their own subchapters. The first subchapter goes through typical dualities that are common in traditional media's representations. The second subchapter, discourses, describes the most common discourses in media representations. The last two subchapters, stereotyping and private life handle the gendered descriptions and interests of media regarding female leaders. It is important to note that it is typical in representations that these elements are overlapping each other and are present at the same time in the same representation. Therefore, it is in some cases difficult to differentiate these elements from each other.

Gendered mediation theory has found how media emphasizes the gender, appearance and private life of a woman leader while also basing its criticism on these factors (Williams, 2022). Gender segregation is recognized in different branches in Finland, which means that there are fields where mainly just one of the genders works (Korvajärvi, 2010, pp. 185–187). One example of gender segregation are the leadership positions, that still are mainly under men's control (Korvajärvi, 2010, p. 186). Already early feminist research criticized media for presenting the images of women, which strengthened the dominant beliefs of women's roles and nature (Gledhill & Ball, 2013, p. 342). Feminist research states that organizations and jobs are gendered (Jännäri, 2018; Korvajärvi, 2010, pp. 184–185), but also questions the traditional borders related to women's working life, such as home and parenting as restrictions (Korvajärvi, 2010, pp. 184–185).

Female leaders' media representation might also include ambivalence so that positive image and language are paired together with the negative image and language (Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018). Media representations of female leaders are presented in relation to men leaders that have been on the top before them (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, pp. 126–127). The gender and sexuality of an employee are a part of the working and especially gender and identity are forming the communication that the work requires (Korvajärvi, 2010, p. 183). In media representations, the image of the ideal manager is based on masculine characteristics and qualities (Koveshnikov et al., 2019). In

media representations women leaders are often presented as representative of their gender (Hansson et al., 2019; Joshi, Hailu & Reising, 2020; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002) and expressed through masculine norms (Hansson et al., 2019; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002).

Media abuse and its questioning of their capabilities is more problematic for female leaders than men leaders (Paule & Yelin, 2021). Women in top positions are judged in media according to more demanding and divergent factors than their male counterparts (Wagner, Trimble & Sampert, 2019; Walsh, 2015). It is normal that a female leader is cited in media representation anonymously or in the negative context (Shein & Garavan, 2022). Media representations form a monolithic picture of women leaders, so media representations are inflexible and indivisible which refers to the stereotyping of women leaders (Tienari et al., 2009).

In media representations of female leaders, it is often stated how it is the problem of an individual or problem of a woman, how she is able to achieve the leadership position instead of bringing up the structural and cultural obstacles (Sheerin & Garavan, 2022). Related to that, media can represent a certain female as being born as a leader or being a leader by a chance (Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020). Media has the tendency to represent female leaders as doing leadership as women instead of just describing them doing leadership, which emphasizes the gender once again (Trimble, 2017, p. 63; Williams, 2022). Regardless of that, sometimes media accuses female leaders of playing the gender card, such as bringing the gender into the middle of the discussion and using it as their benefit (Falk, 2013; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022; Trimble, 2017, p. 65). Related to that, media has stated that it does not see the gender as a problem unless the women itself set it that way (Falk, 2013).

3.1 Dualities

Media representations of female leaders include different dualities, which set a female leader in the middle of some double burn or as the other end of the binary opposites. One of these dualities is the family versus work duality. Family versus work duality in media representations describes women being trapped between family's and managerial life's demands (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016).

Women in the top positions are often publicly questioned how they will balance the demands of family and working lives (Mavin et al., 2010; Tijani-Adenle, 2016). In media representations when a woman is succeeding in her work her private life is represented as suffering because of her investments in her work (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011). Related to that media representations often state that a woman can succeed in business only if she is able to balance both her work and her family (Power et al., 2020). Achtenhagen and Welter (2011) emphasize how instead of bringing the discussion into media of how woman balances the family and work, the questioning of that double burden in media could lead to real consequences. This double burden also emphasizes that femininity makes the female leader to seem attractive in media and gains positive representations but at the same time it results in her capabilities to being questioned (Tischner, Malson & Fey, 2021).

Female versus male duality sets these two genders as opposites (Bendl, 2008; Koveshnikov et al., 2019; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). In this duality, a female is represented as an extremely emotional character while a male is represented as a rational actor (Bendl, 2008). Gender labels and marking in media representations strengthen this duality, while they are used to distinguishing male and female leaders from each other (Trimble, 2017, pp. 85–86). Females are represented as sufferers in their career while men are more successful and in higher positions. Therefore, men are hindering women's career development while being offenders for women's suffer in the business life. (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016.) In media representations women are criticized more about the lack of experience than men, that sets genders as different counterparts (Wagner et al., 2019). Women leaders are also criticised easier when they are ambitious, and media has the tendency to represent ambitious women in a more hostile tone than ambitious men (Hall & Donaghue, 2012).

Female versus male duality can be connected to the discourse presented by Lämsä and Tiensuu (2002), where women are seen as victims. Women leaders are also represented unprofessional and unsuccessful compared with male leaders (Jännäri, 2018). Women leaders are represented as socially motivated and employee oriented whereas men are represented as the risk and result oriented (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). While leadership is based on masculine norms, it automatically sets women and men as dualities, while feminine traits do not overlap with the traits of a good leader (Wagner

et al., 2019). In the external cases media represents woman leaders as behaving badly or even as back-stabbing men, when they are stepping up to the leadership positions and replacing males from those roles (Trimble, 2017, pp. 50–52; Williams, 2017; Williams, 2022).

In femininity versus masculinity duality, a woman manager must choose between a passive feminine role such as mother or an active masculine role of a career development (Bell & Sinclair, 2016). The femininity and masculinity are even over emphasized in this duality (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016), and also the stereotyping of genders is typical (Williams, 2022). This duality sees the feminine qualities natural to women and masculine qualities natural to men (Williams, 2022). According to this duality, a woman manager cannot achieve both a stable sexual identity and becoming successful in her career (Bell & Sinclair, 2016). Still, a female leader aims to balance masculine characteristics needed for success and feminine characteristics to remain as a woman in the eyes of the public (Williams, 2017). Media tends to have different expectations for women and men regarding their leadership qualities, for example ambition is represented problematic for women while it opposes traditional female characteristics (Hall & Donaghue, 2012), like stated in the female versus male duality.

Media representations state that women leaders are doing gender well (Mavin et al., 2016; Tischner et al., 2021; Trimble, 2017, p. 42) which can be seen as duality setting while it highlights the women's exceptional role as leaders (Mavin et al., 2016). When female leader is adapting masculine qualities and becoming successful, she is presented as an exceptional case from the patriarchal point of view (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). Regardless of the exceptionality the future of a female leader is presented as uncertain in media (Tischner et al., 2021). Female leaders are also said to gain benefits when acquiring masculine characteristics but at the same time it is stated to be impossible for women to assist these characteristics (Elliot & Stead, 2017). Media represents female politicians in the middle of this kind of double burden because they are expected to fulfil feminine characters to remain a female in the eyes of public but also reach the masculine norm of politics to be a credible politician (O'Neill, Savigny & Cann, 2016).

3.2 Discourses

In the traditional patriarchal discourse women's natural and social roles are described in the relation to a masculine norm (Weedon, 1987, pp. 2–3). In this discourse women and femininity are compared in the relation to masculine values (Bendl, 2008; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). Patriarchal discourse supports the so-called traditional division between the two genders (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). Here the woman leader is seen as a subordinate when compared with the male leader while masculinity is the traditional hierarchical authority (Katila & Eriksson, 2011; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). This discourse emphasizes that women in top positions are not seen as individuals but rather as the representatives of all woman leaders (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Trimble, 2017, pp. 80–81). It is also evident that in this discourse males are described as leaders whereas females are described as *female* leaders in media (Falk, 2013), which emphasizes the genders and the traditional image of a leadership. Like the patriarchal discourse also traditional feminine discourse represents woman manager from the traditional way of seeing the genders, such as appearance and family status (Jännäri, 2018). This discourse highlights the traditional feminine side but also the demographics of the woman leader (Poutanen et al., 2016).

Media represents female managers as the Other compared with male managers (Eikhof et al., 2013; Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020; Tienari et al., 2009) and this discourse is based on the idea of female and male's natural differences (Koveshnikov et al., 2019; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Trimble, 2017, pp. 64–65). In the extreme cases women are represented even as non-leaders in media regardless of their actual role in the organization (Bendl, 2008; Bryans & Mavin, 2003; Hansson et al., 2019). When women leaders are represented as different, they are described being naturally different so that they are not naturally suitable for the leadership role (Sheerin & Garavan, 2022). In some cases, the statement of how women cannot be leaders is based on the leadership's traditional masculinity groundings (Bendl, 2008), like on the patriarchal discourse. Therefore, the discourse of otherness leads often to women's leadership to being described as under-performing (Eikhof et al., 2013).

When media represents female leaders through anthropological terms (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016) a female is in the need for help to be successful (Lang & Rybnikova,

2016; Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020). According to media representations, these actors who offer help to female leaders are the government, institutions and the society (Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020). In media representations it is also typical to present a supporter, such as a friend, a mentor or even a company, of a woman leader without whom her success would be impossible (Nagar, 2021; Trimble, 2017, pp. 57–58). Women are typically represented in media through doubting tone, meaning that they need to prove themselves, to defend and show that they are capable of being in top positions and making important decisions (Hansson et al., 2019; Trimble, 2017, p. 214). Related to the discourse of female leaders as helpless, the problem discourse represents women being in problems whether in business or in private life (Jännäri, 2018; Poutanen et al., 2016). This discourse represents the woman leader as unreliable, while the stakeholders of the company cannot trust her because of her problematic situation (Poutanen et al., 2016).

Related to the discourses of female leaders as helpless and problematic, they are also represented as victims in media (Cukier et al., 2016; Joshi et al., 2020; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002), which means representation as the victims of discrimination and in the need for support (Jännäri, 2018; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). In the victim discourse women are represented as the victims of patriarchy (Joshi et al., 2020), but power relations are still challenged in this discourse even though woman is represented as subordinate (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). Therefore, media representations represent women leaders as dependent on something (Jännäri, 2018). In this discourse female leaders are represented victims in career development, while top-positions are even impossible for women to reach them being occupied by men (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Trimble, 2017, p. 60). Sometimes media names the women themselves as their worst enemy, while the women itself are said to position themselves as victims and not seeing themselves as capable leaders (Elliot & Stead, 2017). The aim of victim discourse is to increase awareness of female discrimination and therefore strengthen their position in the business life (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002).

In some media representations female leaders are presented through superwomen discourse while they achieved the leadership position (Poutanen et al., 2016; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022; Tischner et al., 2021). Being a superwoman is the result for example of successfully balancing the family and working life (Katila & Eriksson, 2011;

Sheerin & Garavan, 2022). Media representations are also basing woman's success to her being a superwoman or in other words, exceptional representative of her gender (Sheerin & Garavan, 2022) or just merely being lucky to achieve the leadership position as accidental leaders (Debray, Schnurr, Loew & Reissner-Roubicek, 2023). This reflects how representations are always considered within the certain context and therefore both representations and discourses are always situated (Gee, 2001). It is impossible to a wording to be always entirely neutral (Gee, 2001), like this discourse represents female leaders at the same time as the admirable leaders and balancers of challenges (Sheering & Garavan, 2022). In media representations of women leaders, the multitasking is often mentioned as essential to women's success in business but also to manage the family life as mothers and wives while keeping up the female appearance (Jännäri, 2018).

Competence discourse focuses on the professional qualities of the woman manager (Jännäri, 2018). However, the double bind and gendered media representations are still lucid in this discourse (Poutanen et al., 2016). The female leader is represented within this discourse as a successful leader or even a survivor that has overcome the obstacles on her career (Poutanen, et al., 2016). Business continuity discourse represents women managers just as a part of continuing business, such as family member of an owning family (Jännäri, 2018). Here the woman leader is represented as a leader of the company, while the company does not have any other choice if they aim for continuing family business or because the business is doomed anyway (Poutanen et al., 2016).

Media representations that represent female leaders without any mention regarding their social role in a family and solely focusing on their career, belong to the discourse of norm challenging, while they do not bring into discussion the traditional image of a leader (Owalla & Al Ghaffri, 2020). Related to this kind of neutrality in media representations, the professional discourse does not bring into discussion differences or comparisons between male and female leaders (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). In the norm challenging discourse, it is even discussed how femininity can bring a positive change and therefore also advantages to the organization which hires a female leader (Bendl, 2008; Jännäri, 2018). The gender does not play any role in career development regarding the professional discourse and a female leader is represented as the competent human resource of a company (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). The discourse of

role models focuses on the positive impact on the society that the female leader has (Jännäri, 2018; Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020). The same point of view is in the discourse, where a female leader is called the virtuous (Joshi et al., 2020). All these three discourses hold a more neutral approach to the female leaders' media representations than the other discourses discussed above.

3.3 Stereotyping

In media representations of female leaders, it is common to represent them in overly emphasized feminine or masculine characteristics, which strengthen gendered stereotyping (Hansson et al., 2019; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Tischner et al., 2021). Media representations of female leaders are typically trivializing them (Debray et al., 2023; Power et al., 2020). For example, Nigerian press highlights in female leaders' media representations traditional gender roles and norms and therefore strengthens stereotypes (Tijani-Adenle, 2016). In the political field, the women who become first in their role, such as the first prime minister of a country, face the most gendered media focus (Hall & Donaghue, 2012; Wagner et al., 2019). Stereotyping media representations strengthens the stereotypes of women in the relation to the male norm of the leadership (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, p. 111). Still, nowadays the stereotypical image of a leader is masculine and that is problematic for women, while feminine stereotypes are not compatible with that image (Koenig et al., 2011).

The masculinity (Koenig et al., 2011; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016) of female leaders and their opposing of gender stereotypes (Mills et al., 2016, p. 24; Williams, 2017) is in some cases described threatening or even unnatural in media. However, few studies have shown that women need to adapt those masculine characteristics to success in leadership (Bryans & Mavin, 2003; Cukier et al., 2016; Nagar, 2021; Tischner et al., 2021). On the other hand, when a woman leader adapts masculine characteristics and does not follow traditional expectations of femininity, the media may start to question her status as a woman (Katila & Eriksson, 2011; Koveshnikov et al., 2019) and sets her in the negative light (Hall & Donaghue, 2012). The positive change in this has been that nowadays in media representations the female leaders' feminine characteristics are also in some cases recognized as strengths alongside the

masculinity, while it adds value to the masculine norm (Hall & Donaghue, 2012; Tischner et al., 2021).

Feminine characteristics are related to the managerial leading style such as people oriented, creativeness and modesty whereas masculine characteristics of female leaders in media representations are hardness, self-consciousness, and perseverance (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). In some cases, when a woman adapts masculine leadership characteristics, media represents her as arrogant (Trimble, 2017, p. 46). Women leaders are described as employee oriented, caring (Hall & Donaghue, 2012; Hansson et al., 2019; Koenig et al., 2011), emotional, social (Hansson et al., 2019) and emphatic (Debray et al., 2023). Female leaders are often represented to be loyal, and not having as much leadership qualities than men (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). Besides that, media representations are stereotyping female leaders as risk-averse leaders (Elliot & Stead, 2017) and more co-operative than their male counterparts (Joshi et al., 2020). Overall, the leadership style of women is represented as different in media than men's leadership style (Debray et al., 2023).

A participant is a typical role of a woman leader in media representations, which highlights her responsibility of outcomes but at the same time her role as agent decreases (Hansson et al., 2019). This form of media representation represents a female leader as too weak and hysterical for the leadership position (Bell & Sinclair, 2016). New female leaders are often represented in media as *a bit overwhelmed* (Trimble, 2017, p. 54), which highlights the stereotype of women as emotional characters. In media representations, women's leadership is typically called unstable and missing substance (Elliot & Stead, 2017). Related to emotionality, media representations often spread the stereotypical image how women's leadership is hindered by their family commitments and motherhood (Mills et al., 2016).

Media typically nicknames female leaders in its representations, which is a gendered phenomenon utilizing gendered stereotypes that therefore have a weakening effect on the female leaders (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, p. 111). Stereotypical characters associated with women's nature and private life are settled as the predictions of women's business profile by media (Tienari et al., 2009). Nicknames typically refer to some specific characteristic of a woman's appearance (Trimble, 2017, p. 127) or combine masculine

and feminine element, which leads to gendered representation and othering, while female leadership is represented in the relation to masculine leadership (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, pp. 117, 124–125).

Nicknaming also removes a woman from her business role and demotes her to the traditional role of a woman while drawing public's attention to her gender which makes the gender seem more important than the business role in the eyes of the public (Williams, 2021). According to the nicknaming, female leaders are often called in media representations by their surname with prefixes Mrs. or Ms. (Trimble, 2017, p. 93), that highlight the gender. In some cases, media does not even mention a nickname nor the name of a woman leader and therefore makes them seem invisible by using the definitions such as a female member of parliament or a female entrepreneur (Joshi et al., 2020). The same kind of phenomenon can be seen also from the metaphors. Traditionally masculine metaphors are evolved to describe female candidates, which emphasizes the gender but also undermines the women at the same time (Falk, 2013).

3.4 Private life

In media representations of female leaders, the personal information is much more common than in media representations of male leaders (Hansson et al., 2019; Mills et al., 2016, p. 20; O'Neill et al., 2016; Williams, 2017). For example, relationship status (Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018) and domestic role are more commonly discussed in the media representations of females (Poutanen et al., 2016; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022; Trimble, 2017, p. 54; Wagner et al., 2019). In media representations of leaders, the subject of the gender appears mostly when a woman is on the focus (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Williams, 2021) and through the gender female's leading capabilities are questioned (Trimble, 2017, p. 54). The most straightforward way to approach this theme is when media asks from the leader that how as a *female* leader, she is capable of leading (Trimble, 2017, p. 64). When men are represented without the mention of the gender and women with emphasizing the gender, it creates the image that woman's gendered persona is essential to understand her and the issue at hand (Trimble, 2017, p. 72). The age of a leader comes more often into discussion in media representations of a woman leader (Jännäri, 2018; McGregor, 2000; Williams, 2021). Also, when a

female leader ages, her capability of leading is questioned in media (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, p. 125).

It is also typical that female leaders are represented in media solely because of their relationship with a male in a leadership position, their own success being only the secondary factor (McGregor, 2000; Nagar, 2021; Tijani-Adenle, 2016). On the contrary, when a female leader does not have a husband or a family, the media questions also that (Mills et al., 2016, pp. 21–22) or whether she is capable for the demanding leadership position when she does not have any experience of rising a family (Mills et al., 2016, p. 25; Trimble, 2017, p. 95). For instance, a woman politician was represented in media as emotionally unstable, while she did not have any children and had faced two divorces (Trimble, 2017, p. 44). Based on these, it can be stated that media representations present both the presence and the absence of a female leader's family as a problematic issue (Trimble, 2017, p. 92). To add complexity to this discussion, it is also noted in media representations that women in top positions face criticism if they put business before family (Walsh, 2015). Even though female leaders are represented in media in relation to their family status or their biographical history (Nagar, 2021; Tijani-Adenle, 2016), according to Power et al. (2020) this phenomenon has started to decrease nowadays at least in North American business magazines.

The body (Trimble, 2017, p. 124), appearance and clothing of a female leader are more common in female leaders' media representations than men leaders' media representations (Mavin et al., 2010; Paule & Yelin, 2021; Power et al., 2020), and in some cases even woman's hair has been compared with her capability of leading (Walsh, 2015). However, too feminine an appearance might lead to disparagement when again too masculine or neutral appearance might lead to being the target of jokes in media (Mavin et al., 2010). In media representations women leaders' bodies are on the focus and it is usual that their identities and leadership capabilities are all connected (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Pullen & Taksa, 2016, pp. 120–121). Media represents female leaders through embodied visual representations (Bell & Sinclair, 2016; Trimble, 2017, p. 134). Female leaders are even sexualized and turned into sexual objects besides *intimized* in media representations (Trimble, 2017, pp. 138–145). Media representations of female politicians have the tendency to represent them as celebrities rather than capable politicians (O'Neill et al., 2016; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022;

Williams, 2021). In the external cases female leaders' media representations represent them as decorations (Elliot & Stead, 2017) or as the puppets of the companies (Trimble, 2017, p. 55).

The focus of female leader's appearance and family life eats up the space and time of the media representations that could be used to represent her career and her accomplishments in that (Mavin et al., 2010; Power et al., 2020; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022; Tijani-Adenle, 2016; Walsh, 2015). When the appearance of a female leader is highlighted in the media instead of her career, media sends a message how that is more important and interesting in the eyes of public (Williams, 2022). Also, the femininity is sometimes highlighted over the female leader's success, even though the success is the original reason for her media visibility (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011). In some cases, the gender and the appearance of the female leader are also the main source of the criticism in media (Williams, 2021). Feminine characteristics of a female leader have also been used as a tool of diminishing her capabilities (Sakki & Martikainen, 2022). Media representations have the tendency to describe a female leader's personal characteristics and focus on how she can develop them further in order to climb up the career ladder (Sheerin & Garavan, 2022). Media representations have a propensity to compare the female leaders of the same field regarding their appearance, which might lead them to turn against each other (Walsh, 2015).

3.5 Typical media representations of female leaders

Based on chapter three, underneath is Table 1, which summarizes the traditional media's representations of female leaders based on the conducted narrative literature review of this chapter. Four subchapters are divided into columns so that the main findings and conclusions of each of them are presented on the table. These main findings are discussed also below the table to provide a comprehensive overview of the traditional media's representations of female leaders.

Table 1. Summary of media representations of female leaders.

| Dualities | Discourses | Stereotyping | Private Life |
|--|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family vs. work • Female vs. male • Femininity vs. masculinity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patriarchal • Otherness • Helpless • Victim • Superwoman • Competence • Norm challenging • Professional | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feminine characteristics • Masculine characteristics • Nicknaming | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family • Relationship • Age • Gender • Appearance |

Duality in the media representations set females as the second duality opposing work, males or the masculinity. In Family versus work duality women are trapped between family's and managerial life's demands (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016), which results media questioning how women leaders can balance the demands of family and working lives (Mavin et al., 2010; Tijani-Adenle, 2016). Female versus male duality sets genders as opposites (Bendl, 2008; Koveshnikov et al., 2019; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016) so that a female is as an extremely emotional character whereas a male is a rational actor (Bendl, 2008). When media highlights the gender of a leader, it strengthens this duality while genders are distinguished from each other (Trimble, 2017, pp. 85–86). In femininity versus masculinity, a woman is in the middle of double burden of a passive feminine role or an active masculine role (Bell & Sinclair, 2016). Femininity and masculinity are even over emphasized (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016) and feminine qualities are represented as natural to women and contrariwise (Williams, 2022).

The second column of discourses includes the identified discourses from traditional media's representations of female leaders. In patriarchal discourse women's roles are represented in the relation to a masculine norm (Weedon, 1987, pp. 2–3), while the discourse uses traditional division between two genders (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). The same idea is behind the discourse of the Otherness, where women managers are represented as Others when compared with male managers (Eikhof et al., 2013; Owalla

& Al Ghafri, 2020; Tienari et al., 2009), because of females and males' natural differences (Koveshnikov et al., 2019; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Trimble, 2017, pp. 64–65).

Discourse of helpless women leaders (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020) is based on anthropological terms (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). Victim discourse represents female leaders as the victims of discrimination so that they need support from others to succeed (Jännäri, 2018; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016). Discourse of superwomen highlights the achievements of female leaders, like reaching the top position (Poutanen et al., 2016; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022; Tischner et al., 2021) or balancing the work and family (Katila & Eriksson, 2011; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022). Competence discourse represents the female leader through her professional qualities (Jännäri, 2018), which has striking similarities with professional discourse that does not compare female and male leaders (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002). Similar to these, the norm challenging discourse does not express the social roles of a woman but only her professional roles (Owalla & Al Ghafri, 2020).

The media's stereotyping trivializes female leaders (Debray et al., 2023; Power et al., 2020) while representing them through extreme feminine or masculine characteristics (Hansson et al., 2019; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Tischner et al., 2021). Media represents the masculinity of female leaders as threat (Koenig et al., 2011; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016) but as necessary for the success (Bryans & Mavin, 2003; Cukier et al., 2016; Nagar, 2021; Tischner et al., 2021). Stereotypical female characteristics are for example managerial leading style (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016), employee oriented and emotional (Hansson et al., 2019). Media uses gendered stereotypes in nicknaming (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, p. 111), by creating the nickname from the specific trait (Trimble, 2017, p. 127) or the combination of masculine and feminine qualities of a woman leader (Pullen & Taksa, 2016, pp. 117, 124–125).

Media representations of female leaders typically handle family life (Poutanen et al., 2016; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022), her relationship status (Litchfield & Kavanagh, 2018) and gender (Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Williams, 2021). In addition, the body (Trimble, 2017, p. 124), appearance and clothing are a common subject in female leaders' media representations (Mavin et al., 2010; Paule & Yelin, 2021; Power et al.,

2020). The aspects of leaders' private life are compared with the leading capabilities of women (Mills et al., 2016, p. 25; Trimble, 2017, p. 95; Walsh, 2015), but they also consume the media presence of their career aspects and professional themes (Mavin et al., 2010; Power et al., 2020; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022; Tijani-Adenle, 2016; Walsh, 2015).

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the used research methods of the study, and how the research data, in this case the empirical material, was gathered for the study. Research methods are discussed separately of theoretical and empirical parts of the study. After that also the empirical material is discussed more closely. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of why certain research methods and empirical material were selected into this study. This study is conducted as qualitative research based on the representations and discourses, and therefore this chapter also includes the pondering of the agency of the researcher.

4.1 Methods of the theoretical part

Both chapters of theoretical part, about the term representation and traditional media's representations of female leaders, were conducted as a literature review. The literature review as a research method is considered being the part of qualitative research (Dixon-Woods, 2016, p. 391). The aim of the theoretical part's first chapter is to provide a reader a comprehensive view on the term representation and terms related closely to it. The second chapter of the theoretical part aims to present a generalized overview of traditional media's representations of female leaders. Therefore, this study utilizes one of the literature reviews' objectives, that is to form a comprehensive overview of the certain study field (Dixon-Woods, 2016, p. 380). The goal of the literature review of this study is to summarize the studies of the field available and therefore utilize the aggregative syntheses of the literature review (Dixon-Woods, 2016, p. 385). Based on this, the narrative literature review of this study searches for the information on representations and traditional media's representations of female leaders that can be extrapolated and combined into a comprehensive result. A successful analysis of the empirical material requires a research topic that is well-defined by the literature reviews of earlier studies of the field (Silverman, 2016, p. 11). Consequently, the literature review of theoretical part supports the analysis on the empirical part of the study.

4.2 Methods of the empirical part

This subchapter presents the used research method of empirical part of the study. The leading research method is social media critical discourse analysis, which has its roots in critical discourse studies and multimodal critical discourse studies. For that reason, before elaborating social media critical discourse analysis, other two research methods are briefly presented.

4.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse studies (CDS) refer to the critical research of social phenomena, where the language is the focus of the research to find out hidden discourses that are based on ideologies and powerful groups of the society (Ledin & Machin, 2019). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses traditionally on the used language on media but has started to include also visual text in the research based on the raising multimodality of media (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 587; Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 60). In the critical discourse analysis, the core is to analyse how the certain media can be utilized to communicate and propagate influential discourses and how they affect the political and social life (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 586).

According to Campbell (2012) in Derridean deconstruction meanings are found and interpreted from texts, which can be also visual. When deconstructing an image, the focus is on what it includes and what it excludes, perceive its social roles and study which hierarchies are represented as natural. The focus should not be totally logocentric, which refers to focusing only on aspects that are present in the image. Central in literary criticism is the method of close reading, which refers to finding the complexities ambiguities, aporias, ironies, taken-for-grantedness and just-is-ness from texts. (Campbell, 2012.) According to Unger, Wodak and KhosraviNik (2016, p. 278) the criticality in discourse analysis refers how the object of the study is challenged and not taken for granted in the research. However, Campbell (2012) highlights how it is important to note that a single interpretation cannot explain the whole text, while it is only one reading effort. Central in Derrida's thoughts is to notice how the construction

of a text hides itself, because if something is clear for the reader in the representation the more the vision of a reader can be described as weakened (Campbell, 2012).

4.2.2 Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA)

Multimodal analysis is a study field that has evolved greatly during the past few years, and today it even incorporates different forms of multimodal analysis (Ledin & Machin, 2019). This research is conducted as a multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA), while the text and language are not the only elements studied in social media's representations because the multimodality creates the completeness of this kind of representations. According to Machin (2013), the separation of certain modes of representations is difficult in MCDA and therefore that is not essential when conducting the research. Multimodal analysis concentrates on the core texts, visuality and verballity, to ensure that all important issues are included in the data set but also in the method analysis (Meyer et al., 2013). According to Machin (2013) critical discourse analysis study which kind of identities, actions, and circumstances are hidden, abstracted, or highlighted in a discourse, and then analyse the ideological and political consequences of them. These processes are also the core of MCDS, the analyzation revealing the usage of different semiotic resources of representations in the processes of hiding, abstracting, and highlighting (Machin, 2013).

In the context of social media, multimodality includes besides visuality and verballity for example tagging, likes, sharing, and hyperlinks (KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 587). However, those modes are not relevant in this study when the focus of the study is on which kind of social media representations are shared by business media houses, not the interaction related to social media's representations. This framing is essential to make, while in MCDA the starting point is to decide, which specific semiotic materials and contexts are going to be in the focus of the research (Ledin & Machin, 2019). The most important aspect of MCDS is the analysis of how different semiotic resources are used to communicate the scripts of discourses in the processes of deleting, adding, substituting, and evaluating (Machin, 2013). In MCDA communication activities are read in detail to disclose discourses in a way that is not possible by casual reading (Machin, 2013), and therefore the same close reading method as CDA is utilized also in MCDA.

4.2.3 Social Media Critical Discourse Analysis (SM-CDA)

Only a few studies have analysed the multimodality of social media (Jovanovic & Van Leeuwen, 2018), but the critical discourse analysis of social media is a slowly increasing study field (Bouvier, 2015). Social media brings new challenges to the critical discourse analysis (Bouvier, 2015). When the context of the research is demarcated to female leaders' media representations of social media, there is no research about the topic. The field of social media critical discourse analysis is relatively new, following the concept of CDS in the context of social media (KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 593). Besides that, the emerging of MCDA into the social media is a relatively new phenomenon (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 60).

In SM-CDS it is irrelevant but also difficult to distinguish texts and discourses from their usage context (KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 587). According to Meyer et al. (2013) today the verbal and visual texts are so integrated that they cannot be understood fully if being separated, while the meaning occurs from their interrelation. Therefore, it can be stated that discourses of social media cannot be fully understood by studying only their textual parts (Bouvier, 2015). In social media critical discourse studies (SM-CDS) discourses (Ghaffari, 2022; KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 586) and discourses' social orientation are in the focus of the research (KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 593). In SM-CDA it is important to consider how the certain social media, in the context of this study Instagram, contains different power relations (Bouvier & Machin, 2018) but also how it produces and reproduces social domination (Unger et al., 2016, pp. 279–280).

However, the multimodal analysis of social media is complex, while the text there is typically nonlinear, so that it is shorter, and it includes text chunks that are interacted with images, listings, or graphics (Bouvier & Machin, 2018). In MCDA focus is on how the social practice's elements are re-contextualized in the certain discourse (Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 64; Machin, 2013). To analyse the causalities of this kind and multimodal texts, it is central to ponder which kind of ideas, values and identities are represented and which kind of are not (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; Ledin & Machin, 2018, p. 64). More precisely, what is deleted, added, substituted, and evaluated in the social media's representation (Machin, 2013).

4.3 Collection of the research material

For the theoretical part of the study, the scientific literature is collected to conduct a literature review. The gathered empirical material of this study includes the collected social media postings from the official Instagram profiles of The Economist and Forbes.

4.3.1 Theoretical part

The scientific literature for the narrative literature review was collected from the data platforms of the University of Oulu to guarantee the scientific background of the used research material. Used platforms are the university's own library OulaFinna, but also external platforms like Ebsco Databases, Proquest Database and Scopus. Some scientific references are also collected from Google Scholar. The criticism for the chosen literature is that they were the peer reviewed and the most recent studies of the issue. To strengthen the validity of the scientific literature, it was ensured that the resources were compatible with the research question of the study. Most of the references used in this study are in English besides a couple of Finnish sources. In addition to English, most of the sources are scientific articles. To support the information on scientific articles, also books written by researchers are referred to. The majority of the references were published and read in the electronical form.

4.3.2 Collection of empirical material

The empirical material of the study constructs from the gathered initiating moves of business media houses, The Economist and Forbes, from Instagram. Typically, a visually realized initiating move includes a social media's posting of videos or pictures with a caption text (Jovanovic & Van Leeuwen, 2018). The empirical material includes in total 44 Instagram postings. 21 of the postings were captured from The Economist's Instagram profile, and 23 of the postings from Forbes' Instagram. All postings of the empirical material included a picture or pictures and a text of a leading woman. Instagram posting which included a video and a text would have been suitable for this research, but The Economist & Forbes did not publish any video postings that filled

the requirements for the accepted empirical material. These requirements for the choosing of the empirical material for the research are presented below.

Social media provides a platform for collecting large volumes of empirical material, so the selection of relevant research material needs to be conducted carefully so that the amount of the empirical material remains manageable (Unger et al., 2016, p. 282). Following are relevant criteria used to downsize the empirical material of this study: First, the Instagram post has to focus on a female leader that is based on the previous definition of the term female leader in the chapter 1.5. Second, the posting has to include information about the female leader's position, role, or herself, instead of concentrating on business for example. In other words, the focus of the Instagram posting needs to be the female leader herself. Third, the post has to be from the year 2022 and published by the official Instagram account of The Economist or Forbes. This requirement ensures that the empirical material is current.

Instagram is considered as a Social Networking Site (SNS) of social media (Ghaffari, 2022; KhosraviNik, 2018, p. 582). According to Ghaffari (2022) Instagram is founded in 2010 and today recognized as the world's fastest growing social networking site. On Instagram users can take and share their pictures and videos with others, comment on posts but also connect the content with hashtags (#) (Ghaffari, 2022). Nevertheless, the focus of this study is the postings of two certain accounts of business media houses, The Economist and Forbes, not the interaction between these profiles and consumers. The focus on the postings of The Economist and Forbes ensures that studied representations are created by media professionals.

The Economist is a British weekly business newspaper. Forbes is US business newspaper publishing biweekly. Both these business media houses are today active also on different social media channels, sharing their articles and current topics on there but also striking up conversations with consumers and followers. At the time of this study, both The Economist and Forbes had approximately 6 million followers on Instagram. The Economist publishes approximately 8 Instagram postings daily and Forbes publishes approximately 10 Instagram postings. Besides these main profiles of them, both also have other active accounts, which concentrate on specific topics or areas. Forbes has even the own account for female leaders, ForbesWomen. Regardless

of this, this research studies their main accounts, while they are the most active accounts and have most followers, and therefore have the greatest effectiveness.

4.4 Thoughts of researcher's agency

There is no text that is immune to interpretation while text is always affected by it (Campbell, 2012). Also in this study, the researcher as a woman from Finland, reflects her own experiences and understanding about the empirical research material and its analysis. Based on her background, the researcher is the result of Finnish culture, where she has grown. According to Jackson (2004) it is impossible for the researcher to be out of the effect of power relations and discourses that participate in the identity construction of hers, while she repeats into some extent the discourse of a Finnish white woman although at the same time this repetition can be unstable as a result of her personal experiences and meaning construction. So, the identity of a researcher reflects her history, but that does not reflect the whole identity, which constitutes also from the discourses of this research (Jackson, 2004).

As stated earlier, every one of us is under the effect of media and representations, and therefore it is impossible for the researcher to be totally objective in her work. According to social constructivism in qualitative research the researcher itself is a part of the phenomenon studied, while herself she is an interpretative creature (Koskinen, Alasuutari & Peltonen, 2005, pp. 34–35). The researcher's subjectivity has led to some limitations within the study. Critical discourse analysis includes the researcher being self-reflective and self-critical so that the researcher itself is also under the critique (Unger et al., 2016, p. 279). English is not the native language of the researcher, so it might restrict the understanding about tones and hidden meanings. Any language consists of different styles, registers, and social situated languages, so the full understanding about these requires participating in the certain identity and or recognizing that identity (Gee, 2001). Also, the researcher views the world from the perspective of the Finnish white woman, who has had the opportunity to grow in the equal society. It can be also argued whether her own femininity affects the studying of phenomenon related women.

4.5 Analysis of empirical material

The news content that is shared on social media should be analysed reflecting marketization and commodification that differs from news content from traditional media, while the main purpose of social media's postings is to awake the interest in consumers (Bouvier & Machin, 2018). Different semiotic resources can have different purposes in the discourse and different modes can create a meaning that one mode alone cannot communicate, at least not without the support of other modes (Machin, 2013). In addition to that, the framing can connect and disconnect different elements (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 149).

In the analysis of the images within the Instagram postings, the attention is paid especially to the point of view. Power relations are evident through the different angles: Low angle referring to the power of the viewer, and other way around, whereas equality is represented by common eye-level. An engagement is reflected by frontality and detachment by representing the person by the profile. (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 136.) Focus of the qualitative research can be directed towards social practices (Silverman, 2016, p. 3). The specific and focused research helps to understand the discourses, when the attention does not divide into all the possible communication methods (Ledin & Machin, 2018, pp. 74–75).

The data analysis of the empirical material was started by familiarization, which helped the researcher to get to know and conceptualize the set of empirical material (Koskinen et al., 2005, pp. 232–233). After that, NVivo is used for the analysis of the empirical material of this study, to connect the data, to analyse it by the so-called codes, and to find similarities and differences between Instagram posts so that the most frequent phenomena in social media representations can be found. When analysing the social media material critically, it might be essential to adapt quantitative methods of supporting the mainly qualitative research to reach the detailed analysis of the empirical material (Unger et al., 2016, p. 283). Therefore, in the analysis of the empirical material, the different elements of representations are encoded into different codes so that their frequency can be discovered and presented easier. This means for example counting how many times the gender of the subject is mentioned in the representations or how many pictures present them by the same level as the viewer.

The visual part and the verbal part of the empirical material had their own codes. First, they were encoded separately and after that considered together through multimodal critical discourse analysis and social media critical discourse analysis.

5 SOCIAL MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF FEMALE LEADERS

In total the empirical research material of this study includes 44 Instagram postings of The Economist and Forbes from the year 2022. 21 out of these Instagram postings are made by The Economist and 23 Instagram postings are created by Forbes. In this following chapter, the empirical material is analyzed by presenting the coding conducted in NVivo, reflecting the typical characteristics of the whole empirical material, comparing it with the most popular intersecting codes, expressing a few examples from the Instagram postings, and pondering why certain elements were missing from postings. In total, 44 different codes are recognized from the empirical material, 13 of them being the main codes and 31 different subcodes underneath these main codes. These codes are presented and analyzed below.

5.1 Codes of the empirical material

This subchapter presents the codes of the data analysis first separately, so that the coherent overview of the most common phenomena can be formed from both verbal and visual elements. Then on the next subchapters analysis is concentrated to the empirical material as multimodal unit, so the verbal and visual elements are considered together.

5.1.1 Codes of the verbal part

Underneath is the Table 2 that includes all the codes of the textual part of the empirical material. These codes and their subcodes divided the different characteristics, words, and sayings of the texts into groups that are easier to analyze. Used main codes are Action, Mentions of a company, Demographics, Descriptions, Mean sayings, Mentions of other people, Name and Title. The table shows how many times the main code or the subcode is referred to in the empirical material of the study and after that the number of Instagram postings that include the main code or the subcode. Name and Title were the only main codes without their own subcodes while they were also unsuitable to being categorized as subcodes. In total, these different codes or their subcodes were mentioned in 661 times in the verbal parts of 44 Instagram postings. However, it is important to note that in some cases codes might be overlapping each

other, like in the sayings where gender and the title of a leader are combined so that they cannot be separated from each other.

Table 2. Frequency of codes in the textual part of the empirical material.

| <i>The code</i> | <i>References/Files</i> | <i>Subcodes (References/Files)</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Action</i> | 135/41 | Acts of a leader (123/41), founding a company (14/10) |
| <i>Mentions of a company</i> | 32/10 | Business result (8/4), change in employment (10/6), company (14/10) |
| <i>Demographics</i> | 86/35 | Age (22/16), Gender (47/25), Nationality (17/13) |
| <i>Descriptions</i> | 108/37 | Appearance (5/2), general adjectives (19/13), nickname (5/5), partnership (1/1), praising (23/17), professional term (19/16), something else (36/22) |
| <i>Mean sayings</i> | 43/15 | Mean sayings (17/8), doubting (25/12), emojis (1/1) |
| <i>Mentions of other people</i> | 67/25 | Family (14/9), males (24/16), other females (19/8), partners (10/4) |
| <i>Name</i> | 130/44 | |
| <i>Title</i> | 60/33 | |

The most frequent main code of the empirical material was Action by 135 references in 41 different Instagram postings. The second most frequent main code was Name, being mentioned 130 times in all the 44 representations. This code is the only code that was mentioned in every representation of the empirical material. It is important to notice that the frequency of the codes is uneven, while the division of the codes is also uneven among the empirical material of Instagram postings. For example, one posting mentioned all of three subcodes of Demographics, and its subcode Gender several times, whereas the other posting did not express any Demographics at all.

Acts of a leader was mentioned in 41 postings, being the most frequent child code of the Action. The total number of mentions of Acts of a leader within the empirical material was 123. This child code includes every action verb that is linked in social media representations with the female leader. Demographics of female leaders such as age, gender, and nationality were also frequently mentioned in social media representations. Here the gender was remarkably the most common demographic fact by 47 mentions within the whole empirical material. The gender of the subject was expressed in the social media representations by using for example the terms “woman”, “female”, “Ms” or “Mrs”. For the comparison, the age of the subject was mentioned only half as many times as gender by its 22 references.

The title code measured how often the title of a female leader was mentioned or how many times she was presented by her title. Title was referred to 60 times within the empirical material, but only on 33 different postings. Therefore, it can be said that Title was mentioned 1,8 times in the postings where it was referred to, but when regarding the whole empirical material this amount decreases into 1,36 times. The contents of Title code are homogenous, while it includes only the professional titles of leaders, such as “prime minister”, “president”, and “entrepreneur”.

The main code Descriptions is the most versatile code out of the verbal main codes, while it includes adjectives used to describe the female leaders, but also references to their appearance or longer sayings that were used to describe the leader herself. To create clear groups, professional adjectives are separated from the so-called traditional adjectives, such as the owner and monarch versus powerful and younger. By this division it can be discovered that female leaders are described equally often through the professional and general adjectives in the social media representations. The subcode Something else, includes sayings and words that were used in representations to describe the leader or her actions, but that were difficult to categorize into the explicit group. Examples of this group are sayings like “*a larger-than-life super-hero*” (Forbes, 17.07.2022), “*First Borne*” (The Economist, 19.05.2022), and “*an accepted political figure in France*” (The Economist, 17.03.2022). The subcode Praising includes somewhat overlapping sayings with the previous Something else subcode, but the difference is the enormous praising of the subject of the representation, such as

“the most successful female entrepreneur in American history” (Forbes, 07.10.2022) and *“America’s first female secretary of state”* (The Economist, 03.04.2022).

Mean sayings as a main code refers to discourses or sayings that had a negative tone in them or even attacked directly towards the subject of the representation, such as *“Trussonomics is dead”* (The Economist, 15.10.2022). As a child code under Mean sayings is also Doubting, which highlights the parts of the representations that underestimate or undervalue the subject of the representation for example through sayings like *“She is unlikely to succeed”* (The Economist, 17.03.2022) or *“How long will her government last?”* (The Economist, 18.12.2022). Only one Instagram posting out of the empirical material included an emoji, but it was clearly used to criticize the leader. The used emoji was lettuce, linked with mentions of the short leading time and saying, *“that is just the tip of the iceberg”* (20.10.2022, The Economist) that has double meaning also referring to the lettuce. This example is presented closer in the later subchapter 5.4 of the Instagram posting examples.

Other people, who are mentioned in the social media representations are family members, other females like colleagues, male mentions, and partners both in romance and in workplace settings. Out of these subcodes males are the most frequently mentioned by 24 references, ten of these referring to the male through the relationship with the female leader. On the next subchapter, during the presentation of the visual codes, is presented also a code of the other people in the picture with the main subject, nevertheless that is remarkably smaller phenomenon than the mentions of other people in the text.

Company mentions is the smallest verbal code, including the mentions of the female leader’s company name or business results. The most frequent subcode is the mentions regarding the subject’s changes in the employment, such as resignation or nomination for the new role. In traditional media’s representations, the mentions of female leader’s private life reduced the media presence from her career accomplishments. It can be questioned whether that is also the reason why in the specific empirical material of the study the company related subjects are rarely mentioned. On the other hand, also the appearance or family relations are a rare topic. However, it is positive how the actions of the leaders were mentioned in every social media representation of the empirical

material. By bringing into the representation the acts of female leaders, they were not verbally represented as passive participants. The active image of the subject is evident, even though their companies are rarely mentioned.

5.1.2 Codes of the visual part

On the next page is Table 3 that presents the codes used in the data analysis of the visuality of Instagram postings. The pictures of Instagram postings were encoded in NVivo by the distances, angles, and background of the pictures but also whether the subject of the representation was presented in a portrait picture showing her face. All these main codes included their own subcodes related to the elements of the main code. In total, different visual codes were noticed in 257 times within the social media representations of the empirical material. Visual codes were recognized only maximum one time in every representation, and therefore Table 3 does not present the number of references and files separately like Table 2 does.

Table 3. Frequency of codes in the visual part of the empirical material.

| <i>The Code</i> | <i>References</i> | <i>Subcodes (References)</i> |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---|
| <i>Angles in pictures</i> | 39 | Eye level (24), from down to up (5), from up to down (10) |
| <i>Distances in pictures</i> | 43 | Close-up (21), long shot (2), medium close-up (17), medium long shot (2), very close shot (1) |
| <i>Portrait picture</i> | 133 | Eye contact (20), in a movement (16), no eye-contact (20), passive (27), symbols of success (6), Face picture (43) |
| <i>Background</i> | 54 | Chaos (2), drawn (3), neutral (16), other people (6), signs of the position (15), something in front of the woman (10), unnormal perspectives (2) |

Portrait picture is the most frequent visual main code of the empirical material, while a picture was coded underneath this main encode, when a subject of the representation

was facing the camera so that her face could be clearly seen by the viewer. In total the empirical material included 43 portrait pictures of the representations' subjects. The only representation that did not contain the portrait picture of a leader, did not include the leader in the picture of the representation at all. From the subcodes of portraits, the subcode Passive was the most frequent by 27 pictures defined as passive. In passive pictures, female leaders are posing for the camera instead of being in the movement, such as talking. As a contrary to this, the pictures where the subject is in the middle of the movement, were recognized 16 times within the empirical material. Subcodes Eye-contact and No eye-contact elaborate the connection of the subject with the viewer.

From the main code Angles in pictures, the most frequent subcode is Eye-level, which represents the subject on the same level as the viewer of the photo. Eye-level pictures are recognized 24 times within the empirical material. Other two subcodes of this main code describe whether the subject of the representation is pictured in the eyes of the viewer From up to Down or From down to up. This reflects the power relations between the viewer and the subject, but both angles are identified only in the minority of the pictures of the representations.

Distances of the pictures elaborate from how close the subject of the representation is presented. From every posting, the distance between the viewer and the subject can be defined. However, the posting with a baby is not included in this code, while the picture does not include the female leader, the subject of the representation, herself. For that reason, the distances were defined from 43 Instagram postings. Almost half of the pictures were close-ups (21), and almost as many medium close shots (17).

The background of the pictures was also encoded while it influences what captures the attention of the viewer. 16 postings of female leaders had a neutral background, like one colored wall. Almost as many, 14 pictures had in the background some signs of the leader's position or nationality, such as flags or other symbols. Most of the pictures of the empirical material included the women leader alone, without other people accompanying her. One picture including other people besides the female leader, is the posting of Giorgia Meloni (24.10.2022, The Economist) that pictured in the posting also the alliance of hers. Other example of people in the background is the posting of Ketanji Brown Jackson's nomination to the Supreme Court (28.02.2022, The

Economist). She is nominated in that role by the President Biden and he is the one standing behind Jackson in the picture. Overall, when other people are presented visually on social media representations, they include the mentions of other people also in the verbal part of it. However, the verbal mentions of the other people are more frequent in the empirical material, by 67 mentions, than the picturing of other people in the visual part, by only 6 pictures.

When a represented person in a picture looks straight to the viewer, it creates a connection between the represented person and the viewer. This connection transposes a direct address between the subject and viewer but also an image act of the subject towards the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021, pp. 116–117). Almost half of the pictures in the empirical material include a picture, where the subject looks straight into a camera, having an eye contact with the viewer. 11 pictures of the empirical material are close-ups that also have the subject looking at the camera, which is more than a half of the both close-ups and eye-contact pictures. Whereas, when the represented person does not look into the camera, there is no contact between the person and the viewer, which results in the viewer becoming the actual subject of the look (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021, p. 118). This phenomenon is recognized from the empirical material, since 20 pictures out of 44 include the leader not looking at the camera. These pictures typically included also the leader being in the movement. Therefore, it seems that the subject does not look at the camera while she is doing something else that requires more of her attention.

21 of the pictures of the empirical material were close-ups, that according to Kress and van Leeuwen (2021, p. 123) are framed so that the subject is pictured above the shoulders. This can be translated into the close personal distance, while the subject is seen above the shoulders (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021, p. 124). Typically, these close-up pictures had a neutral background in the picture, such as neutral colored wall. Besides that, most close-up pictures also presented the subject from the same level as the viewer. According to Jancsary et al. (2018) the same level sends a message how the subject and viewer are on the same level also when considering power relations.

Almost all the representations of the empirical material presented the leader in the middle of the picture, so regardless of the angle or the distance, the leader is in the

focus of the picture. All the pictures among the empirical material, the only exception being the representation that does not picture the leader at all, represented the leaders in smart clothing. The context where the subjects are pictured is compatible with the text of Instagram postings, that also have the professional writing style. Therefore, the visual element of the multimodal representations does not create contradictions or conflicts with the verbal element in the sense of professional business media image.

5.2 Composition of social media representations

The term composition of representations refers to analysis how the different elements of the representation are related to each other and therefore integrated into a meaning (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021, p. 179). In the empirical material of this multimodal study, this means the combination of verbal and visual components. In this chapter, the main findings of the empirical material are analyzed through multimodal social media critical discourse analysis. Briefly looking, Instagram postings of The Economist and Forbes send a professional message of female leaders to the viewers. Postings include pictures that professionally present the leader and the texts are short but informative regarding the topic of the posting. However, after close reading certain elements become visible that cannot be noticed without close concentration on the different elements and their combinations. This chapter considers for instance the used discourses, the headlines of the postings, and combinations of visual and verbal elements within the representations of the empirical material.

Instagram postings of the empirical material summarize the points of the main article that is available on the official websites of The Economist or Forbes. At the end of every posting, a reader is encouraged to click on the link to read the full article regarding the topic of the certain Instagram posting. Consequently, the gaps of Instagram postings are filled in the full articles on the websites of the business media houses. However, if consumers are basing their knowledge solely on the social media's representations, their meaning construction bases on uneven information. The usage context is different for the consumers of the Instagram postings and producers of them. Consumers search for news and consider these Instagram postings as such. However, the context for The Economist and Forbes is to summarize the news and by that to reach new audiences for their social media platform but also for their websites.

Representations of the empirical material of the study describe the subject as active, while almost every posting (41 out of 44 postings) includes the mentions of female leader's actions, and the amount of these references is even 137. As a result, the acts of a leader are mentioned approximately 3,1 times in one posting. However, 25 Instagram postings of the empirical material that include in the verbal mode mentions of the acts of a leader, in visual mode picture the leader in a passive situation. This combination challenges the meaning construction of a viewer while they receive mixed signals from the same representation. By contrast, even 15 Instagram postings that picture the leader in a movement, include also the mentions of the acts of the leader in the verbal part of the representation. The whole empirical material includes 16 postings that picture the subject in the action, and therefore it can be stated that active picturing in social media representations of female leaders is linked with the description of her actions also on the verbal part of the representation.

Especially different discourses of traditional media, which were presented in the theoretical part of the study, can also be identified from the social media's representations. For example, investor Laurel Bowden is introduced by following line: *"Laurel Bowden prefers to play venture capital by her rules,"* (Forbes, 09.12.2022). That connects the representation with the superwomen discourse. At the same time, the representation reflects femininity vs. masculinity duality by describing investing as a male-dominated field, where Bowden is succeeding by utilizing acts and characteristics considered masculine, like perseverance. The duality setting is strengthened also while it sets Bowden as opposing to her colleagues in the field. The representation is supplemented by the close-up picture of Bowden, in front of neutral background in a passive pose. In a way, the picture softens the message of the verbal representation, but on the other hand the close-up picture also highlights her gender.

Especially on Forbes and The Economist's social media representations of political leaders, helplessness discourse and problem discourse doubt their leading capabilities. *"She has had a reassuring launch, but trouble lies ahead. How she will weather the coming storm is unclear; and that should worry Italians and other Europeans alike, - -"* writes The Economist (28.10.2022) on posting about the Prime Minister of Italy Giorgia Meloni. The text is combined with a picture of Meloni sitting in a close-up picture, with a doubting frown on her face. In this certain representation, the visuality

and verballity support each other and send a message of unsure future to the audience. The doubting tone of problem discourse is evident also on the following reference of The Economist (12.10.2022): *“However long Liz Truss now lasts in office, she is set to be remembered as the prime minister whose grip on power was the shortest in British political history,”*. Even though at time of the Instagram posting Truss had not yet resigned from her position, The Economist represented her being in trouble. With this text, Truss is presented in an unrepresentative picture of her mouth hanging open with a serious look in the eyes.

The discourse of helpless female leaders is strengthened by sayings that have negative and doubting tone in them, like *“Mr Macron roundly defeated Ms Le Pen in the presidential run-off in 2017, exposing her as ill-prepared in their televised debate,”* (17.03.2022, The Economist). In this specific reference also the genders of the candidates are highlighted by abbreviations Mr and Ms, which sets them to be even more counterparts of each other, like the duality setting of female versus male does. Social media representations are linked to the helplessness discourse also by bringing up the supporters of the female leaders, while according to the literature review the discourse highlights how the female leaders’ success is impossible without support and partners. *“- - Her main coalition partners, the veteran former prime minister, Silvio Berlusconi, and the leader of the Northern League, Matteo Salvini,”* (24.10.2022, The Economist). When the verbal part of the representation is short, these long presentations of other people diminish the media presence of the woman leader herself. The representation of Le Pen (17.03.2022, The Economist) pictures her alone, highlighting her instead of her competitor. On the contrary, the latter representation of Meloni (24.10.2022, The Economist) represents her in front of her supporters, which sends a message to the viewers how behind her success stand her male supporters.

Within the empirical material, it is typical in the social media representations to link the actions of the female leader with the actions of her business partners, family members or a firm. *“Aside from Mark Zuckerberg, Meta’s boss, no one has done more to build the tech giant - -,”* (The Economist, 02.06.2022). This kind of phrase also relies on the patriarchal discourse while Sandberg is compared with Zuckerberg regardless of her success in her own position in a company. So instead of praising Sandberg, her actions are compared with the CEO of the firm. Business continuity

discourse is especially clear on Instagram postings that represent female leaders that have inherited their business, such as Françoise Bettencourt Meyers of L'Oréal. "*The 68-year-old French citizen is the vice chair of the board of L'Oréal, the world's largest cosmetics and beauty company, which her chemist grandfather Eugène Paul Louis Schueller founded in 1909,*" (Forbes, 05.04.2022). Another example of this is the posting of Diane Hendricks, that does not mention the name of the leader on the headline nor at the beginning of the textual part, and when it does, it is said like this: "*After Ken died in 2007, Hendricks continued the business's rapid expansion - -,*" (07.10.2022, Forbes). It is interesting that in both representations the heiresses are pictured alone, so the visuality emphasizes the continuity of the business and the present moment instead of the previous leaders and history of the company.

Social media representations of the empirical material do not include the adjectives that regarding the theoretical part of the study typically stereotype female leaders in media. However, 16 files of the empirical material include professional adjectives and substantives used describing the leader, like *candidate* (08.11.2022, The Economist), *career technocrat* (19.05.2022, The Economist), and *founder* (13.06.2022, Forbes). These representations include pictures that express female leaders in a neutral environment. Based on the similar settings of the pictures, for example regarding the background, angle, clothing, and posing, it appears that female leaders on the social media representations are pictured as similar subject when comparing with each other. When media represents female leaders as the representative of their whole gender (Hansson et al., 2019; Joshi, Hailu & Reising, 2020; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002), it stereotypes and simplifies the different leaders into the same model.

In the representations of female leaders on Instagram, the power relations are difficult to define, while some multimodal elements strengthen the image of a powerful leader whereas the other elements in the same postings weaken these power relations. Distances in representations can be used to elaborate the power relations between a viewer and the subject of the representation (Kress, 2010, p. 131). However, that is not remarkably utilized in social media representations of the empirical material. For example, the empirical material includes four Instagram postings of Queen Elizabeth II, but only one of these pictures her from impersonal distance and with the crown (08.09.2022, The Economist), other representing her through medium close shot

(08.09.2022, Forbes; 09.09.2022, Forbes; 19.09.2022, The Economist), which creates smaller power relation between the viewer and the subject. That is contradictory to how Queen Elizabeth II is a globally recognized person, whose powerful position is known regardless of that how she is represented.

Angles and distances on most of the postings of the empirical material present the female leader being on the same level as the viewer of the representation, therefore creating neutral power relation (17.07.2022, Forbes; 22.10.2022, Forbes). Some pictures strengthen this by the neutral background and neutral professional clothing of a female leader that does not emphasize her gender for example (03.04.2022, The Economist; 07.10.2022, Forbes; 20.10.2022, Forbes). However, some representations in the empirical material bring in the signs of the position, that therefore create power relations that set the subject of the representation more powerful than the consumer. These signs are for example the politician posing in the governmental setting with the flags of European Union (21.02.2022, The Economist; 19.05.2022, The Economist) or the crown in the otherwise neutral picture of the Queen Elizabeth II (09.09.2022, Forbes).

The verbal element of the multimodal representation creates power relation by emphasizing the title of female leader but also by mentioning the property of hers. The saying like *“But, despite her prodigious donations, she’s still the fourth richest woman in the world,”* (05.04.2022a, Forbes) emphasizes the position given by money. Nevertheless, social media representations include also mentions such as *“She’s now worth \$74,8 billion, making her the richest woman in the world and the 14th richest person in the world,”* (05.04.2022b, Forbes) or *“Most inherited teams from their fathers, brothers or husbands - -,”* (24.09.2022, Forbes) that at the same time highlight the title and a property of a female but also point out the reason behind it being family members or comparing the success of hers with other gender’s success. As a result, they enforce the duality setting of females versus males but also the discourse of helpless women.

Every Instagram posting from the empirical material of the study includes a picture, which also shares the space with the heading of the posting. Integration realization describes a representation, where two different elements, text and a picture, engage the

shared space (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021, p. 219). Therefore, the heading restricts the available space for pictures of the postings' subjects. Like stated in the literature review of the theoretical part of the study, the visuality tends to be better for acquiring the attention of the viewers. Still, verbal headings are added into the pictures to leave the space for visuality smaller than without the headings. Usually, the heading is repeated in the text part of the posting, so Instagram postings utilize the repetition as a device, especially when the verbal part is remarkably shorter than articles on traditional media.

Like stated above, the headlines of the Instagram postings are placed on the same space as the pictures in all the postings of the empirical material. The majority of the postings (37) mention the name of the leader within the headline of the posting. Headlines that do not mention the name of the leader still bring up to the headline the gender of the leader (08.11.2022, The Economist; 13.06.2022, Forbes; 07.10.2022, Forbes). After these, the most frequent codes within the headlines of postings are the main codes Acts of a leader (26 headlines) and Title (18 headlines), and a subcode Gender (16 headlines). Together these codes with the most common pictures of the portraits of passive leaders on the eye-level of the viewer, create a meaning that this leader is the focus of the representation, her name is made known among the audience, and almost as often her actions are also highlighted, while they express the reason why she is represented in social media's posting in the first place.

Strictly divided, the headlines of the empirical material can be separated into the two following groups. "*Sheryl Sandberg, Meta's second-in-command, leaves embattled firm,*" (02.06.2022, The Economist), which is a headline that clearly presents the name, title, and actions of a leader with the combination of a professional and neutral picture of a leader. Therefore, it is easy for the viewer to connect the face and the name of the subject of the representation. "*Meet the 27-year-old Latinx entrepreneur who is now worth \$220 million,*" (12.08.2022, Forbes), which is a headline highlighting the demographics and business results more than the name of the leader or her actions. The headline emphasizes the exceptionality of the leader. The title of the leader is referred to as an entrepreneur, but still the firm nor the leader are not referred to by name in the specific headline. In contrast to that, the leader is presented with the headline in a close-up, passive, eye-level with eye-contact picture that has a neutral

background, which in turn emphasizes the recognizable picturing of the subject. So, social media representations of female leaders include headlines that emphasize them as a leader and their actions, or headlines that emphasize the describing characteristics of a leader and her business.

On the next page is Figure 1 that express the so called “Average posting” of the empirical material of the study. This refers to Instagram posting, that is constructed including the most frequent codes among the whole empirical material. An average posting includes three characteristics regarding the visual side of the representation and four characteristics regarding the verbal element. In this study, the empirical material of 44 Instagram postings is in that sense too small, that when combining different codes to see what codes are intersecting, the number of postings decreases into the small amounts therefore challenging the generalization of the findings. To answer for that, Figure 1 elaborates codes that can be generalized into an example Instagram posting of female leaders created by business media houses.

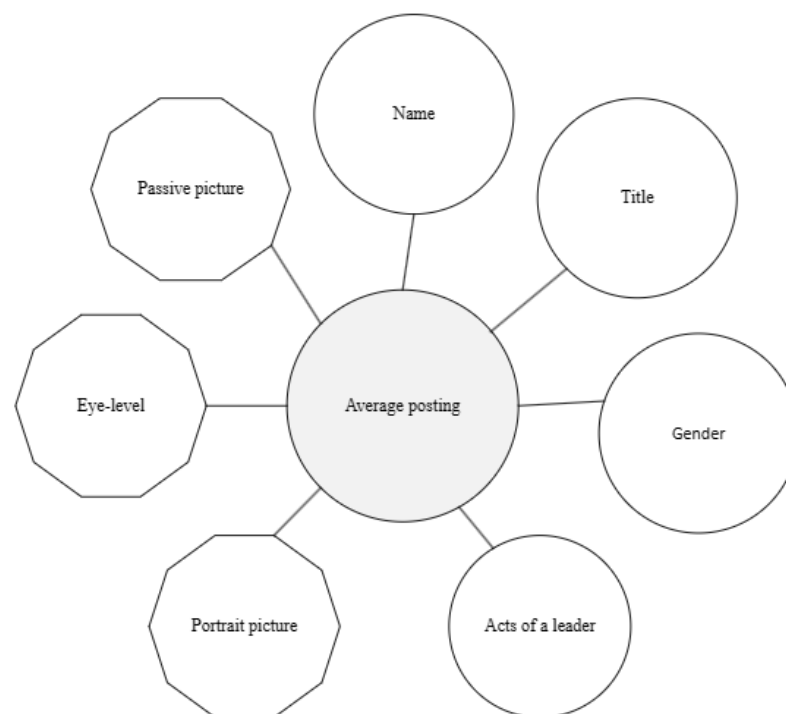


Figure 1. Average Instagram posting of the empirical material.

If a certain Instagram posting included all these seven characteristics, it would be considered as the most average posting within the empirical material. In total the

empirical material included six real Instagram postings of The Economist and Forbes that have all these seven codes and are therefore defined as the most average ones.

5.3 The most frequent codes and their intersecting codes

Because the empirical material of the study includes 44 Instagram postings and 44 different codes, the number of codes and the amount of data is too wide to analyse in details of every code and Instagram postings in this study. Therefore, and for the clarification, in this subchapter is presented two different frequent codes from the empirical material. This approach enables the researcher to deepen the analysis especially regarding these codes. They are approached through the codes that are most overlapping codes with them.

5.3.1 Title

Title is the most frequent individual main code from the empirical material of the study by 60 references in 33 files. When reflecting Title with visual codes, in total 32 Instagram postings include both Title and Portrait picture of the subject. To find more general conclusions, the most frequent code out of this sample is the main code Mentions of other people. When combining these three codes, a sample of 25 representations is left that includes all of them. Mentions of other people is a main code that includes mentions of family, male, other female, and partners of the leader. However, Acts of leader is more frequent code than Mentions of other people, but the code includes so separate terms and verbs, that generations of that code are difficult to form both individually or with overlapping codes.

When this empirical material sample of 25 representations is restricted even further by the most general visual codes, the sample decreases significantly. From this empirical material sample Passive (13), Close-ups (10), Eye-level (10), and No eye-contact (9) picture codes are present. Even the most frequent code out of these, Passive, is present in only half of the pictures. If the representation should contain at least two or more out of these codes, the sample of the empirical material would decrease even more. For this reason, the restriction of the codes for closer analysis is based on the representations including Title, Portrait picture, and Mentions of other people.

The mentions of the title of female leader are suitable with the professional and competence discourses. However, the mentions of other people, if mentioning the relationship or family members of the leader, highlight her private life and therefore hinder the discourses focusing on the professionalism. Sayings like “- - *the ex-wife of Amazon founder Jeff Bezos,*” (05.04.2022, Forbes) or “- - *Most (female team owners) inherited teams from their fathers, brothers or husbands - -,*” (Forbes, 24.09.2022) describe the subject of the representation and her success through her relationship with a man or through her family relations. That hinders the value of the title in the meaning construction of the viewers. Even though the mentions of other people are frequent in the verbal part of the Instagram postings, it is rare within the visual element of representations. Therefore, the mentions of other people of this sample are restricted to the verbal mode of the representations, in the visual side these of the representations these mentions do not appear.

When considering the multimodality, the portrait picture presents the subject for the viewer in the most transparent way, while the face of a leader is pictured clearly and in a recognizable way. Like stated in the subchapter 2.4 of Multimodality, pictures are used to awake the interest in the consumers and the face picture is the best for that aim. Pictures of woman leaders, especially if they are alone, increase the image of the subject as an independent actor regardless of the mentions of other people.

If the other people would be present in the picture, visual and verbal elements would send a message how the woman leader herself has not reached or does not fulfill the title of hers. So, even though the mentions of other people in the verbal element present the supporters of the female leader's success, the visual element presents the leader as an independent actor. The portrait picture has the capability to highlight who is in the focus of the representation, both in the visual and verbal modes. As a result of that, the multimodality of the representation takes the focus off from the other people mentioned in the text, while the leader itself is pictured alone in the portrait and her professional titles are mentioned.

Multimodality could strengthen the message of an individual leader besides the title mentions and independent portrait also by presenting Symbols of success or Signs of the position. However, in this sample of the empirical material that is evident only in

six pictures out of 25 postings. By presenting the leader for example in a recognizable setting, such as at the parliamentary house or in the office of certain famous company, the title of the leader could be highlighted. In that way, the visual hints of the position of the leader could support the verbal mentions of title of hers.

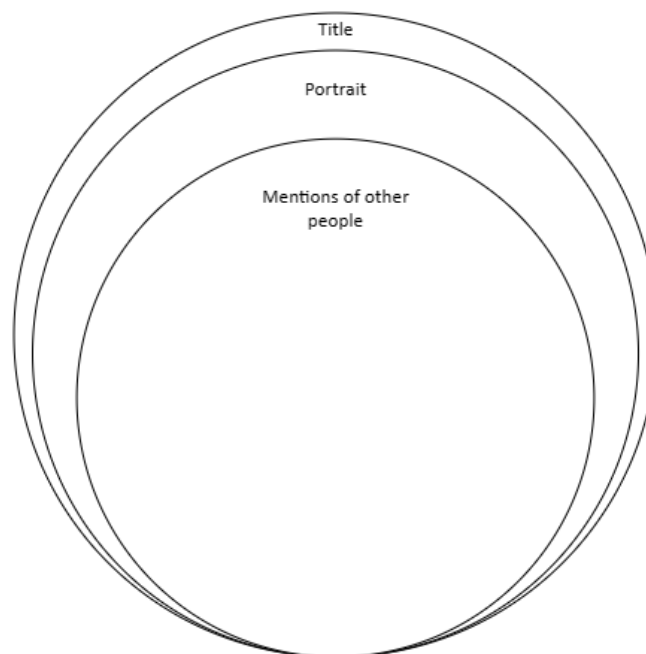


Figure 2. The most intersecting codes with the code Title.

Above is Figure 2 that elaborates the frequency of these three overlapping codes. Together these three codes form a representation that highlights the leader through professional title and portrait picture, but at the same time the leader is referred and described through her partners or family members.

5.3.2 Passive picturing

When looking at the most frequent codes of the visual element within the social media representations, Passive is clearly the most used by recognitions in 27 pictures of the empirical material's 44 Instagram postings. The Passive is decided into a closer analysing instead of Portrait pictures while Portrait pictures are present almost within the whole empirical material of the study. Besides that, Portrait is already analysed closer when overlapping with the code Title. The number of Passive postings explains how female leaders are mostly represented through passive posing in social media

representations of the empirical material. Leaders are pictured in a passive picture instead of in the action reflecting visually their actions described on the verbal side of the representation. Examples of the passivity picturing include female leaders facing the camera just smiling, most of these pictures are also eye-level and close-up pictures of the subject (03.04.2022, *The Economist*; 04.11.2022, *The Economist*; 24.09.2022, *Forbes*; 22.10.2022, *Forbes*).

The codes that are most often intersecting with Passive pictures are Eye-level pictures (19), Close-up pictures (16) and Eye contact pictures (15). From the verbal codes the main code Demographics is mentioned 20 times within postings encoded with the subcode Passive, but the number of references is strikingly smaller if demographics are considered only as their own subcodes Age, Gender, and Nationality. For that reason, in this analysis Demographics main code is brought into the discussion instead of those individual subcodes. Demographics are an element in the representation, that can be partly identified also from the pictures. As a part of their individual meaning construction, viewers make their own conclusions based on the pictures of Instagram postings. The visual representation of the passive picturing of the leader shows the subject clearly and then the verbal part of the multimodal representation supplements conclusions made by viewers through verbal descriptions of female leaders' demographics.

When combining the visual code of Eye-level pictures into the sample of the empirical material, 14 postings is left that include all these three (Passive, Demographics, and Eye-level) codes. Especially the passivity and the shared level with a viewer helps the viewer to consider the demographics of the subject also from the visual part of the representation. Therefore, these codes together support the interpretation of multimodal representations of leaders. Together they form a clear message of the leader for the viewers, which supports the meaning making process of the viewers.

These neutral passive eye-level pictures mostly present the female leader without emphasizing the demographics on the visual mode. However, nationality is sometimes emphasized, especially within representations of political leaders, by presenting the subject with the flags of a certain nation. This is evident for example with pictures of Valérie Pécresse with French flags (21.02.2022, *The Economist*) or Nancy Pelosi with

US flags (26.01.2022, Forbes). Regardless of these signs, also the verbal part of the representation mentions the nationalities of the women, like “*Valérie Pécresse wants to become France’s first female president at France’s two-round election in April*” (21.02.2022, The Economist) or “*Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)*” (26.01.2022, Forbes) as if the visual messages for the viewers are not enough or if the aim is to emphasize the nationality so that the viewer gets the right information about that. Other two demographics, age and gender, are not as sharply presented, while passive pictures on the eye-level do not provide any hints of patriarchal discourse for example.

Regardless of different demographics multimodal representation does not express power relations between the viewer and the leader of the representation. Traditionally, age can be seen as power relation so that the older is more powerful than the younger, still the sample of the empirical material presents leaders being on the same level of power by the same level in the picture. The leader is pictured on the same level as the viewer even though she might be young, that her gender is female and therefore patriarchally considered as Other, or whether her nationality can be recognized by the picture. So, even though some certain demographics might produce power relations in the meaning construction of a viewer, Eye-level pictures equalize the power relations of multimodal representations on Instagram.

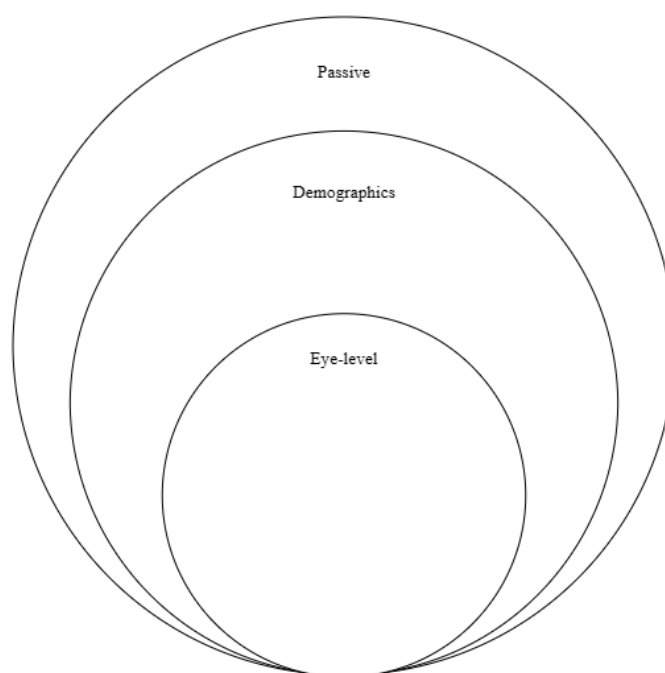


Figure 3. The most intersecting codes with the code Passive.

Figure 3 above summarizes the overlapping of these three codes. Together they form a representation, which messages support each other. A portrait image of a leader pictured by eye-level on the visual side of the representation supports the description of a leader given through the mentions of demographics in the verbal part of the representation. This kind of representation is not necessarily the neutral representation of the leader, while these elements can over emphasize the characteristics of the leader or these characteristics can be described unevenly decreasing the media attention of professional characteristics.

5.4 Posting examples

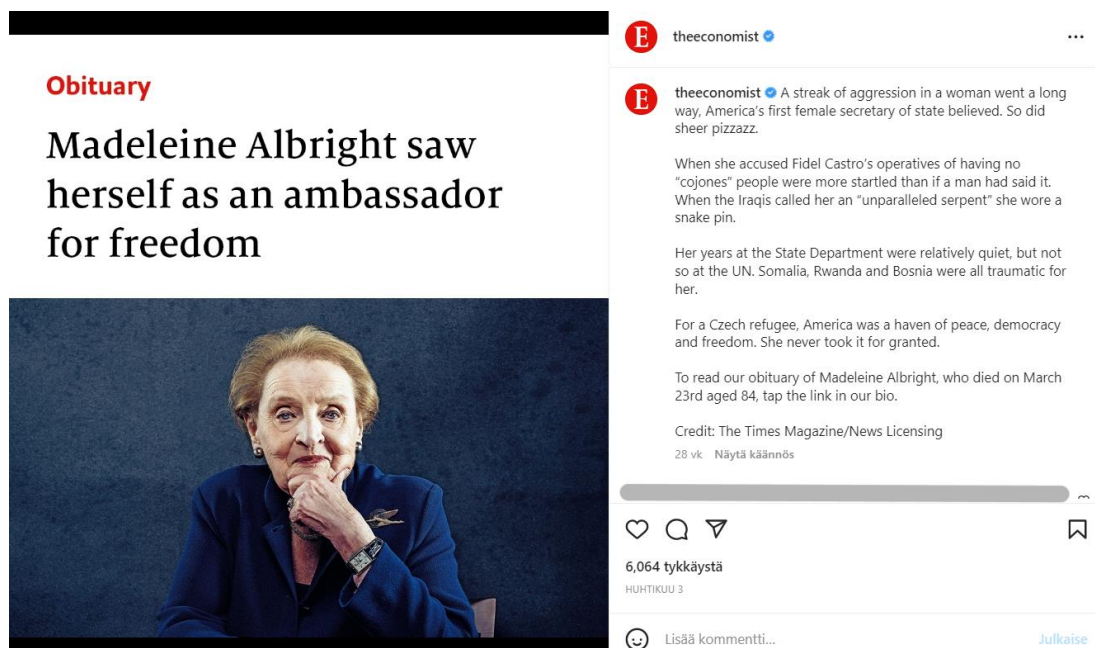
This subchapter elaborates the Instagram postings of female leaders from *The Economist* and *Forbes* by bringing up posting examples. In total three Instagram postings are presented as screenshots from the Instagram profiles and discussed briefly. Instagram postings are presented here based on their age; the first example being published first.

The empirical material of the research is realized in the form of Ideal-Real setting, while the posting constructs from the vertical conjunction of the picture above and text below. The Ideal at the top generalizes the core of the message of the representation, whereas the Real complements that through facts and more detail. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2021, p. 217.) This can be seen from the Instagram postings: On top of the posting is typically the picture of the woman, who is the subject of the posting. Underneath this picture, there is a text that goes into a more detail expressing why the certain woman is in the center of the representation. Before going into the examples, it is important to note that this structure is available only when a consumer uses Instagram on mobile devices.

However, these examples underneath are captured from the browser version of Instagram, and therefore the setting is different presenting the picture on the left and textual part on the right. That setting Kress & van Leeuwen (2021, p. 217) define as Given-New, so that the left side present something already commonly known and the opposing element of that on the right provides new information for the viewers. That can be identified especially from the second example below, while the visual picture

presents the leader already recognizable, whereas the textual part provides new information regarding her.

Next, underneath the first example of the Instagram postings of the female leaders published by The Economist is presented.



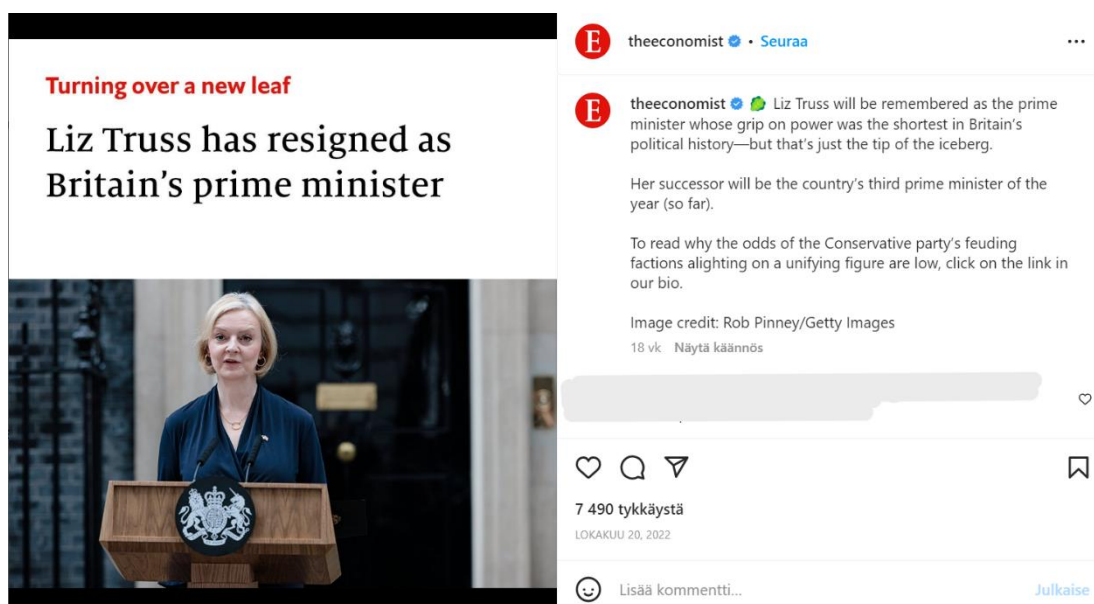
Picture 1. First example Instagram posting of The Economist.

The first example Instagram posting is published The Economist (03.04.2022), representing America's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright. The Instagram posting belongs also to the group of the most average Instagram postings of the empirical material. This posting includes all the mentioned most average characteristics from Figure 1.

Albright is pictured in the representation posing passively for the camera, on the portrait picture within the same eye-level as the viewer. Besides this, the picture has a neutral background, which is also very typical among the empirical material, even though it is not included in the most average codes of the empirical material. These elements of the visual side diminish the power relation between the subject and the viewer. From the verbal mode of the representation, already the headline mentions the name, title, and actions of the leader. Later, the text described her also by the age and

the gender of hers. Therefore, also all the verbal characteristics of the most average Instagram posting of the empirical material are mentioned.

Compared with the other empirical material of social media, this representation is unaverage by its descriptions of the leader through her appearance. However, the sentence “*When Iraqs called her ‘an unparalleled serpent, she wore a snake pin’*” emphasizes her appearance as her way of giving statements. The representation includes also the mentions of other people, through the saying “*people were more startled than if a man had said it*”, which compares Albright with her male colleagues. Through this comparison, that sentence includes the characteristics of femininity versus masculinity duality and patriarchal discourse. Besides these, the Instagram posting also highlights the exceptionality of hers by describing her as “*America’s first female secretary of state,*”.



Picture 2. Second example Instagram posting of The Economist.

Example 2 from The Economist (20.10.2022) is about Liz Truss and her resignation from the position of Prime Minister of Britain. Among the generally neutral social media representations, this example is the most negative or humorous individual posting from the empirical material of the study, depending on from which context it is looked at. The verbal part starts with the lettuce emoji and after that the text states “*Liz Truss will be remembered as the prime minister whose grip on power was the*

shortest in Britain's political history –". Therefore, the comparison of Truss with the lettuce is obvious to everyone. Nevertheless, when conducting an analysis of the representation is important to recognize the context of it (D'Heer, De Vuyst & Van Leuven, 2022). This representation of Truss and lettuce is based on the Daily Star's prediction that humorously compared Truss with a cabbage to see which one lasts longer (Cailler, Blackshaw & Aiken, 2022). When recognizing this commonly known joke, it softens the negative first impression of the emoji of the representation and its chose of words like " - - *that's just the tip of the iceberg*". This posting is not the only time when The Economist has referred to Truss by using the iceberg lettuce as a metaphor. " - - *She had seven days in control. That is the self-life of an Iceberg lettuce,*" (The Economist, 12.10.2022).

At the first look, the visual side of the representation is a traditional picture of the Prime Minister of Britain standing on Downing Street. Truss does not have an eye contact with the camera, but she is nevertheless presented from the same level as the viewer and pictured from straight ahead. For that reason, even though the verbal side of the representation is not completely neutral and professional, the neutrality of the visual representation decreases the negative tone of the whole representation. However, while Truss is not presented having a straight contact with the viewer, she appears as distant regardless of the close-up picture. Regardless of the tone on the verbal side of the representation, the headline of the posting highlights the name, the title, and actions of the subject in the representation. Therefore, this representation includes almost every characteristic or code of the most average social media representations among this empirical material. So, if the viewer does not know about the common joke of Truss and a cabbage, the Instagram posting appears as a negative description of her resignation. Whereas, if the joke is known by the viewer, the representation appears as humorous reference to the cabbage and the current unstable political atmosphere of Great Britain.

The next example is the only Instagram posting from the empirical material that did not picture the female leader herself, even though she is the subject of the posting when looking at the verbal side of the representation.



Picture 3. Example Instagram posting of Forbes.

This Instagram posting of Forbes (23.10.2022) catches the attention of the viewer by picturing a baby regardless of the heading and textual part, which focus on the female leader. Out of the 44 Instagram postings of the empirical material, this is the only one that does not present the subject of the representation. On the other hand, three postings of the empirical material were drawn while still presenting the subject of the representation. Even though the baby on the picture is compatible with the topic and the field of female leader, it takes the space and attention of the representation from the leader. Especially, when the picture is combined with the heading, that mentions the female leader only by the saying “*the black entrepreneur*”, it sends a message to the viewers that she is not relevant to the reader as an individual.

While the leader is the first time mentioned only in the text, and not presented in the picture, most of the viewers might end up scrolling past the posting without knowing who the topic of the posting is. In addition, the description of the American healthcare system and Welch’s solution for development takes up approximately half of the written text, leaving the leader herself on the minority of the posting. The purpose of the text seems to be more babies and mothers and the healthcare solution than the leader. In conclusion, the verbal side of the representation does not improve the dismissive approach of the visual side towards the leader.

5.5 What is not represented?

In the analysis of social media's multimodality of the empirical material, it is equally important to consider both the factors that are represented and unrepresented in the representations to form a coherent generalized picture of the representations (Machin, 2013). Consequently, this subchapter ponders elements which are not at all presented in the empirical material of the study or are presented only unequally or in a minor level.

On the visual side of the social media representations, leaders are not pictured in the action what the text describes them doing or having done. These actions are typically the main reason for the Instagram posting. Regardless of that, the text represents the woman as an active actor, whereas the picture represents her as passive. In the pictures where female leader is represented in an action, she is typically talking, but the people who she is communicating with are not presented in the picture. That passivates the leader in the eyes of the viewer regardless of the pictured action. These social media representations send mixed messages to the viewers. Because of these contradictions, in consumers' meaning making the subject of the representation is considered as less active than in the text, but more active than in the picture. Therefore, the verbal and visual elements of representations do not support each other to reach meanings which they cannot reach on their own. On the other hand, verbal and visual modes send messages that are contradictory with the message of the other mode. For that reason, the main message of the representation includes contradictoriness, and it is not sent as strongly as it would with compatible elements.

Only two Instagram postings of the empirical material mention in the verbal part the appearance of the female leader, which is strikingly contradictory to the traditional media and its focus on the appearance of the leaders. The following examples are out of these two representations concentrating on the appearance of the subject. *"If there's anyone who embodies the SoCal spirit, it's Paige Mycoskie. Blue-eyed and sun-kissed with a mess of wavy blonde hair, the Aviator Nation founder looks like she just stepped off a surfboard,"* (13.06.2022, Forbes). This description focuses on the physical appearance of the female leader traditionally. However, the other example describes how the female leader uses her clothing and accessories to send messages and protest.

“When the Iraqis called her an ‘unparalleled serpent’ she wore a snake pin,” (03.04.2022, The Economist). Here the mention of appearance also includes the actions of a leader. The visual side of representations in the empirical material does not emphasize the appearance, body, or the look of female leaders. That is based on neutral pictures that present subject as professional without emphasizing her gender. However, in social media the visuality is usually more important than the texts, which might explain the minority of the appearance descriptions.

In the empirical material, the age of the subject is mentioned in total of 16 different Instagram postings. Regardless of that, it is important to note that the age is not mentioned when the representation considers a middle-aged leader. The age is mentioned only when the leader is remarkably young, under 30 years, or relatively old, over 50 years, in the position of hers. Out of these 16 representations, even 11 are presenting the leader in a passive photograph. Out of these 11 postings six of them picture the leader on the same level as the viewer, with an eye contact and in front of neutral background so that the subject is in the close-up picture. Together, these elements make it possible for the viewers to evaluate and criticise the aging of the subject. Even though the age of a leader is regularly mentioned on the Instagram postings, those mentions are clearly biased.

When considering the natural background in a more general level, it has a clear positive and a negative effect. Neutrality in the background draws the attention of a viewer into the main subject of the Instagram post. However, the neutral background is presented instead of some other background. When the subject is presented in front of a neutral-coloured wall, she is not presented in her workplace, office, or in any environment that would message her position towards the viewer. This passivates the subject of the representation, while in the neutral situation she is more likely to be presented just passively posing for the picture. Consequently, it is more difficult for the viewer to place her in the certain context without any visual hints.

The social media’s representations of female leaders focus mainly on their current positions. Professional history, like former positions or education, of female leaders’ background is not mentioned in the social media’s representations. In addition to this, social media representations do not discuss the accomplishments of the subject, not

even regarding the position where they are now. Instead of these elements, the focus of social media representations is the current actions of the subject, not referring to previous actions or accomplishments.

In the whole empirical material of 44 Instagram postings, only once an emoji was used. That is the posting of Liz Truss on The Economist (20.10.2022), where the lettuce emoji started the textual part of the representation. Besides that, no emojis were used, even though they are today central in social media's multimodal communication (Jovanovic & Van Leeuwen, 2018). In addition, hashtags were rarely used, only seven postings out of 44 used hashtags. These all are postings of Forbes. When posting had a hashtag, there was only one of them, and it linked the posting to the different posting series of Forbes. Used hashtags in the postings are #SelfMadeWomen #ForbesMidas #ForbesWomen #ForbesOver50 and #ForbesBillionaires. Hashtags #SelfMadeWomen and #ForbesWomen form a gendered representation of the leader, by emphasizing the gender of hers. This also stereotypes the female leader in the representation. In addition, the #ForbesOver50 highlights the age of the leader and groups the leader with other 'older' leaders. By clicking the hashtag, a viewer finds more content of the topic created by Forbes. The minor usage of emojis and hashtags create an image of professional business media, even though the social media is the used platform. Instead of these tools, the representations focus on the traditional ways of media: Pictures of the subject and informative text that provides the main points of the case.

Within the empirical material of the study, domestic roles of female leaders is a theme that is mentioned only when the representation refers to the family members of the leader. This lessens the traditional stereotyping of leaders but also patriarchal discourse and the duality setting family versus work. Only one Instagram posting refers to the mother role of a female leader, when presenting Kris Jenner and discussing her business with her daughters (14.10.2022, Forbes). Otherwise, the family relations refer to the fathers or brothers of female leaders and how they rule the business with them or have inherited the business from them (18.08.2022, Forbes; 24.09.2022, Forbes).

6 CONCLUSIONS

The theoretical framework of this study is constructed as a literature review of representation and discourse studies and furthermore traditional media's representation studies of female leaders. The analysis of the empirical material of the study is conducted in NVivo to elaborate how The Economist and Forbes represent female leaders on their Instagram accounts. Now these findings of the analysis are reflected and compared with the theoretical framework. Besides the main findings, this last chapter of the thesis includes discussion, theoretical contributions, managerial and social implications, the limitations of the study and considerations of future research. The research question of the study was the following: *What kind of media representations of female leaders do the leading business media houses produce on their social media?*

Business media houses represent female leaders on Instagram in multimodal representations, which include a picture of the leader and the text focusing on her. In a visual side of the representation the female leader is pictured in front of a neutral background and in a passive setting. Neutrality is reflected also on the verbal part of the representation, where the name and the title of the female leader are highlighted as the main describing characteristics of the leader. Power relations are not clearly represented in the social media's representations while the subject of a representation is typically presented from the same eye-level as the viewer of the representation. Social media representations are still not completely free from the power relations, while these relations emerge for instance through title mentions, the mentions of other people and references of the properties of the subject. In the social media representations of female leaders, the demographics overall are frequently mentioned within text. Out of the demographics, the gender is the most frequently used, mostly through mentions like "Ms", "Mrs", or "Female" by the name or the title of the leader. The age of a leader is mentioned within Instagram postings mainly only when the leader is considered as a relatively young or old person in the certain position therefore highlighting the exceptional leader.

From the social media representations of female leaders created by business media houses, can be recognized the same elements as business media houses' media

representations of female leaders in traditional media. For example, the discourses of superwomen, problem and helplessness can also be identified from the social media representations of female leaders. Besides these, the duality setting female versus male is evident in a couple of Instagram postings, especially when the representation compares the female leader with her partners or predecessors.

In addition to these discourses and duality setting, the private life of female leaders' is mentioned in social media representations. However, that happens mainly through the mentions of other people, such as their family members or partners. It is important to note that still the other elements of private life, such as the domestic role or appearance of the leader, presented as central in the theoretical part of the study were not central in the social media representations. The stereotyping of female leaders within social media's representation is evident primarily through visuality while the female leaders are pictured mainly in the same settings and positions regardless of their position or the reason for their media presence. Consequently, it is complicated for the consumer to differentiate female leaders solely on these pictures, especially when they do not know the person in the picture.

To summarize the main findings of this study, the social media representations picture the female leaders in the neutral pictures that do not reflect power relations. The name and title of the leader are greatly emphasized during the verbal side of the representation. Besides these, the female leader is described especially by her age and gender. The actions of the leader are in the focus of the verbal side of the media representations, even though the visual side of the representations presents the leader as passive. The female leaders are pictured through passive posing but in the portrait picture at the same level as the viewer of the representation. As a result, multimodal social media representations send mixed messages for the viewers, which challenges their meaning construction based on representations. Regardless of the contradictions and biases of social media representations, they are in general more gender-neutral than the traditional media's representations regarding the female leaders.

6.1 Discussion

This study reflects the social media representations of female leaders created by American and British business media houses. Previously has been studied how female leaders are represented in media reflecting their family relations and biographical history (Nagar, 2021; Tijani-Adenle, 2016). That view has been challenged by Power et al. (2020) who state decreasing of this phenomenon especially in American business media. This view is supported by this study also while both American and British business media houses do not represent female leaders primarily through their family relations in their social media representations. When family members of the leader were mentioned in the representations of the empirical material, the representation presented the female leader through the business continuity discourse defined by Jännäri (2018). Instead of family relations and biographical history the title, name, age, and gender are more frequently used as descriptions.

Out of the 44 representations of the empirical material 15 Instagram postings of The Economist and three Instagram postings of Forbes are about a political leader. In the empirical material political leaders are pictured alone in an image (20.10.2022, Forbes; 17.03.2022, The Economist; 19.05.2022, The Economist) with only a few exceptions, which supports the views of Debray et al. (2023) on that how female politicians are pictured alone which strengthens a leadership discourse of a singular leader. The different number of political leaders' representations is striking between The Economist and Forbes. That arises a question, whether this explains also why The Economist's social media representations include more codes of Mean sayings and Doubting. Only three representations of Forbes include at least one of these two codes, whereas 12 of The Economist's postings include them. When adding these 15 postings together, only 14 out of them are about political leaders. Does this refer that in social media business media represents political female leaders in a more negative tone than other female leaders? Politicians face more negative tone representations in web-based news, and this happens especially to female politicians (D'Heer et al., 2022). That statement is supported by the findings of this study while especially politicians faced more negative social media representations than other leaders.

Overall, female leaders are easily criticised in media based for example on their appearance (Mavin et al., 2010), family situation (Mills et al., 2016, p. 25; Trimble, 2017, p. 95), and gender (Trimble, 2017, p. 54). The criticism towards female leaders that appeared in the social media representations of the empirical material, did not build on these three factors. Rather, the criticism among the empirical material based on the leading capabilities of the leader or her actions. The following example elaborates the criticism towards prime minister Truss in her duty regarding her actions: “- - *Has not done enough to restore confidence in Britain’s finances or her own premiership,*” (15.10.2022, The Economist). To understand but also decrease the possible mixed results, feminist media studies emphasize the importance of considering especially the subject and context of the certain representation under the observation (D’Heer et al., 2022). Therefore, the negative tone in the representations of the empirical material should not be too emphasized, while they focus mostly on Liz Truss, who was the prime minister of United Kingdom in the time of a crisis.

The social media representations of the empirical material of the study typically repeated the headline of the posting again on the textual part. Besides the headline, the title, name, and age of the leader are the most repeated statements on the social media’s representations. When comparing with the traditional media, the mentions of private life eat up the media presence of the female leader (Mavin et al., 2010; Power et al., 2020; Sheerin & Garavan, 2022; Tijani-Adenle, 2016; Walsh, 2015). Based on this view, in social media these repetitions decrease the available media presence from other relevant topics related the leader. This is problematic especially in social media platforms, and on Instagram, while they typically have the character limit of the postings.

30 representations of the empirical material represent the female leader in a picture smiling. According to Debray et al. (2023) the smiling pictures of female leaders represents them as softer and more empathetic leaders than their male counterparts. However, the verbal side of the Instagram postings did not represent leaders through stereotyping sayings that would strength the soft message sent by the visual side of the representation. Therefore, it can be stated that multimodally studied social media representations do not stereotype the female leaders as being soft, emotional, friendly, and emphatic leaders. On the other hand, the emotionality of female leaders is

expressed in social media representations especially on the visual side beside smiling also by negative emotions clearly visible on the faces of the leaders. That emotionality is not supported by the verbal side of the representation and therefore the multimodally considering these representations again sends mixed signals for consumers.

Another example of these mixed signals and contradictions of the representations of the empirical material are the passive picturing and active descriptions by the text. Already Litchfield and Kavanagh (2018) have studied how media represents female athletes in passive pictures. That finding is supported by this study of the female leaders' social media representations. Regardless of the active description of female leaders during the verbal side of the representation, the visual picture represented female leaders passively.

During the data analysis some differences in social media representations of Forbes and The Economist could be identified within the empirical material. Like stated above, The Economist focuses more on the political leaders on its social media whereas Forbes represents the leaders of businesses. The Economist mentions the gender of the leader twice as often as Forbes does. Typically, the gender is referred to by using the "Ms" or "Mr" before the surname of the person. However, if this research had focused only on Forbes, the gender of a leader would have not been so often used as a description.

The empirical material of this study consists of 44 Instagram postings of The Economist and Forbes from the year 2022. Even though both business media houses publish daily approximately eight to ten Instagram postings, only 44 postings from the whole year focused on the female leader so that they fulfilled the requirements of this study. When comparing with the number of yearly Instagram postings, the number of Instagram postings of the female leaders is strikingly small. According to Shor et al. (2015) media representations focus on the most famous part of the certain group, like leaders or politicians. In this empirical material, the political leaders were represented in 15 Instagram postings, focusing on the American or British politicians. Besides them, the empirical material represents female leaders for example from the exceptional fields such as team owners or investors (Forbes, 24.09.2022; Forbes, 09.12.2022), from exceptional backgrounds, like the first female in the certain role or

a remarkably young leader (The Economist, 28.02.2022; The Economist, 24.03.2022; Forbes, 12.08.2022) or so-called celebrity entrepreneurs (Forbes, 23.05.2022; Forbes, 14.10.2022). Therefore, the empirical material of this study supports the views of Shor et al. (2015) regarding the representations of the most famous members of the certain group. Besides this statement, the exceptional leaders are the most likely to gain the media presence among the scarce social media representations of female leaders.

6.2 Theoretical contributions

According to Van Dijk (1993) the success of critical discourse analysis is evaluated regarding its effectiveness and relevance related to the settled research question and the studied phenomenon. In other words, the CDA's success is measured related to the study's contribution to change (Van Dijk, 1993). This study has strengthened the field of social media multimodal critical discourse analysis that is still a growing study field by providing new information regarding the female leaders' representations on Instagram. Consequently, the contribution of this study towards the development of the social media multimodal critical discourse analysis field is evident. However, this study focuses only on the context of female leaders, so the missing overall picture of social media representations of leaders hinders the comparison of the results but also their generalization theoretically.

The previous studies of female leaders' media representations have focused for instance on certain areas (Achtenhagen & Welter, 2011; Cukier et al., 2016; Lang & Rybnikova, 2016), publishing medias (Poutanen et al., 2016; Power et al. 2020; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022) or leaders' fields (Eikhof et al., 2013; Hall & Donaghue, 2012; Isotalus & Almonkari, 2014). This study widens the perspectives of these studies by studying the social media as a platform of media representations. Even though the contexts of the USA and UK as publishing areas and The Economist and Forbes as publishing medias are already previously studied, social media representations of them have remained an understudied context. It is important to note that in this context The Economist and Forbes are also globally considered as leading business medias. Therefore, it is likely that smaller business medias follow their example on social media representations.

In this study, the studied representations are summaries of the articles of *The Economist* and *Forbes*. Critical feminist media studies consider news as representations, and therefore the context needs to be considered within the research and besides that the subject should be considered as something incomplete and changing (Savolainen, 2007, p. 191). Since the theoretical part of this study, it has aimed to approach the context and the subject with the caution based on that view. Feminist media studies aim to improve women's media presence so that women are not present in media only regarding soft themes and phenomena (Savolainen, 2007, pp. 203–204). This is fulfilled in the social media representations of the empirical material, while female leaders are always presented and interviewed as leaders of something, which already sets them into the setting that is seen traditionally masculine and patriarchal. The conducted research analysed only the representations regarding the female leaders, so it does not elaborate how much business medias overall represents women in the context of soft matters in their social media.

Today's feminist media studies recognize audience as active producer of meanings, and therefore interpreting and accommodating the discourses of media into their own life and culture (van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 149–150). Media does not help users to understand the representations and their societal and political characteristics so that the change and criticism will become possible (Savolainen, 2007, p. 192). This realization and awareness could lead to cultural change in leadership representations and therefore also the theoretical development would be evident.

Social media can increase the media presence of female leaders and therefore reduce the negative implications of female leaders (Walsh et al., 2022). The study field of feminist media studies has criticised the point of how increasing the media presence of women improves the position of women in media (Savolainen, 2007, p. 191). According to Savolainen (2007, p. 191) larger media presence does not lead automatically into positive representations. This study has elaborated that especially through representations of Liz Truss. Truss was a regular topic during the year 2022, when she was the prime minister, but at least every other representation of her expressed her through negative or doubting tone.

6.3 Managerial & social implications

According to Remes (2011, p. 313) central in the discourse analysis is how the publication strikes critical discussions after its release. This study can be considered as one contribution in a conversation and following conversations in the context of media representations of leaders (Pynnönen, 2015). Discourse analysis aim to arouse people to recognize their power's effectiveness to qualify the phenomena of the society (Remes, 2011, p. 313). While discourses are capable of remain, legitimize, and change representations and meaning constructions, the research regarding them increases the consciousness of consumers related to representations and their effects (Pynnönen, 2015). According to Pynnönen (2015) that in turn enables consumers to affect the discourses in the future and therefore also their own future. This is the key contribution of this study when regarding the social implications.

This study elaborates for the female leaders itself, how business media houses represent them on social media. That information helps leaders to form their own public media presence. Discourses and media representations can both construct and repeat the leadership of the future, while they create meanings of which kind of leaders and leadership are awaited and accepted among society (Pynnönen, 2015). Feminine-in-management rhetoric brought already in the 1980s into the discussion the view of feminine characteristics of female leaders as important and benefiting contribution to organization's success and management, which improved the attitude towards female leaders in more positive direction (Calás & Smircich, 1993). The traditional media typically represent female leaders in gendered media representations (Lang & Rybnikova, 2016; Lämsä & Tiensuu, 2002; Mavin et al., 2016; Tienari et al., 2009), but in social media the image is not as gendered. Since social media is especially used among young adults (Power & Zhao, 2018, p. 350), the biggest impact of social media representations of female leaders is in their meaning construction. This refers how future's leaders adopt a more gender-neutral view to the leadership than audiences that rely solely on traditional media's representations.

Today's feminist organization studies focus on the sociological construction of the gender (Calás & Smircich, 2006, p. 287). Whereas representations participate in individual's meaning construction (Jackson, 2004; Orgad, 2012, pp. 17–25; Paasonen,

2010, p. 40), they also participate in their meaning construction regarding the genders. Feminist and women-in-management studies always include political implications, just like does organizational and management studies also (Calás & Smircich, 2006, p. 300). Therefore, it is impossible to this study to be neutral based on political implications but also on genders, since according to Weedon (1987, pp. 100–101) representations cannot be gender neutral. In addition, media is recognized as highly gendered space (Hansson, 2019). This study raises the awareness of these points, so that the consumers itself are able to consume the media more consciously and affect the available representations in the future.

Feminist media studies aim at turning female leaders and females overall as the accepted theme in media so that they can be represented in any position or context (van Zoonen, 1994, pp. 151–152). This study has shown how social media representations of female leaders are mainly neutral, even though some gendered elements are still present. Transferring this attitude towards traditional media, will change representations of female leaders into a more neutral phenomenon in media than it is now. That takes time, and changes are slow, but the social media can be utilized as a model of this for the traditional media.

6.4 Limitations of the study

Discourse analysis are always and consciously incomplete, while the researcher can find only the hints of the discourses regardless of the amount of the empirical material (Pynnönen, 2015). Even though the empirical material concerns all the relevant Instagram postings of female leaders made by The Economist and Forbes during the year 2022, the collection of empirical material is still relatively small with only 44 postings. Therefore, the generalization of the study can be questioned, while intersecting code groups cover in maximum only one fourth of the overall empirical material. The theoretical part of the study does not cover the female leader studies or the feminism studies, which weakens the theoretical basements of the study. The understanding of the researcher but also the reader could be deepened by the theoretical literature review of the topic.

As stated in the Methodology subchapter of 4.4, the agency of the researcher sets its own limitations to the study. Especially on the study like this which focuses on the representations and discourses, the role of the researcher is not completely neutral (Jackson, 2004). However, it is important to notice that social media develops continuously in a rapid space and for that reason also the representations of social media are in the endless process of development. For that reason, it can be questioned whether the results of this study are reliable also in the future. How long the results of the study stay reliable? Nevertheless, the empirical material is based on the business media houses' social media postings, and business media houses are not so easily influenced by the rapid trends of social media than individual consumers are. That strengthens results and the reliability of the research regardless of social media's quick and changing nature.

6.5 Future research

As well as the social media representations of female leaders is still an unstudied field so is the social media representations of male leaders. The future research of male leaders' social media representations would elaborate whether their representations are compatible with traditional media's representations. The comparison of social media representations of different leaders could help researchers to see how gendered platform the social media is in the context of leadership. Then it would be easier also to compare the traditional media and social media within the context of leadership representations. The research regarding male leaders' social media representations would offer a better comparison for the findings of this study.

Nowadays leaders are itself active in the social media regarding their businesses and career, and therefore their social media presence is partly self-created. To understand the nature of social media's representations the future research should consider the comparison of business media's representations of leaders and leaders' itself produced representation of themselves. This would shed a light on whether self-created representations include the same elements as representations created by professional media.

Researchers have been studying certain business medias and representations created by them (Poutanen et al., 2016; Power et al., 2020; Sakki & Martikainen, 2022). In the future it would be interesting to study whether the certain media house, for example Forbes, represents leaders differently on its different media channels. Does the different usage context and different audiences lead media houses to differentiate their representations for instance between traditional media, social media platforms and their own websites?

The time of this study Finland had its parliamentary elections and especially political leaders were highly visible in the local media. Future research could study which kind of effect the timing and the context has on the media representations of the leaders. Something like that could already be seen from the empirical material of the social media representations of the study of Prime Minister of Great Britain Liz Truss. The representations of Truss were negative and doubting throughout the year 2022, but even more straight forward at the time of her resignation. That kind of research could also develop feminist media studies, which emphasizes the consideration of subject and the context during the representation research (D'Heer et al., 2022).

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. The empirical research material.

| Publisher | Date | Headline |
|---------------|-------------|--|
| The Economist | 21.02.2022 | Meet Valérie Pécresse, the centre-right challenger to Emmanuel Macron |
| The Economist | 28.02.2022 | Ketanji Brown Jackson's nomination to the Supreme Court is historic and savvy |
| The Economist | 17.03.2022 | Marine Le Pen hopes for another face-off against Emmanuel Macron |
| The Economist | 24.03.2022 | We remember Madeleine Albright, America's first Madam Secretary |
| The Economist | 03.04.2022 | <i>Madeleine Albright saw herself as an ambassador for freedom</i> |
| The Economist | 19.05.2022 | <i>Meet France's new prime minister, Elisabeth Borne</i> |
| The Economist | 02.06.2022 | <i>Sheryl Sandberg, Meta's second-in-command, leaves the embattled firm</i> |
| The Economist | 03.09.2022 | <i>Argentina's vice-president, Cristina Fernández, survives an attempted shooting</i> |
| The Economist | 08.09.2022a | <i>Queen Elizabeth II has died aged 96</i> |
| The Economist | 08.09.2022b | <i>Can Liz Truss fix Britain?</i> |
| The Economist | 19.09.2022 | <i>Queen Elizabeth II's life and reign in pictures</i> |
| The Economist | 07.10.2022 | <i>Annie Ernaux wins the Nobel prize in literature for 2022</i> |
| The Economist | 12.10.2022 | <i>Liz Truss's premierships damaged beyond repair</i> |
| The Economist | 15.10.2022 | <i>Liz Truss has lost her chancellor, signature tax cut and authority</i> |
| The Economist | 20.10.2022 | <i>Liz Truss has resigned as Britain's prime minister</i> |
| The Economist | 24.10.2022 | <i>Giorgia Meloni and her allies take power in Italy</i> |
| The Economist | 28.10.2022 | <i>Storm clouds loom for Giorgia Meloni, Italy's new prime minister</i> |
| The Economist | 04.11.2022 | <i>Carman Callil championed hundreds, if not thousands, of women writers</i> |
| The Economist | 08.11.2022 | <i>Germany's parliament is more female than it was</i> |
| The Economist | 08.12.2022 | <i>Argentina's vice-president is found guilty of corruption</i> |
| The Economist | 18.12.2022 | <i>Who, exactly is Giorgia Meloni? In 2023 Italians will find out</i> |
| Forbes | 26.01.2022 | House Speaker Nancy Pelosi says she will run for reelection to congress |
| Forbes | 14.02.2022 | Less than two months into 2022, MacKenzie Scott isn't showing any signs of slowing down her giving |
| Forbes | 05.04.2022a | MacKenzie Scott has given away billions – and is still one of the world's richest women |
| Forbes | 05.04.2022b | L'Oréal heiress Francoise Bettencourt Meyers becomes wealthiest woman in the world |
| Forbes | 23.05.2022 | Blake Lively talks 'Betty Buzz' and dominating the mixer drink industry |
| Forbes | 03.06.2022 | Sheryl Sandberg has unloaded more than 90% of her Facebook stock over the past decade |
| Forbes | 13.06.2022 | How selling \$160 sweatpants turned a SoCal surfer into one of America's richest women |
| Forbes | 15.06.2022 | Keeping up with the Kardashians: Meet the woman who made a fortune helping build the family's billion dollar business empire |
| Forbes | 17.07.2022 | Scarlett Johansson opens up about life as an entrepreneur |
| Forbes | 07.08.2022 | Melinda French Gates sold more than \$1 billion of stock she got in divorce settlement from Bill Gates |
| Forbes | 12.08.2022 | Meet the 27-year-old Latinx entrepreneur who is not worth \$220 million |

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| Forbes | 18.08.2022 | Dr. Iman Abuzeid leads Incredible Health to unicorn status with \$80 million Series B |
| Forbes | 19.08.2022 | Exclusive: Why Melinda French Gates' next act is what the future of philanthropy needs |
| Forbes | 08.09.2022 | Queen Elizabeth, U.K.'s longest-reigning monarch, dead at 96 |
| Forbes | 09.09.2022 | Queen Elizabeth II's life in photos |
| Forbes | 24.09.2022 | Meet billionaire Tennessee Titans owner Amy Adams Strunk – and nine other women changing the game in The NFL |
| Forbes | 07.10.2022 | Meet the most successful female entrepreneur in American history |
| Forbes | 14.10.2022 | How Kris Jenner made The Kardashians famous, rich and insanely influential |
| Forbes | 20.10.2022 | U.K. Prime Minister Liz Truss resigns after 6 turbulent weeks in office |
| Forbes | 22.10.2022 | How becoming a '65-year-old TikTok sensation' has reinvigorated makeup mogul Bobbi Brown |
| Forbes | 23.10.2022 | Meet the black entrepreneur working to save the lives of birthing mothers and their babies |
| Forbes | 07.12.2022 | Why Janet Yellen is about to become even more powerful |
| Forbes | 09.12.2022 | How Laurel Bowden became one of Europe's top investors by skipping the hype |