Creating an Online Social Movement in Socially Conservative Societies: A Case Study of Manshoor Blog Using Frame Alignment Process

Noura Abdullah Al-Duaijani
University of South Carolina

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Creating an Online Social Movement in Socially Conservative Societies: 
A Case Study of Manshoor Blog Using Frame Alignment Process

by

Noura Abdullah Al-Duaijani

Bachelor of Arts
Kuwait University, 2010

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Accepted by:

Kenneth Campbell, Director of Thesis

Tara Mortensen, Reader

Mo Jang, Reader

Cheryl L. Addy, Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School
Dedication

To all those who believe in change, to all those who seek it.
Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my chair, Dr. Kenneth Campbell. He was patient, understanding and always available. Without his continuous support and encouragement, I wouldn't have been able to finish this thesis in less than six months. I would also like to thank my two committee members, Dr. Tara Mortensen and Dr. Mo Jang. Their comments and advice enriched this thesis, their calmness helped me to finish it and still have my complete mental sanity.

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Sara and Shahad. My soul sisters and a blessing in my life. Reem, Alaa, Muneraa, I owe you my continuous mental, emotional and spiritual growth. I love walking through life paths with you. Areej and her family, the warmth I find in you reminds me of the joy to experience pure love.

To Manshoor's family. I am proud of what you do, and may the movement you are now building instill the value of acceptance we long for.
Abstract

In the last decade, the Arab region has witnessed many political and social changes. Parts of these changes were initiated by millennials seeking social change to elevate the quality of life in their country and themselves. In one particular country, Kuwait, youth have pursued social change by advocating a freer lifestyle and regime change in government and institutions. Manshoor, an Arab language blog launched in November 2016 by two Kuwaiti liberals, Jassim Qamis and Ali Al-Nessif, stimulates an open conversation on a wide range of issues, including controversial ideas in the region such as scrutinizing some practices and beliefs of Islam and Islamists, advocating open discussion of sexual issues and touting positive outcomes of the use of drugs. Manshoor hopes for a social movement that does not impose the founders’ beliefs, but rather encourages youth to contemplate or reject forced and unwanted restrictions on lives and thoughts and accept the people who choose to do that.

This thesis seeks to understand the blog’s role in creating the youth-driven movement, or sustaining it as an ongoing movement. As such, using frame alignment process, the thesis seeks to identify the values and culture Manshoor’s founders are trying to instill in the society. It also seeks to contextualize Manshoor's attempt within Kuwaiti society as a case study of how such media frames as part of a social movement may or may not be successful in other societies, particularly liberal frames in conservative societies like Kuwait. Specifically, the thesis addresses how Manshoor's founders are aligning or appropriating frames for a successful the movement. Frames and frame
alignment are determined through a textual analysis on a sample of controversial posts and in-depth interviews with the founders and movement's leading actors.
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Chapter 1:

Introduction

Overview

In 2016, two young Kuwaitis, Jassim Qamis and Ali Al-Nessif, launched a liberal social media blog targeting conservative Middle Eastern countries. The Arabic language blog is called Manshoor, which means leaflet and prism. The name is intended to symbolize the blog’s double purpose of giving voice to those outside of the mainstream which has traditionally been done, if at all, through leaflets; the name also symbolizes the representation of a variety of views like a prism reflects a variety of colors.¹ Due to logistical and financial reasons, Manshoor's founders chose to have their office in either Egypt or Jordan, and eventually settled in Cairo as the best option. Although many Kuwaitis have embraced the blogging world since the early 2000's in both Arabic and English languages, they have not done so in the manner that Qamis and Al-Nessif have.

¹ Leaflet to resemble the idea of leaflets that disseminate anti-government messages from opposition groups who have no voice in the mainstream or government controlled media, in aim of changing people's behavior and attitudes toward beliefs, concepts and individuals. Prism is to reflect Manshoor's perspective that young Arabs are different and come with versatile ideas and beliefs, and that sharing their experiences and learning from each other unites them and helps them to grow.
Topics that bloggers have focused on generally have been mainstream stances on domestic political issues, popular culture, technology, and women's rights. A review of secondary sources discussing Kuwati blogs indicates that none of the blogs showed interest in or took the risk of touching on these topics from an alternative perspective or addressing what are considered socially sensitive topics in the Middle Eastern world (Etling, Kelly, Faris, & Palfrey, 2009; Riegert, 2015). Qamis and Al-Nessif seek to fill that gap. Manshoor carries posts about technology, art, science, philosophy, politics and human rights like the other blogs, but it sets itself apart by also addressing culturally forbidden topics such as sex, particularly premarital, extramarital, same-sex relations and openly expressing sexual desires. Unlike the other blogs, Manshoor challenges some of the practices of Islam, the dominant religion in the region, particularly questioning traditional beliefs about God/Allah and revelation. Manshoor is also critical of the accepted history of the behavior and life of highly respected religious figures in the Islamic history, and is critical of Islamic religious authorities. This is a challenge to Arab countries’ culture, including Kuwait's culture and law that deem as illegal any criticism of Islam and the dissemination of anything counter to its principles, like sex and pornography (Riegert, 2015). Manshoor’s treatment of topics is sometimes more sophisticated than that of other blogs. The posts' content is typically developed from an idea or a concept, but it is built around findings of studies, interviews conducted by the post's writer, citations to historical and contemporary sources and statistics from reports, among other supportive sources used to give credibility or emphasize the importance of issues discussed in the posts. Manshoor’s sophistication also lies in the fact that its posts are written using a proper Arabic language rather than local Arab countries' dialects.
In less than a year after its launching, Manshoor became more popular than other Middle Eastern blogs, with more than 50,000 followers on Facebook (Manshoor Dot Com, 2018); the top twenty blogs visited in the Middle East, according to *Feedspot* website (Top 100 Middle East blogs and websites on the Web, 2018), have less than 10,000 followers on Facebook (Arabist, 2018; Shadi Hamid 20, 2018). Given Manshoor’s large presence, and choice and treatment of topics, it is important to examine frames used by the blog because they offer guidance for understanding how to frame messages under these circumstances.

Challenging social conservatism is not new in Kuwait. As early as the 1900's, the country witnessed liberal demands, or what were known to be liberal at that time, such as learning English and educating women (Al-Eissa, 1997). However, the pioneer men who discussed socially conservative matters, such as the highly esteemed Kuwaiti historian Abdulaziz Al-Rushaid and the merchant Yussif Al-Qenai, were very critical of other liberal and secular Arab movements that advocated for women liberation’s and independence and freedom of thought (Al-Wugayan, 2010). The more contemporary liberal voices in Kuwait, which will be discussed in a later section, have been more open and vocal on freedom of thought, life style choices and freedom of expression.

Although a liberal path has been opened in Kuwait for Manshoor, the blog insists on being independent from any political and social connections (Manshoor, 2018; Qamis, 2018). The founders seek social change through an independent and inclusive movement
that although unique and unprecedented in the GCC countries\textsuperscript{2} (Gulf Countries Cooperation), it is part of social change wave taking over the Arab region since the Arab spring in 2010. Manshoor's intended movement aims to establish societies in which individuals can live free from undesired and forced restrictions of religion and traditions, and where critical thinking and questioning of what society and individuals have taken for granted is encouraged. Manshoor's founders do not impose their beliefs on society, but rather encourage individuals to embrace the life they wish to live, and become more accepting of others' choices in living the life they want. Such societal change calls for both action and interaction with others (Rodriguez, 2013), indeed a social movement (or social movements) which is defined as "networks of informal interactions, between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani, 1992, p. 13). Qamis and Al-Nessif’s creation of Manshoor blog that has no boundaries on what is to be discussed in an unprecedented narrative and literary treatment marks its divergence from previous liberal-oriented attempts. This is considered an important step to creating a social movement to bring about revolutionary social change in a socially conservative and patriarchal society like Kuwait (Smith, 2002).

A review of the blog indicates that while the blog might not have boundaries, its posts have discernible frames, which can be powerful in shaping aspects of the social movement (DeVriese, 2013; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 1996). Frames found were social

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has six members: Kuwait- Qatar- Oman- Bahrain- United Arab Emirates and Kingdome of Saudi Arabia.
\end{itemize}
injustice frame that highlights the injustices in the Arab world and factors causing them, fear of possible personal suffering frame that identifies with the struggle of victims, dissidents and people who oppose social norms in a way to create more compassionate individuals, multiculturalism frame that shows that acceptance is the normal behaviour in past Arab societies and boundary frame that shows the exclusive nature of restrictive authorities and vilifies them. These frames and their assigned interpretations from Manshoor's main actors may be useful to understanding what makes frames in oppositional blogs successful in these circumstances.

Numerous studies have addressed social movements and the role of new media in defying the political status quo in the Arab region, especially the movement known as the Arab spring (Beinin & Vairel, 2013; Howard & Hussain, 2013; Khondker, 2011; Maghrabi, 2017; Olesen, 2013; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012). Yet, no study has focused on how online presence is being used to create or promote a social movement initiated by liberals, or any other dissident group outside of a mainstream conservative culture trying to defy the mainstream culture and social norms. Additionally, scholarship addressing social movements has typically been interested in movements that have resulted in transnational and large protests, or movements that fight state power and large business institutions (Voss & Williams, 2012). In the Arab world, the scholarship has focused on protests and other direct action for political change (Bayat, 2002; Castells, 2015; Haklai, 2009; Halpern, 1963; Lim, 2012; Rennick, 2013). However, not all social movements promote direct action (Desrosiers, 2012); a social movement can seek to "transform cultural representations, social norms—how groups see themselves and are seen by others" (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p. 284). This is where the present thesis departs from
previous studies. It focuses on a social movement that aims for a subtle change in people's perception of issues and their social life style, rather than changes of regimes or end economic monopolizations. Specifically, the thesis looks at such a social movement, with a focus on its online frames.

**The Story of Manshoor**

Jassim Qamis is a socially liberal Kuwaiti who has a history of high involvement in the Kuwaiti political scene. That political activity includes being one of the bloggers who played an active role in the Nabeeha Khamsa campaign, which resulted in changing the number of electoral districts of the country from 25 to 5. He also led a campaign for Aseel Al-Awhadi, who was a liberal candidate for Parliament. Those experiences among other personal experiences made Qamis realize that politics was no longer his target. He stated, "It is meaningless to limit yourself with borders; if you’re aiming to create a change, then the world is a much wider playground" (Qamis, 2017). Qamis was one of the thousands of youth who were inspired by the Arab spring, and was immersed in the movement, particularly the 25 January Revolution in Egypt, including the cultural and social revolution that followed it. It motivated him to join the wave of change and be a change agent himself. "I, like many others in my generation, have always had the feeling that I want to do something big, but I never knew what!" he exclaimed in an interview (Qamis, 2017). Qamis had a large interest in marketing and mass communication, and he had a professional background in journalism, having worked as a columnist and editor of political news in a local Kuwaiti newspaper called Aljarida after graduating from college at University of Hartford- Connecticut. Therefore, the project he wanted to make in order to reflect the essence of his experiences and changed life's perspective logically was
related to his areas of interest. He was willing to take this "delicate matter of presenting raw ideas that aim to challenge people and their thoughts, rather than forcibly convince them" (Qamis, 2017). He started telling his friends about his conceptualization of his project, believing that to start a project as big as what he envisioned required a partner to help each other and make up for each other's shortfalls. All supported and encouraged him but none was enthusiastic enough to do it, including co-founder Ali Al-Nessif, who only gave him business tips.

Al-Nessif studied accounting in University of Denver-Colorado and got his MBA in Loyola Marymount University-Los Angeles, then came back to Kuwait to work at Capital Markets Authority, the governmental institution supervising investment sector in Kuwait. The move back to Kuwait and to routine life was "a dark phase" in Al-Nessif's life. He recalled: "I felt alienated and I didn’t belong to my surrounding community. I felt more alive in the US without the expected framework assigned to you by your society, and I left all that to be back in the same box of going to work, get a raise and make money" (Al-Nessif, 2018). Al-Nessif experienced the start-ups life in America, and said "there is something godly about setting up a plan that transforms an idea to a reality" (Al-Nessif, 2018). It is the same interest that made him decide to join Qamis.

The two met in gatherings and reunions of Kuwaiti students who worked in National Union of Kuwaiti Students - USA branch, which works as a representative for the needs of Kuwaitis studying in America and address these needs to the Kuwaiti embassy in DC. A while after they discussed the project, Al-Nessif, being interested in the start-ups world, convinced Qamis they should both join a start-ups bootcamp, which is the stage where the relationship between both Qamis and Al-Nessif strengthened, and
the their bond surpassed work partners and became mission-guided believers. Al-Nessif talked about the relationship they built, stating, "as we were working on a mock up plan for the project, we had many meetings that lasted for hours. In these meetings, we began to delve into deep conversations on all aspects of life, and talked about the problems of our double-standard and materialistic society, and we helped each other to step out of a dark cloud that shadowed our lives at that time. I experienced no such level and depth of bond with anyone from my surroundings" (Al-Nessif, 2018). The result of the mock up plan was a blog called BeOpen, which was launched in December 2014. Qamis described BeOpen as a Minimal Viable Product (MVP), and an important trial experience before moving to Manshoor as a permanent project. "We learned many things in this experience; such as how to develop a work process, best way to divide sections and the importance of having a comprehensible name" (Qamis, 2017). BeOpen is not entirely different from Manshoor in terms of issues covered or style of writing; both stemmed from the same objective and motive. Both Qamis and Al-Nessif emphasized the validation BeOpen gave to what they intend to do. Al-Nessif elaborated: "It was a validation that Arabs read when you present something that is relevant to their lives, respects their minds and talk to them as an equal instead of preaching to them as a higher moral authority that tells them wrong from right. It is also a validation that the young generation in the Arab world is similar in so many levels in term of how they think, same reasons causing anxiety and the problems they face with the older generations" (Al-Nessif, 2018). Therefore, and since the similarities were more than the differences, it did not make sense for the cofounders to focus their attention on Kuwait only, but rather extend to whoever speaks Arabic. According to Qamis, "Kuwait has its big cultural and social influence of the GCC
countries, but it is a limited influence on the entire Middle East given to its small area size and limited resource" (Qamis, 2017). This guided the two cofounders to continue with the *no locality* approach, where the majority of posts in Manshoor present issues and stories that are relevant to anyone in the Arab region. This, among logistical reasons, encouraged the cofounders to locate Manshoor's office in Egypt, which is "the centre of the current wave of social and cultural changes that are sweeping the region" (Qamis, 2017).

Manshoor was launched on November 16, 2016. Before talking about Manshoor's working model and revenues strategies, it is important to talk a little about the other intended movement actors, especially since they are from different backgrounds and represent different nationalities. Although details of what made them become involved with Manshoor is to be explained in the findings, the following paragraph explains how the actors came together and became a major part of the movement. They had not met prior to BeOpen or Manshoor. Sheikha Al-Bahawed, a 29-year-old Kuwaiti, is a social activist and a writer for print and electronic newspapers. She has a degree in criminal law from Kuwait International Law School. She met Qamis while both were working on a local social/entertainment TV show. He told her about BeOpen, she gave him sample of her work, and she has been part of the team ever since. Osama Youssef, a 25-year-old from Egypt, joined BeOpen while he was studying telecommunication engineering as a freelancing translator, then joined Manshoor as a full time writer and translator. He is passionate about everything that contributes to one's personality and intellectual development, be it music, movies or literature. Ahmad Yehia, a 34-year-old Egyptian, is a graduate of Arabic language from Al-Azhar University. He has worked in traditional
journalism as a desk editor and has published a book of short stories. He saw Manshoor’s recruitment announcement on Facebook and immediately was hooked by its unoriginality. The announcement said something close to "we want people who are mad enough and enthusiastic enough to try things never been done before. Come and let us try together. Send CV and work sample" (Yehia, 2018). Sahar Al-Hashimi is a Saudi woman who now lives between the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait. She has a great interest in culture broadly defined and is an avid reader. Al-Hashimi has a passion for being involved in projects that are bigger than herself where she feels she is part of something large. Al-Hashimi joined BeOpen as a writer and now continues with Manshoor handling administrative tasks.

Manshoor's work model depends on posts from writers paid per posts, from Manshoor team, translations and posts from contributions. Manshoor has a style book and an editorial policy that rules whether the post is to be published or not. Although some rules are fixed, changes or addition can occur to the rules. Examples of such rules are: every information included in the posts must be backed with reliable source hyperlinked to the information itself, when an implicit conclusion that something could be wrong or right is included then the post's author must show clear arguments on how he or she reached such conclusion, cannot involve personal perception of facts; such as considering a quote from a high profile person or a religious text as a fact and posts must not be offensive to any beliefs and group of people. According to Youssef, Manshoor's main rule is to support marginalized and outcasted groups in society "Manshoor can be biased in its stance, but it is always neutral in it sources" (Youssef, 2018). However, movement's actors assure that the people who have negative feedback on controversial issues
addressed in the blog are offended by tackling an issue in a new way than the one they are used to read or hear, it is not the post that is offensive. Al-Bahawed said "we try to avoid clashing with our readers by maintaining a calm tone when addressing controversial or tricky matters and never attack their beliefs" (Al-Bahawed, 2018).

Discussion of controversial issues is essential for Manshoor's intended movement to reach its objective of promoting a culture of accepting people living life they chose to live, because it helps to alter people’s perceptions of marginalized groups and opens more discussion on related topics. For example, Qamis said "if we are not allowed to have a conversation about sex, then we cannot speak about and fight sexual harassment and achieve something as big as the success of MeToo campaign" (Qamis, 2018). That is why Manshoor follows different styles of writing when approaching controversial issues. A post can look like an investigative report, such as "Single mothers: pregnancy in the Middle East" (Gaddh, 2018) and "Atheism in Arabian laws" (Al-Aryan, 2017). Another approach is personal experiences where posts interview victims who are rejected or supressed for religious beliefs and sexual orientation. Such approaches were repeated in plenty of posts such as "Middle East Arab lesbians" (Al-Ma’alawi, 2017), "Abortion is women’s Right" (Al-Bahawed, 2017e), "Bisexuals in the Arab world" (Yehia, 2017), "Hijab in Iran" (Mohamed, 2017c) and "Female mullahs mourning muharram in shia society" (Al-Bahawed, 2017d). A third approach is using historical background to show the readers the basis that made a simple issue to be controversial, or shows how what is now considered to be controversial used to be a blessing or socially positive. Examples of this approach are "Sexual austerity in Islam" (Al-Sherbiny, 2017b), "Mixing Quran with music" (Hassan, 2017b) and "When homosexuality was a social duty" (Mokaidam, 2017).
Although the overall writing style may be one of the mentioned approaches, many posts include more than one approach.

The final important aspect of Manshoor is ways of generating revenue. At the beginning, all the work depended on personal funding from Qamis and Al-Nessif. Later, they started to provide translation services soon after Manshoor was launched. Al-Nessif, who is responsible for the financial side, said "we are aware of the fact that this world runs through business. If we want to create change, have greater impact, and to be able to do so for many years ahead, we need to have revenue" (Al-Nessif, 2018). Income resources for Manshoor are a content provider and a public relations agency for clients, which Qamis and Al-Nessif established. Manshoor has also received funding from the Kuwait National Fund for Small and Medium Enterprise Development. Qamis noted that "it helps that we operate from Egypt, where the expenses are much cheaper compared to other places" (Qamis, 2018) Those who joined Manshoor's intended movement in the beginning, or even at this early stage, could not driven by financial motives: "We tell whoever joins us that compared to market price, what we will pay them is little. I tell them that it is the only way for Manshoor to carry on long enough. If they like Manshoor and are convinced in what it does, that is enough motive for them to join the team" (Qamis, 2018).

Thesis Objective and Outline

The thesis seeks to help fill an academic gap in the literature on framing by examining how the liberal blog's owners align their frames with those of the broader social movement. The thesis examines frames used to achieve the blog's objectives and express its values embraced by the movement and how it is aligning these not-wholly-
embraced values to the conservative societies. As a case study, the thesis sought to be a first step in examining the role of new media and visuals in starting a controversial social movement in conservative societies, specifically Manshoor's intended movement in Kuwait. To do so, the thesis focused on the values and frames the movement's owners align to it through conducting a textual analysis of a sample of controversial blog posts, guided by literature on the frame alignment process (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986) and visual social semiotics (Harrison, 2003; Jewitt & Oyama, 2001).

With choosing the Manshoor movement as a case study, the thesis will be a basis for future longitudinal studies that seek to assess influence a blog might have in a social movement to change cultural beliefs and social norms in a conservative society like Kuwait.

The thesis is divided to six chapters as follows:

1. Chapter one is an introduction and an overview of the thesis topic and Manshoor.

2. Chapter two discusses the application of the frame alignment process and how social movement's leaders use mass media and social media to resonate the frames to the public and mobilize their movements.

3. Chapter three explains how the frame alignment process was used to mobilize the Arab spring in Egypt and how it influenced the social aspects as much as political ones. The chapter also talks about relevant history of Kuwait and the recent situation involving the citizens’ stance on new and unoriginal ideas.

4. Chapter four is methodology and data collection. It describes in details the textual analysis and in-depth interviews process followed to collect and analyze data and the thematic analysis used for analyzing the findings.
5. Chapter five presents the analysis of the text (56 posts), photos (102 visuals), and interviews of six major actors in Manshoor. Frames used by Manshoor and their interpretations are identified in this chapter as well.

6. Chapter six is the discussion and conclusion, which discusses the connection between the frames found in the textual analysis and the frame alignment processes found in the interviews. It also includes the conclusion, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future studies.
Chapter 2:

Aligning Frames to Social Movements

This chapter explores social movements and the focus of scholarly studies on factors and grievances instigating them, and how social movements' creators utilize these factors to emphasize their perception of the world and mobilize supporters to serve the objectives of their movement.

The chapter first covers the original focus of social movement studies and their findings of the main elements needed in order to create a movement. The chapter shows how this focus was criticized by Snow et al. (1986), explaining that it only analyzes the factors or the social-psychological influence of these factors. The chapter explains how they overcome these shortcomings by explaining the importance of movements' interpretation of the grievance through adopting from pre-existing cultural values, calling these interpretations frames. The chapter addresses the four processes a movement's creators go through to achieve resonance for their frames and the movement’s objective and the role of the public sphere in providing the environment in which the movement can contextualize itself within it and add to it or change it.

Later the chapter discusses how social movements have used mass media to reach their potential adherents, with specific attention to the role of the new media tools. The chapter focuses on how the Internet characteristics expanded the extent in which social movements can reach, through developing and facilitating the mechanisms of building
and mobilizing a movement. The internet’s role in the application of the frame alignment process is explored in this chapter as well.

The chapter also addresses the role of visuals in social movements and the special characteristics of images that enable them to convey controversial messages. It also explores how a movement’s creators can take advantage of photos to shape a movement’s frames.

**Social Movements and Collective Identity**

Social movements are "networks of informal interactions, between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (Diani, 1992, p. 13). They are instigated by conflicts that challenge the existing political and social system (Melucci, 1980). More specific to the present study, Touraine (1985) explains a social movement as a conflict over "social control of the main cultural pattern" (p. 754) where competing groups want to keep, alter or eliminate cultural values of the ruling group. Individuals who perceive a conflict as ill treatment (McAdam, 2003) or grievance and injustice (DeVriese, 2013) may organize themselves into a group with an intention of producing a new environment and social relations. Such a group has to structure collective identity to achieve solidarity around what the movement stands for. According to Polletta and Jasper (2001), collective identity is an "individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution" (p. 285). A collective identity of a social movement is unique from the mainstream identity of the host society's environment; thus, a collective identity can fill a gap and bring a sense of mutuality and belonging between individuals whose beliefs and cultures are misrepresented or underrepresented in
societies. For collective identity to be effective, it must borrow from already existing values and beliefs embraced by individuals (McAdam et al., 1996). Such values and beliefs include those that have been prohibited by dominant society and/or tradition, including religion, state security and public safety.

**The Role of Visuals in Social Movements**

In order to generate the greatest amount of support, it is common for social movement actors to integrate their movement’s values into their communications through verbal language, including print materials, speeches, films, images and audio recordings. Images have been particularly vital in activism in contemporary times, yet have received little attention in social movement studies (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012; Olesen, 2013). Photographs have the ability to empower a social movement, because they support information and validate verbal discourse (Maghrabi, 2017). An example of photographs that were disseminated through mass media and helped mobilize a social movement include pictures of the Neda Agha Soltan, who was shot during 2009 protests in Iran; the pictures contributed to a further mobilization of the movement against the Iranian regime, attracting more supporters (Ali & Fahmy, 2013; Mortensen, 2011). Similarly, the photo of naked Vietnamese children fleeing from their bombed village in 1972 stirred anti-war protest in the United States (Hariman & Lucaites, 2007).

The saying goes, a picture is worth a thousand words. Viewers’ truthfulness and meaning assigned to photos can exceed the power of verbal facts and information (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). For that reason, visuals may be chosen as a dominant purveyor of messages that social movement actors believe might receive considerable resistance from the public (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). Three
characteristics of visual images contribute to the public’s acceptance of the messages a picture could convey according to Messaris and Abraham (2001). First is their analogical quality, which means that the viewer can recognize the objects in the image without prior knowledge or without it being an exact replica of reality. The second characteristic is indexicality of images, which is the exclusive quality photographs have of including natural lightning that helps strengthen their reflection of reality and, therefore, the audience’s perception of their truthfulness. The third characteristic is photographs’ lack of an explicit propositional syntax. While words can establish different propositions such as comparison, causality and generalization of a certain issue, visuals cannot. Viewers are left to make up the visual propositions from the context or any cues. These three characteristics may contribute to people being unaware of attempts to control their conscious through photographs, especially when they tend to unquestionably perceive the photo as more real in comparison to verbal communication (Messaris & Perusasion, 1997). Consequently, images can be very useful on websites and in blogs to help mobilize supporters.

At the same time, photos and images are texts that can be read “interpretively” (Riessman, 2008, p. 6); therefore, the meaning intended might not be the meaning received. Visual analysis tries to determine meaning and can be conducted from different methods and perspectives. One perspective is semiology, which is defined as "analytical tools for taking an image apart and tracing how it works in relation to broader systems of meaning" (Rose, 2016, p. 106). Some semiotics research focuses on analyzing only the meaning in the image itself, while other research aims to know how images are deployed to confirm a belief or principle, whether social or political (Thurlow & Aiello, 2007).
Social movements that deliberately repeat the use of images that convey the same possible meanings in their communicative materials can end up creating their own definition of the idea, activity or value reflected in the image, and end up eliminating or transforming the already existing definitions (Aiello & Thurlow, 2006). A movement’s leaders can, for example, emphasize guilt feelings through victimizing certain groups by showing the personal damage and de-emphasize the severity of an event by showing only material damages (Fahmy, 2005). This helps the movement in its process of shaping people’s interpretation of issues and resonates its identity and objectives with the public.

Frame Alignment Process

Social movement studies have generally focused on factors leading to a movement’s rise, without analyzing how these factors were utilized for it to grow and gain supporters (McCallion & Maines, 1999). Given that social movements challenge the status quo, as explained earlier, and their objectives revolve around changing public opinions (Hartley, Lala, Donaghue, & McGarty, 2016), scholars have demonstrated how social movements were successful through their abilities to synchronize themselves with already standing socially appreciated and adopted actions and values, a process called “appropriation” (Anheier, 2003; McAdam, 2003; Melucci, 1980).

One of the most prominent methods to achieve appropriation is the frame alignment processes, introduced in the seminal article “Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation” by Snow et al. (1986). Snow and his colleagues were among the first scholars to pay attention to the meaning assigned to factors that incite movements (McCallion & Maines, 1999). They refer to the linkage process between the values of the movement and values of the prospective members. In
order for social movements' leaders to impose their own interpretation of different issues, they must achieve appropriation by creating collective identity, in which individual beliefs are linked to beliefs of the movement that are synchronized with beliefs already adopted by the public. When the movements' leaders offer interpretation and align this interpretation with supporting values and beliefs to their objectives, mobilization occurs. Frame alignment processes have proven to be successful in analyzing movements. As was noted by one scholar who is also a member of a movement, frame alignment "explicitly describes the process that I experienced as a participant observer" (White, 1999, p. 79). This cognitive process borrows Goffman’s (1974) conceptualization of frames, which is "schemata of interpretation" (p. 21) that enable individuals to label, understand, judge and make opinions about concurrent and new issues in their lives and the world in general.

Different conceptualizations of frame have emerged in the literature. According to Scheufele (1999), these conceptualizations can be categorized in two main dimensions: frames as independent or dependent variables and whether they were media or individual frames. Media frames are the pervasive ideas that media organizations or journalists impose when giving meaning to the different media materials they present (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987), while an individual frame is a "mentally stored cluster of ideas that guide individuals’ processing of information" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Frames as dependent variables perceive frames as malleable to different factors; media frames are influenced by organizational or societal factors and ideologies (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), while individual frames are influenced by the media framing of an issue (Price, Tewksbury, & Powers, 1996) as well as cultural and personal factors. Frames as
independent variables are perceived as producing an effect; thus, media frames influence the audience, and individual frames influence the individual’s evaluation and acceptance of media frames. The negotiation of the media and individual frames … can determine one’s engagement and participation in political events. Media frames and individual frames compete against each other when they are different, but can work hand in hand when one resonates with the other, such as when media content uses cultural cues from the audience to convey a message.

Gamson (1985) developed a typology of frames as individual and independent variables in social movements. Snow et al. (1986) used Gamson's typology when defining frames in frame alignment process. However, they observed shortcomings of how frames were used in social movements, and the neglecting of the importance of frames’ interpretation to successfully mobilize a collective action. Snow and his team emphasized on the connection or linkage social movement's creators make between the frames’ interpretations and the society's pre-existing cultural norms, values and beliefs. This linkage is a significant contribution of Snow et al. (1986) to the conceptualization of framing, and it is what the frame alignment process seeks to explore.

The main differences between what Snow et al. (1986) presented and traditional framing theory is that the latter care about certain details, such as how frames are built or how an issue is framed and where do these frames stem from, and studies using this conceptualization use it mainly to analyze journalistic framing of mass media content (De Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, 1999). The frame alignment process focuses on such details as well; however, it specifically focuses on use of frames in mobilizing a movement, and it is more culturally based. Interpreting current situations and why or how must they change
based on culture, suggests that the frame alignment processes are "a set of culture-making strategies that movements use to build code structures that will be convincing to participants, supporters and the public" (Hart, 1996). For frames to resonate, they must be based on accepted values (Steinberg, 1998) and fit the current times (Lim, 2013a; McCallion & Maines, 1999).

Before moving to the four processes, it is important to discuss how frames are developed. Scheufele (1999) indicates that media frames are influenced by many external factors such as authority and political actors, especially in a political context. However, the external influence does not apply to the social movement frames. The literature that followed the publishing of Snow et al. (1986) witnessed an introduction to processes that the movement's leaders go through in order to generate the frames, the most prominent was the discursive process (Benford & Snow, 2000). Discursive process is the interaction referred to which happens among activists (Bakardjieva, Felt, & Teruelle, 2018). The interaction includes all the spoken or written communication on the movement's activities which occur between the movement's members and about movement's activities. In this process, the members assemble then unify a variety of events and experiences. What makes this unifying linkage unique from movement to another is not the novelty of the experience or events in the center of attention, but the novelty of the angle and interpretation of these newly unified packages of reality resulting from the discursive process (Benford & Snow, 2000; Desrosiers, 2012).

There are four frame alignment processes, and all are goals-oriented (Ospina & Foldy, 2010). The first process, frame bridging, occurs when two or more ideologically congruent individuals or organizations (Snow et al., 1986, p. 476) connect over a specific
issue by finding a common value that establishes resonance and interest in the movement and its collective action (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). It is an important step in the early stages of the movement because, and especially on the individual level, it connects those who share the same grievances but are not able to take action to fulfill their interest, and help in building a plan to achieve these interests (Snow et al., 1986). An example of frame bridging is the injustice frame used by the social movement opposing the Trans Mountain Expansion Project in Canada. The movement leaders used that frame to bridge between social justice and indigenous rights activists on one side and environmental groups on the other side to achieve its goal of terminating the project. The activists interpreted the frame as injustice to the native people's rights, while the environmentalists' interpretation was the injustice to nature by affecting natural water resources (Bakardjieva et al., 2018). It is worthy of mentioning that in some cases of oppositional insiders, frame bridging happens on an intra-institutional level, where a movement's leaders prefer not to depend on external individuals or institutions to mobilize the movement. An example of such incidents seen in the liturgical social movement to change the form of Catholic worship in the 1960's. This movement bridged between the Catholic Church and the Catholic universities using the active participation frame to change the sentiments of the laity on the Vatican II reform (McCallion & Maines, 1999).

The second process, frame amplification, is where the social movement's leaders choose certain measures to ensure that potential adherents adopt the same priorities and world perception of the movement's leaders (Bakardjieva et al., 2018). It happens through extensive focus on one or more values or issues and relating them to the potential
followers' lives (Snow et al., 1986). Frame amplification helps in the creation of a vital bond between the movement and other individuals by giving meaningful interpretation to events in order to gain support and participation in the movement. Amplification can happen to values that are worth protecting or implementing but have been endangered or eliminated from the public sphere because of many reasons. Amplification can also happen to beliefs such as the seriousness of an issue, the efficacy of collective actions and the possibility of a change, causes of an issue, stereotypes of an influence and the propriety of taking a stance. Amplifying that repressive authority and unemployment were the reasons behind Bouazizi's self-immolation which helped mobilize the 2010 social movement in the Tunisian revolution against the Bin Ali regime (Lim, 2013a).

The third process, frame extension, is the strategy when a social movement extends its framework to wider concerns that might not be of a main interest to the movement, or extends the strategy in which the movement applies its framework (Benford & Snow, 2000). The process helps the movement draw greater public support and allies to the movement (Davies, 1999), for it clarifies an ambiguous relationship between the frame and the potential adherents' lives by including what resonates with their perspectives. An example is the black feminist movements against anti-rape discourse after the trial of boxer Mike Tyson. The movement's leaders extended their concerns of sexism and rape-supportive discourse facing black women from the black community and the dissemination of the notion that the black man is "powerless and endangered," to a wider problem facing the African American community, which is "criminalization versus the rehabilitation of black men in the prison system" (White, 1999, p. 86). Using the community belief that the suffering of one means the suffering of
all, the movement highlighted the contention that the large number of imprisoned black men under bad conditions with non-rehabilitation programs can increase the chances of women being raped by these men once released (White, 1999).

The fourth and final process, frame transformation, refers to a movement's attempt to take an existing frame that society embraces and use it to interpret an event or an issue. The existing frame is transformed into a new frame. In other words, it is reframing an already existing frame (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). In the liturgists movement's frame of active participation, the leaders of the movement transformed the understanding of the role of laity in church masses (McCallion & Maines, 1999). Social movements in Ontario, Canada, demanding the local government to fund all religious schools and not just the Catholic ones, transformed the traditional frame used in such cases from a traditional frame to more contemporary one. Transforming from using religious frames to nonreligious ones, like multiculturalism and the right to choose, making it appeal to secularists and gain their support, for the movement's objectives fit their values as well, and will lead to achieving goals, like inclusion and a better educational system, that will benefit them as much as religious groups (Davies, 1999).

Movement leaders have used the frame alignment process to make their objectives more personal to prospective members through transforming any "social phenomena into culturally recognisable problems, the formation of ways to tackle them, and the related motivation to act to resolve them" (Loader, 2008, p. 1,925). Although the frames are influenced by their creators and their identities (Desrosiers, 2012), movements are normalized in society only by using tools adopted from the society, which include pre-existing beliefs, values, cultural norms, religious text and documents (Hart, 1996;
McCallion & Maines, 1999). That is why frames' creators must understand the key social aspects of the society that they can incorporate in presenting the frames in an acceptable manner (Desrosiers, 2012). When choosing frames, leaders must make sure they also resonate with the concurrent environment (Davies, 1999). Through using familiar frames, movement's supporters can be confident that in solidarity they are able to make changes that will achieve the movement's objectives (Polletta & Jasper, 2001).

In their overview and assessment of frame alignment studies addressing social movements, Benford and Snow (2000) reported that numerous frames have been identified. These frames continue to be used and may be appropriate to be used on blogs like Manshoor to promote a social movement. The most prominent is the injustice frame (Anheier, Neidhardt, & Vortkamp, 1998; Cable & Shriver, 1995; Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Klandermans, De Weerd, Sabucedo, & Costa, 1999; Klandermans & Goslinga, 1996; Marshall, 2003). Movements using the injustice frame usually assign blame and emphasize moral outrage, the significance of a problem, and injustices being done, and protesters against this injustice are portrayed positively almost all the time. (Harlow & Johnson, 2011). The injustice frame highlights the burdens imposed on victims' lives and the emotional suffering (anger, stress, and anxiety) (Marshall, 2003). The social movement finds itself using the injustice frame when it highlights inequality, grievance, violation of rights by groups or institutions, and "intentional" tendency to marginalize a group by authority or other groups (Desrosiers, 2012). Another relevant frame identified in the frame alignment literature is the fear of possible personal suffering frame (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006). This frame, unlike the social injustice frame, does not include or offer solutions to the problems it identify. Rather it aims to include everyone
around certain emotions and move them to fear for oneself and to compassion and self-identification with the victims (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006). **Boundary frame** is another important frame. It helps movement leaders to rigidly interpret good and evil, who is in and who is out on basis of physical, social characteristics and practices and assign a person or an action to each dichotomy (Hipsher, 2007; Hunt & Benford, 1994; Wiktorowicz, 2004). A final important relevant frame is **multiculturalism and right of choice frame**. This frame promotes acceptance of diversity in society. It calls for appreciation of a pluralistic society in which cultural differences are appreciated and seen as a benefit to communities, insisting that national identity must be flexible and inclusive of all members even when they do not display certain features (Rietveld, 2014). Movements using this frame usually link minority cultural preservation with minority rights, with attention to diversity, tolerance, acceptance, civic life, and cosmopolitan (Davies, 1999).

Frame alignment is vitally important to the many dissent groups that have turned to the virtual sphere of online social media to promote their values and objectives and link like-minded individuals (Hara & Huang, 2011). Similarly, the use of the social injustice frame to mobilize the Egyptian revolution in 2011 that caused the impeachment of Hosni Mubarak depended heavily on social media platforms (Maghrabi, 2017; Tudoroiu, 2014). A Facebook page in Indonesia launched a movement to support two members of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) who were arrested on charges of false allegation of bribery. The movement used injustice and victimization frames to demonstrate that KPK members were innocent and victims of a corrupt system
(Lim, 2013b). This is an example of frame alignment as the people identified with injustice and victimization frames because of their own experiences with the system.

Thanks to new media, be it blogs, websites or social media, social movement actors have a platform to present and respond to opponents; thus, they are able to directly participate in the diffusion of frames they choose to align to the movement. This diffusion of frames by -- and to -- what has been called the “silent majority” through social movements in the new media, have contributed in helping the creation of the movement's identity, which is vital to obtaining support and more participants (Maghrabi, 2017). Therefore, identifying the frames and how they align with the goals of the social movement they are connected with, such as Manshoor, is important.

Since the early 2000's, studies show the ability of the internet to generate public attention and overcome of censorship regulations (Diani, 2003; Tufekci, 2014) has helped in facilitating the four steps of the frame alignment process in social movements. Because of this, social movement leaders who lead through use of the internet are activists. Hara and Huang (2011) suggest the frame alignment process is “useful when analysing the use of the Internet as a communication tool for social movements” (p.17). One of the important aspects to analyze in terms of the relation between the Internet and the processes, is the discursive process that leads to generating frames. The discussions about social movements interpretations and activities occurring in different online platforms is one place to observe this discursive process, and see how the internet allows movements to evolve their frames as a reflexive action to the public opinions, especially the opining of groups which have not been the primary focus of the movement (Bakardjieva et al., 2018).
On websites, images have become a huge part of the process of frame alignment. The Internet's role in social movements is maximizing the impact visuals play in a movement. Any actor or participant in the movement may now be equipped with a camera and a wide-open platform that makes sharing any photo that supports the movement's objectives easier than it was before. Leaders of social movements may select photos to ignite a collective action, and that highlight a certain interpretation of reality, one which serves the movement's purposes and resonates with potential supporters. In other words, photos are selected which promote frames that align with the people’s mindset. Careful selection of photos for this purpose is challenging because, as noted by Barthes (1977), a photograph is not just ‘‘received, it is read, connected more or less consciously by the public that consumes it to a traditional stock of signs’’ (p. 19). Thus, the frame alignment process is important for social movements to provide a context in which the photos must be read to serve the movement's objectives. Therefore, and after the social movement's actors choose which frames they want to align to their movement, they start infusing these frames in the photographs used to support their message and make sure people interpret what they see in a way that aids mobilizing the movement (Olesen, 2013).

Visual social semiotics, which developed from traditional semiology, suggest how images can be used to create a certain impression on an issue or a person. Visual social semiotics work in reflecting the interpretive meaning of the frames used; the movement's leaders can utilize the different visual resources in the photos since they are, after all, "resource(s) for making meanings" (Halliday, 1978, p. 192). Visual social semiotics analyze the image as part of a whole social situation where there is an interactional
relationship between the elements of an image, its producer and its viewer within a particular context. A discussion of relevant visual resources for this study as explained by Jewitt and Oyama (2001) follows. **A. Contact factor** is when the person in the picture looks at the viewer, which creates a contact. If the contact was direct, it could imply either strength and defiance or pity, with both ways creating high engagement. However, if the contact was indirect, it could imply detachment and marginalization. Fahmy (2004) explains that contact factor also analyzes the expression reflected in the human elements' looking straight to the viewer, such as whether they are pleading for something or just smiling without a story to tell. The facial expressions influence the emotional connection the viewer builds with the human elements in the photo. **B. Point of view** is very much related to the relation between the element in the photo and the viewer's eye level. A human in the photo staring back at the viewer at the eye level reflects equality, where high indicates the pictured person is less powerful than the viewer and vice versa (Fahmy, 2004). The frontal angles create more involvement and engagement with the human element than profile or back angles which lead to detachment and marginalization (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). **C. The social distance** factor is related to intimacy or distance felt towards people in pictures, and can be read in its relation to the size of the frame. Examples of social distance are: **intimacy** (head and face shot), **close and personal distance** (head and shoulders), **far personal distance** (from the waist up), **close social distance** (the whole figure), **far social distance** (public figure with space around it) and **public distance** (picture with several human elements) (Harrison, 2003).

These visual resources can also answer questions such as what is the image representing (Harrison, 2003; Stoian, 2015), what story does it carry (narrative image) of
the humans and objects in the image, who is taking action, who is reacting, who is passive, and what is the nature of this interaction and in which context (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001)? Or, does the image convey a concept (conceptual image) through classifying or symbolizing elements of an image (e.g., the concept of movement to convey migrants’ issue in Gilligan and Marley (2010)). Concepts are mostly helpful when there is no obvious interaction between human elements in the image, and can be reflected in the image setting and/or the appearance of the human elements in the image (reflecting confidence, control, dominance, etc... ) (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001).

Visual social semiotics can help with understanding how the Manshoor represents the elements of the image, and whether they intend to use them to reflect a concept or to tell a story. When the movement's leaders achieve success in unifying public discourse on what they are defining as a social injustice, nationalism or any other value (frame) they align to the movement, and it is adopted by the people as the movement to fulfill these values, then the social movement has successfully penetrated the public sphere.

**Public Sphere**

German sociologist and philosopher Jurgen Habermas in his 1961 book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* introduced the concept of public sphere in. It refers to "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed" (Habermas, Lennox, & Lennox, 1974, p. 49). Habermas based his theory on the bourgeois circle in Europe who privately met in order to conduct rational discussions of ideas and issues and exchange knowledge. These discussions led to forming a public opinion. Thus, a public sphere is where debates on concerns are institutionalized and open to every citizen (DeVriese, 2013).
Social movements take place in the public sphere. As mentioned earlier, some scholars contend that the internet removed the boundaries and now only one sphere exists (DeVriese, 2013). With this understanding, social media and blogs are opening the door to new activism; that can change the public sphere or form a transnational public sphere which can later lead to change (Tudoroiu, 2014). Online social movements consider their targeted audience as partners in the movement. Browne (2005) believes that the audiences are involved and can initiate activities such as writing for the medium used by the movement, contacting the leaders of the movement and open meetings to discuss what the movement is promoting, or question and answer sessions. It is the leaders of the social movement who take the lead role in guiding the audience participating in the movement to tasks they can perform in the social movement when working on the goal-setting process.

This transitional public sphere requires adjusting some of the previous conviction the online social movement leaders have on what could be considered a successful outcome of the movement. A successful outcome, which could be the opening up of society, does not have to be achieved through direct confrontation with the actual system or the mental systems of previous beliefs of individuals. Goals can be achieved through "engagement in a new type of activism with less direct techniques for leading, directing, opposing, and controlling" (Murphy, 2009, p. 1139). Social movements are already using the internet as a tool to disseminate their messages in order to create more informed, well-rounded individuals. These individuals will eventually be enabled to understand the status quo and express their minds and move in the direction to satisfy their needs and end injustice (DeVriese, 2013).
However, in the case of social taboos, it can be easier to penetrate the public sphere from a political point of view rather than from a socially sensitive point of view. For example, it can be easier to write a post about a controversial historical topic or a person highly respected and not be in danger of authority punishment, especially in politically democratic societies. Yet, the writer is at risk of social outrage and risk of becoming an outcast. In such cases, the frame alignment process comes to the rescue, by appropriating the movement's objectives with accepted values. This helps mobilize movements which are stigmatized for adhering to beliefs and values that challenge the beliefs and values of the society (Benford & Snow, 2000) and makes the audience gradually accept what the movement is calling for. As a part of the process, visuals have also been helpful in delivering messages that are socially difficult to express explicitly (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1996; Messaris & Abraham, 2001).
Chapter 3:

Applications of Frame Alignment Process on Arab Spring and Kuwait

This chapter explores an application of the frame alignment process in the Arab region. In the Arab spring section, the chapter explains how values from the Egyptian society were used to mobilize the movement in that country. Also, the chapter addresses how the movement used the internet and the power of visuals to create frames that personalized the movement and create deeper resonance with the people of Egypt. Finally, the chapter presents a narrative analysis of Kuwaiti society. This section is important to demonstrate the environment in which Manshoor's creators have adopted for their values and cultural norms necessary to construct their movement's frames.

The Arab Spring

The frame alignment process has had an important role in the success of social movements in the Middle East, especially the “the Arab Spring” in the early 2010s. In Egypt, after the thirty years of President Hosni Mubarak’s rule (1981-2011), political and economic situations were catastrophic. Free speech was not only prohibited, it was punished with imprisonment and torture. This explains the Egypt's Arab spring movement leaders’ choice of grievance sharing (Rennick, 2013) and injustice frames (Maghrabi, 2017; Olesen, 2013), especially since the main contributor to mobilizing and coordinating the movement was the Facebook page “We Are All Khalid,” which highlighted police brutality. These frames were important to build a common ground for
the Egyptian youth and overcome a socioeconomic division that existed since the 1970's, a division that threatened the success of the Egyptian revolution (Prow, 2015).

It is not disputed that social media platforms and blogs contributed to mobilizing the Arab spring (Tudoroiu, 2014). New media, especially blogs and social media platforms, were used to facilitate the dissemination of news and information that was censored by authorities in the traditional media, and it facilitated forming networks between activists and organized protests (Howard & Hussain, 2011). Social media accelerated the spread of the postmortem picture of Khalid Said, who was beaten to death by the police. The social movement's actors circulated through Facebook juxtaposed pictures prepared by Said's family, that showed Khalid's face in a morgue where the traces of torture were obvious, and his normal face before he was beaten. This showed how an innocent person was victimized by the system, which enabled the movement to reinforce its injustice frame (Olesen, 2013) and convince the Egyptian people that anyone could be the next victim (Maghrabi, 2017). Wael Ghonaim, one of the main leaders in the Arab spring movement and the founder of the "We Are All Khalid" Facebook page, said "Without Facebook, without Twitter, without Google, without YouTube, this [revolution] would have never happened…If there was no social networks this would never have been sparked" (AFP, 2011, as cited in Maghrabi, 2017).

According to Lynch (2007) blogs have the ability to give voice to marginalized groups and provide a platform to share intellect, information and news. This contributes in the merging of both public and private spheres and to a more open public discourse. During the Arab spring, access to the internet removed the borders between the two spheres and contributed to the democratization of the Arabic public sphere, which had
been monopolized by the authority (DeVriese, 2013). Bloggers and Egyptian Arab spring activists' interpretation of the movement frame derived its strength from an already existing public opinion that had been growing since the 1950's, that revolutionized the people against imperialist and Western interventions. Public opinion later developed into rejection of every unjust authority and held this authority accountable for the dismal conditions of the country and its people (Tudoroiu, 2014). If these blogs did not lead to revolutions, they at least offer "a new kind of Arab public sphere which could reshape the texture of politics in the decades to come" (Lynch, 2007, p. 4), by introducing new ideas and matching identities that slowly become embraced by the mainstream media. As such, the blogs in Egypt fulfill the condition in which Habermas says that blogs can only constitute a public sphere when there is a link with the mass media (Lynch, 2007).

This review shows how the Arab spring movement appropriated suitable frames from existing discourse and used the internet to disseminate the frames to help mobilize the movement and generate a collective action. This is the essence of frame alignment. The fact that the Arab Spring emanated from a public discourse that had been accumulated for decades is part of what makes this thesis important. It brings attention to how social objectives and frames aligned to those objectives used in Manshoor can take part in building up a public sphere that might generate a collective action in the future.

It is important to note that the most obvious outcome from the Egyptian revolution was the variety of political changes following the Mubarak regime. However, the changes, and although stalled by military regimes, grew to be more inclusive to social and economic changes. Voices started demanding more human and women’s rights, participation of left-wing parties and empowering trade unions (Moghadam, 2014). The
young generation became more vocal in expressing their demands while using different tools. New music was made that revived the historical struggle of the Egyptian against imperialism or the victory over colonizing power, and embedded the new movement and reflected its objectives to enthuse participation (Prow, 2015; Swedenburg, 2012). Women took a vital role in the activities of the Arab spring movement, therefore, they made sure to highlight that sexual harassment was part of the injustice against the Egyptian women. Many campaigns in Egypt have stemmed from power given to the young people to challenge the injustices, like the Estargel (be a man) and Basma campaigns (Schmidl, 2014).

The changes seen after the Arab spring transcended the borders of the countries where it started from, Tunisia and Egypt. A large chain of events have unfolded in many Arab countries, including Bahrain, Qatar and Kuwait. These events are the result of the Egyptian example encouraging individuals who have long been aspiring for a change to defy their fear from authority and the rigid status quo (Asad, 2012; Sadiki, 2015). The Arab spring restored the belief in the potential outcomes of collective consciousness of the masses to install dignity and liberty to the citizens under any hard conditions, including authoritarian systems (Aras & Falk, 2016).

Kuwait

This last section of the literature review addresses the social environment in Kuwait, a country that is the focus of the case study.

The generation born since the 1990 U.S. invasion of Kuwait is more open to new and unfamiliar ideas due to access created by the internet and social media. This generation shows a growing tendency to try new things and is greatly influenced by the
social media celebrities (Al-Awadhi, 2017). Understanding the Kuwaiti environment is essential to contextualizing Manshoor and analyzing their appropriation of the cultural norms and values. Such an understanding can allow one to see how much the frames which Manshoor's founders chose to align to their movement and its objectives can facilitate the discussion of controversial social issues.

The first relevant aspect of the social environment is that Kuwaiti blogs choose English language when discussing what might be considered sensitive social issues, because this foreign language often gives bloggers a sense of freedom in posting what they think (Radsch, 2008). In Kuwait, readers of blogs or literature in English are usually affluent or upper middle-class liberals who are taught in private schools and have an open-minded mentality and willingness to adopt new ideas (Al-Awadhi, 2017). Manshoor's choice of Arabic language allows it to reach people with different mindsets who, unlike the private-school educated individuals are less likely to encounter media materials that deliver non-traditional perspectives (Kaposi, 2014). That is why the frame alignment process is an important part of the analysis; it helps to understand the frames Manshoor's intended movement uses in order to appeal to Arabic language readers group and perhaps other groups in the future.

Second, the official state religion of Islam penetrates everything, whether it is politics, freedom of expression, or social issues such as sexual practices. However, the conservative religion is not equally embraced by all. For example, a majority of 1,139 undergraduates at Kuwait University who responded to a survey on religiosity said they consider themselves to be only somewhat religious (Gonzalez, 2011). Nevertheless, Kuwaiti society's identity stems from Islamic values (Al-Rashidi, 1998). Religion is a
very private and sensitive topic (Cohen, 2009) and is often observed because of a tradition, which rarely includes critical thinking. Misco (2014) pointed out that the major barrier to critical thinking is habits found in traditions and customs. Kuwaiti history has shown that radical ideas will not find support, even if religiously based, such as the an Imam calling for the killing of two high profile Kuwaiti reformists, or the ideas of the historian Abdulazi Alrshaid and the merchant Yusuf Al-Qunaei that were more liberal than the Kuwaiti culture. Such calls for violent acts to silence ideas are rejected because they do not suit the forgiving values of the Kuwaiti society (Al-Awadhi, 2017).

Conservative Islamists have held a majority of seats in Parliament since the 1990s, which can be taken as an indication of the strength of Islam in society. Kuwaitis continue to support conservative ministers of Parliament who have demanded over the years the establishment of “morality police” to monitor the behaviour of women in public spaces and have demanded the death penalty for blasphemy. In the area of freedom of expression, the Kuwaitis have been conservative in their political and social viewpoints shared on the Internet, therefore limiting their social impact via the new media (Wheeler, 2012). In both last year’s and this year’s book fair exhibition, the Ministry of Information imposed strict censorship and banned books that did not support Kuwaiti conservative values, fuelled sectarianism, or encouraged indecent behaviour or atheism, just to name a few.

Kuwaiti society is also characterized by a conservative sex culture in which homosexuality is banned both in laws and societal traditions. Pornography websites are blocked and pornography is banned in the traditional media as well. Kuwaiti youth agree with the decision to restrict sexual materials (Abbas & Fadhli, 2008; Kaposi, 2014).
Even with the dominance of conservatism, there has always been a pocket of liberalism in Kuwait. Many new liberal ideas were introduced, especially after the 1950’s, which have been largely rejected by society, except from merchants who were more liberal and first adopters of these ideas. Examples of such ideas include wearing trousers, using the radio and TV, and learning the English language (Al-Awadhi, 2017). There have been many liberal voices in Kuwait that demanded more individual freedom. Some of these include Tanweer cultural center established in 2002. It promotes secularism and defying the religious authority with attempts to ideologize religion; it also encourages dialogue and the continuous interpretation of religious text to fit the needs of current times. Another attempt is the Kuwait Liberal Movement Association, which was established in December 2016 to "achiev[e] social peace…and respect for human dignity," enhance individuals as an "inherent right [that] is adjacent to man," "ensure the rights of minorities and residents, and respect human rights and related international conventions" (Kuwait Liberal Movement, 2017). These liberal attempts differ from Manshoor’s liberalism because they never directly touch on controversial aspects of topics, such as how atheists and gays in the region are marginalized and criminalized by society, or drugs have more to offer, such as medical uses. Also, these other liberal attempts clearly connect themselves with political and social ideologies, while Manshoor is proud of its independence and its inclusion of everyone.

The last difference between Manshoor and previous liberal attempts to make a social change, is how new media is being used. A representative example is Tanweer’s website, which depends heavily on republishing articles from local and regional newspapers while Manshoor has a team of writers and translators and uses social media
as a distributor platform for the self-generated content. This means that Manshoor has its own editorial policy and unified guidelines on how issues are presented in a way that suits its readers and mobilize the intended movement's objectives.

It should be clear that Kuwait has a complicated social environment. It means that even if the young generation is open to new ideas, those ideas must be presented within acceptable frames. Although how people would perceive Manshoor is not the focus of the thesis, familiarity with the Kuwaiti public sphere is helpful in order to assess the possibility that the movement is successful in extrapolating the appropriate frames and in exploiting the public sphere.

The complicated social environment and the presence of two different ideologies in Kuwait makes it susceptible to the influence of local and regional events. For example, Kuwait was one of the countries that was influenced by the Arab spring and the people's demand for a change in the status quo and social justice. Kuwaitis started to be vocal on the areas where social justice is needed in Kuwait, leading to different protests demanding for equal rights and citizenship to the stateless living in Kuwait (Sadiki, 2015). Although these protests did not develop into a social movement, it is an example of how frames can be appropriated to Kuwaiti by highlighting the ongoing discrimination and deprivation of basic human rights the group endures (Beaugrand, 2011).

It is important to know what frames are being appropriated from the environment and used by Manshoor in order to achieve its objectives. The history of embracing new ideas in Kuwaiti society has given proof on how different ideas were fiercely rejected once introduced, but then the same ideas are accepted and integrated into society when appropriated to accepted values of the society, such as the western clothes, learning
English and selling of religious non-Islamic books (Al-Awadhi, 2017). Qamis and Al-Nassif’s intended movement is "to make the people live the life they want without undesired and forced restrictions of religion and traditions, and encourage people of critical thinking and questioning what they take for granted, all in a social conservative and patriarchal society" (J. Qamis, personal communication, Dec 8, 2017). This goal requires facilitating and contextualizing the discussion of controversial issues in which Manshoor is trying to transform people's attitude through reframing perceptions with new frames aligned to the movement.

Thus, the thesis research questions revolve around Qamis and Al-Nassif’s attempts to frame their movement in an acceptable way, taking into account the possible influence of previous liberal attempts in Kuwait to tackle socially conservative issues. The following four research questions are addressed:

**RQ1: What are Manshoor’s main frames aligned to the movement to justify its objectives?**

**RQ2: How are Manshoor’s main frames demonstrated?**

a. Through written text?

b. Through visuals?

**RQ3: How does Manshoor execute the four steps of the frame alignment process?**

a. How do Manshoor’s creators link themselves with other like-minded writers across the Arab region and why? (*Frame Bridging*)

b. What values in Kuwaiti society does Manshoor present for its readers to embrace? (*Frame Amplification*)
c. What frameworks and subjects are introduced in the Manshoor blog in order to extend the audience base that embrace the movement? *(Frame extension)*

d. What frames, if any, in Kuwaiti society does Manshoor intended movement seek to change? *(Frame transformation)*

**RQ4:** How did past and current Kuwaiti liberals’ attempts to challenge the conservative society help in shaping the Manshoor intended movement?
Chapter 4: 

Data Collection and Methodology

Manshoor’s founders are hoping to start a movement in Kuwait that is parallel to the social and cultural changes occurring in the Arab region since the Arab spring of 2010. The objective is to move individuals to accept the freedom of others who choose to live without restrictions of religion and tradition. One way Manshoor hopes to do so is through discussing controversial examples that encourage readers to think critically about all that is taken for granted to be right or wrong.

In order to see how the blog is doing so, the thesis focuses on the frames Manshoor’s founders use in the content in the blog, which they hope is the foundation of a social movement. As indicated by the research questions, the thesis (1) identifies the frames, (2) analyzes whether the frames align with Kuwaiti culture, (3) determines interpretation of the different frames, and (4) determines the meaning making attached to the frames' interpretations. The thesis uses qualitative research methods, which according to Christians and Carey (1989), focus on "the interpretations of meaning and value created in the media and what is their relation to the rest of life?" (p. 347). That is directly related to the aim of the thesis in uncovering the frames in which Manshoor's founders aim to communicate the movement's objectives and values, and seeing how they align or appropriate these objectives to accepted values in society. It is also related to the aim of seeing how the frames interpretations reflect the founders' view of the world, and the influence in which they seek in conservative societies.
Qualitative research methods are sometimes faced with concerns about the reliability and validity of its findings, and whether they can be replicated and generalized. In order to achieve acceptable reliability and validation of the research's findings and frame interpretations, the thesis evaluates multiple evidences (text and transcribed interviews). This strategy is called triangulation (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011), which is one of the strategies suggested to achieve these two conditions in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003), and "confirm the emerging finding" (Merriam, 1995, p. 54). Triangulation is achieved here through using two methods to answer the research questions: textual analysis and in-depth interviews. Following, the methodology of the textual analysis is discussed in detail, then methodology for the interviews is discussed.

**Textual Analysis**

Text is “something we make meaning from” (McKee, 2003, p. 1). Analyzing Manshoor's posts as a text will help in extracting intended meaning based on including and, in some cases, excluding certain words, terms and visuals. The meanings intended by Manshoor's movement can be read after determining the frames aligned to their movement. As explained in the literature and discussed earlier, aligning frames of the movement to the society's values is the way in which its leaders give meaning to their movement objectives and actions (Snow et al., 1986). This method will help answer research questions number 1 and 2. Details of the methodology used for analyzing both types of texts, written and visuals, follow:

**Text.** A textual analysis was conducted on a sample of Manshoor’s posts that were published between November 16, 2016 (the day of its launch) and April 1, 2018 (the last date available when the thesis proposal was being finalized). Samples were
generated from the blog’s tags that link to controversial issues in posts on the blog. Tags are keywords highlighted on each post to categorize its subject matter. For this study, the selected tags are Queer, Homosexuality, Bisexuality, Transgender, Women's Body, Sex, Islam, Religion, Islamists, Islamic Awakening, Hijab, and Drugs. Posts for the two most frequent tags, Islam and Sex, and for the fourth, Drugs, were selected as the focus on the thesis. Posts for the third most frequent tag, Religion, are not included because of the overlap between Religion and Islam posts. Although the chosen tags are for controversial topics, not all the posts written about them discuss a controversial aspect. Therefore, only posts that discuss a controversial or polemical matter in relation to the category in which they appear, and/or posts that have comments were selected for analysis. Controversial posts about sex typically address same-sex relationships and sexual desires, including premarital or extramarital relationships. Controversial posts about Islam generally scrutinize Islam and some of its practices, question God/Allah and some religious beliefs, and criticize religious authorities. Finally, controversial posts about drugs often encourage the use of drugs as having possible positive outcomes.

Preliminary review identified 56 posts under the Islam tag, but only 25 were of controversial nature. There were 52 posts on sex, with only 25 of controversial nature. Finally, the drugs tag had 19 posts, with only 6 controversial. Therefore, the sample for the textual analysis is the 56 controversial posts. Posts are written by either Manshoor's team or contributors. The sample analyzed in the thesis includes both types of posts. No distinction in authorship of posts is made in the analysis because Manshoor's team decides what to publish based on their criteria (Qamis, 2017), and the preliminary review of the controversial posts did not find substantial differences.
The posts were coded by the researcher, then similar codes were grouped and put into themes using thematic analysis as explained by Gibson and Brown (2009). This approach helps to identify themes used to interpret each frame. A code, which can be a word or short phrase (Saldana, 2013), is a description of commonalities found in material analyzed while coding is a tool to "label, separate, compile, and organize data" (Charmaz, 1983, p. 111). Thematic analysis groups commonalities, differences and relationships found in data in order to put them in a larger bin called themes (Gibson & Brown, 2009). Before starting to code the first set of data, which was the text of the posts, the researcher read the hard copies of the 56 posts as a whole. The researcher read the posts randomly in no specific order. A number was assigned to each post to organize the data. In order to save time in the analysis process, and instead of going through the entire posts once again when examples would be needed in the writing process, the researcher took plenty of notes on the questions, ideas, quotes, events and statements included in each post. Later, the researcher conducted the first cycle of coding using the descriptive coding method, which is the best coding method for nonprofessional coders of qualitative research (Saldana, 2013). For the first cycle of coding, the researcher conducted a second reading of the posts of each tag separately, starting with Islam and finishing with Sex tag. The unit of analysis was paragraphs. However, paragraphs that were not relevant to the thesis topic were not coded. After finishing the first cycle of coding, the researcher conducted a second cycle of coding, which was needed to find relations between the different codes, merging the ones with similar conceptualization and discarding codes that turned out to be marginalized in the entire posts (Saldana, 2013). This step did not require going back to original text of the post, but rather analyzing the codes emerging from the first cycle.
coding. The final step before writing the findings was to find themes connecting the data, which were the codes in the second cycle of coding. Theme is an "extended phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means" (Saldana, 2013, p. 175).

In order to find the frames used by Manshoor, the emerging themes were examined in relation to the frames defined in the initial definitions of the codebook, which are the sensitizing concepts from previous studies. Sensitizing concepts are "those ideas that inform the overall research problem" (Charmaz, 2003, p. 259). Even though they are precisely defined concepts, they give the researcher direction on what to look for (Blumer, 1954). Sensitizing concepts can be very helpful in thematic analysis; they provide a good starting point and inform the qualitative research (Charmaz, 2003). In order to make sure that frames are correctly identified, and in order to be able to find them in the text, it is important to utilize the supportive sensitizing concepts to clearly understand each frame and know what they look like (Rietveld, 2014). Therefore, the thesis was guided by the definition of each frame found in previous studies. This step helped in creating a codebook that includes the definition of each frame and different excerpts extracted from the text, such as quotes and repeated words. Although sensitizing concepts from previous studies inform the study, researchers must stay "vigilant that they do not interfere with the recognition of new aspects revealed by the data" (Chen, Kaestle, Estabrooks, & Zoellner, 2013, p. 413). Therefore, and in cases where themes emerged that did not fit the frames identified earlier, the researcher went back to the literature to see if they matched already identified frames, or if they were innovative frames created used by Manshoor's creators. The textual analysis of written text was completed prior to
the start of the analysis of visuals because the findings of themes representing frames in Manshoor's text were added to the sensitizing concepts from literature in order to know how they might be demonstrated in the posts' images.

**Visuals.** Visuals were analyzed separately from written text. Only still images that were used in the 56 posts were analyzed. To be included, a photo had to meet the following criteria: it had to involve human element(s); it could not be a still image from a movie or TV; and it could not be a file or archived photo of a high-profile individual. These three conditions were required to help enrich the findings of the thesis by exploring how the movement utilizes new media tools to reinforce their movement's frames. Since the movement is about people living with no forced restrictions, the photos had to be or very much reflect humans in their natural environment.

The thesis analyzes the photos using visual social semiotics analysis (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Specifically, it examines how detailed depicters of the three visual factors — *contact, point of view and social distance* — are reflecting the movement frames’ interpretation. A preliminary review of the sample posts showed that 102 images met the criteria. There were 41 photos under the Islam tag, 59 under Sex and only two under Drugs. Therefore, and due to the large number of photos, they were coded quantitatively using the visual content analysis in order to identify the dominant frame reflected in the photos, and whether it matched the dominant frame in the text. Messaris and Abraham (2001) explain that visuals conveying controversial messages may receive less resistance than conveyed in text. In order to examine whether excluding and vilifying of authority is expressed visually in Manshoor, the boundary frame was kept as a reference for the visual analysis although it did not appear in the text analysis. Some images may reflect
more than one frame; in those cases, all frames were coded. The treatment of photo captions and posts' titles in the coding process was guided by Fahmy's (2004) analysis of AP wire pictures of Afghan women during and after the Taliban regime. Fahmy only used the caption when the visual cues were not sufficient enough to explain the intended meaning of the photo. If an image contained more than one person, the visual cues that apply to the majority of the persons in the photo were the basis of coding, which also follows Fahmy’s (2004) approach.

For intercoder reliability, a second nonprofessional coder was employed. Through phone calls using Whatsapp, the researcher maintained contact with the second coder who is based in Kuwait and is a regular reader of Manshoor. In addition to explaining the thesis framework and purpose and giving verbal coding instructions, the researcher emailed the coder a set of written coding instructions and a coding sheet. The researcher and the coder held one training session over the phone and two practice sessions over the phone. Two sessions were held as practices on photos from Manshoor that are not included in the visual analysis. The purpose of this step was to give the second coder a chance to ask clarifying questions and to help the second coder become familiar with how the frames can emerge in the photos. A subsample of 10 percent of the photos from the overall sample was coded for intercoder reliability (Lacy & Riffe, 1996). Intercoder reliability across all coding categories was .80, which is considered an acceptable level of reliability (Lombard, Snyder-Duch & Bracken, 2002).

Table 4.1 shows frames that were coded for in the photos, the visual factors and the detailed visual factors' depicters. The frames demonstrations were selected from the literature. Victims, as identified in the coding sheet, could be normal people, minorities,
dissidents, or people who oppose the social norms. While authority are groups that force restrictions on victims, punish them, scold them, or violently treating victims. Definitions of both victims and authority depended on how they were defined and interpreted by Manshoor in the analyzed posts.

After the quantitative analysis is presented, a representative image of each frame is analyzed qualitatively, using the same visual factors from Jewitt and Oyama’s (2001) visual social semiotics approach, and guided by Harrison (2003) and Fahmy (2004). During this process, the researcher asks certain questions, adapted from Harrison (2003), which are intended to help contextualize the photos in their proper movement's frames.

The questions are:

1. If the image is an act of demand how does it affect me? And is it accompanied by any gestures or expressions that make it more forcible?

2. If the image act is an offer, why has the producer of the image chosen to make the human element an object of study?

3. How close do I feel to the human subject in the image? Does the closeness make me feel as the human elements are friends or strangers? In either case, why has the producer of the image chosen to evoke these feelings within me?

4. What do I notice about the perspective in the image? What horizontal and vertical angles have been used? How does they affect my sense of involvement with the human element?

5. How does the vertical angle add to my knowledge of power relations between myself and the human subject in the photo and between the human subject themselves?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>How it could be demonstrated</th>
<th>Visual factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Social injustice             | a. Negative emotions displayed by victims.  
b. Marginalization of victims.  
c. Controlling authorities (state, religious, social norms).  
d. Unjust position of women. | a. Contact:  
- victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze.  
- victims are not looking to the camera.  
- direct contact of authorities with defiance and strength.  
- authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze.  
b. Point of view:  
- high angle on victims.  
- low angle of authority  
- profile, backward or oblique angle of victims.  
c. Social distance:  
- no close up frames.  
- close up with pleading gaze.  
- picture with several human elements. |
| Fear of possible personal suffering | a. Identification with the victims.  
b. Fear of controlling or unjust authority.  
c. Humanize the struggle. | a. Contact:  
- victims looking straight to the camera.  
- indirect contact with authority.  
- authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze.  
b. Point of view:  
- eye level angle with victims.  
- low angle on authority.  
c. Social distance:  
- camera frames that reflect intimacy (head and face only, head and shoulders) with the human element.  
- camera frames that reflect distance (from waist up, whole figure and around several people) with the authority human element. |
| Multiculturalism             | a. Acceptance of diversity.  
b. Authority approval of victims. | a. Contact:  
- direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation).  
b. Point of view:  
- eye level angle with in-group.  
- low level angle of in-group.  
- frontal angle of victims.  
c. Social distance:  
- camera frames that reflect intimacy or close social distance. |
| Boundary frame               | a. Exclusion of a person from the out-group (to be decided according to the textual analysis).  
b. Vilifying opponents. | a. Contact:  
- indirect contact with out-group.  
b. Point of view:  
- high level angle of out-group.  
- profile or oblique angle of out-group.  
c. Social distance:  
- camera frames that reflect distance (from waist up, whole figure and around several people) with the out-group. |
It is hoped that analyzing frames in the images for their consistency with frames in the written text leads to better understanding of the relationship between the images themselves, the ideas discussed in the written text of the blogs, and the images and the written text. The purpose is, first, to evaluate how Manshoor's creators are successful in taking advantage of the photos’ ability to tackle controversial issues; and second, to assess if there is a consistency in the mediums used to reinforce the movement's values and achieve their movement's objectives.

After the researcher completed the textual and quantitative analysis, the questions for the in-depth interviews were ready, as the researcher was preparing them along the way. Findings from textual analysis were discussed briefly with the interviewees at the end of the interview.

In addition, the initial codebook was updated with the movement's interpretation of each frame as extracted from the textual analysis.

**In-Depth Interviews**

Interviews are important in revealing information that the thesis might not be able to discern through the textual analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Also, the full understanding of the frames and their intended interpretation "requires awareness of the context in which they are formulated" (Rietveld, 2014, p. 53), which can be achieved through interviews. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2011), interviews offer explanations (p.174) of how people reach a certain belief and how they try to apply it to issues. Frame alignment is about how the movement's actors try to impose their interpretation of issues through the frames they assign to their movements. Therefore, interviews can be important to the understanding of these interpretations. The interviews
aim to understand Manshoor's creators' perspectives of life and how these perspectives turned into the values they embrace and try to reflect in the blog's posts through frame alignment process.

Six interviews were conducted by the author, all in Arabic, the native language of the author and the interviewees and the language of the Manshoor blog. Qamis and Al-Nessif, founders of Manshoor, were interviewed separately, and four members of the staff who joined Manshoor in its early stages and have helped in crystallize Manhsoor's identity and values aligned to the blog's intended movement were interviewed separately. Interviews were conducted over the phone; they were audiotaped with the interviewee’s consent. The interviews were of a semi-structured type (Creswell, 2014), meaning that they were conducted with a list of open-ended questions guided by the literature review and the findings of the textual analysis, but new questions stemming from the interviewee’s replies were also asked.

Transcription was conducted along the way following individual interviews rather than waiting until all the interviews were completed. The unfocused transcription approach was used, where the researcher outlined the verbal interaction only and the intended meaning of interviewees' comments (Gibson & Brown, 2009). This approach was used particularly because the researcher only needed the overall meaning of what the interviewees were saying, because the researcher transcribed the interviews in Arabic language, the original language of the interviewees, and later translated some quotes to English. In order to properly capture the feelings and ideas of the interviewees, the translation was not literal. For the coding process, the researcher continued using
thematic analysis and sensitizing concepts as well, which helped detect patterns that
answer research questions number three and four.

The coding process used in the textual analysis was repeated here, except the
notes for every interview were written during and immediately after conducting the
interview. Themes that emerged were assigned to the alignment processes (bridging,
amplification, extension, and transformation) instead of the frames. However, and
because the purpose of the triangulation approach was to add more credibility to the
findings, frames definitions in the updated codebook and how they were interpreted in the
blog itself was used in the discussion to compare between the findings of textual analysis
and interview findings, specifically for RQ3b, RQ3c and RQ3d. Through interviewees' answers, the researcher sought to detect what were Manshoor creators' initial frames and
how far they went to make them more resonant to all potential supporters. In addition,
while coding the interview transcripts, the researcher looked for themes that reflect the
commonalties and/or the differences between the movement creators' personal
experiences and the world's perception prior to Manshoor, how much it contributed to the
identity of the movement and whether they have evolved or extended after Manshoor.
This was intended to help answer RQ3a and RQ4. Although it was explained earlier that
RQ1 and RQ2 were answered through textual analysis, interviews are part of an induction
process that aim to understand the relationship between the data (Gibson & Brown,
2009); therefore, findings and quotes from interviews are presented to enrich and validate
the findings of the textual analysis.
Chapter 5:

Findings

Textual Analysis

A textual analysis of 56 posts and one photo representative of each frame was performed to answer two research questions related to frames used by Manshoor's creators to mobilize their intended movement and attract supporters. This section of the findings will identify the main frames emerging in the blog's content, and the other frames used to support the main frame (RQ1). The textual analysis also shows how Manshoor interpreted these different frames using both text and visuals (RQ2).

Text. The textual analysis of the sample posts revealed three frames, each of which is comprised of two or more themes. An important part of thematic analysis is to find relationships between emerging themes, which will be considered as the frames. These frames are used by Manshoor to help connect the movement's objective with the readers, who can eventually become the movement's supporters.

Although Manshoor used three unique frames, each provides interpretation to certain values, and all are connected. Each frame provides support to the other frames, through offering questions and concerns to readers who might not be convinced in the interpretation of one frame, but might be encouraged to support the movement's objective according to second frame interpretations. The other connection, as will be more obvious in the findings below, is that the second two frames stem from the first frame, which is social injustice. Connected to the social injustice frame, the fear of personal suffering
frame is used by Manshoor to make the readers believe that them or someone they care about can potentially suffer from the injustices. Also connected to the social injustice frame is the multiculturalism frame, which is used to emphasize that the current social injustices were not normal in previous times and it is not how Arab authorities and societies have usually treated its dissidents, individuals who oppose social norms, or what are now considered controversial issues.

Table 5.1
*The Three Emerging Frames and the Different Themes and Codes Forming Them*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Injustice</td>
<td>Dictatorship of the majority</td>
<td>- Strict code of ethics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Punishing dissidents and individuals opposing social norms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Religion as a tool to control individuals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Religion as a source of income.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distorted public culture</td>
<td>- Rejecting dissidents and individuals opposing social norms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Insulting individuals opposing social norms and minorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Culture of shame.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- No talks about sex.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Entertainment is bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal implications on</td>
<td>- Fear from others' reactions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dissidents, individuals opposing social</td>
<td>- Guilt and loneliness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>norms and minorities</td>
<td>- Majority does not represent the youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unjust position of women</td>
<td>- Patriarchal society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Prohibiting women from making personal choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Family honor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Degrading and marginalization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Conversation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Solidarity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fear of Possible Personal Suffering</td>
<td>- Authority doubts simplest actions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sense of insecurity</td>
<td>- Punishments can follow authority’s whims.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Humanize the struggle</td>
<td>- Forbidden happiness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Real stories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Compassion (hearing reasons).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td>- Religious and state figures accepted difference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authority approval</td>
<td>- Historical incidents demonstrate acceptance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life used to be more inclusive for</td>
<td>- Today’s ethics are not rooted in religion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dissent views than today.</td>
<td>- Civic life of the past.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Social injustice frame.* Social injustice is the most prevalent frame in the sample of posts analyzed. Manshoor's objective of making people more accepting of others’
choices in living the way they desire led to creating content that forms a thoughts trajectory that guides the readers to see injustices occurring in society. The social injustice frame is comprised of five themes. Each citation in the following analysis is an individual post in which the theme appears.

First, the posts highlight the theme of *dictatorship of the majority* (Al-Bahawed, 2017b). The majority is a term used in the posts interchangeably to indicate either religious or political majority that is the base for the state authority in the population; these two societal forces, according to Manshoor posts, use each other to their benefit at the expenses of minorities. State authority uses religion to force an ideology and national identity onto the broader population (Ala’a, 2017; Youssef, 2017), a monolithic identity that was established in the nineteenth century to counter the Western identity and "a base to resist the European colonizer" (Al-Sherbiny, 2017b). In addition to the national identity, Manshoor demonstrates that religion has been a source of income for authorities. According to posts, state authorities in many Middle East countries have confiscated lands to build hotels around holy sites and have forced citizens to donate to government funds through exploiting religious purposes (Al-Sheik, 2017b; Al-Sherbiny, 2017a; Shebeita, 2017b). On the other side, posts on religious authority argue that many of the Islamic scholars and muftis, as representatives of the religious authority, use religion as an excuse to enforce specific behaviors, habits and ideologies on the public as rules to live by, considering non-followers of these rules to be immoral and degenerate individuals. Manshoor discusses many examples where such religious authority has serious implications on the state level, including preventing sex education in schools (Salah, 2017; Shebeita, 2017a), banning folk songs that reference or hint at sexual
activity (Hassan, 2017a), forcing women to wear hijab in public places (Al-Sherbiny, 2017b; Mohamed, 2017c), punishing people who publicly eat during Ramadan (Al-Bahawed, 2017b), and punishing or killing homosexual individuals (Al-Ma'alawi, 2017; Mohamed, 2017a).

A second theme of the social injustice frame is distorted public culture. From Mansoor’s perspective, the posts try to open the readers’ eyes to the effect of the hegemony of the majority on the public culture. Mansoor displays how this hegemony influences people's perspective on what is acceptable and what is not, thus defining culture in narrow ways. As already discussed, religion is especially positioned as a monitor of ethics and morality. As such, religion creates a sense of superiority in the adherents of mainstream culture over those in the minority who have their independent identities and sets of beliefs (Ala’a, 2017; Al-Bahawed, 2017a). For example, posts contend that imposing of hijab on women leads to perceiving the practice as the optimum of decency, and females who choose not to wear it are presented in societies as "sinful" and being a "whore" (Mohamed, 2017c) and "labeled in society as a dissolute" (Ala’a, 2017). The same distortion of culture is applied to persons who choose not to practice or believe in the state religion – Islam (Al-Bahawed, 2017c; Mohamed, 2017b); the notion that atheists have animalistic behaviors, such as atheist men are fine with the idea of "sleeping with their moms" is promoted to the broader culture (Youssef, 2017).

Mansoor posts maintain that the distorted public culture has developed over time as society has been manipulated with the "new Islam" to create a national identity (Al-Sherbiny, 2017b). In this identity, the majority of societies have become convinced that pleasures like listening to music, dancing and enjoying other forms of entertainment are
sins and they profane the sacredness of religion; therefore, good citizens must refrain from them and consider them a waste of time (Ala’a, 2017; Al-Sherbiny, 2017b; Hassan, 2017b). While discussion of sex has become a social taboo, posts display that as a result, it becomes hard for people to explicitly express their sexual desires. As an example, a post used a quote from a translated article where a woman who had her first sexual experience at 26 said: "I realized then that I wasted my youth worried and ashamed of a simple and enjoyable thing" (Amjich, 2017a). A second example is what happened to an Egyptian TV host, who said that she watches porn and was sued for saying that "if the youth cannot afford to get married, then porn is a solution to satisfy their sexual desires" (Salah, 2017). Manshoor tells its readers that it is even harder to express homosexual or bisexual desire for fear of punishment (Yehia, 2017). In the majority culture, sex is perceived as a means of human reproduction to be engaged in after marriage only (Al-Shadeedi, 2017a; Salah, 2017). This mindset, according to the posts, creates a societal obsession of equating virginity with honor, which leads to the normalization of crimes of honor (Al-Hakim, 2017; Gaddh, 2018).

In the third theme, Manshoor highlights the personal implications on dissidents, individuals opposing social norms and minorities. According to Manshoor posts, the sense of entitled superiority of the majority leads to the suffering of individuals who are “diverging” from the so-called right path, with special attention to two groups: homosexuals and atheists or apostates. Posts maintain that these individuals abide by societal rules out of deep fear of family reaction, whether anger or fear. Posts used personal experiences of homosexual individuals to communicate those feeling to the readers, such as the experience of Mazen, who feels he is a man trapped in a woman's
body, but explains he will not go through gender transformation surgery because: "my family is my life, I think of how my decision will affect their lives.. I don't want to shock them or make people start talking about them" (Elagami, 2018). Similarly, Sameer, a queer Egyptian male, is reported as rejecting the surgery because, he says, "I don't want to disappointment my family" (Yehia, 2017). There is also fear of societal rejection (Al-Aryan, 2017) and public humiliation (Ala’a, 2017). This often leads to them living in a state of loneliness (Amjich, 2017b; Gaddh, 2018) and suffering inner conflict because they struggle between what they want and what the society wants (Elagami, 2018).

Manshoor argues that homosexuals sometimes endure internal conflict because of guilt feelings entrenched in them by the society, as if by making personal decisions they are committing a mistake or a sin (Al-Shadeedi, 2017b; Yehia, 2017). These implications, which become real, are unfair, according to the posts, because the majority does not always reflect the young generation that includes many who are against the status quo of the rigid majority control (Al-Hakim, 2017; Al-Sherbiny, 2017a) and are in favor of more freedom of choices (Al-Bahawed, 2017e; Mohamed, 2017b, 2017c).

The fourth theme in the social justice frame is *unjust position of women* in Arab societies; it is addressed thoroughly in multiple posts. Manshoor discusses how the prevalence of masculine culture in the Middle East has turned it into a patriarchal society (Al-Kayial, 2017; Al-Shadeedi, 2017a). Based solely on her gender, a woman is by default perceived as an inferior person from society's men (Al-Kayial, 2017) and there is a necessity to control her (Al-Hakim, 2017; Mohamed, 2017c; Shebeita, 2017a) and her choices concerning her body. These controls take many forms including forcing hijab or a dress code and banning and shaming abortion (Al-Bahawed, 2017e; Gaddh, 2018).
Manshoor addresses measures taken by society to keep women submissive to patriarchal rules, even if it takes violent treatment (Al-Bahawed, 2017d; Al-Ma'alawi, 2017), which the state moral police in Iran have turned to in instances of women who do not wear hijab in public (Mohamed, 2017c). Because it is seen as the woman’s responsibility to protect her honor (Youssef, 2017), posts point out how men are never held accountable for their actions against non-hijabi women, and how sexual harassment and rape are considered to be the woman's fault for not dressing properly and leaving the house for work or errands (Al-Bahawed, 2017a). Transgender women receive double the amount of degrading from society, according to posts, because they chose to give up being the better gender (Mohamed, 2017a).

The last theme in the social injustice frame is solutions to the issues addressed, which is common in movements using this frame (Bakardjieva et al., 2018; Marshall, 2003). After addressing different types of injustices occurring in society and reasons behind them, Manshoor posts tend to suggest solutions for them. As mentioned in the literature, none of the solutions are of a direct confrontational nature. Manshoor’s intended movement's solutions mainly revolve around raising questions that stimulate critical thinking, or advocating for wider space to allow for discussion of all sorts of issues and taboos. Manshoor calls for involving science in the discussion (Amjich, 2017a) because science has helped to prove that the stigma on certain issues was built on inaccurate assumptions. Posts mention new scientific findings that support this solution, such as some drugs can help fight depression or sleep problems and can improve concertation (Amjich, 2017b). Other scientific findings show that hymen has no relation to virginity, and therefore the obsession that simple physical activities such as horse
riding can affect the women's virginity is unreasonable, which takes the reader back to the importance of sex education in schools (Shebeita, 2017a). Manshoor emphasizes the importance of education as well, especially sex education, as a step toward ending the obsession with suppressing sexual desires and connecting family honor with women's virginity (Ereny, 2017; Salah, 2017). Manshoor also calls on local human rights and civil institutions to step up and tackle every taken-for-granted notion in society, notions that can end up marginalizing individuals who are practicing their rights of freedom of thought and speech (Al-Bahawed, 2017b; Mohamed, 2017a).

The social injustice frame matches the main sensitizing concepts, such as assigning blame on occurring injustices and the social and mental impacts of injustices on minorities and dissidents (Desrosiers, 2012; Harlow & Johnson, 2011; Marshall, 2003), with unique interpretations that match the objectives of Manshoor's intended movement and the values of the potential adherents. Although implications of social injustices is commonly used in interpreting social injustice frame, it is usually around the implications of the suffering marginalized groups endure under the hand of authority and the majority. However, the distorted public culture theme adds a new dimension to the interpretation of the frame. Manshoor shows that this distortion leads many times to the unfair treatment to marginalized groups such as minorities, dissidents and individuals opposing social norms. These groups are considered to be victims of restrictive societies.

Fear of possible personal suffering frame. The second frame to emerge is fear of possible personal suffering, which seeks to create a personal connection between the reader of the post and the individuals suffering from injustices. In other words, the frame seeks to resonate with the reader by suggesting that the reader could suffer an injustice
just like the person(s) in the post. In this frame Manshoor gives voice to the people who suffer a complicated life just because they choose to live the life that makes them happy, a life that is not consistent with societal and traditional expectations or norms. This frame could help readers to identify with these individuals because the injustices that the victims suffer through could happen to the readers themselves, family members, neighbors, colleagues, or friends. Manshoor uses two themes to interpret the frame.

The first theme for the fear of possible personal suffering frame is *sense of insecurity* if the status quo does not change. Many posts try to make readers feel insecure by suggesting the norms, values and practices of the majority are maintained by manipulating the societal culture to support the status quo. The theme suggests the insecurity can lead to a dangerous outcome, where sometimes even reason cannot help, and even non-dissidents can be a victim of the state or culture, which can lead to the possibility of personal suffering from injustices. Manshoor tells stories about injustice, such as how one is treated as guilty until proven innocent, such as the story of the Saudi Eman Willowbee. She agreed to a colleague's offer to take her home after classes. In the way, "they were stopped by Saudi moral police. They knocked the man unconscious, and arrested Eman. She was forced under physical assaults to sign a paper confessing she had sex with her colleague, and was imprisoned for that" (Youssef, 2017). The theme tells readers that the majority wants everyone to be submissive or otherwise they will be killed, which is why capital punishment for hundreds of years has been a tool to destroy adversaries even though they have not committed a crime or treason (Al-Sheik, 2017a). Manshoor tells the readers not to be deceived with this age of available information, because in the Arab world, asking questions about social taboos is equated with
questioning, meaning that voicing any doubt or new readings of historical incidents and traditional beliefs, through any mean or medium, can lead to punishment and family rejection (Ala’a, 2017; Mohamed, 2017b). Al-Bahawed (2017c) demonstrated an example of such incidents; "the novelist Salman Rushdie was accused of apostasy, and later AlKomeini issued an order of killing him because of Rushdie's novel the *Satanic Verses*, which talks about the prophet Muhammad and his wives."

A second theme in the fear of possible personal suffering frame seeks to elevate the sense of compassion towards the social outcast. The theme, which is *humanize the struggle* the victims go through, clarifies that the struggle is not a whim or rebellion against social norms, but it is a path in which these dissidents or individuals dissenting social norms found their happiness and/or comfort. Manshoor brings it to readers' attention that many individuals have found love in same-sex relationships (Al-Ma'alawi, 2017). The blog suggests same-sex couples share values such as commitment, respect and love, like any other couples, thus not allowing such relationships can cause a great deal of pain and human suffering (Yehia, 2017). The theme of humanize the struggle is also reflected in Manshoor’s posts including different real stories of people who went through hard times and suffered the consequences of living or embracing a lifestyle different from the mainstream. An example to this is the story of women who went through an abortion. These women's choice was not arbitrary, but because of pressing personal reasons they had to go through it (Gaddh, 2018), however the decision itself was not easy. According to one Kuwaiti woman's testimonial "the decision was difficult on the emotional level, but it was the logical thing to do, that is why I didn't hesitate" (Al-Bahawed, 2017e).
Manshoor’s interpretation of this frame matches the sensitizing concepts from previous studies which clarify that the fear of personal suffering frame does not call for a clear cut demands, but only emotional support and compassion (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006) with the people who are taking the hard road.

**Multiculturalism frame.** The third and final frame emerging in the text of the posts is multiculturalism, which is used to promote diversity, tolerance and civic life (Davies, 1999). Manshoor applies such concepts in the interpretation of this frame, with more relevant references. He does so by demonstrating that the level of rigidness in today's conservative societies, which is reflected in the previous two frames, does not reflect their original version. Two themes are used to interpret the frame.

The first theme in the multiculturalism frame is *authority approval*, which helps to interpret this frame through using opinions from religious men and state representatives in different posts in a way that supported Manshoor intended movement's objective. Examples of these opinions are statements by Adel Al-Falah, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs and manager of Global Center of Moderation (Almarkaz ala'alam lilwasateya) in Kuwait. A post quotes his definition of moderation: "it is based on four main principles: open conversation, acceptance of the other opinion, respecting other's opinion and peaceful coexistence" (Al-Bahawed, 2017a). Manshoor tells its readers that religion is a personal matter, and should not be exploited as a tool to control people. That notion is supported by some religious authorities, such as the story of a man who had doubts about Islam and God. The man expressed his doubts to an Imam, who politely answered that "life has plenty of possibilities, God's existence is one, and his non-existence is another possibility. I chose to believe in his existence, but
you have to choose what you want" (Mohamed, 2017b). Another example is AlKomeini's *fatwa* (religious opinion) on transgender individuals, which permits sex reassignment surgery. Still in effect today, it says that "whoever feels trapped in his or her body, can get rid of it" (Mohamed, 2017a), showing that both religion and state are respectful of this marginalized groups in society.

The second theme in the multiculturalism frame is *life used to be more inclusive for dissent views than today*. The theme is reflected in the use of quotes and historical events involving well-respected religious, political and cultural figures in Arab societies. Prophet Muhammad's active sexual life with his wives and explicit sayings on the pleasure of sex were used in the blog to support Manshoor's objective of demonstrating that restrictions on controversial issues, such as the sexual desires, were not considered a taboo. It supports the argument that sexual austerity is an invention to match the new identity countering the Western identity (Al-Sherbiny, 2017b). The more inclusive theme also challenges the religiously conservative individuals’ stance on music and entertainment; Manshoor tells its readers that the conservative perspective is not rooted in religion, because "many singers and composers have strong relationship with the Quran… and most Quran reciters love music in its different types" and have sung at some point (Hassan, 2017b). Additionally, the theme addresses perspectives on women. Manshoor contends that societies eventually become accepting of women who stand against social norms and take full control of their lives and how they want to represent themselves. Such women eventually gain respect, admiration and immortality, such as the princess and poet Wallada bint Al-Mustakfi (Al-Hakim, 2017) and Lebanese singer Haifa Wehbi (Al-Shadeedi, 2017b). The inclusive theme notes homosexuality was accepted as
normal in many Islamic and Arab countries in previous times, such as Sudan, Libya, Persia and Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt (Mokaidam, 2017). Similarly, the inclusive theme notes that drug use was previously perceived as a normal part of many Arabs' lives to an extent where famous Egyptian musicians had songs about their love for marijuana (Kilani, 2017). In order to revive that conversation, Manshoor mentions stories on positive outcomes of some types of drugs on the lives of esteemed figures, such as Carl Sagan, Steve Jobs and mathematician Paul Erdos (Kilani, 2017). Manshoor also uses historical evidences to emphasize the reason behind why the movement's overall objective is not a reality yet, which is authority’s oppressive ruling on dissidents and opposition of society norms. Several Manshoor posts highlighted such danger of authority's role in society by mentioning incidents involving well-respected Islamic historical figures who executed dissidents and intellectual figures after accusing them of treason (Al-Sheik, 2017a; Ramadan, 2017).

**Visuals.** The content analysis of photos showed consistency with the findings from text in terms of the dominant frame, which was the social injustice frame. As shown in Table 5.2, of the 102 photos, 67 (65.7%) had the dominant frame of social injustice, while the second most dominant frame was fear of personal suffering with 17 photos (16.7%). Multiculturalism and boundary frames were equally present with 5 photos each (4.9% each). Boundary frames were only used in posts under the Islam tag; however, none of the 5 photos were only boundary frame, each either demonstrated along with another frame, 3 times with fear of personal suffering, 1 time with social injustice and 1 time the two of them. Some 14 photos could not be coded because either the visual factors were not clear enough, or there was a contradiction between the visual factors and
The coming paragraph in this visual section will demonstrate the content analysis findings of which frames are reflected in the images used by Manshoor. Later, a more detailed qualitative analysis of one image that is most representative of each frame.

Table 5.2
*The Frames Present in Photos*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Injustice</td>
<td>Islam= 26, sex= 40, drugs = 1</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of personal suffering</td>
<td>Islam=9, sex= 8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td>Islam= 1, sex= 4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary frames</td>
<td>Islam= 5, sex= 0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Injustice +Fear of personal suffering</td>
<td>Islam= 1, sex= 3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear of personal suffering+ Multiculturalism</td>
<td>Islam= 0, sex= 1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary frames +Fear of personal suffering</td>
<td>Islam= 3, sex= 0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary frames+ Social Injustice</td>
<td>Islam= 1, sex= 0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary frames +Fear of personal suffering+ Social injustice</td>
<td>Islam= 1, sex= 0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not coded</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Social injustice.* Four men wearing white and stepping out of the trunk of a dark blue prisoner transport vehicle, while covering their faces, some with hands, others with what looks like a white garment. A group of police officers in their white uniforms are facing the four men and waiting for all of them to be out of the trunk. Two men, only half a shoulder of one of them is visible, are seen from the back, appearing to be part of what looks like a crowd gathered around to see the men coming out of the trunk.
Figure 5.1. Social Injustice Frame.

A group of three Special Forces men wearing helmets and holding a body protection shields are standing between these two men from the crowd and the police officers. One of them is entirely facing the trunk, while the other two are facing the crowd, but with their heads turning toward the trunk as well. The location where the vehicle carrying the four men is stopping looks like it is in the middle of a vibrant area, as two different signs, either for stores or for offices, are visible. There are also two tall residential buildings; one is right across from the vehicle and the other one is on the end of the street.

The photo caption says the four men in white are being arrested from a hammam in Cairo, where they are accused of homosexuality. Hammams, also called Turkish baths, are sort of segregated traditional spas where the visitor lays naked or with a garment covering his or her private parts on a marble slab and he or she is messaged and bathed in scented water by a masseuse or a masseur. The practice originally started in Turkey,
hence the name Turkish bath, and later moved to different parts of the world, including Cairo (Kandela, 2000). They are gender segregated. Raids on hammams in Cairo is a common tool used by the government as an attempt to crackdown on homosexuality (Hendawi, 2017).

The image of the men being unloaded from the prisoner transport vehicle is used in a post titled "homophobia in the Arab world." The victims in the photo are the four men in white. According to the meaning of the visual factors (Harrison, 2003), the showing of the whole figure of the human elements surrounded by space or other human elements creates an effect of far social distance and impersonal relationship between them and the viewers of the image. The men, who are the victims in this image, are not only looking away from the camera, they are also hiding their faces, emphasizing the indirect interaction with the viewer, which leads to a feeling of disengagement (Harrison, 2003). The oblique angle of the victims gives a sense of detachment.

The use of such an image emphasizes Manshoor's interpretation of social injustice. All of the visual factors support the viewer's feelings of detachment from individuals dissenting social norms, who are here represented as homosexual individuals. Although this feeling resulting from the picture can lead to widening the differences gap between majorities and minorities instead of equalizing all humans as one, the feeling supports Manshoor's position in text on the unjust treatment and the marginalization of victims of society such as minorities, dissidents and individuals who oppose social norms. Just like the photo shows, the Middle East society is detaching itself from these victims and wants to eliminate or control them. The blog visitor who goes through posts about social dissidents and minorities like homosexuals, women or atheists, often
encounter such images of suppression, marginalization and shaming of these minorities. That can help in shaping, or reshaping, the perspectives one have on the position of minorities in the society.

Figure 5.2. Fear of Personal Suffering and Boundary Frames

The fear of personal suffering frame and boundary frame. A picture of four women in a passageway, three of them are dressed in a uniform facing a woman in ordinary clothes. The uniform is a long green trench coat styled dress, the three women are also wearing hijab and putting on a traditional black Iranian chador on top of the uniform. The chador is an abaya, or a loose cloak, that women in Iran put over their clothes. These three women are facing and staring at the fourth one; only the woman in the middle is engaging in a conversation with her, while the other two are staring, one at her face, the other at her clothes. This fourth woman is wearing a trendy blue metallic dress and covering her hair with a tri-colored shawl, with no chador. Unlike the women in uniforms who only allow their faces and hands to be seen, the fourth woman is folding her dress sleeves and we can see her half arm. Although we cannot see the whole face of
the woman in the metallic dress, because the angle of the photo hides her face with the shawl, we can see that she has a white cotton bandage on her nose.

The picture is taking place in Iran, as the photo was used in a post titled "hijab in Iran." The women in uniform are from Gasht-e Ershad, or the morality police in Iran. Their task is to observe whether women are obeying Iran's code of conduct, and great deal of focus is on women’s clothes and the mandatory hijab, which requires them to cover their hair and body and not wear too much makeup (BBC Monitoring, 2016). The morality police forces can act violently toward women who do not adhere to the proper dress code, and can also fine or arrest them and put these women in detention centers (Al-Bakry, 2017).

The morality police here represent authority regulating one's freedom. There are three visual factors that emphasize detachment between the viewer and the three women in uniform. The first one is the lack of direct contact to the camera and also the direct interaction the morality police have with the victim in the photo, which is the woman in metallic dress. The middle morality police officer firmly pointing her hand to a certain direction while staring at the victim, and the judgmental stares at the victim emphasize the detachment with the authority. The second visual factor is the point of view which was an oblique angle of the three women; it emphasizes detachment. The third factor is that showing the whole figure of the three morality police officers and showing them as a group, give the feeling of a great social distance, therefore detachment.

The photo is a reflection of both the fear of personal suffering and boundary frame. It reflects authority in a position of control and dictating orders (the pointing officer) or explicitly expressing their disapproval both verbally and nonverbally (the two
The fact that the photo is included in a post that talks about how women’s dress codes in Iran are changing according to the controlling regime support the idea that authorities can turn into a tool to force restrictions on society that serve their objectives. Therefore, feelings of insecurity can grow because of authority, which is one of the themes of fear of personal suffering found in Manshoor’s text. The boundary frame in this image is obvious in its creation of detachment as distance between the viewer and the authority, especially that the caption on the photo says, "Moral police are arguing with a woman. Why isn't she abiding the mandatory hijab rule?" which leads to perceiving the authority to be against freedom, self-expression and accepting difference. Therefore, a boundary is created between the authority and the images’s viewers, a boundary that represents authority as an out-group, and are excluded from the in-group, who are the adherents to Manshoor's values of freedom and acceptance.

*Figure 5.3. Multicultural Frame.*

*Multiculturalism.* A woman in her mid-thirties, her copper red ombre colored hair is loose on her shoulders. Her light make up is popping with a bright purple lipstick. The background is out of focus, putting even more attention on her. Although not clearly
obvious, it appears the background is a river sidewalk. The woman is looking straight to the camera, neither smiling nor frowning. Her gaze reflects confidence in herself. The angle of the camera is an eye-level angle; it is a close-up shot, where only her head, neck and shoulders are in the frame.

This woman is a transgender, according to the caption. It is the top image in a post titled "transgender and homosexuality in the Arab world." According to the meaning of the visual factors, the close frame to the woman leads to a high level of intimacy between her and the viewer of the image. Both the eye-level angle and the straight gaze into the lenses gives the impression of equality. Finally the frontal angle projects a high level of involvement with the element in the picture.

Such presentation of transgender people would never appear in a state owned media in Kuwait or the Arab world, but rather presented in an obscure and blurred figures. The choice of such an image promotes multiculturalism, which is the acceptance of all and recognition of minorities as equal citizens. This image of a transgender woman who takes care of her looks and wants to look trendy reflects a sense of self-assurance about transgender individuals that is implied in the text in different posts suggest: they are confident with their choice, they are sure of their identity and who they want to be, and the life they choose is not a whim or a disorder to be treated. Therefore, and with the support of multiculturalism frame interpretations in text, the viewer can come to believe that minorities and individuals who dissent the social norms, such as transgender people, only flourish and confidently embrace their difference in a society where it accepts them as they are. In contrast, unequal treatment of them will break their confidence and make
deepen the feel of isolation, which is reflected in the social injustice frame interpretations in text on how they struggle between pleasing themselves or pleasing family and society.

**In-Depth Interviews**

Six different interviews were conducted for this thesis, two with the founders Jassim Qamis and Ali Al-Nessif, and the rest with persons who worked with the founders from the beginning. Three of them started as early as Be Open, the pre-Manshoor launch experiment. All are referred to throughout the this section and later sections as the movement's actors. As explained in the methodology section, interviews were conducted to help provide greater understanding of the background story of how Manshoor's intended movement transformed from a mere idea to reality, and to help identity the frames and their meaning and their interpretations. As seen in table 5.3, thematic analysis of the interviews identified different themes connected in a relationship that helped in explaining the four different frame alignment processes the intended Manshoor's movement has gone through and is still going through.

**Frame bridging.** According to Snow et al. (1986), frame bridging is the process where the *ideologically congruent* individuals or organizations connect over specific issues and grievances and help in building a plan, or movement, to achieve these objectives. Throughout the interviews, four themes emerged that helped explain Manshoor’s frame bridging. These themes will help in answering the first part of RQ3: how do Manshoor’s creators link themselves with other like-minded writers across the Arab region and why? *(Frame Bridging)*
Table 5.3
The Four Frame Alignment Processes and the Themes and Codes Explaining Them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Codes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frame Bridging</td>
<td>We [Manshoor's actors] have a story of our own</td>
<td>- Personal struggle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Dark phase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How we [Manshoor's actors] perceive the world</td>
<td>- Arab spring influence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What Manshoor stands for</td>
<td>- Similar life perspectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Rejection of traditions and authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manshoor is one family</td>
<td>- Manshoor's values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stimulate questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame Amplification</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>- Friendly work environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Commitment and sense of ownership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We [the different people] are all one</td>
<td>- Individuals with opposite views can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appropriating through relevance</td>
<td>write in the blog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Inclusivity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Frame Extension</td>
<td>Do not label us as controversial.</td>
<td>- Real stories and incidents.</td>
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<td>Using example to communicate with larger audience</td>
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<td>Frame Transformation</td>
<td>Respect the reader's mind</td>
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The first theme to emerge was *we have a story of our own*. The movement actors all explained that life circumstances they went through played a role in shaping their current similar perspectives on life and humanity. Qamis noted, "I am a regular person who has been through many different experiences. These experiences made me stronger and left me with a larger awareness of life and my role in it, and with it came the urge to write down these experiences and tell anyone who goes through them 'you are not alone'… Manshoor came in a time when I was down, and it elevated me" (Qamis, 2017).
A dark phase for Al-Nessif's came after he moved back to Kuwait from the United States. Having to live through Kuwaiti society's narrow definition of life and purpose of living overwhelmed him with a sense of not belonging to his society. He explained that Jassim and he met while each was going through hard times in their lives, and the support they gave to each other, along with their new life project, helped in the healing process. Ahmad Yehia, a 34-year-old Egyptian, also talked about his own story of struggling with society. Yehia was brought up in a very religious and conservative family; he was expected to follow the lead of his father, but he questioned religion, among many other things, and went on his own way. That made him feel like he did not fit. "I look and dress differently from most people in Egypt," he said. “In Egypt, the large majority of people have the mindset of 'if you don't look like us then you are not part of us'… In general, life is hard for those who look different from the norms" (Yehia, 2018).

In addition to their personal experiences, Manshoor's actors had a story on the effect of the Arab spring on their lives. Sheikha Al-Bahawed, a 29-year-old Kuwaiti writer and activist, talked about how the Arab spring made her stronger in fighting back against authorities in all forms. She is now working on starting a feminist movement across the Arab region. Al-Bahawed said "the Arab spring was sort of a 'mental shock' not just for me but to a lot of people around me… It was a social revolution that targeted authority, and not just the political one, but also the religious and patriarchal authorities" (Al-Bahawed, 2018). Osama Youssef, a 25-year-old Egyptian and the youngest member in Manshoor, said that the Arab spring was his first step toward freedom. He noted, "I broke away from patriarchal authority; my family was against my choice of joining the protest in Tahrir Square (where the Egyptian protesters gathered during the 2011
Egyptian revolution), but I went behind their backs. I will always remember this moment as the moment I became liberated and had control over my life and my personal choices" (Youssef, 2018). Qamis said that looking at an image, which was one of the iconic photos of the Egyptian revolution, of a man about his age standing and blocking the road on a military tank made him and his generation realize "we have the power to say no, and reject all what has been forced on us for decades" (Qamis, 2017).

The second theme was how we perceive the world. It shows how both the personal circumstance and the Arab spring, which are mentioned in the theme above, created similar perspectives on life and people, way before all the team met. These perspectives were a reason to bring the members together around Manshoor's objectives. All members repeated that they shared a sense of familiarity right from the start, "even though in our life we were surrounded with people, but we all felt somehow alone. When we met each other, we immediately bonded" (Yehia, 2018). Manshoor's founders believe that current society norms and traditions, whether in Kuwait or Egypt, do not represent the young generation. Al-Bahawed said that "millennials, who were born between the 80's and 2000, are revolting against social norms. These social norms no longer suit our generation, even the ones who do not reject them publicly, leaving many of the young generation with a double life where they secretly practice what they truly believe in" (Al-Bahawed, 2018). The team share their opposition to certainties: "I believe that certainty is the reason behind racism and rejection of the other, and believing of a group's superiority on a basis of being the better race or religion" (Youssef, 2018).

The third theme was what Manshoor stands for. The theme stemmed from the perspective Manshoor's actors share about life. This theme demonstrates the values and
beliefs Qamis and Al-Nessif used to build Manshoor's identity. It is this identity that resonated with the other Manshoor actors and made them want to be part of the intended movement. Sahar Al-Hashimi, who started as a writer in Be Open but now has an administrative role, said "the first thing that attracted me to work with this team was the founders' mentality, which is very similar to how Manshoor operates; as an accepting and a hospitable platform for 'the other’" (Al-Hashimi, 2018). The intended movement of Manshoor aims to liberate the people from forced restrictions and allow acceptance of those who choose to do so. However, the movement's actors do not force people to adopt new convictions, it is after all against the actors’ personal beliefs. Manshoor's movement advocates embracing a new way of thinking. Qamis noted, "in every post we raise an issue from a different angle, an angle that makes the reader perceive something from a new, non-familiar perspective. The reader becomes aware of this perspective and has inward discussion on the issue, a discussion that can result in the embracing of this new perspective, or simply accept (that) it is out there" (Qamis, 2018). Discussing new perspectives is a major fundamental in Manshoor. Al-Bahawed said "the readers must feel that we are not here to impose new ideas, we assure them that they are part of the discussion, and we are here to learn from each other. At the end of the day, I do not want people to think like me, I just want them to be more open to new ways of thinking" (Al-Bahawed, 2018). The way to start this discussion, the actors said, is by raising questions in different posts. "We don't impose ideas, we ask questions,” said Youssef. “Questions stimulate rethinking of the never thought of before or what is always taken for granted. Questions shake one’s certainties, which hopefully leads to more accepting and understanding individuals" (Youssef, 2018).
The last theme was *Manshoor is one family*. This theme is related to the frame bridging process because it is a sentiment that emerged in every interview. All expressed that the team became one family and close friends, and all repeated that the environment in Manshoor's office is like nothing they experienced before, to an extent where they spend as much as 13 consecutive hours or up to 3 straight days in the office. The founders were keen on achieving such an environment. "We made sure that the right people work with us," Al-Nessif said, while Qamis said "I approach new members with the idea behind Manshoor, who we are and why are we doing this. It is important for me that whoever works with us understands our motives, our drive, our goals and how we are a platform to enable people to be themselves" (Al-Nessif, 2018; Qamis, 2018). The feeling of being one family entrenched in each member a sense of importance and commitment to the movement. "All of us here share the feeling of ownership and that we do not work in or for Manshoor, but we are Manshoor," said Yehia (2018).

**Frame amplification.** The frame amplification process is where the social movement's actors seek to have the potential adherents adopt the same world perception of the movement's actors (Bakardjieva et al., 2018). This process can be achieved through a focus on certain values and beliefs, and appropriating them to the society in order to create resonance. Throughout the interviews, three themes have emerged that will help explain the process and answer the second part of RQ3; what values in Kuwaiti society does Manshoor present for its readers to embrace? Three movement frames have already been identified: social injustice, fear of personal suffering, and multiculturalism. This section will now demonstrate the values in which the movement is basing its frames on, and what Manshoor did, and continues to do, in order to appropriate the movement’s
frames to the society's values. Although the question is about Kuwait, Al-Nessif and Qamis said that they aim for the intended movement's chosen values and beliefs to be embraced in the entire Arab region, because the movement tries to implement changes in a society "and what applies to Kuwait also applies to the Arab region" (Al-Nessif, 2018).

The first theme from the interviews is *freedom*. This theme explains that Manshoor's intended movement has existed to enhance the understanding and the practice of freedom. First of all, the movement aims to emphasize that the value of personal freedom is a basic human right, and a key factor for coexisting. It is a value that four interviewees specifically mentioned. It’s "Manshoor's value that represents me the most," Youssef noted (2018). Al-Nessif said that Manshoor wants to entrench the value of freedom in demonstrating that "one can still live the life he or she chooses in the same society as others live the life they choose, otherwise it is a double-standard society" (Al-Nessif, 2018). Freedom as a value also is amplified by giving everyone the chance to reply to a post published in the blog. "We understand some negative feedback and comments some readers leave under different posts. Therefore, Manshoor gives the readers the opportunity to reply back to the post they disagree by writing a counter post, following a certain writing style with reliable sources" (Al-Bahawed, 2018).

The second theme is *we are all one*. This theme includes different values which are important for Manshoor's intended movement. First, the value of inclusivity, where the blog constantly reminds the readers that people might look different, but they have more in common than they are different. Therefore, once people believe in their resemblance to others, acceptance will follow, which is another value used extensively by Manshoor. Al-Hashimi noted, "in Manshoor, we accept everyone and there is no
judgment" (Al-Hashimi, 2018). Since the main discourse and the mainstream culture in the Arab societies are still rejecting “the other,” Manshoor’s final important value is solidarity. Al-Bahawed (2018) said "we give, and become, the voice to all who are marginalized and who suffer in silence in society. We tell them we stand by your side".

The last theme is appropriating through relevance. As understood from the literature, appropriation happens through adopting values and cultural norms accepted in society. Manshoor's actors agree that the best way to appropriate new ideas is through creating relevance between ideas discussed in the post, especially controversial ones, in order to make the readers relate and able to consider what the post is discussing. Qamis said "the reader will always want to know how the topic is related to their lives. Telling a story, asking questions or including personal experiences are among the approaches to engage the reader to the posts" (Qamis, 2018). Al-Nessif agreed, and emphasized the personal stories approach, stating: "It hopefully resonates with the reader the feelings reflected in a personal experience. When a reader sees the tough mental and emotional experience by groups who are rejected in a society, it hopefully create more compassionate and understanding individuals, because even if they have not gone through such experiences, they did experience those emotions in different situations" (Al-Nessif, 2018).

Frame extension. In the frame extension process, the social movement extends its framework to wider concerns that might not be of a main interest to the movement to help generating greater public support and allies. Throughout the interviews, two themes emerged which explained the strategy Manshoor follows to achieve the process. The themes will also answer the third part of RQ3, which is what frameworks and subjects are
introduced in the Manshoor blog in order to extend the audience base that embraces the movement?

The first such theme is *do not label us as controversial*. This theme shows how the movement's creators extend their spectrum of topics wider than the controversial ones. Even though an objective like Manshoor's requires tackling society norms and distorted religion-based traditions, which are the sources that make the people in the Arab region quite rigid and non-accepting. However, Al-Nessif said "we do not want to be labelled as the taboo breaker. If we are defined this way, it means I am only reaching to my people. We are very careful about that. It is not our objective for Muslims to avoid reading the blog because they perceive it to be run by a bunch of atheists who are against Islam. Never!" (Al-Nessif, 2018). The larger spectrum of topics, such as science, history, technology, philosophy, music, sports and many more are not controversial. However, posts on these topics sometimes include questions to open space for discussions, and since Manshoor's philosophy is to make people "think and question what they think for sure" (Youssef, 2018), such topics and such treatment of topics develop the skill of analytical thinking.

The second theme is *using examples to communicate with a larger audience*. Manshoor's actors sometimes extend the use of examples, such as quotes and incidents, from high profile figures who generally preach ideas opposite to what Manshoor calls for. This extension, which is used carefully so "it will not make Manshoor looks contradictory" (Al-Bahawed, 2018), can either support the idea in a topic or serve the editorial purpose of the posts. This way of extending the movement's framework proves its inclusivity of people from different cultural backgrounds and beliefs. Al-Nessif
explained, "If there are things in your culture that you can relate to in our posts, we will use them. We use figures that people admire and respect to validate our point of view" (Al-Nessif, 2018). It is, after all, "a language many Manshoor's readers understand and relate to" (Yehia, 2018).

**Frame transformation.** Frame transformation is the process where the movement attempts to take an existing frame that society embraces and changes it or transforms it into a new frame (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). The interviews revealed one major theme regarding the transformation Manshoor's movement is doing to reach its objective. This theme helps answer the last part of RQ3: what frames, if any, in Kuwaiti society does Manshoor’s intended movement seek to change?

The theme is *respect the reader's mind.* Manshoor's actors emphasized that the transformation they want to see is how topics, especially controversial ones, are addressed.

Qamis says that Manshoor’s style of approaching issues is concerned with "respecting the reader's mind…We don't tell the readers what is wrong and what is right," he said (Qamis, 2018). Similarly, Al-Nessif said "this is what traditional journalism does, force writers’ and newspapers' policy explicitly on readers" (Al-Nessif, 2018). As explained earlier, in delivering perspectives Manshoor attempts to make sure it engages the reader in the conversation rather than tell the reader what to think. "We raise questions, never direct answers. We don't tell the readers 1+1=2, but we put it in a question form, something like 1+1 equals what? Don't you think it is 2?" (Al-Bahawed, 2018). Manshoor's emphasis on questions hopes to stimulate readers to think about the new perspectives being offered because, as Ali expressed, "it is the way of thinking, not
the ideas, that we are targeting. After all, prompting for specific ideas can lead to fanatic individuals” (Al-Nessif, 2018).

Another way of transforming the style of addressing issues in a way to show greater respect to the readers is that Manshoor pays a great deal of attention to sources to support information, claims and quotes used in posts. Sources, Al-Hashimi contended, make for "logical discussion and reliable arguments when discussing controversial issues. Sources are also a great starter of conversations on controversial issues that are taken for granted" (Al-Hashimi, 2018). Al-Bahawed further explained that "it is no longer accepted to say something like 'studies have proven' and not provide any sources to support this claim. This shows a lack of respect and underestimation to this generation that has the ability to check everything on the internet" (Al-Bahawed, 2018).

It is noteworthy that the Manshoor's actors gave a variety of answers on what perspectives they would like to change in the society. However, all their answers align to the values explained in the amplification process. They want the individuals in Arab society to be more open to different ways of thinking and become accepting to other people who look and think differently than themselves. Therefore, and regarding the last part of RQ3 related to the process of transforming people's values, it can be said that the Kuwaiti society is not the focus of this intended movement, but rather the Arab region.

Therefore, and in regard to RQ4, the experiences that Manshoor's actors have used have not just depend on attempts for social changes in Kuwait, but attempts in the entire Arab region and even the world. As stated in the beginning, the founders of Manshoor's movement, Qamis and Al-Nessif, consider it to be part of a greater wave of social change in the Arab world starting with the Arab Spring in Egypt in 2011.
However, the three Kuwaitis interviewed for this thesis expressed something they learned from two major political movements that happened in Kuwait, the Nabeeha Khamsa movement in 2006 and the Karamat watan in 2012. Jassim and Ali said they realized after these two movements that bigger scale changes in societies do not follow political movements nor are they tied to politics, but instead societal change must target individuals' mindsets. This explains the shift of attention to individuals. "I care about enabling human beings, helping them find themselves and shape their identities," Qamis stated (Qamis, 2018). Al-Bahawed learned from the Kuwait movements that "many followers of these movements did not understand what the actual demand and objectives of these movements were, which was due to the lack of attention given from the movements' leaders to creating aware individuals rather than followers. That is a lesson we make sure not repeat in Manshoor" (Al-Bahawed, 2018).

Another lesson was that the dispute between members over who has higher power and final word can end the stability and continuation of a movement. This sort of in-fighting is something Manshoor has sought to make sure it does not create between its actors. According to Youssef, "In Manshoor, there is no rigid hierarchy; we are all very close friends, and we all share the same commitment and enthusiasm" (Youssef, 2018). Manshoor seeks to extend this feeling of closeness to its readers, who are to become the movement's adherents. Yehia said that one of the feelings Manshoor aims to create for its readers is to be their friend. "Jassim told us from day one, we want the readers to perceive Manshoor as their friend who they trust and feel the most comfort when around," Yehia recalled (2018).
Although the main purpose of the interviews was to understand the frame processes Manshoor's intended movement went through, a theme has emerged that explains the discursive process Manshoor's actors went through and continues to go through constantly. Discursive process is the interaction that happens among activists or a movement's members (Bakardjieva et al., 2018); it is important in order to generate and evolve a movement's frames. Yehia described the discursive process that happened in the early stages of Manshoor: "There was this a broad identity of Manshoor and a general sense of direction. However, the team, and to emphasize the ownership feelings, became a part of crystalizing more detailed identity. This happened through large and continuous discussion between the team members, whether it was discussion to choose the topics or to discuss the naming of the different sections on the blog" (Yehia, 2018).

Al-Bahawed said that sometimes the team has different opinions about certain posts, so they discuss it until they reach a consensus that pleases everyone. Youssef called the meetings between Manshoor's team, including actors and other team members, an “ideas factory.” "We hold daily regular meetings with the editors, we talk about topics or current events we want to write about. We discuss the different aspects on how suggested topics can be analyzed. The discussion happens under an editorial rule of neutrality of information and bias in favour of the oppressed and minorities" (Youssef, 2018). The bias in favour of minorities often leads to intense meetings of members when there is a post written by Manshoor's paid writers or by a contributor, that have an ethical dilemma, or an implicit message opposing those who are victims of marginalization and suppression in societies. Al-Bahawed talked about these “ethical meeting.” "We are deeply concerned that we might hurt the helpless and wronged individuals in societies in
our posts, and not show them enough solidarity," she said. She gave an example of a post that was rejected through such a meeting. The post was written by a contributor who used scientific sources and personal experiences. "The post revolved around the idea of separation between one's conscious self and his or her body, that in some cases, raped women have reached orgasm while being rapped, something that maximize their feelings of anger and disgust. We were concerned that we might hurt a woman who went through this experience and reads the post, and also worried about the possibility of twisted minds taking this information as a green light to rape women since they (supposedly) enjoy it" (Al-Bahawed, 2018).

This chapter covered the Manshoor's strategies to link its values and objective to the conservative individuals in the Arab region, in an attempt to create resonance and appeal to potential adherents. The content analysis of the text showed that social injustice was the main frame Manshoor used in order to resonate to potential supporters. It also used two other frames, which are the fear of personal suffering frame and multiculturalism frame.

At the same time, the visual social semiotic analysis indicated that the three frames are represented in the images used by Manshoor, with the social injustice frame as the main one as well. However, a new frame, the boundary frame, was represented in a few images. Finally, the interviews, which sought to address the frame alignment processes, helped in providing a deeper understanding on Manshoor's strategies to appropriate its frames to conservative societies.
Chapter 6:  
Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

The thesis analyzed Manshoor, a blog which its founders seek to create a social movement that takes part in the greater wave of social changes occurring in the Arab region following the Arab spring in 2010 in Tunisia and 2011 in Egypt. Social movement studies have focused on movements that are politically motivated or movements with obvious collective actions such as large protests and direct confrontation with authorities. Movements that have used the internet to mobilize and generate supporters have primarily received scholarly attention when the online activism was translated to offline action (Bakardjieva et al., 2018; Lim, 2013b; Tudoroiu, 2014). However, Manshoor's founder Ali Al-Nessif said "we want to create an online platform where it provides an environment of free thinking and discussion. Change no longer has to be established offline for it to transform online discourse. Today our generation, almost, lives online, why not communicate with them there?" (Al-Nessif, 2018). The thesis started with an expectation that the blog's intended movement will have a greater focus on Kuwait since it is the nationality of the two founders. However, the thesis showed that Manshoor's intended movement targets the entire Arab region. The founders were influenced by changes brought on by the Arab spring; in the process, they realized that the similarities between the youth in the Arab region is an incentive factor for a large movement that can move beyond one nation.
In order to analyze how this intended movement is communicating with its potential adherents, the thesis applied the frame alignment process introduced by Snow et al. (1986). The thesis conducted three different approaches that resulted in three different sets of data: textual analysis of posts text, visual social semiotics and content analysis of posts’ still images, and interviews. The results helped to create an understanding of the relationship between the frames used by the intended movement and the four frame alignment processes that helped in choosing and interpreting those frames. It also helps in understanding the relationship between process itself and how a process can be influenced by another process.

First, the frame bridging process explained the influence that personal experiences have on movement actors and their altered points of view on life and humans. These experiences were mainly about battling against different kind of authorities, whether patriarchal, religious or societal norms. The similarity of the movement’s actors’ experiences reflect on the similarities of their life perspectives and issues priorities. These individuals, after founding or joining Manshoor, realized that happiness is found when you live the life you desire and are surrounded with people like you, or who respect the difference they see in you. This was a realization that became the base of the intended movement's collective identity. This collective identity was the motive to create solidarity with those who still suffer from restrictive and suppressive authorities, and for posting about issues that give these people the comfort and emotional support. Posts also aim to challenge those who are acting upon authoritarian mindsets to change the way they think about the groups they are supressing and marginalizing, and instill a culture of "just live the life you want and let others live the life they want" (Al-Bahawed, 2018).
In addition to the collective identity, what results from bridging individuals with such an objective is the readiness to tackle socially controversial topics in order to help people who are going through the same feelings that Manshoor's actors felt when they were under the pressure of authority and restrictions. This was obvious in what Qamis said about what motivated him to take such responsibility: "I want to tell the people who are experiencing what I went through that it is OK, you are not alone and that other people have gone through the same hard times. Tell them we can all help each other to make better societies" (Qamis, 2017). The controversial issues create room for conversation on those authorities, and it introduces new angles of socially controversial issues, which challenge people to see these issues differently from the traditional and cultural mainstream way. From here stems two of the frames adopted by the intended movement, which are the social injustice and the fear of personal suffering frames. Social injustice frame, highlight the injustices occurring in the Arab region and dismantles for the readers the distorted roots of the currently embraced culture in most Arab societies. In addition, the frame offers new perspectives for readers to think of and embrace them, or at least become aware of and acknowledge the existences of these perspectives. The fear of personal suffering frame does the same, however, it depends more on stimulating emotions, fear and compassion.

The second set of relationships to analyze is the one related to the frame amplification process, which is the measures that a social movement takes to attempt to ensure that potential adherents embrace its values and priorities, is important. Analyzing the frame amplification process in Manshoor's intended movement showed that it is built mainly on values of personal freedom, solidarity and compassion toward the powerless,
acceptance and inclusivity that Manshoor is trying to amplify, especially in adopting the social injustice and fear of personal suffering frames. Manshoor's objective also stems from these values. These values, according to interviewees and their personal experiences, are not entirely rejected nor accepted among individuals in the Arab society, who many of them live under the power of religious, state and patriarchal authorities. The contradiction between the movement's values and the hosting society’s values happened because the bridging occurred between individuals who carry the same values and perspectives, yet these individuals do not represent the conservative mainstream culture in Arab societies. This contradiction is expected, especially that frame amplification process can sometimes become about the values that the movements' creators believe are worth implementing in hosting societies but have been endangered or eliminated from the public sphere for many reasons. However, the mentioned values, posts about extremely controversial issues and the continuous interest in having a conversation, are factors which emphasize that the intended movement is focusing, at least for now, on the young generation, or older people, who are open to challenging their thinking and involving themselves in discussion. Qamis expressed that for him Manshoor is in a stage where "it is assembling the instruments, so in a later stage we can play our symphony" (Qamis, 2018). However, Manshoor is serious about change, and is not neglecting the other types of readers, as noted by Al-Nessif who said "our target is Manshoor(ists) and non-Manshoor(ists)" (Al-Nessif, 2018). Manshoorists are the people who adopt the same perspectives as Manshoor's actors. Manshoor often amplifies its values using controversial topics because it is the way to achieve its end objective of more liberated and accepting individuals. Therefore, Manshoor must appropriate its objective and frames
to society. Appropriation happens through synchronizing frames with socially appreciated and adopted actions and values. But there is the dilemma that Manshoor's entire existence and motive to continue depends on turning societies into appreciative of personal freedom, solidarity and compassion toward the powerless, acceptance and inclusivity. Therefore, Manshoor's actors agreed that to appropriate the movement's objective, and consequently the frames' interpretations, controversial posts must create relevance between the readers' lives and what they read. That is similar to what Snow et al. (1986) have noticed movements do in the frame amplification process; an extensive focus on one or more values or issues and relating them to the potential followers' lives. For that reason, Manshoor's approach of tackling social taboos varies; they could be personal testimonials and experiences, stories, historical background, scientific information or social investigations, or any other tool that can create relevance and resonance. Using any of these approaches, Manshoor’s intended movement is able to interpret the social injustice in different relevant ways, including creating approaches such as how today’s cultural norms have a history of authority trying to maintain people's submission to their power, or interviewing atheists and homosexuals to highlight the internal struggle and emotion of fear, anger and depression they go through because of societal pressure. Examples of the fear of personal suffering frame were personal experiences of people punished for being mistakenly suspected of acting or thinking against society norms. These approaches try to make people start appreciating the movement's values and embrace them.

It is worth mentioning that Manshoor refrained from vilifying or excluding authority figures in text, and only demonstrated their contradictions and exploitation of
religion and state power, yet did so in a small number of photos. As demonstrated in the literature, images have characteristics that make it possible for images as a tool to convey messages that agitate public resistance (Messaris & Abraham, 2001). It seems that Manshoor took advantage of that and used images as one of the methods the intended movement follows to avoid clashing with its readers, or potential adherents, but at the same time conveys the evilness of restrictive authority, which helps them in their quest of appropriating their content. Therefore, it could be considered that images and text are generally consistent with each other, which can help in appropriating the content to the readers and can cultivate greater resonance for the frames, frame interpretations and the overall Manshoor's objective.

The research suggests this was the most difficult part for Manshoor, and is so for any social movement tackling social taboos in conservative societies to strategize. This process requires delicacy when dealing with potential conservative adherents and observant movement's actors that can touch on angles that will stimulate, but not anger, potential adherents.

Third set of relationships to untangle is the one related to the frame extension process, which is movements extending their framework to wider concerns or extending the strategy in which the movement applies its framework. This process is important since the movement's founders expressed that it is not their intention to be labelled as the controversial blog; in fact, Al-Nessif said that would mean the non-Manhsoor(ists) would be eliminated from the conversation. Thus, the movement embraced the multiculturalism frame, and had an innovative interpretation for it in order to be able to communicate with conservative individuals in the language they understand or trust, stories and quotations.
from highly respected figures or from highly appreciated period of time. Extending the Manshoor's frames to a multiculturalism frame also helps the movement to instill the values of inclusivity and acceptance in societies by reminding the conservative individuals that some of the figures they respect carried such values.

Fourth is the frame transformation process, which refers to a movement's attempt to change an existing frame used to interpret an event or an issue into a new frame. It should be obvious by now that Manshoor's intended movement wants to change how society deals with their status and for individuals to be more open to people who might look or think differently from them. However, Manshoor's frame transformation process was similar to the religious schools in Ontario transforming the religious frames unusually used when issues are communicated to new frames related to multiculturalism and the right to choose (Davies, 1999). Manshoor has transformed how controversial issues are communicated in conservative society and has started triggering conversation with its potential adherents instead of the old style journalism that bluntly forces an opinion on the readers. Therefore, the choices of four different frames to create resonance for its objective indicate that Manshoor respects its readers and talks to them in the language they understand rather than forcing the language on them by telling them what is wrong or right. Each frame can appeal to different mindsets; some might be moved logically with the injustice frame, emotionally with the fear of personal suffering frame or individuals who are nostalgic to past societies and authority's abiding individuals with the multiculturalism frame.

This analysis suggests that it is through both frame transformation and frame amplification processes that Manshoor will be able to create a transnational sphere to
reach the total Arab world. It is using relevant stories and socially sensitive issues in order to take the conversation from the online sphere to the offline sphere. Additionally, these two processes can possibly do, or are actually doing, what DeVriese (2013) described as removing the boundaries between any private sphere. In this case, the private sphere is the people who embrace Manshoor's values and perspectives, and the public sphere is the Arab region conservative society.

The discursive process, although not a part of the four processes of the frame alignment process covered in the research questions, is an important process to generate frames Manshoor has used to rally support for its intended movement. This process is important for movements to go through to agree on the proper unified packages, or frames’ interpretations, in which the movement tries to make its adherents start embracing these frames as their own perspectives. Although the frame bridging process helped to gather Manshoor's actors on the basis of their personal perspectives, it is their interaction and continuous discussion that has helped in "crystalizing more detailed identity" (Yehia, 2018). Frames’ interpretations mainly happen in the frame amplification process, and while the intended movement's values are the same values embraced by Manshoor's actors, however there is a continuous discussion on how certain issues can match these values or not, which is seen in the "ethical meeting" (Al-Bahawed, 2018). Finally, the discursive process is present in the frame extension process. The routine ethical meetings enable Manshoor to continue to offer new angles on a variety of issues, and continue to extend the ways it is tackling socially controversial issues. Manshoor's intended movement is an unfamiliar GCC addition to the social change wave happening across the Arab region, and it is a continuous social movement that seeks to support and
enable the social changes occurring in the Arab region. Therefore, the way it is practicing and maintaining the discursive process indicates Manshoor's dedication to its intention to grow bigger and its actors' seriousness to be a change agent. Manshoor's discursive process keeps the other four processes in a continuous state of evolving, which enables it to tackle each new controversial issues and continue the relevance and resonance with the societal changes.

**Conclusion**

The thesis is the first scholarly study on an emerging online social movement that aims for a societal change and internal changes of people's perspectives in conservative societies by tackling socially controversial issues, rather than calling for protests and direct collective actions. The thesis used the frame alignment process to analyze the processes which founders and main actors of a social movement with this unique nature have implemented to achieve resonance with potential adherents and mobilize the movement. Manshoor's intended movement, although part of a larger social change wave sweeping the Arab region, is a unique experience launched from the GCC countries (Gulf Countries Cooperation) that are known for mainly conservative mainstream culture. Therefore, the findings can be useful for future social movements in similar conservative societies. However, future studies are important to measure the influence Manshoor was able to create in the perspectives held by individuals reading the blog, to see if the model

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3 Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has six members: Kuwait- Qatar- Oman- Bahrain- United Arab Emirates and Kingdome of Saudi Arabia.
and process the blog's founders followed is successful one, and therefore replicate, develop or avoid.

Finding the right processes to deal with controversial topics is important to Manshoor's creators, and since it continues to evolve through the discursive process, ethnographic and participant observation studies are appropriate for future research. Such studies may give more detailed insights and description of the discursive process that is important for movements to stay relevant to the changing society. Future studies can also analyze the comment section readers leave on controversial posts and the conversation it is stimulating on social media from the time the blog started until the present. This will help to see if changes occur on people's feedback on socially sensitive topics, which might be a measure of the success of Manshoor's intended movement strategies and frame alignment processes. A comparison between the number of shares and retweets of controversial posts and non-controversial posts can also be helpful as a measure if appropriation tactics are effective in gaining readers’ approval and support and if Manshoor is creating the conversation it seeks to make people more accepting.

The main limitation of the thesis is the inability to analyze all media Manshoor included in its posts, especially that Manshoor uses still images, paintings, videos and GIFs. Another limitation is that the results included in the thesis are from controversial posts; therefore, the frames found cannot be generalized unless the sample included posts that are noncontroversial.
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Appendix A:

Manshoor's Social Movement Coding Instructions

- Coding photographs
- You should only code still images.
- Only code images with human elements (have one or more persons or recognizable body part).
- Do not code still image from a movie or TV.
- Do not code a file or archived photo of a high profile individual.

Please read this to understand how to code.

- You will code the frames reflected in the photo.
- Each frame reflected can be read through certain visual factors. A visual factor is a visual symbol in the picture frame that organize the relationship between the viewer and the elements in the image.
- You will first look at the visual factors of the image. At least two of the visual factors must be obvious in the image to be coded under the frame.
- If the third visual factor is not clear, you then turn to the photo context. You will read the post's headline and the photo caption, if present.
- If two of the three visual factors are not obvious, the photo cannot be coded.
- Victims (see frames definitions below) in the photos are regular people, minorities, people who oppose social norms or dissidents.
• Authority (see frames definitions below) are groups that force restrictions on victims, punish or scold victims, or violently treating victims.

• In case the photo has several human elements, the basis for coding it depends on the majority of the human elements in that photo.

• Several human elements means there are more than two persons in the photo.

• A photo can have multiple frames. All must be coded

• From each post, you will only code the first image to appear.

Visual Factors

In order to decide the photo's which frame, you must code the visual factors apply to the photo.

The visual factors are:

1. **Contact:** It is the imaginary eye contact the viewers have with the human element.
   - When the human element in the picture looks straight to the camera, it is considered direct contact.
   - When the human element in the picture looks away from the camera, it is considered indirect contact.
   - Human element in the picture wearing sunglasses is considered indirect contact.

2. **Point of view:** It is the relation between the element in the photo and the viewer's eye level.
   - It can be one of five angles:
Vertical Angles:

a. Eye level angle, indicated that the person in the photo is equal to the viewer of the photo.

b. High angle, indicates the pictured person is to be less powerful than the viewer.

c. Low angle, it indicate that the element in the picture is glorified and of greater position than the viewer of the image.

Horizontal Angles:

d. Frontal angle creates more involvement and engagement with the human element.

e. Oblique, profile or back angles lead to detachment or marginalization of the human element.

3. **Social Distance:** it is related to intimacy or distance felt towards people in pictures, and can be read in its relation to the size of the frame.

   Photo frames can reflect six different position with the element in the pictures:

   a. Head and face shot, reflects intimacy.

   b. Head and shoulders, reflects close and personal distance.

   c. From the waist up, reflects far personal distance.

   d. The whole figure close, reflects social distance.

   e. Public figure with space around it, reflects far social distance.

   f. Picture with several human elements, reflects public distance.

1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19 The direction of Frames:
Social Injustice Frame's Direction:

1= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. high angle on victims. no close up frames.

2= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. - high angle on victims. close up with pleading gaze.

3= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. - high angle on victims. picture with several human elements.

4= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. no close up frames.

5= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. close up with pleading gaze.

6= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims.. picture with several human elements.

7= victims are not looking to the camera. high angle on victims. no close up frames.

8= victims are not looking to the camera. - high angle on victims. close up with pleading gaze.

9= victims are not looking to the camera. - high angle on victims. picture with several human elements.

10= victims are not looking to the camera. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. no close up frames.
11= victims are not looking to the camera. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. close up with pleading gaze.

12= victims are not looking to the camera. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. picture with several human elements.

13= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. high angle on victims. no close up frames.

14= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. high angle on victims. close up with pleading gaze.

15= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. high angle on victims. picture with several human elements.

16= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. no close up frames.

17= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. close up with pleading gaze.

18= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims. picture with several human elements.

19= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. low angle of authority. no close up frames.

20= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. low angle of authority. close up with pleading gaze.

21= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. low angle of authority. picture with several human elements.
22= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. high angle on victims.

23= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. low angle of authority.

24= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims.

25= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. no close up frames.

26= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. close up with pleading gaze.

27= victims looking straight to the camera with pleading gaze. picture with several human elements.

28= victims are not looking to the camera. high angle on victims.

29= victims are not looking to the camera. low angle of authority.

30= victims are not looking to the camera. profile, backward or oblique angle of victims.

31= victims are not looking to the camera. no close up frames.

32= victims are not looking to the camera. close up with pleading gaze.

33= victims are not looking to the camera. picture with several human elements.

34= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. high angle on victims.

35= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. low angle of authority.
36= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. Profile, backward or oblique angle of victims.

37= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. No close up frames.

38= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. Close up with pleading gaze.

39= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. Picture with several human elements.

Fear of Possible Personal Suffering Frame's Direction:

40= victims looking straight to the camera. Eye level angle with victims. Camera frames that reflect intimacy, personal distance or close social distance (head and face only, head and shoulders, from waist up and whole figure) with the victims.

41= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. Low angle on authority. Camera frames that reflect distance (picture with several human elements, whole figure with space around it) with the authority human element.

42= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. Eye level angle with victims. Camera frames that reflect intimacy, personal distance or close social distance (head and face only, head and shoulders, from waist up and whole figure) with the victims.

43= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. Eye level angle with victims. Camera frames that reflect distance (picture with several human elements, whole figure with space around it) with the authority human element.
44= indirect contact with authority. low angle on authority. camera frames that reflect distance (picture with several human elements, whole figure with space around it) with the authority human element.

45= indirect contact with authority. eye level angle with victims. camera frames that reflect distance (picture with several human elements, whole figure with space around it) with the authority human element.

46= indirect contact with authority. eye level angle with victims. camera frames that reflect intimacy, personal distance or close social distance(head and face only, head and shoulders, from waist up and whole figure) with the victims.

47= victims looking straight to the camera. eye level angle with victims.

48= victims looking straight to the camera. camera frames that reflect intimacy, personal distance or close social distance(head and face only, head and shoulders, from waist up and whole figure) with the victims.

49= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. low angle on authority.

50= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. camera frames that reflect distance (picture with several human elements, whole figure with space around it) with the authority human element.

51= authority has a contact with another element in the photo with defiant gaze. camera frames that reflect intimacy, personal distance or close social distance(head and face only, head and shoulders, from waist up and whole figure) with the victims.

52= indirect contact with authority. low angle on authority. indirect contact with authority. eye level angle with victims.
53= indirect contact with authority. camera frames that reflect distance (picture with several human elements, whole figure with space around it) with the authority human element.

54= indirect contact with authority. camera frames that reflect intimacy, personal distance or close social distance (head and face only, head and shoulders, from waist up and whole figure) with the victims.

**Multiculturalism Frame's Direction:**

55= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). eye level angle of minorities. camera frames that reflect intimacy or close social distance.

56= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). low level angle of minorities. camera frames that reflect intimacy or close social distance.

57= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). frontal angle of dissidents or minorities. camera frames that reflect intimacy or close social distance.

58= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). frontal angle of dissidents or minorities.

59= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). eye level angle of minorities.

60= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). low level angle of minorities.
61= direct look with human elements from minorities (racial minorities, ethnic minorities, by sexual orientation). camera frames that reflect intimacy or close social distance.

**Boundary Frame's Direction:**

62= indirect contact with authority. - high level angle of authority. camera frames that reflect distance (whole figure with space around it or several human element) with the authority.

63= indirect contact with authority. - profile or oblique angle of authority. camera frames that reflect distance (whole figure with space around it or several human element) with the authority.

64= indirect contact with out-group. high level angle of authority.

65= indirect contact with authority. - profile or oblique angle of authority.

66= indirect contact with authority. camera frames that reflect distance (whole figure with space around it or several human element) with the authority.

2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20 After you coded the visual factors, now you must code frames reflected in the photo, these frames are:

1= **Social Injustice.** When images reflect negative emotions displayed by victims, or marginalization of victims and specially women, or controlling authorities (state, religious, social norms).
2= **Fear of Personal Suffering.** When the image makes the viewer identify with the victims, or trigs fear emotions from controlling or unjust authorities.

3= **Multiculturalism.** When the photo shows an acceptance of diversity, and demonstrate the victims as strong and equal to us.

4= **Boundary.** When the image vilify authorities or portray them to be restrictive and exclusive to victims.
Appendix B:

Manshoor's Social Movement Coding Sheet

Please circle the options that apply

Please note that one photo can have more than one visual factor and more than one frame.

1. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 1** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

   1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

2. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 1**

   1= Social Injustice
   2= Fear of Personal Suffering
   3= Multiculturalism
   4= Boundary frame
3. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 2** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

4. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 2**

1= Social Injustice
2= Fear of Personal Suffering
3= Multiculturalism
4= Boundary frame

5. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 3** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

6. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 3**

1= Social Injustice
2= Fear of Personal Suffering
3= Multiculturalism
4= Boundary frame
7. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 4** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

8. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 4**

1= Social Injustice
2= Fear of Personal Suffering
3= Multiculturalism
4= Boundary frame

9. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 5** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

10. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 5**

1= Social Injustice
2= Fear of Personal Suffering
3= Multiculturalism
4= Boundary frame
11. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 6** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

12. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 6**

1= Social Injustice
2= Fear of Personal Suffering
3= Multiculturalism
4= Boundary frame

13. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 7** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22

14. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 7**

1= Social Injustice
2= Fear of Personal Suffering
3= Multiculturalism
4= Boundary frame
15. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 8** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22


16. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 8**

1= Social Injustice

2= Fear of Personal Suffering

3= Multiculturalism

4= Boundary frame

17. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 9** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22


18. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 9**

1= Social Injustice

2= Fear of Personal Suffering

3= Multiculturalism

4= Boundary frame
19. **Visual factors in the photograph in post 10** (Numbers here refer to each code numbered under the framing direction explained in the coding instructions)

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10 - 11 - 12 - 13 - 14 - 15 - 16 - 17 - 18 - 19 - 20 - 21 - 22


20. **Frames reflected in the photograph in post 10**

1= Social Injustice

2= Fear of Personal Suffering

3= Multiculturalism

4= Boundary frame