



Center of Arab Women
for Training and Research

Arab Women in Virtual Debate

A Study of Women's Representations
in Traditional Media Facebook Pages

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Edited by
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for Training and Research
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Acknowledgement

As indicated by its main author, this study is a scientific adventure in the fullest sense of the word. This adventure lies in the attempt to investigate a highly complex, multilevel topic. The shift from the study of women and traditional media in terms of image, production and consumption to the study of the same issue in Facebook pages is not an easy endeavor. The second level of complexity is the changing nature of Facebook media production with the engagement of both emitters and receivers at the same time. The complexity increases when it is not possible to accurately determine the characteristics of interactants in terms of age, country, belonging or even sex in some cases.

In our view, this requires more in-depth methodologies and approaches, which are the second manifestation of this scientific adventure. How can the researcher accurately approach a text that disappears after an unspecified period of time when the traditional media decide to delete it for any reason? How can the researcher analyze an image, a video, a media production and comments at the same time? And how can he analyze with precision comments in various languages, in an Arabic written in Latin characters, sometimes clear and sometimes not, and sometimes coded? These comments variably come in the form of text, image or shape.

We wrestled with this adventure in line with the objectives of a research centre seeking to be a reference in its areas of interest. We did so, fully convinced that it would usher a new scientific beginning. We do not claim that it is either comprehensive or excellent.

How do female and male users interact with traditional media Facebook page content? Which representations does this interaction suggest for women as media production subjects and commentators on such production?

Since such an approach is even more complex at the global level, we devoted a whole chapter to methodological issues and Arab examples. The second chapter is dedicated to the study of 130 titles extracted from 13 traditional media Facebook pages. They were selected from the most followed media nationally and in the Arab region. We tried to select media that were as representative as possible of the Arab World.

We hope that this scientific adventure will contribute to Arab research and lead to the set change. We extend our thanks to all the participants in this adventure, which would not have seen the day, were it not for AGFUND support and trust for our Centre. Such support made it possible to study an original and new issue.

We extend our thanks to the research team: Dr. Sadok Hammami and his assistants, Atidel Majbri (Cawtar)....

We extend our thanks in advance to all those who will consider this attempt as a scientific contribution that is open to criticism, improvement and on which more in-depth studies will be built.

Dr. Soukeina Bouraoui
Executive Director

PART 1

The study
of Arab women
From traditional
to social media

Summary of the study

1. From the study of women's image in the media to the study of people's interactions about women-related media content

Traditional and professional media accounted for women's roles and social positions in the various produced or broadcast content, such as information and drama programs. Institutional studies and academic research focused on women's images and representations produced by traditional media. Because of the dominance of a specific theoretical model, these studies underestimated the way people received these contents and the conveyed images. In this framework, academic studies highlighted that traditional media mostly disseminated negative stereotypes and images about Arab women and their roles: seductive, consuming, artificial, oppressed, weak, evil women... On the whole, the analysis of the results of women's image monitoring in the traditional media confirm that such media usually highlight the stereotypical traditional women's images and ignore women's new roles in all fields as political and social actors like men.

The growing social media use contributes to the consolidation of a new communicative environment and the emergence of new communicative practices, thus leading to a reshaping of traditional media roles. Such transformations directly impact on women's presence in the public sphere and on the study of media and women. One of the outcomes of the growing new social media is that traditional media are no longer the only actor in the public sphere or the only source of information and news or the only space for holding public debates...

Here lies the originality of the study in that it opens up a new scientific track in media and women's studies through the investigation of public statements and discourse (by women and men) about women-related traditional media contents in the new media space. The study is not interested in de-contextualized statements (or discourse). Such statements are treated in their specific frames, i.e. traditional media Facebook page interactions. The study does not only treat what the traditional media say about women in their Facebook pages, nor does it only deal with what people say about women in these pages, it also analyses interactions resulting from the intersection between traditional media women-related contents and activities such as comments, likes, shares, support, opposition, insult, mockery, indifference... The study of these various activities enabled us to discover the public representations of what the traditional media present about women outside traditional channels, that is the discourse of researchers about the public or even the media discourse about women in society.

2. An original theoretical framework and an innovative methodological approach to shape a content monitoring system on women in the social media

The study entitled 'Arab Women in Virtual Debate: A Study of Women's Representations in the Traditional Media Facebook Pages' analyzes traditional media Facebook pages as a specific and singular social media area. It is in these pages that traditional media women-related contents intersect with user activities about them. The study does not investigate traditional media women-related contents irrespective

of user activities. In this framework, the study seeks to monitor the interactions of both female and male users about women-related contents in a virtual interactive context through various indicators: likes, comments, shares. Monitoring comment content is a gateway to unravel user representations of women-related media contents and, therefore, user representations of women as such.

In this framework, the study is based on a theoretical position that affirms the media role in setting public agenda: selection, negligence, highlighting specific issues or events. The media are not a reflection of Arab women's reality because the contents they present on women have been built and produced according to specific mental and cultural frameworks that determine the meanings of such contents. Content producers deal with women as social actors within normative, social, cultural and religious frameworks, conscious or internalized, within institutional and organizational contexts (media organizations), in addition to the fact that the media themselves operate within cultural, social and political contexts. The media are neither impartial nor without power over the audiences because the contents they produce on women entail meanings through which they can orient these audiences.

In contrast, recognizing the media role does not mean that the audience is naive and believes what it sees, hears or reads, just like a minor child being taught by the media how to think, exist and behave. Since the seventies, reception studies have highlighted that reception is a complex and multidimensional interpretative activity which is both individual and collective, and where the audience plays an active role (rejection, acceptance, negotiation, allocation of new meanings to content...).

The study of women and media requires that we first investigate the media strategies of women's content representation i.e. how women appear in the media: models, roles. Then we investigate how people receive these contents: how they represent these contents; how they interpret them and how they talk about them in the social frameworks they are part of.

The study shows that the approach to use can theoretically be integrated into this framework. The relationship between the user and the technology system is shaped by the same method that regulates the relationship between media, text and readership. Social media websites impose conditions on users and give them specific possibilities. Users interact with them in line with various ownership models within a specific socio-cultural context. In this way, the traditional media Facebook page becomes a dynamic space where audience attraction strategies and open interpretative activities about women-related contents intersect.

The study sample is 10 traditional media Facebook pages. The pages meet the requirements of a public sphere because they are open to all users. The contents are unconditionally accessible to all female and male participants and non-participants who can interact on public life issues. The study is based on a complex methodological system and a mix of quantitative and qualitative tools. The aim is to monitor the different interaction levels (Likes, comments, shares) and the women-related contents published by the traditional media Facebook platforms, and to analyze the forms of uses by usernames (pseudonyms or real names), images (graphic or real) and the media used to express opinions and the arguments that the female and male users construct to talk about women.

3. Social media are not alternative spaces to traditional media to discuss public issues in general and women's issues in particular.

The prevailing discourse presents social media as tools that liberate people from monopolistic institutions and elites and as spaces of abundant communication where passive receivers become active participants, virtually turning social media into a mechanism to empower Arab women and build their capacity to access the public sphere through the acquisition of public appearance mechanisms. Although the study did not ambition to treat these issues comprehensively, it has produced numerous results in relation to this issue. The study has highlighted the digital gender divide in terms of Internet use and access. The divide takes different forms: women participate less than men in the discussion of women's issues, especially in the comment activity.

The study shows that women prefer to appear in the virtual sphere through pseudonyms and inauthentic graphic images. These choices reflect tactics to build a digital identity linked to the specificity of the social media context to present the self, express psychological states or any position. One may understand these tactics in relation to the socio-cultural contextual constraints that do not provide women with a wide margin of freedom to appear in the virtual world, particularly in some Arab societies where violence against women is transposed from the street to the virtual space through new forms such as electronic sexual harassment.

In this framework, the study has shown that women's roles in the public debate on women-related contents remain limited. Most of the time, they are satisfied with timid forms of support as they refuse to confront the discourse of insults and violence against female activists in politics, art and society. The weak presence can be explained by the nature of the debate on traditional media Facebook pages which are characterized by hostile contacts, verbal violence and male participants' aggressive modes of expression such as profanity and obscene words.

The study has also shown that although traditional media Facebook pages have the characteristics of a public space, they do not represent alternative forums to discuss women's issues. Such discussion rarely reaches the level of a serious debate on women's issues. Interactions on these pages are neither a dialogue nor an exchange. The study suggests the following hypothesis to address this case. Female and male participants do not represent a group brought together by bonds that make them cooperative groups seeking to converse with others and know about their arguments. Media pages appear like a space where a specific group of users (mainly men) unwind by behaving in a chauvinistic, violent way. This confirms that, as spaces, social media are not disconnected from the social context, the socio-cultural forces and the forms of domination and inequality that make them.

4. Social media are a space where misogynist discourse and male imagination thrive.

The study shows that male users and female users to a lesser extent resort to specific styles such as cursing and mockery to treat women-related contents. The study also shows that when women give up their routine roles, they become the subject of a debate where the condemners of these

new roles play a key part in orienting the debate. The study also shows that women who are active in the public sphere (an active artist for instance) are usually lessened, dehumanized and objectified through different forms of abuse. These women are considered as rebels against social conventions and 'authentic values', threats to social honor, corrupt and corruptive, and misguided (whores and adulteresses). User comments portray women as vulnerable, oppressed and 'poor'.

In the same framework, the study indicates that traditional media pages in the social media have become a space where the male stereotypical representations of women within cultural, traditional and religious frames are manifested. In some cases, female activists may be appraised, celebrated and revered, reflecting internalized male representations (A woman behaving like men). Overall, the study shows that the direction of the prevailing view among female and male users does not serve women's cause.

5. Social media do not necessarily contribute to women's emergence as active users in the public debate on women's issues

The study shows that female users neither participate in hostile communication nor resort to a violent style to express their views. Women are reluctant to confront abusive discourses against women. In most cases, they are content with timid forms of advocacy. In the context of male users' hostile communication and violent interactive styles, women are also reluctant to express atypical and nonconsensual views and positions that are inconsistent with the prevailing trend. In this framework, the study confirms the significance of the theoretical hypothesis which states that social media can be a space where new forms of domination, silence and exclusion can be created.

6. Traditional media roles and responsibility in women's public debate management

The study clearly shows that traditional media do not manage their Facebook pages according to editorial and ethical principles. They do not activate the Facebook mechanisms to prohibit violent comments containing abuse, cursing and obscene words.

The study suggests many hypotheses to explain this specific management, which has turned these pages into a space where minimal interaction manners are not observed. Among these hypotheses is that media organizations may not have the resources to hire a journalist to manage user comments. The most useful hypothesis in our view is related to the commercial objectives that traditional media seek to achieve by refraining from managing the page and turning it into an open, unrestricted space. This enables these media to attract as many participants as possible and then transfer them to their website to valorize its advertising worth. This policy has obvious effects on women's issues. Traditional media pages become a space for disseminating various types of abusive discourse against women in general and female activists in particular, thus reinforcing women's exclusion from virtual interaction spaces on traditional media Facebook pages.

General introduction

Social media have shined in the collective imagination through its presumed link with the major political events in the Arab World over the last three years. They have almost become the tool of Arab revolutions or the main cause behind the 'Arab Spring'. Arab revolutions have become Facebook and Twitter revolutions.

In this manner, social media represent freedom and liberation in the collective imagination. They enable citizens to appear in public and ordinary citizens to have the right to speak and participate in public affairs. Thus, social media have crystallized what the 'Technological Revolution' predicted: communication comfort, democratization of the right of expression, expanding public debate to citizens and providing people with new political action tools.

Media, intellectual elites and even academics in the Arab World relay this celebration discourse in a context characterized by the lack of academic studies on social media uses. In spite of its wide dissemination and use diversity in different fields, the social media are still opaque. Very little is known about social media user activities in relation to political practices, social relation building, collective and individual virtual identities and social media uses in traditional media.

Beyond the celebration discourse, exploring social media helps understand the new communicative environment where traditional and new social media interact along original, hybrid forms characterized by the mixing of contents, communication types and practices... The new media grant people new communication and expression spaces and new sources of information and news. Although the roles of traditional media have regressed in specific areas, particularly in organizing the public debate on public affairs, they are seeking to integrate these new media in general and social media in particular to attract audiences and reinforce loyalty. For example, television networks have developed various strategies to consolidate their presence in the Internet through the so-called 'Social TV' aimed at integrating viewer interactions in TV programs.

In addition to consolidating its position in the new media space, the traditional media openness produced a decisive result: the exposure of public reception of traditional media contents. The social media pages of traditional media attract growing numbers of users. (Some of these pages attract millions of fans as in the case of Al Jazeera and Al Arabya TV channels). In these pages, users comment on contents like media website links and videos or own these contents to republish, amend or delete them.

This active use is not really a break from traditional media reception practice. As indicated by Media Reception Studies, reception is an active interpretative practice where people are not automatically or negatively subjugated by the broadcaster's strategies. The reception activity takes shape in collective frames such family TV watching or in conversations in specific encounters about what people hear, watch or read.

Researchers have developed qualitative research techniques to investigate reception activity through participation observation or thorough qualitative interviews to identify the meaning people give to what they watch. In this way, the study of activities about media content is a break from the effect model study, which is still prevalent in the Arab World. The model based on reception as a negative activity and a result of strong media effect does not allow for understanding what people say about what they receive, but produces a research discourse speaking on behalf of the audience and about the audience.

The study of 'Arab Women in Virtual Debate: A Study of Women's Representations in Traditional Media Facebook Pages' falls within this innovative theoretical framework because it seeks to renew the study of women and media by breaking away from the traditional effect model that focuses on the so-called 'women's image in the media'. In this framework, content study is undeniably important because it provides information on women's representations in media content and the frames used to represent women and their social roles, but this is not sufficient to understand the audience reception of what the media produce on women.

The study aims at instituting a new type of monitoring based on the analysis of social media users' interaction with women-related contents. This monitoring generates various benefits. More precisely, it enables exploring authentic public statements, including youth statements, about women in the virtual context because it exposes in a new manner, that is outside traditional means (researcher - media), the representations and the cultural resources that users employ to interpret traditional media women-related contents.

In this framework, the study is interested in the media strategies on women in Facebook: use of texts, videos, photos and titles, and the management of page interactions on women-related contents. It is also interested in exposing user representations of women-related contents and female roles in discussing and interacting on these contents through various quantitative and qualitative indicators, in addition to the adopted approach to women's appearance in social media (through pseudonyms and profile photos), participation in interactions and argumentative styles and types, if any.

In such manner, the study seeks to free the media content approach to women from the narrow framework to which they were confined i.e. the content frameworks as separated from the reception contexts and in which researchers tracked the media impact on women's image from inside the media texts themselves, thus neglecting the fate of these texts when they melt in the social context.

But this theoretical ambition faces a number of theoretical and methodological difficulties. At the theoretical level, user contents are unique, original 'texts' that do not obey the type concept or press format. Employing theoretical knowledge about traditional media does not seem to be always useful and needs adaptation, as in the case of the reception concept itself. At the methodological level, the study of user comments on media contents raises the problem of using

traditional methods and instruments. For example, content analysis raises many problems in analyzing user comments which do not obey known writing or presentation rules.

In addition to these theoretical and methodological difficulties, the study of a new topic always represents a unique research experience: a theoretical and methodological adventure with opportunities for making new discoveries.

Here lies the main theoretical challenge of knowing whether social media, which encompasses the values of modernity, communication and freedom, contribute to serving women's cause, changing role stereotypes and consolidating women's participation in public life. This theoretical challenge has direct consequences on advocacy and defense strategies in favor of women's cause. These results call upon us, on the one hand, to rethink traditional media roles in relation to women and to promote new innovative instruments for employing social media to serve women's issues, social standing and non-traditional roles, on the other.

1. On the significance of the study of women and social media

The study of 'Arab Women in Virtual Dialogue: A study of Women's Representation in Traditional Media Facebook Pages' derives significance from three different premises. The first premise is the need to renew research on women's media image. Arab media audience studies employed quantitative survey methods to study media roles in forming mindsets and representations about women. They also adopted content analysis to study the means used by the media to represent women as social actors. These studies did not employ qualitative methods (such as ethnographic studies) to be able to understand reception as an interpretative activity.

The strategy of 'Arab Media from a Gender Perspective: Orientations and Activating Tools' indicates that Arab women's studies usually 'neglect the receivers' views although they are indispensable to correct the images they receive...⁽¹⁾

In this framework, social media provide a wide potential to fill such knowledge gaps about public interaction on women-related media contents. Through new media platforms and social media in particular, the reception operation lost the invisible character that researchers had sought to expose via quantitative and qualitative tools. After the traditional media separated use and reception, the new media made such exposure possible.⁽²⁾

-
1. Arab media from a gender perspective: Orientations and activating tools. The Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (Cawtar). Supported by United Nations Development Fund for Women and Arab Gulf Program for United Nations Development Organizations, Tunis 2009, p. 56.
 2. Sonia Livingstone. The challenges of changing audiences Or what is the audience research to do with age of the Internet ? European Journal of Communication, 2004, Vol. 19 (1)

In electronic newspaper websites, the public preferences can be identified through the most read and commented articles and the most posted articles, that is the most widely shared ones by social media platform users.

The second premise is the need to widen the scope of women's media image monitoring. 'Media monitoring' initiatives including women's media image monitoring do not take into account social media. Such neglect may be due to several causes such as prevailing traditional media role representations. Such representations are considered as the main factor in shaping mindsets and representations in public opinion 'manufacturing'. The difficulties of developing methods to monitor hybrid or innovative contents do not correspond to traditional analysis tools, especially in the case of content analysis. Such difficulties may be a factor behind neglecting social media in spite of the consensus on their roles in news feed, politics and communication...

The third premise is the significance of studying traditional media openness to public contents. The media and communication environment have witnessed decisive transformations in the last decade in terms of growing social media platforms with various activities such as social interaction and content production.

Social media are a space of polymorphous sustained interaction between professional media content and User Generated Content (UGC).

The interaction between professional media and users is part of a wide dynamic framework, i.e. openness to the audience. Many media organizations established platforms so that users can produce content as in CNN I Report , France 24 Observers and Al-Jazeera Talk. Traditional media are no longer the sole actors in public debate management. Prior to the advent of new media and its application development, traditional media had monopolized news dissemination and public debate management. Only political and intellectual elites enjoyed the right to express views and comment on events (Opinion columns in the printed press and participation in TV and radio talk shows).

The growth of new media applications have enabled new actor types to emerge in the public sphere and participate in public debates. Among these actors, bloggers play a role in disseminating information and expressing opinions on public issues. The public sphere has widened, but traditional media roles in selecting public issues and participants have regressed.

2. Studies of Arab women in traditional media: Theoretical and methodological lessons

To discern the significance of women and social media studies and the theoretical and methodological characteristics of the topic, studies of women and social media in the Arab context are reviewed.

In collaboration with the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and with the support of the Arab Gulf Program for Development (AGFUND), the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR) issued in 2006 the Report on Arab Women and Media. This is an analytic review of the studies between 1995 and 2005 on 'Women and the Media'. Media here mean traditional media such as radio, TV and press.

The report reached a number of highly significant results. The most significant one is that Arab studies deal with women's image in the media and rarely with women as producers or 'consumers'.

The report findings cover a number of levels:

2.1 Research contents

- **First finding:** Women have a negative image. The report affirms that Arab studies (4/5) have shown women's negative image in the media contents in relation to 'cognitive abilities, mental capacity and morals.' In the media, women are depicted as:
 - Morally corrupt, mentally deficient, ill-tempered, ignorant, limited and vulnerable.
 - Sexually exciting, artificial, fat and ugly
 - Materialistic, opportunistic, corrupt and corrupting.
 - Wives, idle housewives, living in the shadow of men, uninterested in public affairs.
 - Positive images present women as industrious, able leaders, interested in public affairs, educated, successful, highly moral and militant.
- **Second finding:** Female media workers do not enjoy good working conditions. The report concludes that Arab studies show that female media workers are highly competent, but they do not enjoy good working conditions. This weakness is reflected in women's limited presence in the media, especially at the level of decision-making positions.
- **Third finding:** Women prefer TV. Based on the analysis of the studies dealing with women as media consumers, the report shows that the media cannot meet women's diverse needs:
 - Women prefer TV to other media, although they consider TV watching a waste of time. Women also prefer soap opera to other programs.
 - Women use the Internet for entertainment.

- **Fourth finding:** Contents about women are essentially political. Social topics (Family relations and household affairs) and economic topics come second. 'Topics related to women's bodies and femininity occupy an advanced position, but they are less frequent in the media.
- **Fifth finding:** Women have a low presence in the media. Some 'Means of Communication' do not publish any material on women.

2.2 Theoretical models

The report shows that the main characteristic of most Arab studies is the treatment women's image through contents. The report also confirms that Arab studies extract women's image from contents without due attention to the receiver who can give new meanings to content, since it is a text open to interpretation.

On the basis of 33 sampled studies in the report, the 3 to 4 Arab studies which raised the audience issues in relation to media contents and messages belong to the category that deals with the audience. These Arab studies are characterized by the dominant use of stimulus and response. Only 2% of these studies sought to understand the relationship between women and the media through attitudes towards women. Audience researchers in these Arab studies usually limit themselves to providing figures without comparing them with reality. In addition, studies focused on use rather than reception.

One of the report's key findings is that the studies focus on audiences without giving them the opportunity to express themselves, and on TV drama.

2.3 Research methodology

The report shows that content-based analysis is prevalent. Researchers refer to the public without using the methodologies that enable comparing what people say about TV and media content interpretative activities in general. Audience studies only used the quantitative survey method. Few of them used qualitative techniques such as extended interviews and focus groups.

2.4 New media

The report shows that content-based analysis is prevalent. Researchers refer to the public without using the methodologies that enable comparing what people say about TV and media content interpretative activities in general. Audience studies only used the quantitative survey method. Few of them used qualitative techniques such as extended interviews and focus groups.

Few studies dealt with the relationship between women and communication technologies (Five out of 55 studies) and focused on use. In spite of recognizing the significance of ICTs and women, studies are still lacking in this area. The available studies deal with the Internet as 'an information medium' from the content perspective only.

The report raises a central issue. Most of the activists in the field of women look at the networks from a traditional angle or think of them as vertical traditional organizations like associations. The report argues that the new media can help women to be visible in the traditional and virtual public spheres since they have liberated them from time and space constraints.

On the whole, the report affirms that Arab studies deal with the relationship between women and new media on the basis of old theoretical and methodological perspectives. These new content studies use traditional approaches and neglect the contents 'produced by the Internet users who alternate roles among themselves.'

The report refers to a number of highly important and relevant challenges in that it affirms that the Internet is a space that allows women to be visible, but at the same time it gives an opportunity for a hostile discourse against them: 'The Internet abounds with negative images. Since the main sources of traditional media perpetuate such images, these women's images will worsen.'

2.5 Global Monitoring Report of the Arab Network for Monitoring and Changing the Image of Women and Men in Media 2011

The Arab Network for Monitoring and Changing the Image of Women and Men in the Media issued a comprehensive report on a number of reports produced by Arab observatories on women and the media. It reviews monitoring studies on women's image in the media in many Arab states. The report includes the following results: .

- The monitoring reports contain almost the same results. 'All the reports agree that the media contribute to profile consolidation and consecrate a world where women are missing from the various walks of life.
- Gender is generally not considered in the remaining media monitoring reports.
- The media have not contributed to highlighting women's successes. 'Arab satellite channels participated in distorting women's image through advertising. 'The media consecrate men's superiority in the media profession. The media have not convinced society about presenting women, highlighting their roles and taking them to advanced political and decision-making positions.

- The Lebanese Observatory's study is characterized by the manner in which the media dealt with the struggle to establish the law on women's family protection in Lebanon, as advocated by Kafa Association ('Enough Violence and Exploitation'). This is the only study to deal with the new media roles in shaping women's image. The study confirms that, unlike traditional media, Facebook witnessed an intensive debate on CIDAW. The Facebook pages that rejected CIDAW were found to be of an Islamic orientation. The study took into consideration some indicators such as page likes and shares, but without adopting a comprehensive methodology.

Thus, it becomes clear that the various studies are fully concerned with TV, radio and printed press at the expense of new media and social media in particular.

This neglect has many results. One result is that monitoring does not consider a new central field in the communicative environment of Arab youths whose ties with the printed press have weakened.

3. Theoretical objectives

This study aims to achieve a number of theoretical objectives. It has general objectives related to the relationship between women and the media in the new communicative context and specific objectives related to the new media roles in shaping such a relationship.

At the level of the general objectives, the study aims at understanding social media roles in shaping women's image and approaching the forms of reception and interaction with women-related media contents in the new communicative contexts.

The specific data collection objectives deal with traditional media interest in women in their social platforms in social network pages and men's and women's interaction with women-related contents in these platforms.

The study specifically aims at investigating women's image in traditional media social media platforms and understanding women's roles representations among male and female users and their women's representations - in addition to analyzing user interaction modes on women-related contents: discussion, argumentation, fight, sarcasm, cursing... and monitoring all user argumentation types on women-related issues: rational, scientific, cultural, religious...

4. Research object

Based on the theoretical considerations related to the reshaping of social media reception practices and the importance of these media in communicative practices, the study of 'Arab Women in Virtual Debate: The Study of Women's Representations in Traditional Media Facebook Pages' is interested in the following issues:

- Monitoring user interaction with the Arab women-related media contents in an interactive context.
- Monitoring the types of contents published about women by the media in their social media platforms: texts, photos, videos.
- Monitoring interaction forms across engagement indicators: likes, comments and shares.
- Monitoring comments in particular as the most expressive public representations of women-related contents and the most revealing of their representations of these contents and women in general.
- Monitoring media roles in the new spaces of interaction that make up the virtual public space through media moderation of public interactions with women-related contents, especially through the use of codes developed by the media to organize comments.

5. Research issue

This study deals with an innovative theoretical problem in the field of women and media studies. It investigates the interaction forms among male and female social network site users (as a space among other social media spaces) about the traditional media women-related contents.

The innovation lies in the fact that women's studies, be they academic research or monitoring studies, focused almost entirely on media contents. This research is mostly concerned with the so-called «women's media image», i.e. the meanings and connotations associated with women: Women's body, women as commodity, highlighting women's stereotypical profiles or invisibilisation.

Although these studies are undoubtedly important in understanding women's media representation, the study of Arab women's social media representations explores an uncharted territory where the reception of women-related contents among female and male users needs to be exposed.

In this uncharted territory, the media women's representation strategies intersect with public activities and comments which can reveal orientations, representations and interactions with women-related media contents (interest, neglect...).

Thus, exploring this territory opens the way to the study of women-related media contents and the audience in the broadest sense, i.e. citizens in the public sphere.

Therefore, the study is based on a theoretical premise that has to be spelled out: Recognizing the media role in setting public agendas by selecting, underscoring or neglecting specific issues, representing political and social events and issues, and organizing public debates (Selection of issues and speakers in the public sphere). In contrast, recognizing such roles does not obliterate audience and user interpretation and appropriation.

In this context, the study of traditional media contents in social network platforms enables us to understand what the 'audience' does with these strategies (Agenda setting, representation and public debate management...).

Therefore, the study of 'Arab Women in Virtual Debate: A Study of Women' Representation in Traditional Media Facebook Pages' is based on a clear theoretical premise that exploits the scientific gains of Media Reception Theories and New Media Studies at the same time. News contents are not neutral because the media select events and transform them into specific news contents that suit their editorial lines with entailed political and intellectual visions...

These media present to the readers contents in specifically created frameworks to achieve specific goals. In other words, they call upon the reader to interpret contents in the way they are looking for. In contrast, the reader submits these contents to an interpretative activity and allocates new meanings to them because the semantic construction operation is not media-controlled. But the reader interpreted texts cannot sustain all the interpretations and are not fully open. From this perspective, the reader is not entirely free in what he does with the text, as it will be shown below.

Use operates in the same manner because technology itself is not neutral as it involves affordances which the user interacts with and adapts to his own activities and resources. Although active, the user is not completely free because he cannot freely submit the technology to his will. Technological systems are frameworks in which the user operates and which impose specific constraints on him. Facebook, for instance, operates according to technological and organizational determinants. It does not allow users to express their dislike for a given content and forces them to write a comment or refrain from doing so, when they wish to express such a position.

Alternatively, Facebook users do not freely choose the contents published by media Facebook pages. The news that appear to Facebook users are determined by computer programs on the basis of thousands of indicators, such as machine type and the number of comments and likes.

6. Media Facebook page as a research object

This study deals with the media Facebook page as a space where the interpretative activities of media users and media content receivers in particular are generally shaped up.

This issue is crucial for three reasons:

First: The growing importance of media Facebook pages. Facebook contents now represent a central media stake. Statistics show that 20% of news media website visits come from Facebook. In the United States of America, more than 30% of adults access the news via Facebook.

Second: Media audience studies in the Arab world generally neglected the receivers' interpretative activities, focused on media content and talked about the audience and on its behalf. This tendency is very significant in Women's Studies, which almost completely neglected women-related media contents, as shown in the Report on Women and the Media.

In this fashion, the media Facebook page is a space for public figuration through page activities such as comments, likes and shares. Such activities express in a way public interaction with media texts.

Third: New media including social network websites have become effective in the new communicative environment where new innovative practices such as User-Generated Content have taken shape.

In this sense, user activities in social media spaces cannot be separated from the process of public sphere formation. Media Facebook pages contribute to the creation of a virtual public sphere because, unlike personal profile pages, they are open to all and their contents are linked to public life events. Therefore, they are likely more than any other social page run by ideological or party groups to contain political, cultural and social diversity and reflect audience polyphony to some extent.

Media Facebook pages are characterized by other dimensions. They are a platform where media strategies and user activities intersect since they represent two communication models: A one-to-many communication model whereby the media use the page to disseminate a content to a wide 'audience' and a many-to-many communication model whereby users interact among themselves with a given content.

In this way, the media page exposes specific communication situations where the viewer, the reader or the listener becomes reflexive and concerned with public sphere appearance.

TV pages, for instance, may reflect the hidden collective nature of TV experience. Viewing is not an individual experience, but a collective operation. The viewer interacts with others because he thinks of himself as a viewer among other viewers watching the same program at the same time.⁽³⁾

Thus, media page interaction can be a means of showing this invisible meeting and consecrating and highlighting this invisible link between the viewer and the audience. The media page enables what Dayan calls 'publicidal situations'.⁽⁴⁾

The Facebook page can also be considered to represent a space offered by the media to the users to express their views. In doing so, the media recognize their right to speak out. In this framework, the media developed various new strategies to open up to the public and listen to its voice, as in the case of the ombudsman who conveys the public voice (viewers' or readers' views) to journalists. In addition to the complaint system, the new media gave traditional media new opportunities to develop interactive systems such as blogging platforms...⁽⁵⁾

In the Arab World, media openness to the audience is a variable practice given the nature of the media and the political and cultural context in which they operate.

The media directed to the Arab World (such Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabya) were innovative at a time when the national media were not engaged in this interactive model. In contrast, these media become more open to the audience when the political context becomes more open and democratized.

From this perspective, traditional media audience openness (viewers' and listeners' participation in programs for instance) or in the new media (blogging platforms, comments, Facebook pages) cannot be approached only on the basis of an institutionalized culture or implicit or explicit models that shape media audience and role representations. The open or closed media practices towards the audience are also a political issue in a general sense and directly linked to the public sphere in which the media operate.

In contrast, can the use of social media tools by media organizations and Facebook pages be considered a conclusive evidence for their audience openness? Do they represent an authentic interaction sphere between the media and the receivers, a sphere where the media meet the audience, or are they a sphere for collecting and transforming interactions into popularity and loyalty indicators and exposing them?

3. Daniel Dayan *presque-public* In: Réseaux, 2000, volume 18 n°100. pp. 429.

4. See Dayan's article in the following link:

5. http://www.europhd.eu/html/_onda02/04/ss7/pdf/daniel_daya1.PDF Sadok Al-Hammami. Ideas on the democratic organisation of the Tunisian press. (Text in Arabic) <http://sadokhammami.blogspot.com/2011/05/blog-post.html>

This can be identified in the manner in which these interactions are managed and their fate: Does the page manage the exchanges between users according to specific rules with a view to transforming them into a debate? Or do the media deal with the page as a marketing mechanism to compel the users to visit their websites?

On the basis of these questions on consolidating media-audience interactivity through the social media, is it possible to claim that media Facebook pages contribute to the creation of interactive spheres on women's issues and turn these issues into common concerns and debates in the public sphere?

At this level, do media Facebook pages and their management inform us about media responsibility in some issues, such as women's issues?

From another angle, media Facebook pages can be considered a space for intertextuality, that is a space where texts interact and refer to each other.

In his book 'Television Culture', John Fiske makes a distinction between two intertextuality levels (Vertical vs. horizontal intertextuality) and three related text types. Horizontal intertextuality deals with horizontal relationships between basic TV texts (programs) among themselves when the programs are implicitly or explicitly inspired by common models related to the type and the form they belong to.⁽⁶⁾

Vertical intertextuality refers to the relationships between TV and other texts which clearly refer to it, such as press materials and TV criticism as secondary texts. Since the texts produced by TV about itself are significant and play a major role in consolidating a specific meaning, secondary texts can also take the first text into a specific turn. For instance, TV criticism endeavors to orient the reading of the primary texts. Viewers produce tertiary texts such as letters to the editor, opinion polls or family debates in the form of TV conversations and chatter.⁽⁷⁾

In this sense, media Facebook pages become a sphere where a unique intertextuality is shaped. User comments represent a new form of tertiary texts, as indicated by Fiske, in addition to the fact that media pages refer to the media website. The same applies to the comments which can include links to other texts...

6. John Fiske, television culture, Routledge, London, New York, 2006, pp 115-126

7. Sadok Al-Hammami. New Media. Publications of the University of Manouba. p. 200 (Text in Arabic)

7. Research methodology

7.1 Methodology

The study is based on the following mixed methodology:

Quantitative approach

This approach monitors the interactions of the two sexes to women-related contents through the so-called participation tools and what Facebook calls ‘engagement rates’. Engagement takes the form of ‘likes’, ‘comments’ and ‘shares’.

These indicators allow for a quantitative approach to user interactions with women-related contents. The number of comments, likes and shares reflects the extent of user interest or disregard for specific contents. It is noteworthy that the marketing sector established various methodologies and applications to monitor the social media reputation of economic institutions and benefit from them.⁽⁸⁾

Qualitative approach

This approach analyses posted user texts such comments on articles using an analytical grid inspired by CAWTAR study on ‘Arab Media from a Gender Perspective’. The grid was further refined to meet the requirements of social network analysis. This is the first attempt of its kind. The grid is open to further research development.

Reported women: Women as humans, females and temptresses

How do comments talk about women?: Oppressed women, venerated women or neither oppressed nor venerated.

Whom do the comments talk about?: Women as an abstract concept, women as beings or women as a concept and a being.

Qualifiers and roles: Comments talk about qualities and qualifiers, and others talk about roles, actions and the styles used to interact with the participants: sarcasm, cursing and argumentative debates.

The nature of the arguments can be rational, religious (Quranic verses, Prophet’s sayings) or cultural.

8. Definition of social media monitoring
<http://lexicon.ft.com/Term?term=social-media-monitoring>

In approaching media Facebook pages, the study relies on analytical visualization as suggested by the Canadian researcher Serge Proulx. The method contains four dimensions or standards to analyze social network websites.⁽⁹⁾

First dimension: Site design

This dimension deals with the technological artifacts to enable affordances and prevent the user from using other means. On this premise, the analysis of these means is necessary to understand their effect on use. Social network websites are diverse and different, such as the difference between Facebook and Twitter, at least in terms of the text size allowed by each site: brief texts for Twitter as opposed to Facebook. Thus, technological systems have power over the users because their inventors impose a number of constraints on them.

Second dimension: Interaction quality and freedom

Third dimension: User experience can be inactive and restricted to browsing what others write, watching a video or an action (search, share...)

Fourth dimension: User contribution quality. Proulx distinguishes between three types of use: light use such a comment on a video, average use such as group creation and expert use such as application development.

7.2 Methodological difficulties

The study of new media raises important challenges for researchers at two levels at least.

First: Reshaping media genre

Media contents vary by press type. The written press has various forms: press report, reportage, investigation, editorial... But in the social media, contents are diverse and different. They do not obey the concept of genre because user contents do not comply with a prior agreement on their forms. Hence, the difficulty to classify these contents which can be a brief or long text, clear or coded, or a photo, a video, a video link, a website link, a text link or an icon. Note that the description of these texts from the perspective of press texts does not mean that they completely disappear in the new media spheres, as indicated by Livingstone and Das.⁽¹⁰⁾

9. Serge Proulx L'irruption des médias sociaux: enjeux éthiques et politiques
La diversité linguistique et culturelle sur les réseaux sociaux de l'univers numérique. L'Estonie, l'Europe, la Francophonie. 2011
<http://www.biennale-lf.org/les-actes-de-la-xxive-biennale/60-b24-interventions/185-b24-serge-proulx.html>

10. Sonia Livingstone and Ranjana Das: The End of Audiences? Theoretical Echoes of Reception amidst the Uncertainties of Use, Conference paper presented at Transforming audiences 2, 3-4 September 2009, University of Westminster. Available in LSE Research Online: September 2009 p 5

Second: Traditional method application as in the case of the content analysis method

Given the difficulty of text collection and classification by press type, content analysis application raises many issues, including sampling difficulties. The social media sample is unstable because some users may withdraw comments or withdraw from the site, for instance.... Recuperating the reports published by the media in their pages is a difficult operation because going back to the page archives is not always possible. In addition, users sometimes use unclassifiable pseudonyms.

Among the amusing encountered difficulties is the use of very obscene words to express opinions or the writing of colloquialisms in unreadable Latin characters.

7.3 Research sample

This study is an explorative investigation because it explores issues that have not been studied at the theoretical and methodological levels (User activities in relation to media contents in social media). The absence of an agreed methodology to study media Facebook pages prompted us to adopt a flexible methodology that is adapted to the topic of the study.

The study is based on a purposive sample of Arab media Facebook pages. Purposive sampling is a non-probabilistic method that the researcher designs to achieve a set of objectives. It has a number of benefits. It is quick to establish and appropriate to cases where the researcher needs to produce large-scale quantitative data. Representative random sampling designs require detailed information on all Arab media Facebook pages so that the random sampling is correctly made..

The research sample is based on mixing the following two principles:

- Popularity: The most visited pages (Number of fans)
- Diversity: The pages were selected from different regions in the Arab World.

The page distribution is as follows:

- Two Pan-Arab media pages: Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya
- Two Gulf media pages selected by popularity: Emirates and Saudi Arabia.
- Two media pages from the Arab Maghreb: Tunisia and Morocco, selected by popularity.
- Three media pages from the Machrek: Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, to be selected by popularity.
- Media page from Sudan to be selected by popularity.

The sample contains 130 titles or posts on the reports published in the sampled media websites.

Media	State	Public	No. of fans	Address
Al-Jazeera	Qatar	Arab	8 960 560	www.facebook.com/aljazeerachannel
Al-Bayan Emirates	Emirates	National - Emirati	246 951	https://www.facebook.com/AlBayanNews?fref=ts
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa	Egypt	National - Egyptian	5 418 429	https://www.facebook.com/Youm7?fref=ts
Al-madina	Saudi Arabia	National - Saudi	142 985	https://www.facebook.com/AlmadinaNews?fref=ts
MD1	Morocco	National - Moroccan	1 931 881	https://www.facebook.com/Medi1TV
Mosaïque FM	Tunisia	National - Tunisian	1 720 155	https://www.facebook.com/mosaiquefm
Al-Arabya	Saudi Arabia	Arab	9 129 987	https://www.facebook.com/AlArabiya
Al-Donya	Syria	National - Syrian	1 894 516	https://www.facebook.com/addounia.channel?fref=ts
MTV	Lebanon	National - Lebanese	1 606 136	https://www.facebook.com/mtvlebanon?fref=ts
Jarida Soudaniyya	Sudan	National - Sudanese	121 170	https://www.facebook.com/pages/صحيفة-الجريدة-السودانية/172752166116589

7.4 Observation grid

We adopted an observation grid with quantitative and qualitative indicators to monitor and observe contents, interactions, practices and representations.

- Media contents: Media reports by subject and used media: photos, videos, texts. These indicators give information on the nature of user interaction contents.
- Content interactions from a quantitative perspective through interaction indicators. This indicator is very important because it enables us to diagnose user interest. The interactions section also monitors interaction styles such as sarcasm, cursing and argumentative debates...
- User practices related to appearance in the first page through name (pseudonyms - real names) and image (graphic - real).
- Representations: Women's image through the used comment qualifiers and user argument types

Subject	Objective	Quantitative-qualitative indicators
Theme One: Women in social media contents		
1. Types of women-related issues	Monitoring women-related issues by subject: politics, sports, law, legislation, art, entertainment, economy...	Content title distribution by content type
2. How do women appear in the media?	Media monitoring	Photo / text / video
Theme Two: Interactions and shares		
3. User interactions (women and men) with women-related issues published by the traditional on their social media platforms	Specialty Engagement rate. Monitoring interactions by engagement rate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interaction rate by • Likes • Comments • Shares
Theme Three: Content interactions		
4. Content interactions by specialty	Monitoring user interactions with political, social, artistic contents...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quantitative indicators: Comment rate measurement
5. Interactions via the most popular comments	Monitoring the most popular user comments	Argumentative dialogue or decontextualized arguments

Theme Four: Public debate engagement on women's issues		
6. Women's and men's engagement in the virtual public debate on women's issues	Monitoring women's and men's interactions with the published women-related contents	Rate of women's and men's comments on women-related issues - Unclear identity
Theme Five: Forms of appearance in the interaction sphere		
7. How do women appear in the interaction sphere?	Monitoring forms of women's appearance in the interaction sphere	Pseudonyms Real name - Authentic Profile picture: Real / Graphic Some names: History/Profession/ Animal/Flowers/ Belonging/Politics
		Identification by pseudonyms. Some names: Religion, geography, family lineage (mother...), animal, politics, flowers, history, profession, other pseudonyms.
Theme Six: Women's image in the comment interactions		
8. Women's image as disseminated in media content	Women in media content (via titles)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Monitoring of the various used contentsWomen as human beingsWomen as femalesWomen as temptresses
9. Women's role representations among users	Qualifier and role monitoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none">Comments with qualities and qualifiersComments with roles and actions

10. Women's user representations	How do comments talk about women?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oppressed women • Revered women • Neither oppressed nor revered
	Whom do the comments talk about?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women as an abstract concept • Women as particular beings • Women as concepts and beings
Theme Seven: Interaction style		
9. Women's role in the interaction sphere		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational • Knowledge-based • Moral
How do the users interact?	User interaction monitoring styles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sarcasm (photo/text/video/icon) • Cursing (photo/text/video/icon) • Argumentative dialogue (photo/text/video/icon) • Irrelevant (Rate)
11. How do women interact with interaction contents?	Women's interaction styles	Sarcasm Cursing Argumentative dialogue: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rational argument • Religious argument (Quranic verses) • Cultural argument
Theme Eight: Nature of arguments and comments		
12. Comment medium	Monitoring of user comment interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Photo • Text • Video • Icon

13. How do the users argue?	What are the user arguments in the debate?	Rational argument Religious arguments (Quranic verses) Cultural argument
Theme Nine: Media debate management responsibility		
14. Did the media establish a user charter?	Does the charter include principles related to respect for women's human rights?	Relevant principles related to respect for women's human rights (Consider whether the page is managed on the basis of a user charter - Page management - Page presentation...)

8. Theoretical framework

8.1 What is social media?

Social media cover the technology and the platforms that enable cooperation and exchanges among users, content production such as photos, texts and videos. Social media enable social interaction through the use of the Internet technologies. Social media are diverse and enable social interaction among acquainted users or strangers in the same geographical space, or who are geographically dispersed.

Social media include news groups, social network sites and virtual spaces whose function is to allow for content sharing since users are producers and consumers at the same time. ⁽¹¹⁾

Social network sites

Social network sites are part of social media. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Media and Communication, they are a type of site that enables individuals to create a personal profile and link up with their acquaintances on the network. In this regard, social network sites are designed so that individuals can publish their own contents within the framework of the so-called user generated content and develop activities in offline social networks. ⁽¹²⁾

Social network sites are also online platforms that enable individuals to create public profiles and interact with other users in the site space. ⁽¹³⁾

11. Daniel Chandler, Rod Munday, Oxford Dictionary of media and communication, Oxford University press, London 2011, page 397

12. Daniel Chandler, Rod Munday, Oxford Dictionary of media and communication, Oxford University press, London 2011, page 397

13. Social Networking Site (SNS) www.techopedia.com/definition/4956/social-networking-site-sns

Boyd and Ellison argue that social network sites provide web-based technology services and enable individuals to create public profiles or quasi-public profiles within a specified framework. These sites also enable users to build a network of relationships and visit the networks of the listed friends. The two researchers underscore an important characteristic: Social network sites do not enable users to build new relationships with strangers as much as they enable or allow users to manage and highlight previous social relationships. ⁽¹⁴⁾

“We define social network sites as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system. The nature and nomenclature of these connections may vary from site to site”.

In this framework, Danah Boyd argues that networked publics ...are simultaneously (1) the space constructed through networked technologies and (2) the imagined collective that emerges as a result of the intersection of people, technology, and practice. Networked publics serve many of the same functions as other types of publics – they allow people to gather for social, cultural, and civic purposes and they help people connect with a world beyond their close friends and family (Boyd, p.1). ⁽¹⁵⁾

In France, researchers prefer using ‘socio-digital networks’. This term reflects a clear theoretical premise that underscores the interaction between the sociological and the technical dimensions in the same sphere because these sites are neither purely digital nor purely social. On the basis of these definitions, the following characteristics of social network sites can be identified:

- The personal and individual use of social network sites are based on personal profiles which are open to all or to a limited number of persons, although use has subsequently developed to cover groups and associations.
- Individuals use these sites to manage their old and new social relations in offline social networks.

8.2 Some theoretical social media issues

8.2.1 Social media uses in the Arab World

The Arab Social Media Report, produced by the Dubai School of Government’s Governance and Innovation Program, is one of the rare institutional reports in the Arab World on the Internet and social media that provides very important quantitative data.

14. Danah Boyd and Nicole Ellison (2007, October). «Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship.» *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (1), article 11.

15. Danah Boyd. (2010). «Social Network Sites as Networked Publics: Affordances, Dynamics, and Implications.» In *Networked Self: Identity, Community, and Culture on Social Network Sites* (ed. Zizi Papacharissi), pp. 39-58.

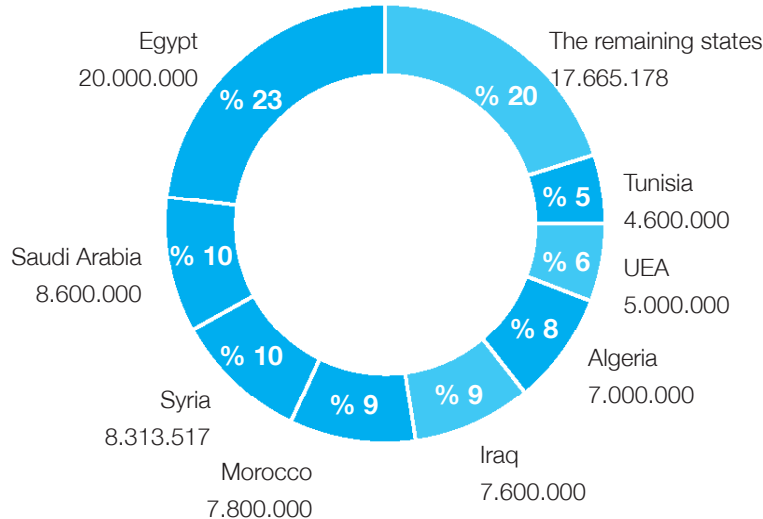
16. The Arab Social Media Report, produced by the Dubai School of Government’s Governance and Innovation Program in partnership with the Dubai Press Club.

The Arab Social Media Outlook 2014 indicates that the number of social media users in the Arab World reached 71 million among 135 million Internet users by the end of 2013. ⁽¹⁶⁾

The report also monitored the dimensions of the phenomenon of social network platform proliferation and its relationship with the media environment in the Arab World. It showed that Egypt had the largest share of Facebook users in the Arab World in 2013 and the Emirates came first with the highest diffusion at 54% of the population, that is 4.4 million people. The number of social media network users, especially Facebook users, significantly increased in Tunisia to reach 4.3 million in 2014, that is more than one third of the population. It also indicated that 75% of social media network users were youths aged between 18 and 34, with women representing 40%.

According to the report, the average Facebook diffusion by the end of 2012 for each Arab State was over 12%. The number of Facebook users tripled between 2010 and 2012 with an increase of 16 million users.

Distribution of Facebook users in the Arab World 2014 (Source: Al-Bayan newspaper - Emirates)

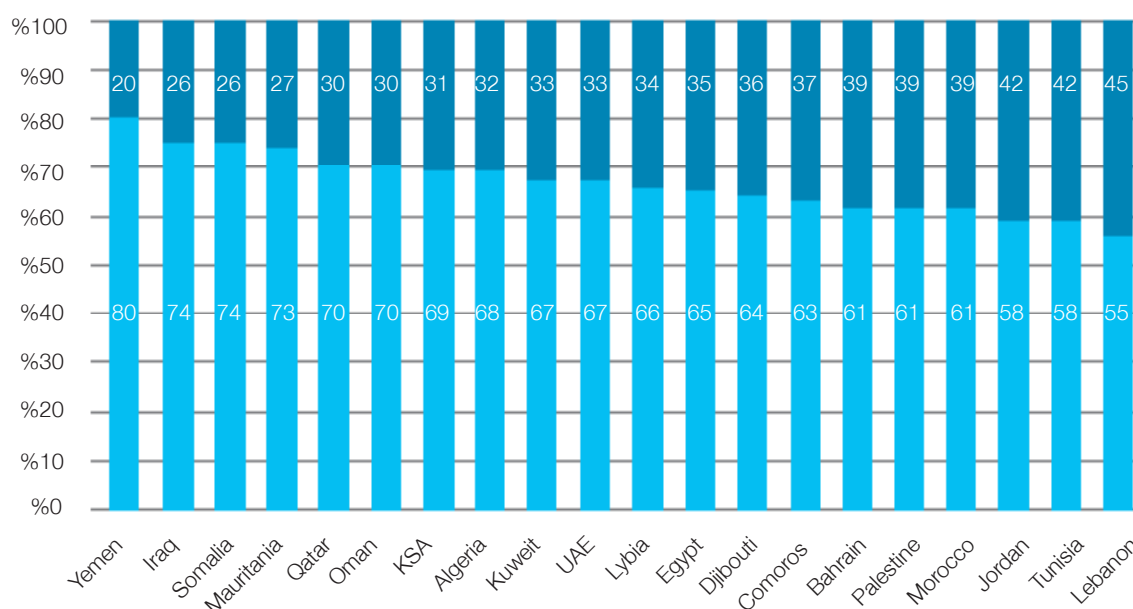


However, the Facebook use rate has not increased and remained between 22% and 34%, knowing that women represent half of Facebook users in the world. On the other hand, adolescents and youths aged between 15 and 29 represent 70.⁽¹⁷⁾

The fourth edition of the Arab Social Media Report dealt with the implications of social and cultural transformations. The report sampled eight Arab countries: Bahrain, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates.⁽¹⁸⁾

Although the report did not cover the five Arab Maghreb countries (Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Mauritania), it informs about some social media trends. The questionnaire respondents (4,754) think that social media play an important role in enabling them to participate in social change, communicate with their fellow citizens and societies, and better understand them. They also think that social media have reinforced their national, regional and religious identity (Gulf and Arab) and enabled them to open up to the rest of the world. The report argues that social media in the Arab World reinforce or help political empowerment and effect on cultural identity and social change.

Facebook user distribution by gender and age in the sampled countries



17. Report of Arab Social Media (Special Report). The Dubai School of Government. May, 2013.

18. Report of Arab Social Media (Fourth Edition). Vol. 2. No. 1. The Dubai School of Government.

8.2.2 Social media in the Arab cultural context

Social media investigations in the Arab context require an open approach to the social, political and cultural realities of Arab societies because social media practices are shaped in an original and specific manner in each Arab society.

In this framework, one cannot talk about comprehensive or similar uses in the Arab World given the cultural, social and political specificities of Arab societies. Therefore, the study of social media in the Arab context has to consider the following:

- Nature of the political system: Level of basic liberties, elites' and political parties' interactions with social media and dissemination of the culture of freedom, which largely determines the level of user engagement in the public sphere at large.
- Educational levels, literacy rates and the social dissemination of technology, especially smartphones and tablets, which consolidate daily social media uses.
- Social culture: Women's position and individual freedoms, for instance, impact on social media privacy setting management and the possibilities of social and cultural expressions. This social culture, for instance, can influence the use of personal photos in personal profiles or even in username selection (real name or pseudonym) on the premise that privacy publication varies from one Arab country to another.

8.2.3 Social network sites and the question of personal identity construction

Among the investigated central issues is the relationship between social network sites and personal identity. Social network sites are a space where people present themselves in their small space (wall).

Self-presentation strategies can be studied via a set of indicators that the user chooses to highlight or hide and which make his profile such as gender, age, religion and the place of residence.

Users employ different strategies such as profile photo selection and privacy settings (family ties, some activities). Social network sites enable us to know about personal identity construction through the study of the interaction between offline identity and online identity. Social network sites enable multiple identity experiences via profile creation and management.

In this framework, the personal profile can be viewed as an indicator of the changes that have affected forms of social expression. Profile construction refers to cultural consumption practices (expression of user preferences such as group membership and page affiliation (political, artistic, professional...)).

The personal profile exposes digital identity construction through, on the one hand, the personal indicators that the user shares and which influences the way the others represent him (personal photo, age, educational institution...), activities (content insertion, comment...) and through the data that the network provides (number of friends, number of liked pages), on the other. In this sense, the digital identity is a joint product where platform strategies and user tactics intersect.⁽¹⁹⁾

8.2.4 Study of uses

The second study that preoccupied researchers deals with use classification. Empirical studies identified many use types such as information use, event coordination, social events, religious events and birthdays. The third important use is the creation of common interest groups. These uses confirm that social networks are strongly linked to daily activities.

In this framework, Facebook uses are linked to daily activities: hobbies, entertainment, relaxation, daily pressure reduction and news gathering.⁽²⁰⁾

Frame 1

Saudi women's social network site use

Yeslam Al-Saggaf carried out an ethnographic study of Saudi women's Facebook use. He administered 15 semi-structured interviews and observed the profile pages of some of the sampled women.

The sample is made up of 15 Saudi private university students. The study reached the following results:

The sampled Saudi women use Facebook for a number of reasons:

- To maintain strong ties with friends and follow their major life events
- To express feelings and psychological states, share thoughts on daily life matters and information on personal concerns and experiences.
- To have fun taking Facebook quizzes
- Political engagement through group page affiliation without making comments.

The study has shown that sampled women's uses are not different from those of other Facebook users. In contrast, the sampled users expressed a special interest in self-disclosure and an awareness of the importance of the private information and the way it can be used to harm their family reputation.

19. Cardon, D. (2008). « Le design de la visibilité : un essai de cartographie du web 2.0. », Réseaux : Réseaux sociaux de l'Internet, vol. 6, n° 152, p. 165-193.

20. Papacharissi, Z. & Mendelson, A. (2011). Toward a New(er) Sociability: Uses, Gratifications and Social Capital on Facebook. Media Perspectives for the 21st Century, Stelios Papathanassopoulos (Ed.), Routledge.

8.2.5 Social study

This study deals with the potential effect of social network sites on social fabric. These studies have shown that social network websites are not separate from social spaces. People interact with technological affordances and adapt to them because they are a hybrid converged technology that combines old and new uses at the same time.⁽²¹⁾

The relationship between social network sites and the social capital confirms the interference between the real and virtual worlds. The social capital, as defined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, is 'the set of existing and potential resources related in one way or another to a permanent network of institutionalized relationships, exchanged knowledge and mutually recognized forms.'⁽²²⁾ Therefore, virtual activities do not isolate individuals from their social worlds and they can support human relationships and bring people together.⁽²³⁾ People use Facebook to consolidate social opportunities and ties. This finding refutes the initial claim that the Internet disconnects people from their social worlds.⁽²⁴⁾

As part of refuting social alienation, some studies confirm that Facebook can contribute to offline socialization because it is linked to the practices of youths who use the social networks as a tool with different benefits to contact their peers. Social networks also facilitate social relationship construction.⁽²⁵⁾

9. On the relationship between traditional and new media

9.1 Traditional media's use of the new media

The relationship with the media takes various forms that cannot be reduced to the argument of complementarity which conceals the complex dimensions of this relationship. What deserves the interest of our investigation is the traditional media strategy to use new media in the context of competition among media organizations to attract audiences.

In this respect, traditional media acquire and employ the new media to serve different goals:

- **First goal:** The first goal is economic: 'luring' users to the traditional media site.
- **Second goal:** Creating loyal media user groups and turning them into fans who can valorize media content through engagement mechanisms.
- **Third goal:** Giving media organizations the image of an institution that is open to the public, interacts with it, gives it the floor and listens to it.

21. Zizi Papacharissi The virtual geographies of social networks: a comparative analysis of Facebook, LinkedIn and ASmallWorld New Media Society 2009; 11; 199

22. Bourdieu P. (1980), " Le capital social. Notes provisoires ", Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales, no 31, janvier, p. 2-3

24. Nicole B. Ellison, Charles Steinfield and Cliff Lampe The Benefits of Facebook "Friends:" Social Capital and College Students' Use of Online Social Network Sites Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication Volume 12, Issue 4, pages 1143–1168, July 2007

24. Zizi Papacharissi The virtual geographies of social networks: a comparative analysis of Facebook, LinkedIn and ASmallWorld New Media Society 2009; 11; 199

25. Same source.

Thus, the media attract fans either spontaneously or through advertising campaigns. Traditional media organizations compete among themselves and against new media organizations operating in the news field to advertise their pages and develop fan groups through different mechanisms:

- Organizing games and competitions on the page
- Inviting users to participate by asking questions on TV and radio programs.
- Integrating user replies in the live broadcast program
- In this way, the public becomes the subject of a struggle among media organizations.

9.2 Journalistic uses of social media

The EU study on Journalists and Social Media shows that journalists use these media for a number of reasons: ⁽²⁶⁾

- Search and explore information to find ideas for news stories, have an overview of the current affairs and public mood, know about public orientation and monitor general interests.
- Confirm information, complete traditional sources without replacing them, find personal details to contact people, obtain an information that is difficult to have through traditional means or a piece of information from a foreign cultural context.
- Build capacity to add a human dimension to a given news story and follow up important individuals.
- Know about the work of other journalist colleagues, interact with users, reply to their posts, inform the audience about programs, read the audience reaction and elicit debates on specific topics. ⁽²⁷⁾

As regards the benefits of new media, the media use social media to communicate, obtain audience reaction, access a wide range of opinions freely expressed in the social media, establish a loyal community of followers and consolidate audience links and loyalty.

In contrast, social media face a number of risks including exposure to false, unreliable information, journalists' manipulation and harm, participation in debates where the journalist cannot be honest and neutral, damaging the journalists' reputation, especially those who expresses private opinions.

26. Eurobarometer Qualitative Studies Journalists and Social Media
Aggregate report January 2012

26. Same source, p. 34.

10. Social media regulation

10.1 Standards regulation

Social media are subject to two regulation types: regulation and self-regulation. International standards and experience show that audio-visual media are subject to regulation via bodies directly elected by parliament or appointed according to standards that comply with the principle of independence (France and Britain).

The audio-visual media are subject to regulation for a number of reasons. One reason is that they use public resources such as the digital and analogue terrestrial broadcasting networks and radiowaves. In turn, public media organizations are subject to regulation bodies because they are publicly-subsidized.

Regulation aims to establish a kind of governance that protects public and private media against government interference. Regulation is usually based on mechanisms such as conventions and terms of reference acting as contractual mechanisms between the licensed broadcasting media and the licensing regulatory bodies. Governance bodies establish standards that media organizations must fully comply with, irrespective of the nature of these institutions. Such standards include child protection, the renunciation of violence, hate and racism, and respect for major human rights principles. For instance, Article 14 of the mandatory terms of reference for licensed Tunisian TV broadcasting institutions stipulates a set of obligations including 'women's rights protection and breaking with women's media stereotypes.'⁽²⁸⁾

In Europe, the audio-visual media regulatory bodies comply with the Audiovisual Media Services Directives which stipulate that the private media must not prejudice respect for human dignity or promote discrimination on the basis of sex, race, ethnic origin or nationality...⁽²⁹⁾

EU Audiovisual Media Services Directive (Directive 2010/13/EU)

Audiovisual commercial communications shall not:

- Prejudice respect for human dignity;
- Include or promote any discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, nationality, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation;
- Encourage behavior prejudicial to health or safety;
- Encourage behavior grossly prejudicial to the protection of the environment;

Thus, regulation is strongly linked to social media because the contents published by the traditional media in their interactive platforms in the social media sphere must theoretically comply with the same principles that regulate traditional media. Unlike unsubsidized audiovisual media, press institutions are subject to self-regulation.

28. <http://haica.tn/media/cahier-des-charges-tv-privee.pdf>

29. <http://stakeholders.ofcom.org.uk/broadcasting/broadcast-codes/broadcast-code/appendix-2/>

Press self-regulation is about the professional standards and the ethical norms that regulate the profession and which the professionals set for themselves without external intervention (State or other parties). Press self-regulation is based on a set of external mechanisms, such as press councils, and internal mechanisms, such as editorial guidelines. It also deals with accountability mechanisms set by the journalists themselves.

The audiovisual and press traditional media established a number of internal mechanisms to consolidate self-regulation, such as the BBC Editorial Guidelines⁽³⁰⁾ and 'La Charte des Antennes' of the French public TV channel France 2. These documents include the editorial and ethical principles that the journalists have to comply with at work.

The 'Charte des Antennes' confirms that the public TV counters and combats all forms of discrimination.⁽³¹⁾

This is a central principle of the terms of reference. Public TV 'ensures respect for humans and human dignity. It contributes - through its programs and the treatment of information and social problems - to the fight against all forms of discrimination and exclusion.

Media regulation in the Arab World changed during the last decade and audiovisual media regulation bodies have been established with varying degree of independence from the State:

- Moroccan Audiovisual Communication High Authority (HACA - 2002)
- Iraqi Audiovisual Communication High Authority 2004
- Jordanian Media Commission 2012
- Tunisian Audiovisual Communication High Authority (HAICA) 2013
- Saudi General Commission of Audiovisual Media 2012

The new Egyptian Constitution provides for the establishment of the High Media Authority and the National Press Authority. The new 2012 Algerian media law established the Audiovisual Communication Authority and the Press Authority. In addition to the audiovisual sector, some of these bodies specialize in electronic communication as in the case of the Egyptian High Media Authority.

It is noteworthy that the recommendations produced by the Tunisian Audiovisual Communication Authority (HAICA) are mandatory in many cases to the Internet websites of licensed radio and television institutions.⁽³²⁾

In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the General Authority of Audiovisual Media can look into the complaints related to social network websites.⁽³³⁾

30. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/>

31. http://www.francetelevisions.fr/downloads/charte_des_antennes_web.pdf

32. See for instance the recommendations on the media coverage in the period prior to the legislative and presidential elections.

33. Dr. Ryadh Nejm to Al-Ryadh newspaper: List of licensed satellite TV channels in two months.
<http://almowatenalyoum.com/?p=10639>

Social media are not generally subject to any form of regulation except in some undemocratic countries like China which established its own social network website.

In contrast, US researchers had a theoretical debate on social network regulation without reaching any practical measures.

Some researchers argue that social media regulation must be the subject of a public debate given the growing importance of this type of media in peoples' lives to the point that they have become social commons. Individuals find that social media engagement has become necessary to avoid social isolation.⁽³⁴⁾ In contrast, other researchers think that social media regulation contradicts the principles of freedom and innovation promotion in media production.⁽³⁵⁾

10.2 Some social media self-regulation mechanisms

Traditional media organizations established mechanisms to open up and listen to the public and accept the public accountability of journalists. Here one may recall the ombudsman concept to consolidate self-regulation mechanisms. Some traditional media organizations established codes to regulate journalists' use of social media platforms. One may also recall the 10 Best Practices for Social Media issued by the American Society of News Editors.⁽³⁶⁾ The 10 Best Practices include the rules of some American newspapers to regulate the journalists' use of social media. The 10 best practices are:

1. Traditional ethics rules still apply online.
2. Assume everything you write online will become public.
3. Use social media to engage with readers, but professionally.
4. Break news on your website, not on Facebook or Twitter.
5. Beware of perceptions.
6. Independently authenticate anything found on a social networking site.
7. Always identify yourself as a journalist.
8. Social networks are tools not toys.
9. Be transparent and admit when you're wrong online.
10. Keep internal deliberations confidential.

The French news agency (AFP) established social network guidelines.⁽³⁷⁾ The guidelines affirm that journalist behavior in social network websites has a major effect on the agency's perception, knowing that the agency seeks through these media to consolidate its image and valorize its presence in the new platforms. The guidelines include a number of rules to control journalist behavior in the social network websites. Journalists must not use profane or vulgar language because of the effect on the organization's image. They must be sober-minded and do not violently react to user actions. Before publishing any content, journalists must realize that their writings are public. They must be committed to the user agreement.

34. Danay Boyd, Facebook is a utility; utilities get regulated
<http://www.zephorio.org/thoughts/archives/2010/05/15/facebook-is-a-utility-utilities-get-regulated.html>

35. Adam Thierer, The Danger Of Making Facebook, LinkedIn, Google And Twitter Public Utilities
<http://www.forbes.com/sites/adamthierer/2011/07/24/the-danger-of-making-facebook-linkedin-google-and-twitter-public-utilities/>

36. 10 Best Practices for Social Media Helpful guidelines for news organizations.
http://asne.org/Files/pdf/10_Best_Practices_for_Social_Media.pdf

37. <http://www.afp.com/communication/guide-reseaux-sociaux.pdf>

In 2011, the BBC published a special guidance on social network website use. The guidance indicates that journalist behavior effects in one way or another on the organization's image. The guidance regulates in detail journalist use of social network websites.⁽³⁸⁾

Reuters guidelines recognizes the importance of social media in journalism. These media are a new means to renovate journalist practices, obtain primary information and renovate information means. The guidelines warn journalists against the risks of these media and request journalists to comply with the organization's code of conduct⁽³⁹⁾ which underscores the values of responsibility, balance, impartiality and fairness. Journalists are required to abide by these values when they use social media applications.

In the Arab World, social media guidelines for journalists are almost missing except for some rare cases such as Al-Jazeera organization.

Summary

The media aim at striking a balance between freedom and independence, on the one hand, and responsibility, on the other. Editorial and ethics codes are important in that they help measure the media journalists' sense of responsibility.

In the social media sphere, responsibility can be measured through the codes that regulate the Facebook page use and interactions inside the page.

Frame 2

Facebook terms of use: Statements of rights and responsibilities

The use of new social media is subject to legal provisions such as specific legislation on libel and defamation. When a user joins a social network website, he commits himself to comply with the terms of use.

In this framework, the Facebook Statement of Rights and Responsibilities underscores a number of principles including:

'You will not post content that is hateful, threatening, pornographic, or that contains nudity or graphic or gratuitous violence (Paragraph 3.6 under 3. Safety). You will not post content or take any action on Facebook that infringes someone else's rights or otherwise violates the law.' (Paragraph 1 under 5. Protecting other people's rights).⁽⁴⁰⁾ But the most important document is Facebook Community Standards which includes a number of important principles dealing with self-harm, bullying and harassment, hate speech, graphic content, nudity, identity and privacy, and intellectual property.⁽⁴¹⁾

38. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/14_07_11_news_social_media_guidance.pdf

39. See the special Reuters website on style guides and code of conduct
http://handbook.reuters.com/index.php?title=Main_Page

40. <https://www.facebook.com/legal/terms>

41. Statement of Rights and Responsibilities
<https://www.facebook.com/notes/facebook-site-governance/statement-of-rights-and-responsibilities/183538190300>

11. Audience: From traditional to new media

The audience is a central concept in media studies because it is related to effect studies which dominated traditional media studies and reception issues subsequently: How do the media influence people? How do people receive media contents? Do the media shape mentalities and attitudes? How do people deal with what they read, watch or hear?

Historically, studies have been split in two approaches:

In the first phase, media studies were concerned with the question of effect by using causal, simplistic, experimental theories and quantitative methods. At the beginning of media studies, the media were dominated by the perception of the audience as their victim and they could do with it whatever they wanted because they had power (Hypodermic needle model or magic bullet).

Then, studies developed within the framework of effect approaches to take into account the social contexts in which the media uses are shaped such as the theory of two-step flow of communication and the uses and gratifications theory. This theory shifted the power from the media to the user who has become active in that he chooses from the media what meets his psychological and social needs.

Researchers do not usually think from an empirical perspective in investigating media 'effects' on the difficulties associated with the audience concept. They take the audience as given and investigate the media impact by sampling part of it and monitoring it through a questionnaire.

In the Arab World, most researchers have not been concerned with the development of audience studies, especially the epistemological questions related to the shift from effect studies to new reception approaches.

The question is: What is the audience? Arab researchers have not been concerned with the difficulties of defining audiences, exploring their interpretative activities and building the concept.

11.1 From effect to reception or the discovery of active audiences

In the third phase, studies moved into reception analysis. Reception studies broke away from the previous theoretical models. Reception theory gains may be summed up at the following three levels:

- **First level:** Reception as an interpretative activity

The interpretative approach does not consider the audience as media victims living in a state of alienation or weakness. It considers the viewer as critical, knowledgeable and integrated in an interpretative group capable of building an active relationship with the media.⁽⁴²⁾ Reception

42. Daniel Dayan raconter le public in la réception, les essentiels de Hermès, CNRS éditions, 2009, p 139

theory considers reception as an activity to decode the message encoded by the sender. This is an interpretative operation in essence, since it is a reading of the message whereby the receiver constructs meaning and significance.

Stuart Hall argues that message reading can be an oppositional position, a dominant/hegemonic position or a negotiated position.⁽⁴³⁾

Thus, the audience gives a meaning to media content before, during and after watching it. According to Sonia Livingstone, the interpretative activity is related to symbolic resources (culture, values), socioeconomic position, gender and so on. But it is also related to the open or closed semiotic nature of the text. Therefore, reading is linked to the nature of the text and is not always free in this sense. Generally, text interactions are linked to individual analytical capabilities, social practices and conditions.⁽⁴⁴⁾

- **Second level:** Audience discourse and the importance of the qualitative approach

Reception studies developed in the context of the opposition to the methodological approaches used in the study of reception (such as focus groups) because these systems lead to separating the receiver from the frameworks in which they receive TV content and interact with in specific contexts. The sample on which the researcher relies is artificial and inauthentic, in addition to the nature of the observation itself. What the viewers narrate about themselves when they talk to the researcher (within focus groups) is completely different from the authentic reception situation.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Here lies the most important development witnessed by reception studies in recuperating these authentic or natural social contexts of TV experience thanks to ethnographic tools of participant observation and interviews, which are used to explore various reception spheres: family frameworks, neighborhood ties...

The ethnographic approach is significant because it is part of the context in which reception studies broke away from research approaches that spoke on behalf of the audience or about it without opening up to the audience itself. Audience studies require dealing with the audience on the basis of its polymorphous effects. Such effects include the statistics generated by audience measurement studies or the systems that enable the viewers, the readers or the listeners (radio) to participate, or through the researchers who speak on behalf of the audience.⁽⁴⁶⁾

By contrast, reception studies opened up to public statements through the study of conversations or the conversations that increase media effect or conversation selection.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Thus, reception studies do not talk about the public the way empirical researchers do, nor do they talk about the audience. In this framework, the French researcher Dominique Pasquier carried out an innovative study both theoretically and methodologically. She studied thousands of actors' fan letters and found that fans were able to produce specific meanings and understand film

43. Stuart Hall, *codage décodage Codage/décodage*
In: Réseaux, 1994, volume 12 n°68. pp. 27-39

44. Sonia Livingstone *The challenges of changing audiences Or what is the audience Research to do with age of the internet ? European Journal of Communication*, 2004, Vol 19(1): p 79

45. Philippe Breton et Serge Proulx *l'explosion de la communication éd : La découverte*, Paris, 2002, p 240

46. Same source, p. 9.

47. Daniel Dayan, *raconter le public in la réception*, Les essentiels de Hermès, CNRS éditions, 2009 ; p 133

direction mechanisms (They can make a distinction between actors and roles). Pasquier states: 'It is clear that the viewer can, in a social context, regain a large part of the independence that is not available to him during consumption. Here a kind of positioning takes shape. It starts in the program and goes beyond it.'⁽⁴⁸⁾

- **Third level:** Reception as a multilevel process: text, reader, institutions and context.

Reception cannot be reduced to the interpretative process. It is a multilevel, multidimensional process. Philippe Breton and Serge Proulx argue that the studies based on text decoding for a given interpretative group and a set of specific texts have become meaningless both practically and theoretically.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In other words, reception studies do not stop at the hermeneutical interpretative action or semantic construction, but it takes into account that reception is a practical activity taking shape in a given regulated social and historical environment (the family for instance). In addition, reception takes shape within the framework of the various media symbolic resources and is not separate from the stock of communicative resources and cultural capabilities acquired by a given individual. Theoretically, this requires recognizing that the media discourse has a steering capability because it is propped by the institutions that control it. It sets agendas for viewers, listeners and readers who are capable of resisting such strategies in different ways.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Thus, recognizing that the receiver has critical capabilities to decode the message does not mean that his relationship with the text is completely free. The reader's relationship with the text does not occur in a vacuum; it is beset with power systems. It is not unprecedented or without prior frameworks. There are interpretative institutions (TV critics, program grids and so on). The text's relationship with the public is predetermined by the nature of public and text evaluations and descriptions.⁽⁵¹⁾

The bottom line is that reception studies recognize two levels that determine reception: the level of the media which are capable of imposing debate topics and specific actions and interpretations and the level of the audience interpretative capabilities.⁽⁵²⁾

Thus, media studies deal with the strategies that the receivers establish to counter the broadcaster's strategies. These strategies are not individual because they take shape in social frameworks. The diversity of interpretations or interpretative actions is linked to the diversity of social frameworks.⁽⁵³⁾ Reception studies also recognize specific media roles and powers as much as they recognize the receiver's interpretative capacity.

48. D. PASQUIER, *La culture des sentiments. L'expérience télévisuelle des adolescents*, Paris, Editions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1999 p 15

49. Same source, p. 248.

50. Same source.

51. Daniel Dayan *raconter le public in la réception, les essentiels de Hermès*, CNRS éditions, 2009, p 142

52. Cécile Médeade, *Repérages sur la réception et ses multiples paradigmes*, Les essentiels d'Hermès, CNRS éditions, 2009 p 16

53. Same source, p. 15.

11.2 From the receiver to the user

What are the changes that affect the reception operation in new media contexts? This is a very significant question in this study aimed at understanding the interaction between users and women-related media content in the creative new media context.

Livingstone thinks that the challenge for researchers lies in exploring the new media interpretative activities. The new media reinforced public reaction integration mechanisms in building the media discourse itself and the user has become a media partner. For this reason, one can state that the new media represent a sphere for expanding the idea of active audiences.⁽⁵⁴⁾

According to Livingstone, the Internet is a black box in spite of the theoretical heritage of TV research, but researchers have tacit assumptions about network users: interests, thoughts and choices.

The relationship between reception and the Internet raises new questions about the new capabilities and practices that can be observed among Internet users.

Livingstone observes that content remains a reception determinant in the Internet. This phenomenon is seen in the so-called 'fandom' in a context characterized by audience fragmentation and diversity, as we encounter Internet fan groups.⁽⁵⁵⁾

By contrast, new media texts are considered too specific, multimodal, hypertextual and ephemeral. New texts rub out the frontiers between writers and producers and between composition and reading as they integrate new content forms.⁽⁵⁶⁾

In studying the Internet, researchers face a number of challenges, including:

- The difficulty of studying personal worlds: Audience studies deal with personal experiences in relation to the meaning people give to their actions. In this framework, the Internet use is strongly linked to personal worlds and experiences (Internet use in the bedroom). Researchers find it difficult to investigate such experiences.⁽⁵⁷⁾
- Relationship with the text in the electronic sphere: From a theoretical and practical point of view, textual frontiers are unknown. Texts are not clearly available to the researcher as opposed to TV texts for instance... One may add content fragmentation to audience fragmentation.

54. Sonia Livingstone The challenges of changing audiences Or what is the audience Research to do with age of the internet ? European Journal of Communication, 2004, Vol 19(1): p 80

55. Same source, p. 78.

56. Same source, p. 81.

57. Same source, p. 82

What are the new media effects on the relationship between use and reception? Livingstone argues that reception and use have been historically linked. The audiences in theaters, carnivals and various shows used to react to what they watch or hear through different forms (acclamation or boos). In the popular media age, use and reception have been separated because reception has become latent, inward and relatively unavailable to the observer. Viewing has become a practice that raises questions on receiver interaction: critical interpretative activity or negative impact.⁽⁵⁸⁾

In the new media, the audience expresses its uses, which assumes the return of the contact between use and reception. New media platforms thrive with the effects left behind by users such as comments in electronic newspaper websites and user generated contents.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The returning contact between use and reception is crystallized in audience reactions in forums, articles and comments. In this way, externalizing interpretative activities, which can be identified in user activities about traditional media contents in new media spheres, affirms that 'new interactive technologies put ordinary people's interpretative activities at the centre of use and platforms.'⁽⁶⁰⁾

11.3 User generated content

Showing the user interpretative activities is linked to a wider phenomenon, i.e. the user generated content as consolidated by the social media.

User generated content is a central shift in the nature of the Internet, although the network has been linked since its inception to different types of user generated content.

This shift is linked Web 2: The users have become active actors no longer satisfied with browsing, text reading, video watching or document downloading. They generate content such as blogs, texts, photos, amateur videos and comments.

Web 2 is related to the growing production culture, engagement, the network social character and mutually reinforcing and cooperative uses (Wikipedia). Web 2 growth cannot be separated from the applications provided by ICT institutions. These applications enable Internet users to communicate, publish, cooperate and share within mutually reinforcing and cooperative frames.

There are many definitions of user generated content: Online materials that either originated or appropriated and refashioned by amateur producers and accessible to general users of the internet.⁽⁶¹⁾

They are materials created or uploaded by non-media professionals such as a comment written by a website user or in a professional-quality video uploaded in YouTube or in an inglorious Facebook user page. User generated content is linked to the Internet creation, but over the last years it has developed into a major media phenomenon.⁽⁶²⁾

58. Same source, . 84.

59. Same source, p. 85.

60. Same source, p. 75.

61. Daniel Chandler, Rod Munday, Oxford Dictionary of media and communication, Oxford University press, London 2011, page 445

62. IAB Platform Status Report: User Generated Content, Social Media, and Advertising — An Overview April 2008 p 1

User generated content is defined as Internet public content with a certain degree of innovation and designed outside professional routines and practices.⁽⁶³⁾

Some features of user generated content:

- Linked to broadband Internet growth which allows for following up Internet use and publishing different file types such as videos and audio recordings...
- Driven by non-lucrative goals, users seek to communicate with others to achieve a certain degree of fame and self-expression.
- In some cases, the content is a remake of old content.
- Homemade content
- Platforms provide hosting, aggregation, filtering and distribution.

User generated content takes different forms: blogs, non-professional content such as Wiki websites, stories websites to enable writers and readers to publish and read stories and communicate with writers and readers such as the medium website,⁽⁶⁴⁾ in addition to groups specializing in collecting, evaluating and classifying links to Internet documents and texts in a collaborative, collective way.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Social network websites can be included in user generated content. Virtual worlds and games are file sharing websites.

In this framework, user distributed content is a central activity closely related to new user roles or the so-called social curation.

Statistics show that 75% of users consume the news forwarded to them by email or social network websites. These news come from friends, family members or social network website friends.⁽⁶⁶⁾

In this way, social curation specifically involves sending media content links and republishing them on Twitter, sharing them on Facebook or Google+, or republishing media content and adding evaluations and social and personal connotations. Social curation is a social activity, thus generating communicative interactions and ties between more than two individuals. It also intersects with media strategies in the sphere of participatory audiences.⁽⁶⁷⁾

From the media production angle, social curation looks more important than user generated content. This importance emanates from the fact that social media have become essential in peoples' experiences in the news consumption sphere. Although news gathering was the most important development in the last decade, news sharing will be the most important development in the next decade.⁽⁶⁸⁾ This is how people use their individual networks to select news instead of relying on professional media or journalists' evaluations.⁽⁶⁹⁾

63. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, participative web: user-created content, directorate for science, technology and industry committee for information, computer and communications policy, 2007
<http://www.oecd.org/internet/ieconomy/38393115.pdf>

64. <https://medium.com/>

65. <http://digg.com/> (<https://delicious.com/>)

66. Mikko Villi, Social curation in audience communities: UDC (user-distributed content) in the networked media ecosystem Participation journal of audience and reception studies Volume 9, Issue 2 November 2012 p 614

67. Same source, p. 616.

68. Amy Mitchell & Tom Rosenstiel of PEJ, and Leah Christian What Facebook and Twitter Mean for News the state of the media 2012 an annual report an American journalism

69. <http://www.stateofthemediamedia.org/2012/mobile-devices-and-news-consumption-some-good-signs-for-journalism/what-facebook-and-twitter-mean-for-news/>
alfred hermidia, fred fletcher, darryl korell, and donna logan : share, like, recommend. Decoding the social media news consumer, Journalism Studies, Vol. 00, No 00, Month 2012, p 2

In this framework, a Canadian collective study of the Internet effect on news consumption practices among a sample of 1,682 shows that social media affect the journalist's role as a traditional regulator and a public discourse moderator. Social media also affect the decreasing traditional media role as a gatekeeper when news users resort to family, friends and acquaintances to alert them on contents of interest to them. The study also shows that a person's social circle is now determined by whether a given news story is important or entertaining and worthy of recommendation.

Social media are no longer a sphere of personal exchanges. They have become a medium to share and recommend news. People now prefer to receive news and links from family and friends rather than journalists. But this activity is also influenced by a tendency to subscribe to media institution pages. The audience is becoming increasingly capable of curating and framing news. On the other hand, social media are attempting to extract news from their original context. ⁽⁷⁰⁾

Summary of Part 1

Social media have become a central sphere in the existing media environment. Social media studies generally require theoretical and methodological frameworks at the same time, especially when the study is about user activity.

In this framework, the methodological and theoretical difficulties of studying such activity have been highlighted. The methodological difficulty in studying new content types is not subject to the concept of journalistic type as in the case of traditional media, in addition to applying traditional methods such as content analysis in investigating user generated texts.

At the theoretical level, it was highlighted that the study of use could rely on the theoretical gains of reception studies based on a balanced relationship between the media and the receiver. Since interpretation is an essential receptive activity, it remains central in the new media environment on the whole and the social media in particular.

Thus, traditional media Facebook pages - the research object - have become a space where the user interacts with content through activities that expose a polymorphous intensive interpretative activity.

In this framework, reception and use theories enable the researcher to understand media strategies to control users by turning them into media loyal users and user strategies in appropriating and interpreting content.

70. Same sources, p. 7

In this way, the theoretical introduction enables us to understand in the second part of the study how the traditional media represent women in their content and how users interact according to a theoretical perspective that does not turn the media into a power that shapes representations and victimizes users.

This study will not expose research discourse on women in the media or how the media shape women's representations or how people look at women through the media, but it will expose what the users say about the media women-related content.



Part 2

User discourse on women in the social media: Interactions and representations

Introduction

The second part of the study deals with user activities about women-related content in traditional media Facebook pages. The fieldwork is based on a methodological mix of quantitative monitoring and qualitative analysis.

The study is focused on nine issues:

- **First issue:** Women in traditional media Facebook page content: Content types on women's issues.
- **Second issue:** Interactions and participation: Interactions on women-related content in the social media platforms of traditional media.
- **Third issue:** Interactions by content specialty
- **Fourth issue:** Participation in the public debate on women's issues: Women's and men's engagement in the general virtual debate on women's issues.
- **Fifth issue:** Forms of appearance in the interaction sphere: How do women appear in the interaction sphere?
- **Sixth issue:** Women's image in comment interactions: Women's image in media content and women's role representation among users.
- **Seventh issue:** Interaction style: Women's roles in the interaction sphere, user interaction style and women's content interaction.
- **Eighth issue:** Nature of arguments and comments: argumentation styles and the used media.
- **Ninth issue:** Media responsibility in debate management. Did the media establish a user code?

These issues are the theoretical concerns of this study of the various user activities about traditional media contents in social network pages with Facebook as an example.

Theme 1: **Women in traditional media social network pages**

1. **Women-related content types**

Table 1: Distribution of sampled articles by topic (See list of articles in the Annex)

Politics	Society	Eco- nomy	Art	Enter- tain- ment	Sport	Human rights	Media	Other
42%	18%	0.66%	14%	%2	0.66%	13.33%	6%	3.33%

Based on the sampled articles, Table 1 shows that politics is the most important category, followed by society, human rights, art and entertainment. The prevalence of politics may be explained by the nature of the sampled media, which are either news media (Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya) or general non-specialized media for wide audiences. This explains the interest in politics and the relative diversity of the other topics.

The sampling period (September and October) was characterized by political events in which women were directly or indirectly involved, especially in Egypt and Tunisia:

- Kurdish women fighters in Ain Al-Arab (Syria)
- Testimony of the widow of Chokri Belaid (Tunisian politician) in the documentary film about her husband's assassination.
- Women's participation in the Bahrain legislative elections
- Execution of the Iranian young woman Rihanna.
- Media controversy on the declarations of the activist Asma Mahfoud.
- Women's participation in undertaking or planning terrorist acts in Tunisia.

By contrast, we note the absence of cultural topics. In other words, women as cultural actors were missing, as opposed to women as female singers (Shirine, Maâali Zayid, Shirihan, Hêla Fakher), especially in the Egyptian press (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ in particular).

This finding confirms the outcomes of the Report on Arab Media and Women reviewed in the first part and which indicates that women-related content is basically political.

2. How do women appear in the media?

Table 2: Media device monitoring

Media	Image	Text	Text + photo	Video
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ	62.5%	0	37.5%	0
Al-Jazeera	28.57%	0	71.42	0
Al-Bayan al-amarati	36.36%	18.18%	45.45%	0
Al-Madina al-sayudia	24%	36%	36%	4%
MEDI 1 TV	10%	10%	80%	0
Mosaique FM	37,5	37,5	12,5	12,5
MTV Lebanon	14.28	14.28	60.71	10.71
Al-Jareeda al-sudaniya	50	0	16,66	33,33
Al-Donia Syrian channel	20	20	60	0

We mean by women's appearance in their representation in traditional media content the photo that follows the text or when the picture is published without text.

Table 2 shows that the diversity of expression forms in the media social network site pages: texts, photos, videos... related to the multiple nature of social media devices in general.

The statistics show that photos are significantly present. This can be explained by the media strategies to incite and lure users into the site, and the nature of Facebook as a multi-device visual space where visual expression and audio-visual materials occupy an important position.

In this framework, Facebook recommends using photos to increase the potential for text reading and referring the users to the site. The Facebook journalist program manager, Vadim Lavrusik, invites journalists to use photos because they are the most popular Facebook content. He confirms that large thumbnail images are the most popular type of content on Facebook. Links with large thumbnail images (recommended 600 x 600px) receive around 20% more clicks than those without them.⁽⁷¹⁾

71. Ten top tips for journalists using Facebook
<http://www.newsrewired.com/2013/04/19/ten-top-tips-for-journalists-using-facebook/>

On the one hand, women's representation through photos reflects their media representation. In this framework, we notice that the reports generally use photos in a balanced manner in potentially exciting reports.

Some reports sometimes use photos in reports unrelated to women's issues such as Al-Arabiya channel report on Tunisian elections, which was accompanied by a photo of a veiled voting woman.

We noticed a plurality of women's photos: veiled women, women singers, unveiled women, voting women, farming women, older women, beautiful women...

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the report photos show that these photos are varied and largely reflect various women's roles. This contributes to highlighting women in the virtual public space, as shown in the following examples:

- Abu Dhabi bank holds an event to promote awareness about breast cancer: A group photo of female and male participants in sports outfits.
- Ennahdha recognizes its second position in the Tunisian election results: The photo of a voting woman
- Participation of Alkofia Band of Palestinian Heritage on the sidelines of Al-Jazeera Festival: A photo of traditionally dressed Palestinian popular female dancers
- Accusation of growing torture and political arrests in the West Bank: A photo of women in niqab raising slogans
- Report showing a girl for sale in Sidon (Lebanon): Photo of a woman in niqab holding an unveiled woman
- Report on a Kuwaiti singer cutting off her hair in solidarity with cancer patients: A photo of the singer with a shaved head
- Report on an activity by the Shura Council of Saudi Arabia: A photo of Shura Council female members (wearing hijab or niqab).

These examples do not only show the diversity of women's media photos, but also the diversity of their activities: Politics, military, sports, singing.

The women's report photos can be distributed by category as follows:

- Inglorious women's photos: Used in news reports on women.
- Photos of women stars: Film and sports stars
- Photos of female political activists: Bisma Al-Khalifaoui (Widow of the late Tunisian politician Chokr Belaid), Asma Mahfoud (Egyptian political activist in the revolutionary movement that led to the fall of Hosni Mubarak), photos of Kurdish female fighters, photos of female members of the Saudi Shura Council.
- Photos of female active participants: In most cases, inglorious women become the subject of news reports such as Rihanna, the Iranian woman.
- - Photos of women in niqab. Most women's photos in the Saudi Al-Madina newspaper reports show women in niqab. Women in niqab may appear in political reports (The wife of the Tunisian terrorist Mohamed Amine Al-Kacem; Palestinian women demonstrating against torture in the West Bank).

Mosaique FM a partagé un lien.
il y a environ une heure

في تونس الانتخابات حاضرة في قرية غاب عنها الماء الصالح للشرب



www.mosaiquefm.net
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J'aime Commenter Partager

34 partages

315 personnes aiment ça.

Meilleurs commentaires



J'aime Commenter

Al Arabiya العربية قناة
أرجو كل سياسي كروي تتنافس في انتخابات تونس

أعرف أسماء هذه الكتل وتفاصيل أوفى على الرابط التالي:
<http://ara.tv/7m7cn>
Voir la traduction

J'aime Commenter Partager 28 octobre

1380 personnes aiment ça

11 partages

Album: Photos du journal
Ouvrir la visionneuse de photos
Télécharger
Intégrer la publication
Signaler la photo

صحيفة البيان
il y a 17 heures

بنك أبوظبي التجاري ينظم فعاليات للتوعية بخطورة سرطان الثدي
<http://www.albayan.ae/across-the-uae/news-and-reports/2014-10-26-1.2229654>
Voir la traduction



J'aime Commenter Partager

7 personnes aiment ça.

Écrire un commentaire...

Mehdi Mehdi

J'aime Répondre · il y a 12 heures

Al Jazeera Channel - قناة الجزيرة الفضائية
il y a 5 heures



انهم بنصاعد التعذيب والاعتقال السياسي بالصفحة

أجاءت مواقع إعلامية وحقوقية فلسطينية بأن أجهزة السلطة أعادت مؤخرا حملات الاعتقالات والاستبدادات بحق عناصر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية (حماس) في مختلف محافظات الضفة الغربية.

J'aime Commenter Partager

11 partages

561 personnes aiment ça.

Meilleurs commentaires

Al Arabiya العربية قناة
29 octobre

مفاجأة.. معالي زايد ليست مضابه بالسردان

اضغطوا على الرابط التالي لمعرفة حقيقة ما قيل عن حالتها الصحية:
<http://ara.tv/cx6rx>
Voir la traduction



J'aime Commenter Partager

84 partages

2 397 personnes aiment ça.

Meilleurs commentaires



اليوم السابع

مستخدمو تويتر، وصف توكل كرمان
للسماء محفوظ بأم الثورة 'عيب وحرام'

Theme 2: Interactions and engagement

Table 3: Female and male interactions with women-related content published by traditional media in their social media platforms by engagement rate

Media	Number of reports	Comment (Average)	Like (Average)	Share (Average)
Al-Yawm Al-Sabâ	16	1331.5	55.8	202.3
Al-Jazeera	14	4298.0	88.21	169.5
Al-Bayan (UAE)	11	62.90	8.18	5.45
Al-Madina (Saudi Arabia)	25	15.4	2.6	0.64
MEDI 1 TV	10	388.7	33.3	38.4
Mosaïque FM	16	173.56	1450.5	364.31
Al-Arabya	28	794.03	7505.78	407.85
MTV Lebanon	6	152.16	1318.5	44.5
Al-Jareeda (Sudan)	5	8	146,4	17,2
Al-Donia (Syria)	3	55.33	9904	771
MTV Lebanon	6	152.16	1318.5	44.5
Al-Jareeda (Sudan)	5	8	146,4	17,2
Al-Donia (Syria)	3	55.33	9904	771

Table 3 clearly shows a significant variation in the media pages at the three levels of comments, likes and shares. This variation may initially reflect a variation in the page's marketing strategies. Media organizations usually market their pages via the so-called Facebook ads. Page popularity is not always a spontaneous product of keen popular interest, but the outcome of an advertising investment. Undoubtedly, the millions of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabya fans joined the page after advertising campaigns for long periods of time.

It is also clear that Arab media sites targeting Arab audiences are more capable of attracting and hosting interactions than national media pages in spite of the fact that these pages have good engagement rates (Like, share...).

We also observe that the relationship between page fan numbers and the size of interactions are not always mechanical. This may be due to the nature of content and page management. Although Al-Donia channel has a large number of fans, interactions with women-related content appears low.

In fact, there are no fixed standards to evaluate whether the results obtained by the pages are good or not in absolute terms, especially in the absence of comprehensive page statistics to be able to make comparisons.

In spite of the absence of these statistical indicators, content produces all types of interactions in terms of shares, comments and likes. These indicators vary from one channel to another. Some pages generally have low figures such as Al-Jareeda (Sudan), Al-Madina (Saudi Arabia) and Al-Bayan (Emirati). In this context, different factors may explain the interaction level such as political context, political and cultural freedoms, women's issues in the public sphere and reader base diversity.

Theme 3: **Content interactions**

1. Content interactions by specialty

As indicated in Table 4, articles about politics and art enjoy the highest popularity, respectively. Report interaction varies from one page to another. In the Egyptian Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa newspaper, users interact on art, politics and social issues in this order. As for Al-Jazeera Facebook page, political reports attract most user interactions, followed by human rights and social reports. The Emirati Al-Bayan newspaper interactions first deal with art reports, followed by human rights and information.

Moasaïque FM Facebook page users interact on political reports followed by art articles, but it is clear that political content attracts the highest number of users. This interest may be related to political events: Kurdish women's participation in the war against Daech, parliamentary elections in Tunisia, in addition to the very controversial nature of political issues.

As regards art issues, users interact with the latest news on singers when they intervene in public debates or when the singers' private lives are involved: Sentencing Shirine Abdelwahab to 6 months in prison, the illness of Maali Zayed, declarations of Hala Fakher about Daech and Shiri-hane about Tunisia, head shaving by the Kuwaiti singer in support for cancer patients (The Saudi Arabian Al-Madina newspaper).

National contexts are very important, too. Although the results confirm that sports reports do not generally attract the attention of Arab media pages, they attract a large amount of interactions on the Tunisian Moasaïque FM page. This is due to the position of sports in the Tunisian media in general and Moasaïque FM in particular, and the position of sports in Tunisians' interests, especially handball (Moasaïque FM report on the Club Africain women's handball team when it won the Arab championship).

Table 4: Monitoring user interactions with political, social and art contents through quantitative indicators: Engagement rate measurement and article classification by interaction engagement rate

Media	Politics	Economy	Art	Entertainment	Society	Sports	Human rights	Information	Other
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ	2	6	1	0	3	0	5	5	0
Al-Jazeera	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	3
Al-Bayan (UAE)	4	0		4	0	0	3	3	0
Al-Madina (Saudi Arabia)	2	0	1		4	0	3	3	0
MEDI 1 TV	2	3	1	5	4	6	7	7	0
Mosaïque FM	1	0	5	0	3	4	5	5	6
Al-Arabya		0	2	0	3	0	2	2	5
MTV Lebanon	1	0	4	6	0	0	1	1	0
Al-Jareeda (Sudan)		0	0	2	0	0	2	2	3
Al-Donia (Syria)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

2. Interactions via the most popular comments

Table 5: Most popular comments

Media	Cursing	Sarcasm	Argumentative debate	Out of context
Mosaïque FM	31,57	38,15	30,26	0
Al-Arabya	25	0	75	0
MTV Lebanon	100	0	0	0
Al-Jareeda (Sudan)	0	0	0	0
Al-Donia (Syria)	37.5	25	37.5	0
Al-Yawm Al-Sa-baâ	27.17 %	15.07 %	39.91 %	17.83 %
Al-Jazeera	10.23 %	8.81 %	48.50 %	32.44 %
Al-Bayan (UAE)	12.12 %	6.06 %	60.60 %	21.21 %
Al-Madina (Saudi Arabia)	6.66 %	26.66 %	40 %	26.66 %
MD1	16.19 %	17.14 %	34.28 %	32.38 %

Table 5 shows that the most popular comments include cursing and sarcasm rather than arguments. These comments include a great deal of cursing, vulgarity and obscene words.

Comment popularity varies from one media to another, but there are no interactions with the Sudanese Al-Jareeda newspaper page: a sign of interaction weakness.

The results of this table generally show that users do not participate in communicative interactions as much as they prefer confrontational interactions and sarcasm. A single comment sometimes includes cursing, sarcasm and arguments at the same time. Insulting comments reflect an aggressive style and consist in calling others whores, adulteresses or garbage.

Arguments include the Prophet's sayings to support the significance of an issue for Muslims. These arguments are usually used to insult or they can start with cursing and violence and end with a Prophet's saying, a Quranic verse or recalling Islamic teachings.

Sarcastic comments include stereotypical representations of gender roles to explain women's participation in the war against Daech for instance (Emirati warplane pilot Meriam Al-Mansouri) by stating that Gulf men do not bear their responsibilities.

The table clearly shows that users prefer to interact with provocative comments and seem to do it for fun. This activity informs about the characteristics of users as youths routinely interacting with Facebook content and using brief comments. It is noteworthy that most out-of-context comments were found in MD1 and Al-Jazeera media pages and to a lesser extent in the Saudi Al-Madina and the Emirati Al-Bayan.

This reflects either the wish of users involved in the debate to change the controversial subject or readjust the orientation of an insult or a sarcasm or express an opinion or just convey a message, even if it is out-of-context. This will require in a subsequent phase of the investigation to look into the characteristics of specific persons who repeatedly play the readjustment role, either to forbid curding or change the course of the controversy to issues that include 'a reminder of what is more important'.

This role, for instance, is reflected in the following comment when verbal violence peaked in the single mother issue: 'Why do the media ignore the legal and humanitarian violations perpetrated everyday by the Zionist army against the Palestinians?' Can we consider these female and male users as ethics 'protectors' in the debate on women's issues and do they have a weight in reducing gender violence levels?'

Theme 4: Engagement in the public debate on women's issues through comments by gender

Table 6: Monitoring women's and men's interactions with the published women-related content

Media	Rate of women	Rate of men	Unknown identity
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa	24.36 %	61.40 %	10.73 %
Al-Jazeera	12.46 %	63.64 %	18.78 %
Al-Bayan (UAE)	29.28 %	57.85 %	12.85 %
Al-Madina (KSA)	16.92 %	61.53 %	15.38 %
MEDI 1 TV	28.45 %	61.87 %	8.87 %
Mosaïque FM	41.80	46.41	11.77
Al-Arabya	16.22	72.49	11.28
MTV Lebanon	35.47	56.83	7.69
Al-Jareeda newspaper (Sudan)	5	75	20
Al-Donia channel (Syria)	21.08	64.45	14.45

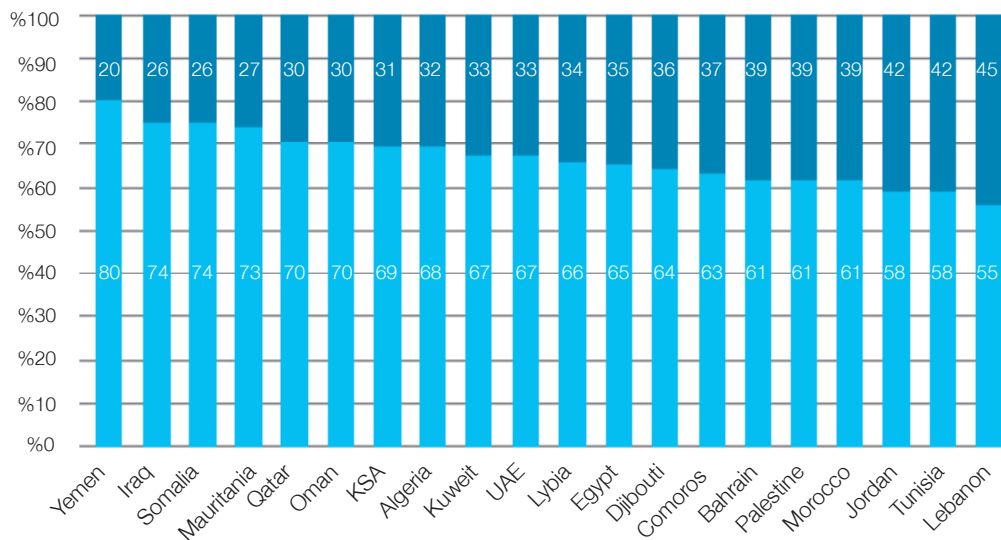
Table 4 clearly shows that male users engage more than female users in almost all the page comments in spite of unequal engagement rates among countries. Contrary to Saudi, Moroccan, Egyptian and Syrian media pages, Tunisian and Lebanese media pages show similar rates of comments by female and male users. These findings ought to be read in relation to Facebook use distribution in the Arab World by gender. Available statistics show a major inequality between men and women.

The Arab Social Media Report, produced by the Dubai School of Government's Governance and Innovation Program in 2012, indicates that Lebanon is the most balanced country in the Arab World in terms of Facebook users' gender distribution, followed by Tunisia, Jordan and Palestine, whereas Mauritania, Somalia, Iraq and Yemen are at the bottom of the list. ⁽⁷²⁾

72. Arab Social Media Report, Mohamed Bin Rashid School of Government, p. 12
<http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/home/index.aspx>

Arab Women in Virtual Debate

A Study of Women's Representations in Traditional Media Facebook Pages



The statistics of Socialbakers, the specialist of social network statistics, show that the inequality is still enduring.

Let's now compare the obtained results on user distribution by gender with interaction distribution by comment among male and female users.

Frame 3

CNN Rules of Engagement on Facebook ⁽⁷³⁾

Our Facebook pages are designed to provide an opportunity for our audience to engage around news topics. They have been established for the enjoyment and social engagement of our audience and we encourage discussion and debate. However abusive, threatening, harassing or profane comments are not welcome and will not be ignored.

By participating on our FB pages you agree to comply with Facebook's Terms of Use and to abide by CNN's rules of conduct, outlined in full in the Community Guidelines and User Content section of the CNN Terms of Service Agreement. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ Any conduct that in CNN's sole discretion restricts or inhibits anyone else from using or enjoying the CNN Facebook page will not be permitted. CNN reserves the right to remove any content that violates the rules of conduct, which include:

- Content that violates or infringes in any way upon the rights of others, including any statements which may defame, harass, stalk or threaten others;

73. <https://www.facebook.com/notes/cnnmoney/cnn-rules-of-engagement-on-facebook/10150960424227958>

74. <http://edition.cnn.com/terms>

- Content that is offensive to the online community, including blatant expressions of bigotry, racism, abusiveness, vulgarity or profanity.
- Content that contains or advocates pornography, pedophilia, incest, bestiality, or that is otherwise obscene.
- Content that violates any law or engages in activity that would constitute a criminal offense or give rise to a civil liability.

Table 7: Comparison of use distribution by gender according to Socialbakers with comment distribution by gender

Media - State	Use distribution by gender according to Socialbakers		Comment distribution by gender	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Al-Bayan (UAE)	27 %	73 %	29.28 %	57.85 %
Al-Yawl Al-Sabaa	31 %	69 %	24.36 %	61.40 %
Mosaïque FM	40 %	60 %	41.80 %	46.41 %
Al-Jareeda (Sudan)			5 %	75 %
MTV Lebanon	41 %	59 %	35.47	56.83
Al-Madina (KSA)	21 %	79 %	16.92 %	61.53 %
MD1 (Morocco)	32 %	68 %	28.45 %	61.87 %

The comparison shows a match between men's and women's engagement in interactions via comments and Facebook use distribution by gender.

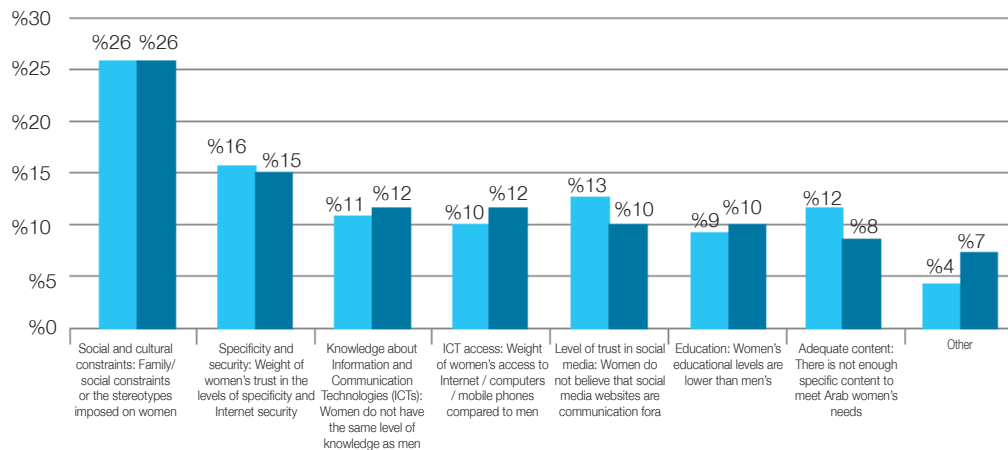
Thus, the gender inequality of engagement rates via comments may be understood as a manifestation of the digital divide, i.e. women's low access to the Internet. The divide directly impacts on women's presence in the virtual public sphere as represented by the traditional media Facebook pages.

In addition to the explanation based on linking women's and men's engagement in interactions via comments to Facebook use distribution by gender, one can suppose, on the basis of the obtained results, that women represent a significant concern to Arab Facebook users. This does not mean that these users support women's issues. Male users also interact with contents as an expression of their dissatisfaction with women's innovative and creative roles (such as participation in war) or to insult female political activists or to vilify women who suggested new initiatives or to laugh at specific persons. In this frame, and as indicated earlier in relation to

insults, male violence may be embodied in a discourse that degrades women as human beings by insulting their outlook or morals. The aim is to turn them into whores, or to condemn them as outcasts who do not comply with social traditions and values. Some of the insults dehumanize women and turn them into 'animals'.

These results are confirmed by the fact that many users resort to unclear identities. Such orientation is linked to the nature of social network websites, which give women an opportunity to become visible. The virtual space generally allows for the use of an artificial or false identity. This may express the unwillingness to divulge identity for reasons related to maintaining a certain specificity, liberating one's self from others' perceptions and control of user activities, or because of cultural and social constraints.

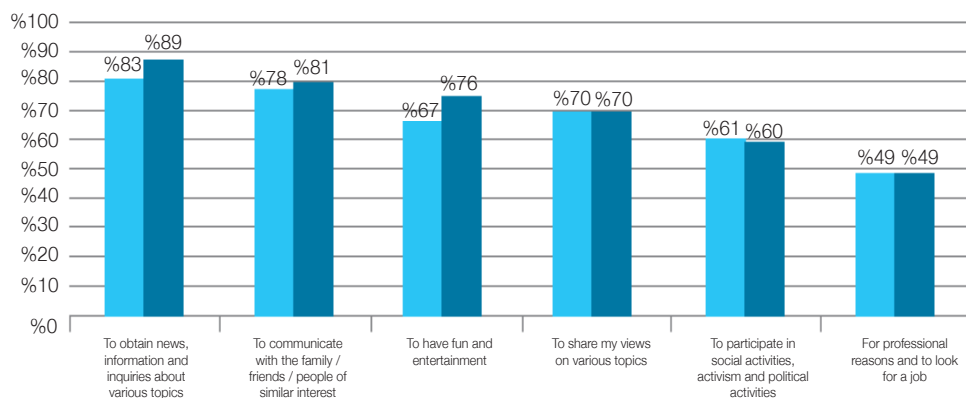
A survey study of women's social media use in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates was carried out from August to the middle of October 2011. Data were collected from 469 informants by means of an electronic questionnaire. The study identified a number of the causes of what the report calls the virtual digital divide. Cultural and social constraints were among these causes (especially in Saudi Arabia).⁽⁷⁵⁾



In this framework, one can suppose that these social and cultural constraints on women's social media use appear in specific behaviors such as non-active network use, which is reflected in content consumption, such as watching videos, looking at what others publish without interacting and reluctance to engage in virtual public spaces.

75. Role of Social media in Arab Women Empowerment, Arab Social Media Report. Third edition, Dubai School of Government, 2011, p. 5.

'Why are social media used?' (Regional gender distribution)



Frame 4

Concept of digital divide

The digital divide concept is strongly linked to the new media because we do not talk about a TV divide or a radio divide... This new concept heralds a new type of marginalization that reproduces hierarchy, inequality, frustration and marginalization in the new media space.

The concept also refers to that wide gap between those who own technology and those who don't, between those who suffer from informational poverty and those who live in informational prosperity. The digital divide can also be a set of gaps between States, regions or within the same State or between social groups, generations, and women and men.

To understand the levels of the digital divide, one may distinguish between technology ownership and network access. Ownership is not sufficient to access the network. Access requires a social capital (Social ties network), an economic capital (Material resources) and a cultural capital (Technical and educational skills). Thus, the Internet and social network uses cannot be separated from social and cultural contexts.

See Sadok Al-Hammami, 'The Digital divide: The paradox of marginalization and prosperity'. pp. 45-48, New Media. Publications of the University of Manouba (Tunisia). 2012 (Publication in Arabic).

Theme 5: Forms of women's appearance in the interaction sphere

1. How do women appear in the interaction sphere?

Table 8: Female user's identity monitoring by name (False or true) and photo (Graphic - real)

Media	False name	Real name	Graphic photo	Real photo
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa	84.86 %	15.13 %	73.39 %	26.60 %
Al-Jazeera	14.93 %	85.06 %	79.22 %	20.77 %
Al-Bayan (UAE)	80.48 %	19.51 %	85.36 %	14.63 %
Al-Madina (KSA)	0	100 %	90.90 %	9.09 %
MEDI 1 TV	84.40 %	15.59 %	77.98 %	22.01
Mosaïque FM	34.30	65.70	55.84	44.15
Al-Arabya	52.17	47.82	90.43	9.56
MTV Lebanon	67.46	32.53	72.28	27.72
Al-Jareea newspaper (Sudan)	100	0	100	0
Al-Donia channel (Syria)	48.27	51.72	65.51	34.48

The monitoring analysis of women's appearance in the media page interaction sphere through the name indicator is not an easy task because of the difficulty of knowing whether the person behind the false name is a woman or a man. Nothing prevents a female user from choosing a false male name and vice versa. The false name strategy is part of what Cherry Turkle calls 'the identity play' in social network websites because false names, like virtual characters, can refer to parallel virtual animals and identity adventure.⁽⁷⁶⁾

76. Cherry Turkle the second self computers and the human spirit massachusetts MIT 2005

Table 7 shows that female users use names differently in different pages. This can be explained by the nature of social network websites and the specificity of Facebook where friends' lists of female users are a mix of real friends (work, family, university) and virtual friends with no prior social ties.

Facebook and other social networks represent a space for open and concealed identities at the same time. Female users can show things about themselves and hide some others.

In this regard, the French researcher Dominique Cardon argues that the digital identity is shaped by the interaction between showing and hiding. To him, this strategy of showing and hiding (ambiguity and clarity) is the principle that underlies social platforms.⁽⁷⁷⁾

The choice of exposure through a real photo, an authentic name, a false name or a graphic photo represents a set of individual tactics that are not always regular. Users can opt for various tactics: hiding behind a graphic photo and a false name or exposing a real photo and an authentic name. Some users regularly change their names.

The study of identity strategies is made more difficult by the fact that self-representation and digital identity reconstruction, as indicated in the first part of the study, are understudied, if not completely missing in Arab academic research. Therefore, it is not possible to compare our results with other results emanating from other contexts.

Since our study is exploratory, it includes assumptions based on results that cannot be generalized in spite of the importance of the selected sample.

The basic assumption of the study is that the study of digital identities in the Arab context must not be restricted to the interaction between individual practices and technological affordances. It must go beyond them to study this interaction in a given socio-cultural context: the position of cultural and religious values, the culture of freedom and the individual's position.

In addition, the study of digital identity construction in the Arab cultural context must deal with the cultural constraints that have variable effects in Arab societies and within the same society (urban vs. rural for instance), the socialization roles of educational institutions, women's socio-political role representations and the social media context itself.

In this framework, one notes that the false name strategy varies from one context to another. The participants in the Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa Facebook page use false names more than real names. This may be explained by the nature of the Egyptian political context which is characterized by an acute conflict between the supporters of ex-President Mohamed Morsi and those of the current President Abdelfattah Al-Sissi, thus compelling female users to hide behind false names to express political positions.

77. <http://www.internetactu.net/2008/02/01/le-design-de-la-visibilite-un-essai-de-typologie-du-web-20/>

It is supposed here that the use of fake names and graphic photos can protect women in some Arab contexts against the so-called virtual and electronic sexual harassment as reported by the press in many Arab countries. Electronic harassment takes violence against women from the street to the virtual sphere.

A study by the Palestinian Working Woman Society for Development shows that 'sexual harassment against boys and girls is the most widespread harassment through electronic websites and random messages ranging from indecent terms and insinuations to profanity to arouse instincts. Studies show that one in four girls faces harassment via social network websites, telephone calls and chat, which also includes social network account hacking.'⁽⁷⁸⁾ Such harassment has major social repercussions in some conservative Arab societies. The Director of the Cyber Crime Department in the Palestinian Police stated that many women's telephone lines, computers and social network accounts had been hacked, causing social crises for the victims and making them vulnerable to exploitation and embezzlement, either to extort money from them or seek sexual favors.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Frame 5

«Mozza Inbox»

Egyptian women do not face harassment on the streets only. Harassment has now reached personal social network accounts, especially with the intensive use of ICT. DW Arabic sheds light on this phenomenon.

Jihad Attabii published a controversial book entitled 'Mozza Inbox' on the verbal and sexual harassment that women suffer from on social network websites. This has drawn attention again to this phenomenon, which lately surfaced with technological developments and the dissemination of negative behaviors. If some developed countries managed to a certain extent to face the risks of this phenomenon, the same has not happened in Egypt, which is generally suffering a lot from sexual harassment, especially with the legislative defects that do not protect the harassed girl on the street or the Internet.

Expose the harasser

In the interview given to DW Arabic interview, Jihan Al-Tabii stated: 'Cyber harassment like any other type of harassment penetrates the girl's personal life with profanity and cliché photos, simply because she is a girl and has social network account.' She adds: 'The harasser assumes the right to treat her like a commodity exposed in a slave market. He considers every posted photo on her wall and every comment as a sign intended for him.' Therefore, he comes in her life without prior acquaintance and starts to harass her, sometimes with a like or inappropriate photos or by sending his phone number and address. If she does not reply, he insults her, according to Al-Tabii.

78. Scientific study - Palestine: A quarter of girls experience electronic harassment in social network websites.

79. Same source.

Al-Tabii indicated that the legal means to confront this phenomenon require a full-time job. She explained: 'If every girl had to report harassment messages, she would do it every half an hour.' She sarcastically enquired: 'Will they consider reporting electronic harassment a luxury at a time when our streets are full of physical harassment and rape?'

Al-Tabii talked about her book 'Mozza Inbox' and the attempt to confront this phenomenon: 'I talk about my own experience and the experience of friends and people around me. I still do that on my personal account. Every time I receive a harassment message, I publish it to expose the sender.' However, she thinks that education is the long-term solution: 'Boys have to be educated that girls are sisters and human beings who deserve to be respected. They are not second-class alien creatures.' She noted that exposing harassers is a temporary solution, similar to the cry of a girl when she is physically harassed on the street. It is not the most peaceful means, but it is the only one available at the moment.

Electronic and street harassment: Two sides of the same coin?

Although Dr. Ezzat Kamel, founder of 'I Saw Harassment' (Choft Ta7aroch), does not belittle the seriousness of the phenomenon, she does not consider that the dangers are similar to street harassment: 'A girl can block any account that tries to harass her, whereas she cannot do that on the street.' That's why she thinks that the phenomenon should not be magnified in the absence of a scientific investigation of the scope and the dangers of this phenomenon.

Contrary to Jihad Al-Tabii who called for not separating street and Internet harassers, she stated: 'The young man who harasses women and girls on the street goes back home, switches on his computer and sends messages to girls, but with more violence because no one will blame him. He exploits their inability to defend themselves or prove anything.'

She adds: 'Although privacy settings have reduced that a bit, the harasser is sometimes a friend of the girl or one of her close friends with a fictitious account.' Al-Tabii considers this situation more problematic than harassment because it is schizophrenia. She explains: 'Many people live with two personalities or more. And as soon as constraints disappear, they show their worst.'

Magnification or a real concern

Nahla Salah, 23 years, research economist: 'The problem is magnified. Street harassment degrades women and affects their dignity whereas electronic harassment is just a bang.'

To investigate the effect of this phenomenon on girls and their perception, DW Arabic interviewed some girls, including May Gaith, 29 years, human development worker, who talked about her hardship: 'I am thinking a lot about closing my personal account to get

rid of harassment, but unfortunately I need to communicate with my friends.' She says: 'My perception of electronic harassment is similar to street harassment. My only solution is to block harassers, but I'm tired of blocking people.'

Nahla Salah, 23 years, research economist, thinks that the problem is magnified. Street harassment degrades women and affects their human dignity whereas electronic harassment is simply a bang. She adds: 'Girls do not have to read the messages. They can use privacy settings to allow only trusted friends to see them.'

Chourouk Adel, 22 years, unemployed, wonders: 'What can I do to stop harassment?' She said she had read Mozza Inbox and found it moving. That's why, she decided to denounce every electronic harasser. She asked her friends to expose harassers, the way some street harassers were successfully exposed...⁽⁸⁰⁾

The bottom line is that the interaction between these three levels (platform strategies (user affordances), user tactics, cultural context) explains the differences in the obtained results from one page to another and from one context to another. The monitoring results for the Emirati Al-Bayan page shows that female users refer to use pseudonyms. The same finding applies to female users of the Moroccan MD1 page, the Lebanese channel Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa and the Sudanese newspaper Al-Jareeda.

The similar results show the effect of the social media context. Female users prefer pseudonyms, even in the societies where social constraints are less burdensome such as the Lebanese society. In our view, female and male young users sometimes prefer pseudonyms for reasons related to their representations of the network as a space where they are battling with identity experiences, which are not disassociated from their representation of privacy.

In contrast, the female users of the Saudi newspaper Al-Madina use real names. This finding may be interpreted in relation to the limited number of articles. Therefore, the case of Al-Madina newspaper does not give us a relatively comprehensive view of user tactics in this field.

Here one has to pay attention to the use of photos. The findings show that all page users prefer graphic pictures to personal photos, except for the Tunisian Mosaïque FM Radio where the use of graphic pictures and real photos amount to 55.84% and 44.15%, respectively.

The results confirm that the use of photos is an identity stake for women within a cultural context. Compared to other pages, the results of the Tunisian Mosaïque FM Radio page show that the use of profile photos depends on women's social freedom and the cultural standards that define the appearance of women's bodies in the public sphere.

In societies where women are submitted to traditional social values that make them represent modesty, decency and honor, and where they face different types of violence, the use of real photos may affect their perceptions by others. In contrast, the non-use of real photos is not

80. <http://dw.de/p/1DZLL>

always related to the power of cultural norms. The graphic picture may be a tactic to express psychological states (anger, sadness), political positions (support for a given cause) or affective states (Love for instance).

Frame 6

Pseudonyms: An identity-hiding strategy in a conservative society

(Excerpts from the Report on Yemeni Women as the Least Visible in the Internet and Social Networks).

Yemen lacks precise statistics on women's participation in the virtual world and access to information. More precisely, it also lacks local studies in this area, apart from a single field study carried out by Nabanews website in 2008.

The study refers to the very poor dissemination of Internet culture among female university students.

The study is based on a random sampling of three Yemeni universities (1. University of Sanaa, 2. University of Science and Technology, 3. University of Arwa). It shows that only 7% of Yemeni students use the Internet on a daily basis on an average of 50 minutes per day. 16% use the Internet once or twice a week on an average of 65 minutes for each session. ⁽⁸¹⁾

The study also shows that 77% of Yemeni female students rarely use the Internet because of the absence of Internet cafés for ladies and the conservative and closed nature of the Yemeni society. Yemeni family culture and social attitudes towards women and technology play a major role in widening the gap between female students and the Internet - according to the study.

Facebook comes first

In spite of the figures in this single Yemeni study, Dr. Souad Al-Kudsi, Chairperson of the Women's Forum for Studies and Training - the first feminist studies center in Yemen, located in Taiz in Central Yemen - confirms that more Yemeni women used the Internet in 2009 and 2010 to search for information, join a social network or use the email which is badly needed for work, education and communication - according to her.

The Chairperson of the Women's Forum for Studies and Training added: 'The Internet opened up wider horizons for Yemeni women in spite of social attitudes.'

81. i.e at each use.

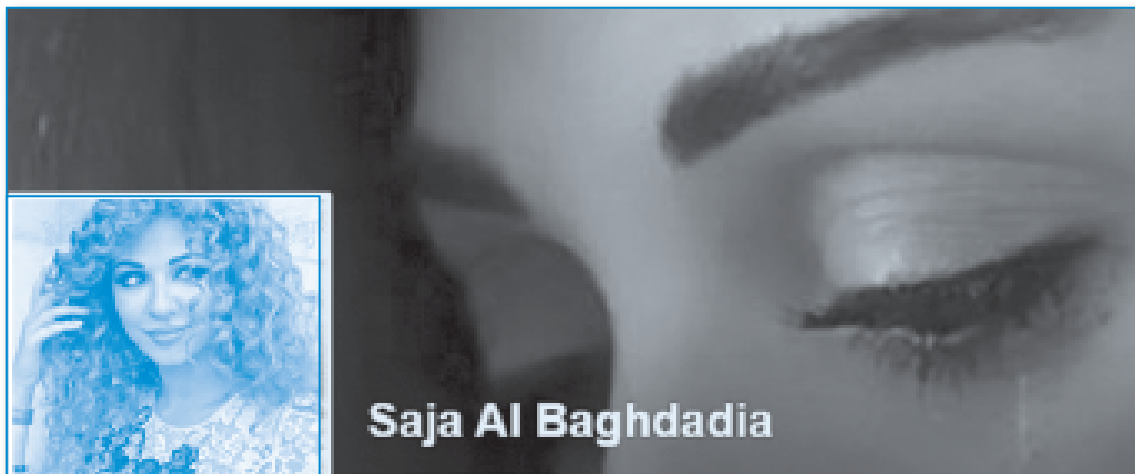
Al-Kudsi also indicated that many social network affiliates and chat rooms have wrong, spiteful attitudes about the women they meet on the network. This is one of the reasons for the low presence of Yemeni women in the Internet. This is why many of them usually hide behind pseudonyms. The ones who use real names are public figures such as poets, novelists, journalists and human rights activists.

She added: 'What we see today on Facebook - This is the most recent network that Yemenis got used to and which came first during the last two years - confirms that many Yemeni women can compete with men and their presence is being increasingly felt. This is an indication that Yemeni women have started breaking their social shackles to some extent. This is one of the Facebook benefits. Young girls and boys mix in a healthy way and in a clear and smooth style.'

Excerpts from Yemeni Women as the Least Present in the Internet and Social Networks.
Report by Mouhib Zawi - Yemen - Exclusive to Women's News Agency.

Table 9: Identity expression via pseudonyms (See annexed list: Pseudonym sample)

Media	Pro- fes- sion	His- tory	Flower	Poli- tics	Animal	Offs- pring	Geo- gra- phy	Reli- gion	Ano- ther nic- kname
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa	0	6.06 %	12.12 %	0	0	6.06 %	0	12.12 %	63.63 %
Al-Jazeera	0	4.34 %	30.43 %	0	0	4.34 %	4.34 %	8.69 %	47.82 %
Emirati Al-Bayan	0	0	37.5 %	0	25 %	0	0	0	37.5%
Saudi Al-Madina	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEDI 1 TV	0	0	23.5 %	0	0	11.76	0	5.88 %	58.82 %
Mosaïque FM	0	0	0,89	0	0,89	0,89	3,58	0	93,72
Al-Arabiya	0	0	9,09	0	3,63	10,90	5,45	0	70,92
Lebanese MTV	0	0	5,35	0	0	1,78	3,57	0	89,1
Sudanese Al-Ja- reeda	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Syrian Donia Channel	0	0	15,38	0	0	0	7,69	0	76,92



2. Identity invention ?

Table 9 on identity expression via pseudonyms shows that female users invent pseudonyms that do not fit in the known categories: professional, historical, political, geographical, religious ...

Thus, female users invent names that express their specificity. The virtual space gives female users ample opportunity, not only to express their identities, but to invent them continuously. Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa users, for instance, use flower names such as 'Lilas' (Lilac), 'Hamset Al-mahabba' (Love whisper), 'Wardit Al-amal' (Flower of hope), 'Lyes' or names to refer to offspring such as 'Om Mustafa' (Mother of Mustafa) or 'Om Housam' (Mother of Housam). These pseudonyms reflect female user tactics to express and construct identity.

Al-Bayan female users resort to original names such as 'Al-Dorra Al-Masouna' (Special Someone), 'Tota Tote', 'Al-Douka Nour' (Duchess Nour), 'Arjouan' (Purple)... Some MD1 female users resort to poetic and romantic names such as 'Taj Al-Jamal' (Crown of Beauty) and 'Hamaset Al-Matar' (Rain whispers). These pseudonyms reflect a feminine and tender identity and capture the female users' wish to emphasize and highlight their female identity.

We also observed that some female users use rare flower names in Al-Arabiya page: 'Zahrat aljouri' (Damask rose), 'Wardit alnaqib' (Rose), 'Wardit aljouri' (Damask rose) to highlight a singular identity.

Mosaïque FM page female users employ the diminutive name tactic: 'Amal' becomes 'Ammoula'; 'Fatima' becomes 'Fattouma' and 'Safa' becomes 'Saffouta'. These unclear/clear identities, as indicated by Cardon, reflect a hesitation about publicizing or hiding the ego.

We also note a fairly limited frequency of offspring names: 'Om Meriam' (Mother of Meriam), 'Om Mustafa' (Mother of Mustafa). These names are found in the pages of Al-Yawl Al-Sabaa, Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya and are very rare in the pages of the Tunisian Mosaïque FM and the Moroccan MDa. This is due to the fact that such nicknames are common in the Arab Machrek and that most Facebook users are young, as indicated earlier.

It is noteworthy that some female users employ nicknames related to domestic animals such as butterflies and cats, thus emphasizing the wish to appear as tender, sensitive women. These pseudonyms may also reflect the age category of these female users. Adolescents usually use them.

Mosaïque is peculiar because some pseudonyms are Tunisian city names: Sousse, Ghomrassen, Gafsa. Some others are the names of football teams. In the same framework, the pseudonyms of some of Al-Arabiya female users are related to geographical identity: Baghdad, Al-Shem, Raihanat Al-Shem (Basil of Al-Shem), Palestine, Palestine Watani (Palestine My Country). These pseudonyms reflect the wish to emphasize belonging to a geographical space, a culture or a specific political space (City name) or a wider region (Al-Shem).

Few pseudonyms express self-esteem, anger or swimming against the tide, i.e. unconventionalism: 'Wathika amchi malika' (Confident walking queen), 'Nour al-yakin' (Light of certainty), 'Imraa mutajrifa' (Haughty woman). Unlike the names of flowers and domestic animals (Kattousa : 'Female cat'), these names reflect a specific tactic whereby female users express self-confidence and the rejection of vulnerability which is usually used to imprison women.

This example shows the fluidity of personal identities in social network websites as hybrid social spaces where the private and the public overlap. The fluidity appears in a name diversity that reflects diverse uses among different female and male users. Name tactics confirm that social network websites are egocentric. Female users do not appear in the debate as simple citizens, but as individuals with private identities reflected in photos and names, be they pseudonyms or real names.

We can generally suppose that pseudonyms and name tactics express an active social network use: the desire to protect privacy or express attitudes and psychological states or even a trick to provide female users with more freedom to express opinions, feelings and attitudes. In any case, the study of digital identity requires qualitative empirical investigations to understand identity tactics among female users.

82. Arab media from a Gender Perspective: Trends and Operational Tools. Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR). Supported by United Nations Development Fund for Women and the Arab Gulf Development Program. Tunis, 2009.

Theme 6: **Women's image in the interactions via comments**

1. **Women's social media image**

Table 10: Women in media contents

Media	Women as human beings	Women as females	Women as temp-tresses
Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa	81.25 %	0	18.75 %
Al-Jazeera	100 %	0	0
Al-Bayan	100 %	0	0
Al-Madina	87.5 %	8.33 %	4.16 %
MEDI 1 TV	90 %	0	10 %
Mosaïque FM	93,75	0	6,25
Al-Arabiya	96,42	0	3,57
MTV Lebanon	66,66	0	33,33
Al-Jareeda	100	0	0
Donia Channel	66,66	0	66,66

83. A Kuwaiti singer shaves her head in solidarity with cancer patients - Jeddah, Wednesday 15/10/2014.
<http://www.al-madina.com/node/563225?live>

Here follows an analysis of the titles of the reports included in the media Facebook pages. Titles are important in these pages because they compel or dispel the reader to click the link, visit the media website and read the report. The user may be satisfied with the title and interacts with like, comment or share.

To analyze women's image in the titles, we relied on the indicators extracted from the Report of Arab Media from a Gender Perspective: Trends and Operational Tools. ⁽⁸²⁾

- **Women as human beings:** Non-discriminatory materials about women and men dealing with roles and citizenship.
- **Women as females:** Materials about femininity such as reproduction without necessarily dealing with female glamour in terms of body and visualization.
- **Women temptresses:** Materials dealing with what satisfies male desires for temptresses as a body and a behavior.

Table 10 shows that the women in media titles are referred to as human beings. This may be due to the fact that the analyzed posts deal with political and social events, except for some cases such as MTV Lebanon (The Minister and Botox) and the Syrian channel which dealt with Kurdish women fighters in the war against Daech from a female perspective.

The results in Table 10 may be interpreted in relation to the nature of the sampled media. These are general-interest and news media, which are more interested in political and social events...

On the whole, the prevalence of materials on women as human beings may be explained by the rate of political and social articles. Even in articles about Arab female singers, women are portrayed as human beings: Shirine Abdelwahab's six-month prison sentence; shaved Kuwaiti singer; Shirine to the Tunisian people: People wanted freedom and God and destiny responded.

2. User representations of women's roles through adjective and role monitoring

Table 11. Examples of adjectives and roles

Media	Comments on qualities and roles	Comments on roles and actions
Al-Yam Al-Sabaa	You are not a respectable person. She is a traitor and anyone defending her is a traitor. You are the lowest of the low in Egypt. You are an old woman. The mother of all whores. Which rebels are you talking about, piece of dirt? Poor women in the state of ideologies. The heck with her, she forgot who she is, bitch.	Can't you find me a connection to go to New York. May God make her succeed and avenge her harasser. Let him go to hell.
Al-Jazeera	Killer, beauty of the soul and not just looks, black widow, cheater, devil's smiling face, May God make her feel better.	Women's snare is mighty. Killer's accomplice
Emirati Al-Bayan	Impolite, corrupt, bitch, beautiful.	Nation corrupting. Dancer. Teach her a lesson. She deserves it.
Saudi Al-Madina	Fear God and repent, May God guide our women and bless them with wearing the veil, poor, distinguished and competent.	She dishonored and humiliated them. Wear the veil. Be in solidarity with yourself.
MEDI 1 TV	Shameless, empowered, radio speaker, permissive, experienced, tough	Her mentality is ACTION. Teacher
Mosaïque FM	She went too far in her stupidity. She has become vulgar. Handicapped singers. Leave her alone. She is sick. This woman may be a terrorist or mentally deranged. God forbids!	In respect for the blood of martyrs who died during the revolution. And those who died in terrorist crimes. In respect for Sidi Bouzid as the cradle of the revolution, I support the appointment of Mrs. Mbarka Brahmi as the speaker of our parliament The way to modernity. Let be no mistake about it. This is not terrorism... This is a woman fighting for modernity. A 'delicate' woman holding a knife.

Al-Arabiya	<p>Masquerade and lies. A spy woman. As an Arab, I salute her. May God have mercy on her. Kurdish women are heroines in the fullest sense of the word. May God bless this great people and Daech to Hell and good riddance. I swear. A woman is more manly than a million men. A martyr God willing. She is a Kurdish lioness like Al-Khansa, Khawla, Sana Mahidli, Jamila Bouhrib and other free women. She is not one of the crummy sexual jihadists and prostitutes.</p>	<p>Kurdish women fight like men, like lions, but Daech women are there just to put their legs up in the air. Kurdish women taught the world a lesson of courage and patriotism, especially Daech rats.</p>
MTV Lebanese	<p>May God make you live longer, well-educated girl! Not all Lebanese girls but 90% of them are whores. Syrian girls are always chaste and dear. All Syrian girls are whores</p>	<p>No, it's not true at all. A virtuous girl always protects herself and does not mix with corrupt people.</p>
Sudanese Al-Jareeda	<p>This Meriam doesn't have a husband and she's saying: You're not true men. You can't control your women.</p>	<p>May God help you. You can be proud of hitting the nail on its head.</p>
Syrian Donia channel	<p>You are more than words can say in any language of the world. You are the brave. Thousands of greetings and love. Each one of you equals a thousand men from Daech. The shoes of the youngest among you is a crown at the head of the great of the Daech greatest. Greeting to these beautiful women heroines. An army of women who deserve respect and esteem. Women of heroism and courage. You are the princess, the bride. People bow to you. I swear you have more honor than many men who fled from Daech in Mosul and elsewhere.</p>	<p>Women have no other solution but to take arms. Each Syrian woman has to learn from Kurdish women how to be a ferocious fighter to avoid imprisonment and rape. She should not wait for men fighting elsewhere to protect them. the State must facilitate this and train and arm women, especially in the targeted areas such as farms. We feel shameful and disgraceful every time we see a woman take arms to protect the nation from terrorism while men keep watching. Those who want to protect their land and honor sacrifice their lives. They deserve respect and reverence.</p>

The analysis of women's roles among users through adjective and role monitoring shows that these representations are numerous and diverse, including:

- **Despising women**

Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa page: 'bitch', 'daughter of a hungry woman', 'mother of traitors'. This is about despising women as human beings without any virtue and degrading the roles they can play.

This is about the Egyptian activist Asma Mahfoud who faced a barrage of insults from her opponents. She was even called a whore (in Egyptian Arabic) and the 'mother of all whores' when she called herself 'the mother of revolutionaries'. These sexually-connoted insults despise the woman she is and not because she is a social or political actor. One can see in this violent discourse a rejection of women's effective roles in politics. If women play these roles, the easiest way to demoralize them is through moral judgments.

Singer Shirine was described as 'nation corrupting', 'a dancer' who 'deserves to be taught a lesson', 'impolite', corrupt, 'bitch', 'beautiful'. These comments were made on a six-month prison sentence for Shirine because she attacked her neighbor's house. These comments clearly show the misogynistic evaluations of Shirine as a singer.

Basma Al-Khalfaoui faced different types of insults on Al-Jazeera page. She was described as 'a killer', 'a widow', 'Basma; the devil's face', 'killer accomplice', 'a woman with a mighty snare' (In reference to the Quranic statement 'Their snare is mighty'). These adjectives refer to cultural, mental and traditional representations that reproduce women as demonic creatures capable of harmful deeds to fulfill goals, desires and wishes.

The Kuwaiti singer who shaved her head in solidarity with cancer patients generated many reactions on the page of Saudi Al-Madina newspaper.⁽⁸³⁾ These reactions came from men more than from women. Some female and male users hailed her initiative and encouraged her: 'A major step by a distinguished singer.' By contrast, many male users resorted to religious and cultural standards and advised the singer to wear the veil: 'May God guide her to the right path! Following disease and suffering, it would be better for her to wear the veil and repent.'

Adjectives and roles can generally be assigned as follows:

- **Adjectives for women's bodies or appearances**

These insults reflect male chauvinistic views of women as brainless bodies or thoughtless beings who can only be judged through physical form. A woman is a body and only a body. All it takes is to look at her to know who she is and how she can be. These adjectives reflect pure male chauvinistic views: Ugliness, pornographic appearance, dirt (Spitting. I hate so much this face), Besma the devil's face, I hate so much this face, she is ugly and she's become uglier (a comment about the Kuwaiti singer).

- **Adjectives about honor**

Women are described as shameless or whores without a sense of virtue. The whore insult is significantly recurrent and reflects the aggressive male chauvinistic behavior to stigmatize women and deny them the right to speak or act. Whores live in the margins of society and are not part of its members in normal everyday life. Therefore, describing political female activists as whores is a kind of violence to exclude women and strip them off of any legitimacy as effective actors.

- **Adjectives for women as corrupt and rebellious against social conventions and traditions in general.**

‘Women do not fear God, cause shame to their families, impolite, nation corrupting, dancers, cheating whores, pretentious, deserve prison and sex’. These insults are leveled against female activists who are visible in the public and political sphere, such as Asma Mahfoud, Besma Khal-faoui and singers like Shirine. The insults aim at excluding women from the social sphere and stigmatizing them by questioning their mental abilities and reprimanding them for being socially undisciplined.

- **Adjectives to dehumanize women and degrade them to animals or objectify them.**

These adjectives are meant to dehumanize women and treat them like animals such ‘bitches’, ‘ewes’, ‘dirt’ that can be played with (through sex) or monkeys (Shirihan on the Tunisian Mo-saïque page). The participation of Kurdish fighters in the war against Daech has generated supportive comments but also the surprise and the rejection of some mainly male users. Then, they become whores and bastards made for pleasure and sex only.

The comments on women’s participation in terrorist activities in Tunisia show representations that deserve to be analyzed. Some male users think that these women are not human, just whores and ‘sex jihadists’ in search for sexual desire. These comments do not only confirm the male chauvinistic views, but also the prevailing trend of an interactive style that is impressionistic, emotional, affective and irrational.

In this framework, male users have repeatedly shown the image of the woman who must be punished by sex because she is a dehumanized body that can be spoiled. The woman who deserves to be punished by sex can be: The woman who participates in the preparation of terrorist activities (Mosaïque FM page) or the Jewish girl who is fighting with Daech and terrorizing Israel or the Daech woman (Al-Arabiya page) or the Belgian female member of parliament of Moroccan origin (Moroccan MED1 TV page). All Arab women can be the subject of sex (Comment on the Al-Jazeera page report that three quarters of Kurdish fighters were women). All these comments reflect the male chauvinistic imagination, which considers corporal punishment as the most appropriate insult for women and turns them into a swag (Beautiful women are our swag) solely meant to satisfy male sexual desires.

Comments include various representations of women's roles such as:

- Valuing social roles such as social enlightenment. Imen Agouthan is a distinguished journalist. The Kuwaiti singer is an activist who has developed initiatives and she can become distinguished. Female and male users of Mosaïque FM page valued the participation of an old woman in the elections because she fulfilled the role of a free woman who consecrates women's position. By contrast, some considered her the 'daughter of Bourguiba', a symbol of the project of the 'father of the nation' Bourguiba based on modernity and steadfastness in defending women's gains and ensuring that no one can take away these gains from them.
- Women can be described as cheaters and spies, such as the Egyptian activist Asma Mahfoud who is considered as a threat to national security and stability. Women can play the devil's role for they are cunning, sick and criminal (Besma Khalfaoui in the Al-Jazeera page).

Tomboys: Some comments may seem to support women, but include implicit male chauvinistic representations. Women are naturally protected by men. They draw the legitimacy to take up arms from the absence of men (Each Syrian woman has to learn from Kurdish women how to fight fiercely to avoid imprisonment and rape. She does not need the protection of men fighting elsewhere). Some male users went even further to suggest how shameful they feel when women defend their countries: 'We feel shame and disgrace when see women take up arms to protect the country from terrorism while men watch.' Some male users compare men to women fighting with arms to defend their countries, thus reflecting a male chauvinistic attitude to women's non-stereotypical roles: 'Kurdish women fight like men, like lions, but Daech women can only put their legs up in the air.'

This comment calls attention for two reasons: The first reason is the assessment of women's roles in relation to men, even when they defend their country. The second reason is devaluing women to male sexual pleasure when they belong to another category. In both cases, women's dependence on men stands out in many mindsets through valorization or devaluing...

This case shows that media content reception produces numerous interpretations. Although the news about the Kuwaiti singer's initiative came almost in a neutral tone, the female and male users reacted to it on the basis of cultural resources that highlight women's traditional representations and roles in the interpretative process. Such representations are linked to the cultural standards acquired by the receiver at school, at home and in social contexts in general.

In these representations, women do not appear as human beings or independent social actors in their own right who can acquire legitimacy for acting or appearing in the social sphere. When women do not follow stereotypical roles, they are seen as a threat to the social value system and a source of social and cultural chaos.

By contrast, female political activists like Mbarka Brahmi, the widow of the member of the Tunisian Constituent Assembly, Mohamed Brahmi, assassinated by terrorists, were celebrated in Mosaïque FM radio page.⁽⁸⁴⁾

On the other hand, Kurdish female fighters in the war against Daech represent a unique and original case that deserves analysis. In Al-Arabiya page, male users hailed the roles of female Kurdish fighters: 'Kurdish women, like men, fight like lions', 'Kurdish women are heroines', 'I swear to God. A woman is worth a thousand men.' But in the Syrian Donia channel page, the following comments were made: 'Kurdish women deserved respect', 'You are a princess. You are a bride. People bow to you.'



84. <http://www.mosaicqfm.net/ar/index/a/ActuDetail/Element/46317>. Mbarka Brahmi after winning a seat in parliament: 'I will follow the lead of my martyr husband.'

In this case, one can see that the media editorial line can be an effective factor in creating the group interacting about the content and determining the nature of interactions.

In the same framework, it appears that 'Kurdish fighters' as a specific female model foil the resources that the male user can use to reach them: They cannot be 'whores' or not complying with religion or disrespectful of the standards used to assess unconventional women's roles. Such assessment usually reflects male chauvinistic representations of women who draw the right for respect from behaving like men.

Two women's models are in line here:

- The Kuwait woman who shaved her head in solidarity with cancer patients and who was the subject of evaluations in which female and male users resorted to cultural religious and traditional resources. In fact, they neglected the initiative itself and focused on the shaving operation and its religious connotations.
- The Kurdish fighters who were celebrated by the users because they were the model of courageous women defending their country on equal footing with men and not accepting to just support men or complete their role. These representations partly reflect traditional women's representations or other roles that complete men's roles. On such basis, Kurdish women's participation in defending their country does not denote patriotism or the obligation to defend the country, but it denotes 'masculinity'. When these women participate in the liberation war, they become men who deserve respect and reverence.

3. User representations of women

Table 12. User representations of women: How do comments talk about women?

Media	Oppressed women	Revered women	Neither oppressed nor revered
Al-Yawn Al-Sabaa	Poor women in the state of ideologies. It's a pity! That was not her intention. Of course, people can suddenly lose control.	The girl was wrong. If she were your daughter, you wouldn't say this. Lobna is honey... In my view, she is the only impartial and distinguished journalist I watch almost every day. My apologies to our people in Sudan, our mothers and sisters. An virtuous image of Sudanese women. Please don't be angry with me. Impoliteness is the characteristic of most female activists. May God make her successful and avenge her on her harassers.	A player. A real wrestler. You are the lowest of the low in Egypt. What's this madness? She's holding a photo and wearing the veil before she was disfigured. Will women keep public opinion busy? Don't they have something else to do? Still staying with him. Then, she deserves it.
Al-Jazeera	May God have mercy on her and other martyrs. Rihanna, the martyr, is a paradise angel, God willing! A girl defending herself against a criminal with a beastly instinct. How can a girl defending her honor be sentenced to death?	May God have mercy on her. Sorry my sister. May God avenge you and other virtuous girls. May God have mercy on her for her courage. Rihanna was sentenced to death because she was a Sunni and defended her honor.	The presence of a woman wearing the niqab is against the essence of the niqab. Of course, she was wrong and deceived herself. If unveiled women are kicked out of the Gulf countries, there will be no more Gulf men. they will follow them in the West. Hhhhh. This is a Daech branch specializing in kidnapping women.

Emirati Al-Bayan	She may not understand anything at all. Shame on them. May God punish those who are responsible.	May God protect her. Good luck. Keep always moving on. May God make them safe. May God make them successful. May God heal her.	There's nothing like she doesn't understand anything. Why did she go in the mosque in the first place? She deserves punishment. She deserves to some punishment. Does she want to get married? She should thank God.
Saudi Al-Madina	Poor soul. May God have mercy on her.!	May God give her good compensation. May God be good to her. A positive step by a distinguished, able singer.	She brought shame and disgrace to her family and put their heads down. She is suffering from cancer in the first place and ugly. And God made her uglier. In this way, she wants to resemble the infidels.
MED 1 TV	Poor soul	Competent. There is something higher than her beauty. It's her knowledge, culture and position. A respectful greeting to all mothers. Congratulations. He's right. Moroccan women have an attractive, mind-blowing beauty. that	You don't have priority. Difficult woman. What did she do? Has she become an ex-convict? Imen shed light on taboo subjects. The speaker looks like a porno star.

Mosaïque FM	Poor soul! May God be with her. May God help her out. She may be ill. May God make recover soon.	Good luck and bravo Madam! A real woman. May God bless you, Hajji This is the real Tunisian women. Bravoooo. May God bless her and make her live longer.	Only survivors will go back home and prison is for women. The lady is a gangster. She deserves it.
Al-Arabiya	Sorry sister! We do not have Kaakaa bin Amrou Al-Timimi to avenge you. I respect you and I will never forget you, virtuous oppressed Iranian woman. May God avenge you on those who oppressed you. May God punish those responsible. May God protect her. Mrs. Shirine does not deserve this prison sentence. I think the judge does not know who should go to prison. Dear Shirine, May God be with you	She defeated you, Iran. Die from anger. You are the pride of every Muslim woman. She lived virtuous and died virtuous. I am proud of someone like you, sister. She defended her pride and she is a martyr. May God have mercy on her.	Iranian women are beautiful. They have natural Persian beauty. They wear the veil. They put it on their heads but they are not committed at all. What a pity! This is not the way to punish people. A cheater and a spy. Asma Mahfoud is a bitch. ... Government opponents polished up her reputation. She benefited from the Revolution like the Muslim Brothers... A whore activist. May God heal her.
MTV Lebanese	Haram! May God protect Muslim women	May God bless you, good family girl. Syrian girls have always been virtuous and dear no matter what. Monica Belluci is the most beautiful woman.	No! This is not true. Virtuous girls protect themselves and do not mix with bad people. You are a woman and a beautiful, classic woman!!!

Sudanese Al-Jareeda	May God heal her and avenge her attackers. Good patience. May God help you.	May God heal her. May God relieve your pain. You should be proud of your writing.	Ok. Men are everywhere. Let her go and see.
Syrian Donia channel		Women can move moun- tains. A thousand greetings to those who understand the meaning of patriotism. Long love Kurdish women. May God make you safe. May God protect you and make you victorious. May God have mercy on your martyrs. I swear to God. You deserve a reverence. May God protect you and make your stronger. They must be thanked for their courage and dare. Champion women at the top. All greetings and respect for them... May God protect them!!! A greeting of esteem, ma- jesty and respect for the most pure and virtuous women in this nation lying on the ground.	He said women were get- ting ready to come to Syria. May God not bless them.

The comments reflect various women's representations. The Iranian young girl embodies the oppressed woman model. Most comments related to the oppressed woman image deal with the Iranian young girl. Users view as 'a poor soul' and show solidarity with her. This solidarity is almost restricted to this case, in addition to Shirine in few accounts.

The revered image is mainly found in the comments about Kurdish women's participation in the war against Daech. At another level, the revered woman is embodied in traditional cultural representations: The immaculate chaste Syrian girl or the honorable girl.

To understand more about female and male user representations of oppressed women, one can rely on the specific case of a young Moroccan girl turned by social conditions into a single mother.

4. Case study of 'Kissat Annas' program: I did not tell my father I was a single mother



This case is about the 'Kissat Annas' program broadcast by MD1 channel. The channel defines the program as a new social talk show:⁽⁸⁵⁾ 'It makes you witness women's and men's life stories that are full of lessons and experience. The program aims at sharing social values and exchanging ideas and experiences. It is broadcast from Monday to Friday.'⁽⁸⁶⁾

The 'Kissat Annas' show operates on the principle of TV confession. It narrates 'the stories of common people who come on air to narrate their life events.' The channel encourages viewers to suggest their stories to the program through the website.

The show topics are of a scandalous nature, original and sensational such as: 'My father does not want me any good. He hates me', 'The day my wife discovered I had a second wife', 'I stole things from one of my relatives and I regret it.'

The investigated story is about a Moroccan young girl. The show trailer highlights that she did not tell her father she was a single mother.

This case was selected because the young girl, the heroine of the selected part, represents the issue of single mothers who are victims of social conditions and men's irresponsibility. Thus, this case is an opportunity to analyze female and male user representations of this thorny social issue in general and single mothers in particular.

85. <http://www.medi1tv.com/kissat-nass/liste-episodes.aspx>

It is worth noting that the channel broadcasts part videos on YouTube on a specific channel. This part was watched by 14,000 viewers.

See the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PWPKAJXd5M8>

86. Look at the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PWPKAJXd5M8>

This posting obtained 41 likes, 66 comments and 24 shares. Comments were written in Arabic, Moroccan dialect, Italian, Berber and Latin characters. It is noticed that most female and male users use graphical photos that are specific to female users.

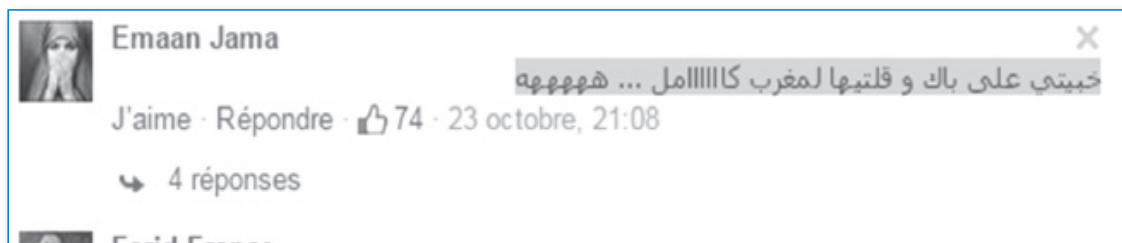
This case can be analyzed from two angles: Interactions among users themselves and the diversity of female and male user interactions about the 'Single mother' story. These reactions reflect interpretations of a recent social problem.

First: Interactions among users themselves

This posting generated interactions among the users themselves. The comments with negative personal evaluations and insults obtained a limited number of likes (A maximum of 1 or 2 likes) because female and male users ignored them without confronting them or reporting them through the report mechanism. Had they done so, they would not be in the page anymore.

By contrast, a sarcastic comment by young poster hiding behind the graphical photo of a veiled woman in a seeming state of reverence obtained over 74 likes and 4 answers, an indication that the profile photo does not always reflect the behavior of the female or male user.

The posting says: 'You did not tell your father, but you told the whole of Morocco. hhhhhhhh'



This type of unseemingly negative evaluation entails the view that presenting the problem in a TV show to the Moroccan society is inappropriate. This user laughed at the young Moroccan girl because she made a scandal of her own case. This reading reflects a social attitude towards this new issue which, according to some female and male users, does not deserve to be presented in the public sphere, or at least in this scandalous and shameful manner.

This sarcastic reading may not seem harmful to the single mother, but in reality it does not express solidarity with her. It actually condemns her because she acted scandalously in talking about her problem in public.

The second most popular comment (19 likes and 4 comments) questioned the authenticity of the testimony. The male commentator writes: 'I feel that the show is all lies. There is nothing true right from the start.'



In the same framework, some users expressed opinions about the show and focused on its evaluation when they laughed at it and questioned the credibility of its testimony.

- 'I feel that the show is all lies... There is nothing true right from the start.' (Man)
- 'Change these garbage topics.'
- 'How much did they pay, sister, to say this lie.' (Woman)
- 'The whole show is full of lies.'
- 'We need cultural programs.'
- 'There is nothing true right from the start.'

One can understand these comments by going back to the concept of TV talk shows⁽⁸⁷⁾ in relation to TV social interactions before, during and after watching the show.

Talking about television reveals the interpretative activities that are affected by a number of determinants such as gender. In talking about people, it appears that men prefer to talk about football games whereas women prefer to talk about TV series.⁽⁸⁸⁾

People may link TV programs to their personal concerns to give a meaning to their lives. In this framework, Katz and Liebs argue that when people receive a drama show without taking a critical distance, they employ referential frames and take the drama for real. The viewers may deal with the drama show from an external critical framing by commenting on the actors' performance or the hidden messages that the producers wish to convey, for instance.

Thus, the second most popular comment in terms of likes represents a critical attitude in that it casts doubt on the authenticity of both the testimony and the show. This evaluation type embodies the principle of active criticism which is capable of not adhering to TV logic.

87. Nicholas Abercrombie and Brian Longhurst, *Dictionary of Media Studies*, London, 2007 pp 344-345

88. Previous source.



The third most popular comment shows solidarity with the young single mother in the show and tries to look at her from a humanistic angle, as a victim of men who deal with women as bodies only. The female commentator, who uses a real photo and name, does not only defend the young single mother, but criticizes female and male users and accuses them of mediocrity: 'Rise up! Too many people at the bottom.' The defender faces the same accusations leveled against the story protagonist and becomes part of the single mother category (in other words a cheater and a whore). The commentator replies as follows: 'Do not discuss anything with an ignorant unless people think you're ignorant, too.'

'Soukaina Oukacha: 'Don't laugh at anyone and don't blame anyone. How do you know that every single mother is a cheater? There are many girls who had nothing to do with prostitution and were raped at an early age by frustrated wolves who would satisfy their instincts everywhere. Rise up! Too many people at the bottom.'

Rayan Samir: 'And you are one of them, aren't you?'

Soukaina Oukacha: 'Do not discuss anything with an ignorant unless people think you're ignorant, too.'

Albeit very short, this interaction is very meaningful to our study because of its scarce frequency. The commentator, a university graduate, participated differently and rationally in an interaction based on sarcasm, mockery and insults against the young single mother. She did not only defend her, but she criticized the participants, blamed their commenting style and confronted those who wanted to laugh at her. Her short interaction ends with a 'withdrawal' in the face of the insults representing the greater part of the discussion on the core issue.

This example calls for understanding female and male users' interactions in relation to other variables such as educational level and virtual participants' social contexts.

Interactions do not generally constitute a debate where female and male users exchange arguments and views on the video topic about the single mother who did not tell her father she was a single mother.

It is clear that the show provoked the audience, as confirmed by comment diversity and the private life nature of the talk show. However, the interest of the young male users, who are identified by their profiles, is not always translated in attitudes and opinions as much as in the form of spontaneous impressions that do not reflect a desire to discuss the issue at hand.

In this framework, the comments seem to show that some female and male users did not watch the talk show and were not familiar with its content. They just commented on the sensational title or liked the reportage or some comments.

These media page activities (Comments, likes, comment interactions, shares) show the collective social nature of TV viewing, which is not a singular, isolated experience, but a collective one within a social context - as indicated in the first part of the study. Interactions about TV programs in TV Facebook pages may embody the collective nature of TV viewing and another dimension of TV experience as a collective one.

User interactions do not reflect a special interest in single mothers. Even the most popular comment with the highest number of 'likes' is a negative evaluation of the single mother shown in the talk show. Thus, these spaces can be used to observe female and male youth interactions about women's issues.

Second: Dominance of comments based on traditional, religious and cultural references

One can argue that the comments reflect traditional cultural representations of a new social problem, especially among young male users who interacted with the posting more than female young users. The users mostly rely on traditional, religious and cultural evaluations. Female users participated in some of these evaluations via comments and likes.

Comments revealed the cultural frameworks and the interpretative resources employed by users in receiving the talk show and which do not look at this young woman as a victim, but as a social and religious culprit. Users did not blame or criticize her partner or even question his responsibility... although he denied any responsibility according to the young girl in the program.

Here follow some evaluation examples based on cultural, traditional representations and religious arguments, mainly produced by male users:

- Call a spade a spade!: Cheaters and not single mothers. There are no single mothers. Mothers are not single (Man).
- I still don't understand this single mother issue... I have never known a single mother. May God protect us and protect anyone who says: There is no god but God. Muhammad is the messenger of God (Peace be upon him). (Man).
- A female user replies in Moroccan Arabic written in Latin characters: 'Well said! May God protect us on Earth and on Judgment Day...'

The supportive evaluations of the young girl emanate from religious and traditional references such as 'There is no god but God. God forgive her and make her son a good man. God protect Muslim women. God, I am not gloating. (Woman). Female users tend to be more sarcastic of the young single mother than male users and consider her as 'poor': 'You didn't tell your father but you told all Morocco... hhhhhhh (Woman).

Along the same lines, some male users insulted the young single mother and treated her violently, as indicated in the following profanity and shameful epithets. Some even spat on her.

- This thinking kills. I spit. How can a human being think this way? You're not a single mother. You're a w.... This story can't be true. I swear to God that you and people like you will stray in life like animals in the wilderness.
- This is a bastard street child. The son of a cheater. A single mother - they say.
- She did not tell her father she had a bastard son. The son of a cheater hhhhhhhhhhhhhhh....
- Amin spits on the women who defend this single mother and calls them whores.

If social media are useful to women's studies, then they must be useful in showing these representations which do not spontaneously appear in the traditional media. People do not show them in expressing their views about such issues via investigations, reportages and social program participation.

Third: Media role and responsibility

Male and female users showed limited solidarity with the young woman, the topic of the video. Some of them viewed her as a 'cheater', a 'whore', a woman who does not respect and harms the traditions of the Moroccan society. Some female users also criticized, scandalized and blamed 'single mothers'.

It seems to us that these reactions are linked to the channel roles... As indicated, the program is a TV talk show where people display original personal problems. This is not a program to treat such issues as much as it aims at turning them into a sensation and a kind of exhibition that calls for viewing rather than thinking.

Because of the viewing context defined by the TV channel, reactions were emotional and not mental (Attitudes and opinions about single mothers). Interactions were more emotional than mental or rational. The title appears to compel readers into a specific type of preferred reading because it presents the issue of single mothers in a scandal mode.

The channel roles in provoking a specific type of reactions appear to be clear. Its responsibility lies in the fact that it did not interfere at all to stop the male and female users to react aggressively or delete some harmful comments. This explains why there are profanities and insults (The use of the term 'whore' in the local dialect).

The learned lesson in this study is that the TV channel has not employed its page to interact with male and female viewers or provide a framework for discussing a significant social issue. On the contrary, it turned the single mother into a prey for different forms of symbolic aggression against her dignity and all forms of verbal and moral violence.

It has become legitimate to wonder whether the channel's treatment of single mothers via a sensational display format and a social media page does not contribute to consolidating 'an intolerant social view'.⁽⁸⁹⁾

89. Every day, 153 children are born outside marriage. 24 of them are abandoned.
<http://www.bayanealyaoume.press.ma/index.php?view=article&tmpl=component&id=15340>

Theme 7: **Interaction style or how do users interact: Monitoring interaction styles among users**

1. **Women's roles in the interaction sphere**

Table 13. Women's roles in the interaction sphere

Media	Regulation: Instructions on debate manners	Morality: Recalling moral principles	Knowledge: Feeding ideas into the debate	Other comments (Comments irre- levant to these roles)
Al-Yawn Al-Sabaa	15.13 %	16.05 %	19.72 %	49.08 %
Al-Jazeera	5.19 %	18.18 %	25.97 %	50.64 %
Emirati Al-Bayan	24.39 %	29.26 %	14.63 %	31.70 %
Saudi Al-Madina	18.18 %	36.36 %	18.18 %	27.27 %
MED 1 TV	13.76 %	36.69 %	19.26 %	30.27 %
Mosaïque FM	0,64	0,64	5,16	93,54
Al-Arabiya	0,86	3,47	6,08	89,58
MTV Lebanese	8,33	5,55	1,38	84,72
Sudanese Al-Jareeda	0	0	0	100
Syrian Donia channel	0	0	20	80

Table 12 shows that female users can contribute to the media interactive page through different roles, but the obtained results show that these roles remain limited.

Female users are interested in participating in the debate like other users and there is no dominant role per se except for some pages such as the Saudi Al-Madina and the Moroccan MD1 channel where we notice the significance of moral and knowledge-based roles.

The nature of these roles is linked to the nature of the virtual debate where strangers meet to make comments. The interacting group is not permanent, stable or cooperative. Its members are not bonded. The debate itself does not operate according to the interactive dialogue model that valorizes regulatory and knowledge-based roles.

In view of the obtained results, one can state that when female users engage in interactions about women, they do not confront the comments that harm women or attack their dignity through the use of epithets. They rarely intervene to recall moral rules or express opinions on women's issues.

The following hypothesis is in order here: Female users somehow participate in reproducing the roles that society assigns to women and men when they refrain from taking initiatives in a sphere that provides them with new roles, especially in relation to women's issues.

Like other hypotheses in this study, the hypothesis needs empirical investigations that link the results obtained from observing and analyzing female users' social media activities and their practices in society.

2. How do users interact?

Table 14. Monitoring interaction styles between users

Media	Argumentative dialogue	Sarcasm	Insult	Irrelevant
Al-Yawn Al-Sabaa	<p>Unfortunately, it's impolite. We reached a low level of decadence. I apologize to our people in Sudan, our mothers and sisters. Never mind! We even laugh at ourselves. But this is a disrespectful minority. Our Sudanese people are highly respected and we are the same people.</p> <p>'O ye who believe! let not a folk deride a folk who may be better than they are, not let women deride women who may be better than they are.'</p>	<p>They look like electronic committees. Oh God! She looks like appealing to the president to censor her films. Hallelujah! Do you think that people in the picture are women? No, absolutely. These are South Sudanese men. If I marry one of you, I will kill her.</p>	<p>Of course, don't keep quiet. That's your father. Dancers and whores like you. Mind your business, bitch! You're Al-Morshid ass! Her foot nail is worthier than you. You're dirty. You are the people from Rabaa tents You impure! You are the scum of Muslims. Mother of all whores. Garbage.</p>	<p>Egyptian soldiers are men. Hello. My name is Mansour. I write poetry. Links. Click here and like the page</p>
Al-Jazeera	<p>If a woman has a parent or a husband who can treat her well and spend money on her, I swear to God she will not work in the first place. In your view, is the role of a woman to reproduce, educate and look after the house? No my sister. Her role is bigger than that. Work is dignity and worship for men and women alike. It's clear she owns the car repair shop and people work for her. This means she's making them earn a living. Bravoooooooo</p>	<p>Kurdish women are for pleasure not fighting. I mean night fighting. Kurdish women to satisfy the desires and lust of Americans and Zionists. Sex in the mountains. hhhhhh</p>	<p>May God give you a brain stroke. I spit on your Islam. Son of sex jihad. Kurdish women for fighting and Arab women for sex. You're an animal. You will be slaves for the soldiers of the Caliphate.</p>	<p>Welcome. I am Rawan from Palestine. Comedian. Visit my profile. Al-Furqan organization.</p>

Emirati Al-Bayan	<p>Instead of wishing her well, you're gloating over it. You're strange.</p> <p>He's a Quran teacher not a teacher of Arabic. Obviously, he knows a bit about the show from a moral and religious point of view.</p> <p>If someone wants to teach the Quran to his sons, should he worry about it now?</p> <p>This is observed and expected from the Endowments Committee because it trusts those who don't deserve it, especially mosque imams.</p>	<p>I agree with you, my body hhhhh.</p> <p>Oh Night.</p> <p>From amber to amber.</p> <p>Hhhh</p> <p>Female prisoners will be happy. She will sing for them inside the prison and they will have fun together.</p>	<p>Sick or not sick, her acting is disgusting.</p> <p>One day, she will die and present her actions to God.</p> <p>She deserves it. that will teach her. Impolite.</p> <p>May she die... She is corrupt and she is corrupting the nation.</p> <p>Al-Sissi bitch: She deserves it.</p>	<p>Is there a girl who want ot get married?</p> <p>I am an aerobic trainer.</p> <p>Do you need any help?</p> <p>British Publishing and Information Company</p> <p>How to become a newspaper or a magazine CEO?</p>
Saudi Al-Madina	<p>She is harming Islam and she must be fought...</p> <p>She went through a lot. I pray to God to make it up for her.</p> <p>She suffered a lot and was patient till the matter was sorted out.</p> <p>Her 20-year-old son has learnt the Holy Quran. This is a source of honor for her.</p> <p>She can hold her high before God and people.</p> <p>She should repeat what our Prophet, peace be upon him, said: ('Praise be to God who relieved me of their misfortunes.')</p>	<p>What's your husband's guilt?</p> <p>You're stupid.</p> <p>It appears that she wanted to try the shaved-head style for solidarity - she said... By the way, there are many shaved heads here.</p> <p>Her head was full of lice. So she wanted to shave it...</p>	<p>She is ugly and has become uglier.</p> <p>She is suffering from cancer and ugly.</p> <p>God made her uglier.</p>	<p>Rawab Facebook launches free calls to any phone.</p> <p>Who agrees with me that the Quran is the greatest cure to people.</p> <p>Transform your photo into a pencil photo</p>

MED 1 TV	<p>She can buy a plane and fly in it. There's something higher than her beauty. There's her knowledge, culture, position. He's right. Moroccan women are mind blowingly</p>	<p>You remind me of a film by Adel Imam, called Fawqa Al-Bur-kan (On the Volcano) hhhhhh</p>	<p>She's Moroccan. Therefore, she's a whore</p>	<p>Blabla Live broadcast on YouTube (Link) I believe Real Madrid is one of the secrets of happiness. Hurry up! For the first time in the Middle-East 100,000 real followers. You can get it here...</p>
Syrian Donia channel	<p>What's this? You don't even know that there are Kurds in Syria. Why do you call them Kobani women and not women fighters from The Kurdish Workers' Party? It's irrelevant that they're calling for independence. The important idea is that they are fighting to protect their honor and land. I swear to God! They're more honorable than many of the men who fled when Daech came to Mosul and other places.</p> <p>Every Syrian woman must learn from Kurdish women how to fight fiercely to prevent imprisonment, rape. The State has to facilitate this by training and arming Syrian women, especially in of the targeted areas like some farms.</p>	<p>I swear to God. This makes you raise your head high. Women are fighting and men are drinking. I think this video is the best propaganda to join Daech... hhhh</p>	<p>Each one of them equals the King of Saudi Arabic, the President of Turkey and a thousand Daech. They told us they want freedom shit</p>	<p>https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=459655444097297...</p>

<p>Sudanese Al-Jareeda</p>	<p>This is a boring argument. We're tired of it. Assadik's and Mirghini's sons are ministers and they are trying to look like I don't know what. One day with the government and one day against it. Dear Dinosaurs, do you think we are dumb!</p>	<p>We 're tired of Meriems, Meriem! Few days ago, there was a media buzz about Meriem who abandoned her religion. And now Meriem Assadik. Don't they only have scandals for ministers' sons and parties in Sudan? Ok! But there are so many men around. Let her find someone else. Hhhhhh Are these political parties?</p>	<p>May God make them unwell.</p>	
<p>MTV Lebanese</p>	<p>If you haven't sinned, you can throw stones at them... This news seeks to cause a major discord... The Lebanese and Syrian peoples include intellectuals and thinkers. Generalization affects all people in the world.</p>	<p>You make me laugh. It's true. This family is generous with prostitution. So generous that they have one day for free. hhhhh.</p>	<p>It's true. Arabs are futile and rubbish. I spit on them. You're all the same. Now you think you evolved. You still stink even when you pray to God. You're known for your stink.</p>	<p>Very strange information. In Sweden and Finland, schoolchildren receive monthly payments so that they forget about material needs and focus on studies... For more interesting information, follow our pages.</p>

<p>Al-Arabiya</p>	<p>When Iranian women demonstrate, it is dictatorship. When women are raped by Wahhabists, this is freedom. When they are ruled by the Jews, this is Islam. When Muslims rule Iran, they are Malalis.</p> <p>May God guide us to the right path....???????</p> <p>My friend is Iranian. I heard it from her from the heart of Iran and the heart of the event.</p> <p>May Iran burn.</p> <p>May God attack them the way they attacked all Arab countries.</p> <p>May God attach Iran and wipe her off the earth in love for Mohamed and his pure and virtuous family.</p>	<p>Women's rights, where are you? You only talk about daeh. Real terrorism is in Iran. Look at Al-Sissi's choice of the ideal woman... An educated woman, learned the Quran, all her acting is politically committed.</p>	<p>Animals and they only look for women.</p> <p>To Nami Rhmeb: You are a coward. You are a swine. You're filthy. You're a dog, son of a bitch!</p>	<p>Al-Arabiya is kindly requested to follow and publish events and issues in Saudi Arabia. Very sweet advice from the book 'The Happiest Man in the World' (Title in Arabic) by Cheick Aaidh Al-Qarni...</p>
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<p>Mosaique FM</p>	<p>Including the case details to give further explanations to the browsers. 'The court ruling was issued on Monday. It includes a 500-pound fine and 2,000-pound temporary civil damages '.</p> <p>So far the news didn't generate a great deal of interest.. If you want it to be the news of the day, say the women is veiled or wears the niqab. You will see the buzz it creates...</p> <p>Something normal. When Ben Ali was in power, some RCD party members prohibited the call for prayers and described it as sound pollution. A mosque was also shut down and transformed it into a brothel. Things like these happened and people didn't know about them. Shame on you, Tunisian youths. A 95- year -old woman voted and you allowed the group of Ennahdha, beards and niqab to take our country without doing anything. Go and vote against Ennahdha. I hope we can reform what the dogs of Gannouchi destroyed during the last three months.</p>	<p>When she leaves prison, she will make a new song. Prison is for women.</p> <p>Hhhhhhh hhhh hhhhh</p> <p>Wait for new songs from Shirine in six months. Prison is for men and alive people She thinks like Siham Badi</p> <p>Oh life! You're rich, but life turned its back on you.</p> <p>Please don't be mistaken... This is a woman fighting for modernity.</p> <p>Stop lying and save energy. You consume a lot of energy.</p>	<p>But she's not polite. Please bring something new. You stink. Scum and corrupt people. Garbage, immoral, just empty from inside like drums</p>	<p>Transform your photo into a pencil picture in less than a minute at the following link: https://www.facebook.com/1713258458899534</p> <p>This is what exactly happened. Urgent. Please publish. Important warning to all Tunisians!!!!</p>
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Users employ different styles in interacting with news. The results show that insulting and sarcastic comments obtain the highest rates of likes. Many comments about the articles or the comments reflect aggressive verbal behavior such as exclusion and denying others: 'It's haram you even existed', 'May God give you a brain stroke!'. Also note the use of street profanity: 'You are garbage', 'a bag of garbage', 'you are just a toilet', 'Serious. Arabs are futile and this channel is rubbish'.

In interactions, users employ different forms of cursing such as calling someone a pig. Thus, the news about women becomes a cause for violent interactions. During debates, male users resort to more violent styles and profanity than female users, as if electronic interactions were an opportunity to display a kind of virtual power similar to the power employed in social life, especially that social media can be a space for new forms of aggression against peoples' electronic reputation such as personal account piracy, defamation and libel...

In this framework, this same question, which deals with the reproduction of social lifestyles in virtual interactions, requires more research to monitor more closely the behaviors of female and male users.

How do users employ sarcasm to comment on articles? It is rare for argumentative comments to obtain a high rate of popularity.

The purport of this table and the previous ones is that rational argumentation appears weak when compared to sarcasm and cursing among female and male users alike.

The results can be explained by the fact that Facebook users are essentially youths. It does not appear that this category considers Facebook a space for knowledge interactions and opinion exchanges. According to female and male adolescent users, Facebook is a space for entertainment and spontaneous interactions. For this reason, users write brief comments in the dialect. Comments come in the form of disorderly impressions that include sarcasm or verbal violence, especially among male users.

The use of pseudonyms and graphic pictures lifts many constraints related to traditional media debates where people communicate with real identities.

Thus, the electronic space of traditional media pages does not allow for a sober debate. The discussion between users does not amount to an exchange and is largely emotional and impressionistic. Traditional media do not seem to seek an exchange in their pages because they do not intervene to establish ethical rules or rules for the users to observe. For this reason, the pages are a space governed by aggressive communication, demagogic debates, insults and profanity...

Flaming

This is a type of communication that employs emotions in virtual communication. It includes profanity, insult and hurtful statements.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Aggressive communication is also a type of communication based on aggressing others in the electronic spaces. This is an aggressive behavior based on insult and the use of an aggressive, satiric style related to the so-called disinhibition as a specific electronic space phenomenon.⁽⁹¹⁾

One of the reasons for the link between virtual communication and the aggressive style is the absence of the social physical ingredients that are found in social cues.

The Canadian author, Yanick Barrette, argues that the growing aggressive communication in newspaper websites and social networks is aggressive publicity and ideas to create a conflict between users, readers and interlocutors. Aggressive communication covers aggressive contents, simplistic destructive contents and defamation. Aggressive communication is a style used by people who do not accept free debates and difference, and do not use the language of persuasion.

The Canadian author, Yanick Barrette,⁽⁹²⁾ states: 'Virtual spaces dedicated to discussions should be governed by basic political principles to become spaces conducive to enlightened discussions where the art of persuasion, rhetoric, argumentation and diplomacy prevail. Unfortunately, our debate spaces, instead of being spaces for learning and cooperation, are gangrened by flaming, whereby insults are more valuable than real thinking.'

90. Johnson, N. A., Cooper, R. B., & Chin, W. W. (2009). Anger and flaming in computer mediated negotiation among strangers. *Decision Support Systems*, 46(3), p 661

91. Moor, P. J., Heuvelman, A., & Verleur, R. (2010). Flaming on YouTube. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 26(6), p 153

92. Yanick Barrette Le flaming, ou l'art du dérapage verbal
http://quebec.huffingtonpost.ca/yanick-barrette/flaming-commentaires-medias-sociaux_b_2993971.html

3. How do women interact with interaction contents?

Table 15. Women's interaction styles

Media	Insult	Seriousness	Sarcasm	Attack	With- drawal	Indiffe- rence	Other
Al-Yawn Al-Sabaa	31.19 %	33.48 %	11 %	10.55 %	0	7.33%	5.04%
Al-Jazeera	9.09 %	63.63 %	7.14 %	2.59 %	0	13.63%	3.89%
Emirati Al-Bayan	9.75 %	78.04 %	2.43 %	7.31 %	0	2.43%	0
Saudi Al-Madina	18.18 %	72 .72 %	9.09 %	0	0	0	0
MED 1 TV	3.66 %	47.70 %	15.59 %	1.83 %	0	11 .92%	19.26%
Mosaïque FM	12.36	37.08	24.59	10.38	0	7.78	7.89
Al-Arabiya	21.15	43.26	4.03	3.84	0	0.96	6.73
MTV Lebanese	6.89	62.06	10.34	13.79	0	0	0
Sudanese Al-Jareeda	0	100	0	0	0	0	0
Syrian Donia channel	6.66	60	10	13.33	0	0	10

Table 15 shows the diversity of women's forms of interaction with media contents: insult, se-

riousness, sarcasm, attack, withdrawal, indifference... Like other interaction participants, women insult, taunt, attack, without paying attention sometimes to profanity against women (the use of terms such as whores). However, the dominant feature of women's behavior is variable seriousness. Women resort to sober comments in some pages.

This can be explained by the fact that media pages are diverse and various communication types are practiced: aggressive, convincing and so on. In many instances, media pages contain violent behaviors when male users adopt aggressive behaviors by using profanity in particular.

These styles are usually linked to the nature of articles (politics, art, sports, economy...) and the political contexts themselves.

The Egyptian context, for instance, is characterized by deep ideological differences and violent political strife and divisions, thus boosting various forms of aggressive communication and offensive verbal behaviors.

Direct observation shows that women rarely use the aggressive style, except for the Egyptian case. The style of women's interaction with media contents in the media spaces needs a deeper qualitative analysis to investigate the correlation between the interaction style and the following variables: political context, the nature of the raised subjects and the use of pseudonyms.

Theme 8. Nature of arguments and comments

1. Comment medium

Table 16. Monitoring user interaction media

Media	Picture	Text	Video	Icon	Icon + text
Al-Yawn Al-Sabaa	0	87.36 %	0	0	12.63 %
Al-Jazeera	0	97.06 %	0	0.30 %	3.01 %
Emirati Al-Bayan	0	95.71 %	0	0.71 %	3.57 %
Saudi Al-Madina	0	86.15 %	0	0	13.84 %
MED 1 TV	0	94.51 %	0	0.78 %	4.69 %
Mosaïque FM	0	97.99	0.12	1.81	0.06
Al-Arabiya	0	99.01	0	0,98	0
MTV Lebanese	0	100	0	0	0
Sudanese Al-Jareeda	2.63	97.36	0	0	0
Syrian Donia channel	0	95.31	1.56	3.12	0

Table 16 shows that users prefer in the first place texts followed by a combination of texts and icons.

The results show that users prefer texts to express views. This may be due to the fact that users consider texts more expressive in conveying their positions. In our view, texts are a deeper interaction engagement compared to videos, pictures and icons. The results also show that participants are not open to other expressive and argumentative styles and other media to support ideas such as videos in particular. In addition, the use of icons shows the new hybrid language that female and male users can employ.

2. How do users argue?

Table 17. Interlocutor arguments in conversations

Case	Rational cognitive argument	Religious arguments (Quranic verses)	Cultural argument
Rihanna, the Iranian lady	<p>She is the pride of every woman in the world irrespective of whether she is Sunni, Shiite or Buddhist... Everybody forgot the issue and kept discussing Sunnism and Shiism. By the way, this is what is causing many youths to become atheists. Have mercy on Islam and end this discord... Have mercy on Muslims who are killing each other while the world is watching and laughing at our stupidity.... Instead of fighting the enemies of Islam, we've become the enemies of Islam and Muslims. God, have mercy on us!</p> <p>-----</p> <p>The justice of the religious State avenges a rapist by sentencing to death his victim who had killed him to defend her honor.</p> <p>She was a weak woman who defended herself, but Iranian justice was not fair to her because she was a Sunni.</p> <p>At the same time, the Mullah regime in Iran threatened Saudi Arabia</p>	<p>She is supposed to have defended her honor. She doesn't deserve capital punishment. This is injustice. Isn't defending one's honor one of the pillars of Shahada. God bless you, Rihanna and May He allows you into Paradise. You're a martyr, God willing, because you defended your honor...</p> <p>Think not of those who are slain in God's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord.</p> <p>Thank God. She died as a martyr. If someone dies defending his honor, he is a martyr. Islamic tradition has honored women and women are mothers of Muslims. Christian tradition has honored women and a woman was the mother of Jesus Christ.</p> <p>In Jewish heritage, women have been honored. Zuleikha was Joseph's wife.</p> <p>At the beginning of mankind, women were</p>	<p>Sorry, sister! We have no Al-Kaâkaâ Ibn Amrou Al-Timimi to avenge you; the sword of Khaled Ibn Al-Walid is broken; Saâd Ibn Abi Wakas left and Abou Obeida Ibn Al-Jarrah gave up fighting. We are sorry, sister. Al-Farouk Omar died and we cannot open Persia; Al-Kadisiya army has become a football team. Arabs invade Al-Sham, not to open it but to kill other Muslims.</p> <p>In Iranian law, if a Sunni kills a Shiite, he is sentenced to death.</p> <p>If they ask you about justice in the land of Muslims, tell them that Omar died.</p>

<p>Shirine</p>	<p>in case it sentences to death the terrorist Nimr who had issued a religious ruling allowing the people of his faith to take up arms against the security forces.</p> <p>He caused the death of many Saudi policemen. When Prince Naief, Minister of Interior, died, the mercy of God be upon him, the so-called Nimr went out saying 'God is Great', celebrating and cursing him. If a Sunni Sheik did this, he would be sentenced to death.</p> <p>If she was guilty, she was judged. God is the most merciful. If she was really oppressed, God will avenge her in His own way.</p> <p>Yes. She committed a crime, ladies and gentlemen. How can she believe in the religion of the Mullahs and kill her rapist? Did she lose her mind which is full of Mullah ideas. Had she signed with him a Mutah marriage contract for an hour, she wouldn't have killed him and she wouldn't have been killed (International anger at executing an Iranian woman for killing an intelligence officer who had tried to rape her).</p> <p>Why didn't Saudi Arabia exploit this incident to pressurize Iran and prevent the execution of Rihanna, the Sunni woman... just like Iran pressurized Saudi Arabia to stop the execution of the Saudi Shiite cleric Nimr? He who issued the execution ruling deserves to be executed. Arab leaders and all those who bow and have no dignity (International anger at executing an Iranian woman for killing an intelligence officer who had tried to rape her).</p>	<p>honored and Eve is our mother.</p> <p>In all religions, God honored women. How you, sons of Islam, accept to insult women. God, take away anyone who is unjust to her. You are dear and able. God, accept her as a martyr and give her a home better than hers and people better than hers. God, make Paradise her home and place.</p> <p>God, do her justice and punish her oppressor. You are capable of everything. We belong to God and to Him we return.</p> <p>You are miserable. You're defending honor and you're saying nothing about the honor of Iraqi women sold by Daech to Chechen men.</p> <p>You, the Sunnis, facilitated their arrival in our land to rape women, kill the young and old and sell women in the slave market. Damn you! You let them come in our land. Damn your exegetes who issued fetwas so that they could do what they did.</p> <p>May God accept her as a martyr, make Paradise her home and avenge her killers in life before the afterlife...</p> <p>She's Kurdish from Iranian Kurdistan. God's mercy on her and on all dead Muslim. Please note that God, the Almighty, has the throne of justice. God does not allow to be lost the reward of the doers of good.</p> <p>I pray to God, the Lord of the Great Throne, to have mercy on her, Rihanna of the white hearts. May God punish those behind it.</p>	
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<p>Shirine</p>		<p>It's not right to say this. Shirine has never been to prison. Whoever assist a tyrant, will be subjected to the domination of that tyrant. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, stated: 'Resurrection will not occur before Persia is conquered'. (International anger at the execution of the Iranian woman accused of killing the intelligence officer who had tried to rape her).</p>	
	<p>The ruling is primary and can be appealed against. Shirine is at home. She paid a fine and she will not go to prison. The news about her imprisonment for six months is incorrect. Shirine is now at home. She left on bail. The case will go to the Appeals. She was not imprisoned as claimed by some magazines.</p> <p>Only the living go back home.</p> <p>The news was impugned. The court case dates from five months, which means it's over now (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ).</p> <p>I agree with you. She's a good singer and I am honored she's Egyptian, but she is a big mouth (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ).</p> <p>By the way, she's a respected singer. She lifted up our head. I wish these garbage people</p> <p>who are insulting her could respect her. She's our country's daughter (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ, Shirine). Gloating is forbidden. Whatever happened, she's a lady. Shame on you, irrespective of her flaws. It's God who judges people, not us.</p>		<p>Still unconfirmed!! She's right to appeal. The final verdict is for tomorrow. May God be with her.</p> <p>Especially that the cause doesn't lead to prison, but May God guide Sherif Mounir to the right path. It's all his fault.</p> <p>If she spends a month in prison, that's all right;;; She'll pay a fine.</p> <p>When you see how refined they are in their video clips, you think this world is full of hypocrisy. She insulted men and that's why she's going to stay in prison for six months.</p>

	<p>Only God is stronger than our judiciary! She insulted a singer and she was immediately judged. When terrorists, who are destroying the country, are caught, the courts take a year and a half to rule on their case (Al-Yam Al-Sabaâ). By the way, this is a primary ruling. There's still the possibility to appeal against it (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ).</p>		
<p>Besma Khalfaoui</p>	<p>In 2002, he got married to the lawyer and human rights activist, Besma Khalfaoui, born in Tunis in 1972. They had two daughters: Neiruz and Nada. Some sources indicated that Chokri Belaid and Besma Khalfaoui divorced in 2012, but they continued to live in the same house. Khalfaoui confirmed that this information was baseless.</p> <p>The National Front and the communists in general fight against each other to exploit events and boost their position among parties (Similar events abound in the history of communist parties). They were divorced for a while. He was at home before he was assassinated because she insisted. How did the killer know about his whereabouts that morning? Besma was an accomplice in the murder of Chokri Belaid, her lover. She is hiding the truth to wipe off any crime trace. The mafia is the antiterrorism brigade which kills people and nobody knows. The world will soon know that Tunisia is run by a mafia and the government is only a parade.</p>	<p>God exposes killers even after a while. 'And when you killed a man, then you disagreed with respect to that, and God was to bring forth that which you were going to hide.'</p>	

<p>The Kuwaiti actress Zahra Al-Kharji</p>	<p>A wonderful solidarity from a woman who suffered a lot from her illness.</p> <p>A positive step from a distinguished and able actress.</p> <p>She is suffering from cancer. If each one of you experienced the suffering of one of his relatives who died of this cursed disease, you wouldn't be joking here.</p> <p>I think she had the disease and was cured. She is now showing solidarity. A great gesture.</p> <p>It's solidarity. There's no disagreement on this. But why did she shave off her head? No need for this at all.</p> <p>She has a logo about cancer behind her. I hope you understand her position and shaving off her head was not of her doing. We pray to God, the Lord of the Great Universe, to cure her and every patient.</p> <p>I swear to God. She's free to support them in any way she wants. I salute her courage.</p> <p>She suffered from cancer and this is what triggered her solidarity with the patients.</p>	<p>Islamic law forbids head shaving. Instead of saying of the Prophet said (Praise be to God who has recovered, which plagued by many people and we preferred to many of his creation favored, did not hit him scourge), she decided to shave her head, not knowing that he hates women who shave their heads.</p> <p>In this way, she's trying to look like the infidels who show solidarity with people like her to be in the news and for the purpose of malignant sophistry.</p> <p>The principle of individual freedom doesn't apply in applying Islamic rules... Female head shaving in Islam is between prohibition and taboo... There are other ways to support cancer patients, but it's very clear that she sought media hype, nothing more.</p>	
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Table 17 shows user argumentative diversity: religious, cultural arguments...

In religious arguments, we find the Prophet's sayings and the Quranic verses which are usually employed in the case of women who do not fit in stereotypical roles such as the Kuwaiti actress who shaved her head (Head shaving as prohibited by religion) or during the discussion of new issues in the public sphere as in the case of the Moroccan woman who participated in the TV show, *Kissat Annas* (If you are tested (by God) and fell sinful, then hide and do not show off with your sins!).

By contrast, religious arguments can be employed to defend women: 'They forgot that during the Prophet's days, peace be upon him, women could fight... 'A woman protected the Prophet from a treacherous sword attack'.

In this case, the argument is used to affirm the right of women to participate with men in defending the nation. This role was usually monopolized by men. The reliance on religious arguments among mostly young men confirms the importance of traditional cultural resources in their representations of women and women's social roles.

When the singer, Maali Zayed, speaks out publicly about political issues, some users say to her: 'Be afraid of God, repent and go back to God'. Others call for a war against her because 'she is harming Islam and people like her should be fought.'

Among the traditional representations of publicly outspoken women is users praying for women to be guided by God to the right path: 'May God guide our women to the hijab and chastity.' 'God is great. How beautiful to see Salafist women following God. May God protect them.'

Cultural, traditional and religious roles overlap as when a female user defended Rihanna, the Iranian lady, saying that she defended her honor and deserved to be a martyr.

As regards rational arguments, some users employ critical (or adjusting) roles towards other participants as when a user notes that people are not discussing the core issue and are focussing on peripheral questions (In the case of the Iranian woman, he rejected capital punishment irrespective of the crime): 'They all brushed aside the content of the news and focussed on peripheral issues'.

In rational arguments, there is a rejection of capital punishment irrespective of her action because it does not deserve death.

In addition, some users refuse to look at women from the angle of femininity: 'Something is superior to her beauty: her knowledge, culture and position.' (on the MP of Moroccan origin who was courted by an MP in the Belgian parliament) and value women's roles in the world because they represent the nation.'

Some female and male users do not hesitate to criticise religious, cultural and traditional arguments: 'The niqab may not necessarily signify religiosity' or 'Irrespective of the crime, there are courts which need proofs. Criminals usually hide behind religiosity to seek sympathy and evade punishment'. In addition, a user may request the participants to contribute to the debate: Discuss the causes of marriage aversion, May God guide you to the right path!

Some comments use sectarian and religious arguments to talk about the honor of the nation, identity and honor. In this way, Rihanna, 'the Muslim Sunni victim', is the conclusive evidence that the Sunni sect is in danger because of the conspiracies of other sects. The raped virtuous Sunni Muslim women become an indicator of the 'Nation's' decadence....

In the same framework, the participants use the religious-cultural argument in defending religion and nation. We could read in the comments on the news about 'an Asian man who killed a woman for giving up the prayer required when entering a mosque.': She deserves it! May God not bring her back. She was required to respect Islamic sanctities and she was living in a Muslim country. Damn her!

The results show the cultural context in which the media generally operate. Most arguments have a religious or a traditional cultural content that refers to traditional representations of women and their roles. Users extract the employed arguments from their socio-cultural environment, the groups they belong to and the social institutions that contribute to their social upbringing.

Traditional cultural representations interact with a more comprehensive religious discourse as disseminated by the media, preachers, scholars and exegetes: 'In fact, it relies on socio-cultural heritage more than on religious reference because this discourse supports the cultural practices that consecrate gender discrimination. Although such discourse appears to rely on the Quran and the Sunnah, it is far from the pillars of religious jurisdiction. The study has also shown that modernization and openness are missing in all religious-oriented contents.'⁹³

It is worth noting that the used argument type as an analysis category may not always be effective in approaching the language of participants in the debate because this language does not contain arguments in the traditional sense of the word. In this framework, cursing and praising are frequent in many comments (May God bless them! May God heal her! May God guide her to the right path! May God take her away for good!). As indicated above, this confirms the nature of communication in media pages.

On the other hand, this hybrid style that mixes insult and abuse with prayers, Quranic verses, the Prophet's sayings, and impressions with arguments, appear to prevail in virtual interactions on women-related media contents. To investigate this hypothesis, more research is needed on interaction styles about other issues and male characters (artists, politicians) to identify whether the style is related to women only or whether it represents the dominant media page interactions.

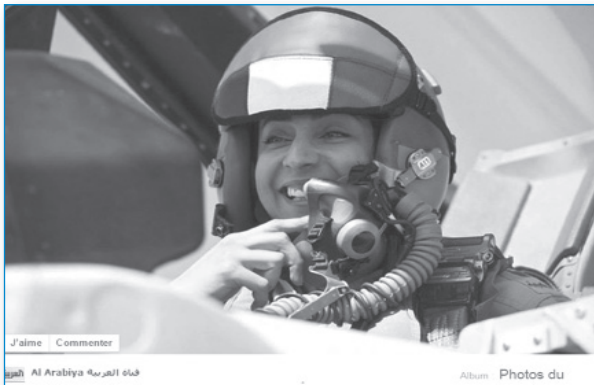
93. Project of Arab women and the media. First report. Analyzing women's image in religious discourse in the religiously oriented media. January 2013, p.13.

3. Case study 2: Meriam, the Emirati warplane pilot, participated in a bombing campaign.

Meriam Mansouri, a major in the Emirati air force, participated in the September campaign, the so-called 'international campaign', to bomb Daech. Arab media dealt with Meriam's participation in the campaign as the first Arab Gulf Emirati woman to participate and lead air raids outside her country.

Meriam's participation in the campaign, had many significant symbolic dimensions. She was the first woman to participate in a bombing campaign against an organization known for its animosity to women. Daech and Salafist jihadist organizations are generally associated with sex jihadism and women's exclusion. They take women as swag after military raids and sell them in the slave market. Arab and international media circulated numerous rape and enslavement stories about Yazidi Iraqi women.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Meriam Mansouri faced aggressive media campaigns to the point that her family exonerated itself from her because of her participation in the brutal aggression against the Syrian brotherly people and because she was disgraceful.⁽⁹⁵⁾



On women's empowerment, the Emirati minister of foreign affairs declared: 'My country looks at the experience of Meriam and her sisters as a major achievement. They were given the opportunity and turned out to be creative and distinguished. We are proud of them. Meriem and her sisters working in the various sectors are the outcome of a progressive vision. These female generations are the fruit of a successful bet that respects women's work and creativity.'⁽⁹⁶⁾

It is clear that the Emirati and Arab media coverage of Meriem Al-Mansouri and the social media interest are neither due to the fact that she is a leading woman in the Emirati nor because of her participation in the war against Daech only. They are due to both: This is a Gulf woman participating in the war on an organization whose ideology is based on women's inferiority

94. See the report published by Al-Destour: Daech fixes the 'fun fee' for Yazidi women.
<http://www.dostor.org/693887>

95. The Emirati Mansouri family exonerated itself from its daughter's participation in the US bombing campaign against Syrian targets..
<http://www.alquds.co.uk/?p=226252>

96. Abu-Dhabi: Meriem Al-Mansouri is the daughter of the Emirates and her family did not disown her.
<http://www.alriyadh.com/981550>

In this framework, the Al-Arabiya Facebook page published two posts on Meriem Al-Mansouri, smiling in her warplane cockpit. The photo generated 413 likes, 109 comments and 59 shares.

The second post is a photo and a text. It generated 19,000 likes, over 4,000 comments and 1,216 shares.

The first report was chosen for two reasons. The first post came in the form of a photo without a text, which gives readers more interpretive freedom and weakens media orientation power because of the absence of a text that may frame the interpretation of the photo, although this photo is neither neutral nor meaningless, as shown below.

The second reason is that the second post obtained over 4,000 comments, making its qualitative analysis more difficult because the researcher does not have the material conditions to undertake it.

The obtained results show that men (26) interacted with comments more than women (4). The result generated by the quantitative analysis of the total comments confirms the greater participation of men compared to women. The second result extracted from the interactions about this post is that the comments are unevenly distributed among insults and support.

- **Support**

Many users support Meriem Al-Mansouri, pray for her heavenly protection and view her participation in the war against Daech as an achievement that makes her a remarkable woman: 'May God protect her' (Woman) or 'May God protect you, Meriem; I prayed to God for your success and the success of the UAE and everyone fighting terrorism (Man): great woman (Man): May God make her succeed: She achieved what we couldn't achieve (Woman); Wow great! (Woman). These supportive comments celebrate Meriem Al-Mansouri and consider her an ideal brave woman who duly represents the UAE.

- **Insult**

By contrast, Meriem Al-Mansouri was insulted by participants who used highly profane and hurtful terms and insulting qualifiers with sexual and animalistic connotations in line with the female adjectives and roles identified in Table 11.

Male users here and in the previous cases seek to hurt women by commenting on physical appearance because, for them, a woman is just a body (Her face shows God's wrath; damn her; I curse you (Man) or (What's this wide smile for? (Woman). Comments also consider activist women unfulfilling stereotypical roles as corrupt women who do not respect social conventions, traditions and values: 'God, hurt all those who want to hurt our brothers (Man); damn you and your followers (Man). Comments use honor to hurt women: I spit on your honor, bitch (Man); happy whore (Man); whooooooore (Man).

Clearly, these aggressive interactions, which were not supported by user reactions, target Meriem as a woman and entail frequent male representations.

- **Sarcasm**

A third group of participants laughed at Meriem Al-Mansouri, as shown in the following comments on her photo: (What's this wide smile for? (Man); Are you sure they participated in the bombing!!!; I feel they were going for a barbecue (Man); she knows everything (Man); look at these Emirati pilots; they know how to fly planes (Man).

Although these comments are insult free, they belittle Meriem Al-Mansouri as a woman incapable of being a warrior or looking like a man... One comment includes a male chauvinistic appraisal of her participation in the military operations against Daech and ridiculed the culture of Gulf societies which do not allow women to play roles similar to men in social life: 'Gulf governments and sheiks... How did your pride allow you to send a woman to bomb us without an authorized companion... !!! (Man).

- **Criminalization and prohibition**

Another group of users interacted in a different way that did not include insults or sarcasm. Reactions were interested in evaluating the military operation without referring to Meriem Al-Mansouri. Most of these evaluations were based on religious arguments considering the military operation a crime contrary to Islamic teachings whose perpetrator deserves God's punishment, a non-nationalist act or a harm to Syria (A cold-blooded crime and wide smiles... You will not laugh for long... If you escape punishment on earth, you will be submitted to God's justice (Man) or (God willing, when God allows me in Paradise, I will request God, the Almighty, to watch you burn in Hell. You who have let down Islam and fought against it everywhere.)

These negative evaluations are characterized by an aggressive political nature. They refer to other parts of the world where Muslims, according to those users, do not benefit from support (Where were these planes when Gaza was bombed, Burmese and Central African Muslims killed and Syrian children slaughtered over the last years... You are a lion against us but a white feather during war. You are killing each other, but you fear Israel which is killing the children of Gaza).

Let's look at what the users did with the post shared by about 60 users on their walls, including a small number of female users (only four). Apart from rare cases of brief interactions, most Facebook wall posts repeat the same evaluations found in the Al-Arabiya channel page. Some users evaluated Meriem Al-Mansouri's participation in the military operation against Daech from inside religious, cultural and traditional frameworks, as in the following posts: Your damned plane isn't made for the war of honor and pride??!! Your damned plane couldn't bomb the enemies of Islam??!! Or is it just designed to kill Muslims??!!

One female user supported Meriem Al-Mansouri: 'We weren't born to get married and stay at home. We were born to inhabit the earth.' This is about the only female user's comment that interprets a news item from a feminist perspective. Her comment generated a brief interaction with her friend: The importance of the comment lies in confirming the plurality of women's social roles and rejecting women's prevailing stereotypical roles.

The importance of this case study lies in confirming a number of recurrent observations and trends in the study:

- **One:** Men interact more than women with women-related texts.
- **Two:** The analysis of the personal profiles of users (Names and photos) shows that they belong to the youth category.
- **Three:** Male interactions are mostly characterized by violence and aggressiveness. Male users employ profane and hurtful terms to express their positions.
- **Four:** Women are not engaged in defending women, the subject of media texts, when they face insults and slander.
- **Five:** Interactions are characterized by specific types of recurrent styles: Insults, sarcasm and mockery.
- **Six:** Interactions are rarely based on argumentation and the quiet exchange of arguments.
- **Seven:** The interactions do not represent a quiet dialogue as much as they are a display of impressions and interactions.
- **Eight:** The Interactions reflect male chauvinistic representations that are cultural, traditional and stereotypical (for male users) and stereotypes about women's social and political roles (for female users).
- **Nine:** Interactions including male chauvinistic cultural and traditional representations are too often based on religious arguments. One can go further to state that there is a recurrent intersection in negative evaluations between religious arguments and male chauvinistic traditional representations.
- **Ten:** This case of user interaction about a photo without a text was selected to test one of the most important hypotheses of the study which underscores that the interpretation operation does not happen in a vacuum. It is based on symbolic resources (Culture, values), socio-economic position, gender, analytic competence, social practices and material circumstances, as indicated by Sonia Livingstone:⁽⁹⁷⁾

'In short, engaging with symbolic texts rests on a range of analytic competencies, social practices and material circumstances.'

Thus, the photo of Meriem Al-Mansouri shows various women's representations and roles among specific user categories. These unique representations are hidden in social contexts and omitted by research on women's image in traditional media. This exposure is the major theoretical benefit generated from the study of comments on what the traditional media post about women in social network websites.

97. Sonia Livingstone The challenges of changing audiences Or what is the audience Research to do with age of the internet ? European Journal of Communication, 2004, Vol 19(1): p 79

Theme 9: **Media responsibility in debate management**

1. **Did the media issue a user charter?**

Monitoring the sampled pages has highlighted the absence of user charters. Such charters are an essential mechanism of self-regulation in the social media sphere where law enforcement is perceived as an 'attack on freedoms' and 'human rights' in expression or an impediment to free communication and information flow. Social network websites established guidelines as in the case of Facebook (See Part 1). Facebook also established self-regulation mechanisms through reporting a page or a comment or a person for not respecting the Facebook Declaration of Human Responsibility. In such case, Facebook closes the page.

Theoretically, the user charter is strategically significant to the media in running pages because they are accessible to all without prior registration or specific rules, as in the case of personal profiles. The user charter plays an important role as a dialogue regulating mechanism. The page administrator can rely on it to delete an insulting or hurtful comment...

Facebook provides media page administrators with mechanisms to regulate user contents. These mechanisms include the possibility 'to prohibit publications or comments that contain words selected by the page administrator'.



Page administrators can activate Facebook 'profanity blocklist' 'to select the profanity to be blocked in the page and the level of prohibition. Facebook determines what can be prohibited through the most used reported words and the socially defined harmful sentences.'⁽⁹⁸⁾

Clearly, the administrators of the 10 analyzed pages do not resort to these mechanisms to impose a minimum degree of debate conventions or protect female and male users from verbal violence and aggressive styles.

98. This definition is available in the General Settings of Facebook pages.

Table 18 shows that all of the media pages do not use user charters, except for Mosaïque FM which simply issued some general indications in French: No to insults, no to spam, no to violent language.

It is worth reminding that many of the sampled media publish codes of ethics in their websites to recall press principles and editorial policy. The charter of Al-Bayan newspaper includes a number of principles about precision, specificity, child protection, sex crime victims or handicaps (impairments).⁽⁹⁹⁾ Mosaïque FM does not publish its editorial charter in its Facebook page in spite of its innovation in the Tunisian press.

Article 12

Mosaïque FM endeavors to avoid any promotion or dissemination of stereotypical images of women or men, or anything that is likely to denigrate or slander the integrity of any citizen or institution or group, or expose any of them to rejection, exclusion, contempt or hatred. Mosaïque FM adopts the principle of gender equality in program presentation, press work, post allocation and decision-making positions, on the sole criterion of professional competence, without any ideological, regional or ethical consideration. Mosaïque FM endeavors to provide men and women with equal opportunity in intervention and participation in the various programs.

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Article 9 of Al-Jazeera Code of Ethics refers to the need to avoid stereotypes, but the channel did not publish a link to the code.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The same comment applies to MTV Lebanon Channel.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Thus, one may note that user charters and self-regulation mechanisms are neglected in spite of their importance.

For this reason, one can argue that the overwhelming majority of the sampled pages do not pay attention to public debate management in accordance with ethical standards that can regulate discussions. This absence of attention may be due to the fact that these organizations reject to comply with agreements. User charters can oblige the media to manage the page in a comprehensive manner. This may require hiring a press team to monitor the interactions.

99. <http://www.albayan.ae/privacy-policy-1.323>

100. <http://www.aljazeera.com/aboutus/2006/11/2008525185733692771.html>

101. <http://mtv.com.lb/About>

In the absence of the aforementioned mechanisms, traditional media appear to seek to increase the page popularity for purely commercial purposes at the expense of social responsibility requirements.

Results

- **Article sample distribution by subject**

On the basis of the investigated posts about media contents (130 posts), political reports occupy the top position in the media concerned with women's issues, followed by social and artistic subjects... This goes back to the nature of the sampled medium (News, comprehensive, non specialized). or the period of the study, which was characterized by a number of political events related to women. This result confirms the results obtained by women's monitoring in traditional media in general.

- **How do women appear in the media?**

The study shows that in their posts the media used texts and photos together first, followed by photos only. This may be explained by editorial reasons because photos play an important role in attracting users and taking them to the website to read the contents published in the page.

As for the use of photos in posts, women are shown in various forms: veiled, unveiled, with niqab, old, young, sporting. Some posts had women's photos even when the subject was not about women.

- **Women's and men's interactions with women-related contents published by traditional media in their platforms in social networks by engagement rate**

We noticed a significant difference between pages at the level of interaction. Arab media pages targeting a broad public are characterized by a high engagement rate. This is normal given the number of participants (above 9 million for Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya channels). The difference may be explained by political contexts, permitted liberties and women's position in the public sphere in the societies of the sampled media. Page interaction is a good indicator of media openness to the public and society, and the permitted freedom for people to comment on news and express opinions. Page popularity reinforces political, intellectual and ideological diversity among the participants, thus enhancing the opportunity for arguments and difference.

- **Classifying articles by interaction rate**

Political reports attract more engagement than other reports. This may be explained by the nature of these political reports, which generally deal with controversial issues and generate heated debates (such as the participation of the Emirati warplane pilot and Kurdish women in the war against Daech...)

- **Participation in the public debate on women's issues via comments by gender**

Male users participate more than female users in interactions about women-related reports with some relative differences in Tunisia and Lebanon where similar rates were noted. This difference is directly related to different levels of Facebook use among the sexes, as shown by the adopted Facebook use statistics.

Such difference illustrates the digital divide between women and men (adolescents and youths). The divide has a clear bearing on women's participation in Facebook media pages as a public virtual space.

Therefore, men are more interested than women in women's issues because of this difference. But this does not mean that men (youths) support women or defend their cause. As a matter of fact, the opposite is mostly true. Such interest too often takes the form of sarcasm, mockery, insults and violent verbal behaviors whereby users resort to severe profanity to despise women and belittle their position.

Here, one may hypothesize that specific female groups refrain from participating in spaces characterized, as shown in this study, by aggressive communication, verbal violence and emotional reactions.

This hypothesis can be improved to mean that women refrain from expressing support to their cause in spaces dominated by misogynist intellectual movements using violent styles to express themselves and relying on religious, traditional and male chauvinistic arguments. A possible interaction outcome in the virtual context is that female users refrain from expressing unsterotypical, nonconsensual opinions. Although the hypothesis, which appears to oppose the prevalent discourse on social media in the collective imagination as a system for consolidating communication, engagement and openness to the other, is increasingly used in social media research circles.

An American study by the Pew Research Center entitled 'Social Media and the Spiral of Silence'⁽¹⁰²⁾ shows that people, who believe that their ideas, opinions and positions are not socially acceptable or consonant with the dominant trend in society, keep quiet in social media and do not express their opinions and positions, especially in the case of sensitive issues. The study concludes that the theory of silence developed in 1994 by the German scholar Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann about the media effect on public opinion is still valid to explain engagement in public debates. According to the theory, when people realize that the dominant trend contradicts their ideas, they lose confidence and keep silent. The researcher also shows that people, especially women, usually change their opinions and adopt the trends that the media present as dominant, thus confirming that social media do not represent an alternative forum for discussion.

Thus, it is theoretically possible to develop a daring and original hypothesis about the new exclusion and marginalization forms in social media discussions. These forms are not produced by professional traditional media, but by the practices of users themselves because of the linkage between social media and socio-cultural circumstances.

102. Keith Hampton, Lee Rainie, Weixu Lu, Maria Dwyer, Inyoung Shin And Kristen Purcell, Social Media and the 'Spiral of Silence', Internet project, Pew Research center <http://www.pewinternet.org/2014/08/26/social-media-and-the-spiral-of-silence/>

- **Monitoring forms of women's appearance in the interaction sphere via pseudonyms, real names and photos (graphic or real).**

We observed a tendency among female users to use pseudonyms. The tendency is linked to two contexts at least.; The constraints of the socio-cultural context (social value systems) may compel female users to hide their identity and enjoy a margin of freedom that enables them to carry out certain activities: expressing opinions, building virtual ties with users and communicating with them...

One cannot assert that the use of pseudonyms is always tied to socio-cultural constraints, the lack of freedoms and the power of social controls whose significance cannot be denied. It is also linked to the specificity of social media and Facebook in particular.. The use of pseudonyms may be a tactic employed by female users to present themselves and express psychological states.

- **Expressing identity via pseudonyms**

The study reached a significant result about pseudonyms and showed that female users invent specific and original pseudonyms that do not comply with traditional categories. We also note the occurrence of pseudonyms that refer to flowers and geographical locations and the low number of reproductive names. This may be due to the fact that the female users belong to the young category. This finding confirms that social network websites give large opportunities to female users to express identity and specificity in a singular manner.

- **Representations of women's roles among users via adjective and role monitoring**

Many comments reflect contempt for women through adjectives and descriptions that belittle women. Some activists and singers are described as whores who have lost the right path and are indulging in indecent acts in public life. Posts on women are too often used to laugh at women and their unconventional roles such as participation in military operations, engagement in public life and expression of political positions.

By contrast, women sometimes benefit from support, acclamation and solidarity, as in the case of Kurdish women fighters. Some actors (like the Emirati warplane pilot and the Kuwaiti actress who shaved her head) are at the same time the subject of solidarity and support, and insults and mockery. The study shows that when women do not comply with stereotypical roles, they become controversial. Some celebrate them and others deny them these new roles.

The study shows that users employ specific adjectives to talk about women, especially the adjectives meant to belittle women as a body, dehumanize them, reduce them to animals or objectify them. Users frequently employ adjectives that qualify political activists and public actors as rebels against social conventions and traditions, or corrupt individuals who threaten the honor of society.

- **User representations of women: How do comments talk about women?**

The study shows that women are looked at as oppressed or revered. Women can be 'poor souls', as in the case of the Iranian young woman who was sentenced to death. In some other cases, women are revered, as in the case of Kurdish women fighters who are esteemed and respected. By contrast, women who appear oppressed, or who can be presented by the media as such, are demonized. They change from being oppressed to misguided and corrupt (adulteresses, whores).

Comments too often reflect traditional and stereotypical representations of women's positions and roles, especially among young male users who usually rely on traditional cultural references to evaluate public activities. The frequent negative evaluations by young male users for women in the form of very violent insults may be explained by the virtual context which removes many interaction controls regulating social communication.

- **Women's roles in the interaction sphere**

In addition to the fact that the role of women is limited in engaging in page comments, their presence in terms of recalling dialogue instructions, ethical principles, or presenting ideas to feed discussions, remains timid. These limited roles (which we think are limited among male users) are related to the interaction framework shaped in the media Facebook page and which does not amount to a deliberation. The participants are not interlocutors in the sense required by deliberations and they rarely interact. One may add here that these roles refer to a group with minimum ties that are not provided by a page bringing together participants who do not represent a permanent, stable, collaborative group.

One may hypothesize that the interaction context, which is mostly characterized by hostile behavior, does not encourage women to engage in interactions.

- **Participants' interaction styles**

Users employ different styles to interact with posts. The most important styles are insults, sarcasm, mockery and argumentative dialogue. But insults and sarcasm seem to be the most frequent styles at the expense of argumentative dialogue. They also benefit from high rates of likes.

Results show that the media page is not a space conducive to a quiet dialogue, argument exchange and learning about other views. This may be due, in our view, to the nature of the page participants who are mostly young and do not deal with Facebook as a space for knowledge and culture. For them, Facebook is a free space where they can get rid of social controls in the family and at school. They engage in types of hostile behavior, fun and play...

One may also hypothesize that, for male users, Facebook is a space for unwinding. As shown in the study, it can help users to free themselves from the social controls that enable individuals to adapt to interlocutors and take into account their reactions.

On the whole, it seems to us that the young male users reproduce the everyday life styles based on a display of strength through hostile behaviors. This explains their use of street profanity, as if Facebook were the space of everyday life.

One may state that the media use their Facebook pages to provoke female and male users. They publish posts to refer to sensational reports without intervening to manage the debate and turn the issue into a dialogue subject, as if they simply looked for increasing the page popularity by using the so-called buzz as part of marketing.

- **How do women interact with interaction contents?**

Women interact in different forms with posts (insults, sarcasm, attack), but the most dominant style is earnestness. Unlike male users, women are less engaged in hostile communication, as shown in the quantitative and qualitative study.

Female users are usually earnest and do not resort to profanity or sexually connoted insults. This does not mean that female users do not sometimes engage in insults when the context is appropriate (political conflict and ideological strife). It is worth noting that women can be indifferent to insults... This may be due to the fear of the reactions of male participants who may not hesitate to attack them.

- **Most popular comments**

Users prefer comments with insults and sarcasm to argumentative comments. The result confirms the nature of interactions in the investigated pages, which do not amount to a rational quiet debate. It also shows that women's traditional or degrading representations in terms of insults or sarcasm are liked.

- **How do users argue: Monitoring the media used by the users in interactions**

Users basically prefer to use texts to express themselves in the page and convey ideas and opinions that icons and photos cannot convey.

- **How do users argue or what are the arguments used in the debate?**

Users rely on different types of religious (sectarian), rational or cultural arguments. On the whole, the employed arguments reflect traditional representations of women and their roles: stereotypical role representations or the act of belittling active women. Users specifically use traditional and religious cultural resources to appraise women's roles. It is rare to find rational arguments or liberal cultural argument to defend and support women.

- **Media responsibility in debate management: Did the media establish user charters?**

The media did not establish charters to regulate the use of their pages. Page administrators do not activate Facebook mechanisms to prohibit the use of profane or violent comments or publications. This confirms their neglect for managing public debates according to ethical principles that may oblige them to fully manage the page and hire new staff to monitor interactions. In addition, this type of page management may show that the media are looking for increasing page popularity and transferring users to their websites to enlarge their audience. One may hypothesize that the media do not take into account their moral responsibility or do not realize their roles in this area.

Summary: Theoretical and methodological lessons learned

1. Results about social media research methodology and content reception

The quantitative approach raises a series of difficulties. The number of comments may vary by the day or the hour because of the unstable presence of users on the network. Users may close their accounts, withdraw a comment or withdraw from the page for one reason or another. User identities are not always clear because users change their profiles or names which are sometimes difficult to classify, thus raising difficulties in producing quantitative data. On the other hand, some media pages are highly popular (Mosaïque FM: 1,700,000 fans; Al-Jazeera: over 9 million fans; Al-Arabiya: about 9.5 million fans). The researcher cannot monitor and classify thousands of comments.

- Users employ very local dialects that are sometimes unintelligible to the researcher. Users resort to various languages and dialects: local dialects, Arabic, English, French, Berber or Arabic written in Latin characters. In addition, user activity is not always related to media page posts and some comments are completely irrelevant to the post subject.
- To overcome the difficulties raised by the quantitative approach, the solution lies in diversifying and mixing quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The methodological challenge is to invent a mixed methodology and analyze the various dimensions of user activities on the Facebook page, in addition to interviewing a sample of page users, directly or electronically.
- It is possible to use virtual ethnography as a new research technique and adapt ethnographic techniques such as participant observation. The researcher can observe user interactions on the page and can participate in the debate with the users.
- The study of user activities in social network websites in relation to media content reception and interpretation requires collective research projects to accumulate research experience and compare results, knowing that most Arab social media research deals with social networks and is carried out within the framework of use theory without due attention to the study of related use and activities.
- The quantitative approach to interpretative activities is particularly limited, especially when one deals with highly intensive interactions and thousands of comments. Here, cases studies appear to be very important.

2. Theoretical results related to the study of use activities about traditional media contents in social media platforms

- The most important theoretical conclusion in the study is that reception is an unpredictable interpretative activity because media texts are owned by people in different circumstances. Interpretation may or may not correspond to the meaning given by the media to their contents. The study shows that the discourse about what people watch, read or hear about women, is not the outcome of the meaning that the media seeks to produce. From such perspective, the study confirms that the most important lesson given by reception theory is as follows: The meaning that people can give to media contents cannot be extracted from the contents themselves.
- Media power over people does not operate in the manner we imagine when we think inside the linear model that transforms the media into an influencing mechanism. The positive image displayed by the media about women and women's roles in highlighting women does not mean that they can impose it on people who can understand these contents in a completely different manner.
- By contrast, users as receivers are not free from the texts and cannot interpret them the way they wish. Users are integrated in social frames and institutions (family, school, age category, gender) and cultural contexts where they take the resources they use to interpret media texts. Thus, social media are not disconnected from these social frames and cultural contexts. The study shows that user interactions in media social network pages about women-related issues reflect the same women's and women's roles representations that still prevail in Arab societies. In this way, we see how the content interactions, which appear to be supportive of women or impartial, present women who are active in public life and become interactions to belittle those women and harm their social image and status.
- Users employ various cultural resources in the interpretative operation and interpret women-related media contents within frameworks related to religion, sects, culture, tradition and politics. In this framework, the theoretical gain of the investigation is that the study of social media is one of the main sources that can expose the cultural representations of women. One may say that social media too often become spaces where, more than female users, male users abuse women in new ways.
- These representations are exposed in the social media space which is the symbol of technological modernity and communication culture in the prevailing mentality. Technological modernization and the accessibility of interaction and communication do not necessarily lead to reinforcing the will to communicate and openness to others. Therefore, democratic alternation and public debates are technological outcomes, but the outcomes of a complex process where many elements such as socialization and cultural standard systems interact. Contrary to popular belief, some social media characteristics can contribute to reinforcing hostile communication and specific forms of symbolic and verbal violence against women because they remove the inhibitions of social interaction which require that in public life individuals have to adapt to the

presence of the other. Media can contribute to disinhibition via pseudonyms, the absence of reaction from the other and communication asynchrony. They expose discourses about women, which are not accessible through other means: what people say about women to researchers, what people say about women in the media and what the media say about women's representations.

- The study shows that men are more present in the social media interactions. This dominant presence reflects a different Facebook use. This can be explained by the fact that these youths usually find it easier to express their opinion. Female Facebook users may not engage in comments on women-related contents where men usually resort to violent roles. Because of cultural inhibitions, female users refrain from interacting via comments, which may expose them to symbolic violence from the users, especially when women are the issue. As indicated in the part on methodological issues, there is need for using other methodologies such as different interview types to further understand women's social media use.
- Media and academic discourse too often uses the term of 'communication network'. The term suggests that communication is the most important use in social media websites. By contrast, Francophone and Anglophone research teams use other terms that are not based on a single use such as the term of 'social media websites' suggested by Boyd Alison and the term of socio-digital websites. The two terms underscore their institutional nature and the interference between the social and the technological dimensions. Our study shows that media Facebook pages are not a space for communication between users as much as they are a space of conflict, disharmony and displaying 'views' in emotional, affective and non-argumentative ways. These activities do not create a common world for female and male users. Our investigation went even further when it developed the hypothesis relating to the emergence of new forms of excluding, marginalizing and ignoring women in the social media space.
- Media pages are a space where media strategies and user activities intersect without producing an interaction between the media and users, and without generating an interactivity, as occasionally claimed by the media and the academic discourses. We could not find any trace of interactivity as one of the mechanisms of cooperation between media and public. It does not appear that the media pay major attention to what users publish on their pages because they do not appear to integrate reactions in new contents. The page operates as a space where users are active: they talk about the post subject or other issues irrelevant to the post. They laugh at the actors shown by the media; they make fun of them, use profanity and even street language in some cases; they insult each other and laugh at each other. This confirms that the media use their pages to market their contents and create groups of loyal viewers and readers, program followers and product consumers. They seek to transfer them to the website to increase its popularity and boost its advertising value without communicating with them. The operation has disastrous consequences. The page becomes an uncontrol-

led space where any female or male user can say anything (insults, profanity) without any media intervention to moderate behaviors. In this manner, the media give up their debate management role in a space generally marketed as a space for communication, interactivity and expression. Social media pages do not seem to be a space for discussing and deliberating about women's issues. The absence of a clearly spelled out policy based on editorial and ethical principles turn these pages into a space suitable for traditional cultural discourses which are hostile to women and reject their unstereotypical social roles.

- Traditional media manage public debates in newspapers (letters to the editor), radio stations and TV channels according to known conditions in line with editorial policies and codes of ethics. In such framework, it is legitimate to wonder whether the media page is a public space where public debates take shape. The public space is a space where citizens interact about public issues to negotiate and deliberate about their common living conditions. On the other hand, the media page is a space for publicizing positions and ideas, a space that hosts activities loosely connected to public debates: insults, sarcasm, mockery.... The reason is that the group, which is formed to deal with media content, is not a collaborative group with common interests and ties to be able to deliberate on common issues. The media page is too often a space for disharmony and conflict. Users too often look up the title without reading the post content. The post becomes a means or an excuse to express views and general positions on the issue raised by the post.
- Our study shows that the user engagement sometimes does not amount to an expression of ideas. It is just an impression or a quick reply to contents taken out of their contexts (video clip, article title...) The traces left behind by media page users show us specific social media methods which are now part of youth life. They allow youths to exercise various activities that are routine for them now. This user category does not deal with social media as spaces for knowledge, culture and communication where they behave as citizens. For them, these spaces are for adventure, fun and spontaneous behavior: the way they behave in social life. Probably the most important example to confirm this hypothesis is the hybrid methods used by users who mix colloquial Arabic with standard Arabic and foreign languages or coded languages... The study has enabled us to explore a new discourse about women: the people's discourse that has been neglected by researchers and even the media.

Recommendations

On the basis of obtained results, the study recommends the following:

- **First:** At the level of research

Researchers should be encouraged to investigate the issues of women's new media uses and the effect of the digital divide on women's engagement in virtual spaces. Other important research topics include individual and collective identity construction in social media and forms of appearance by analyzing self-portrait tactics via photos and pseudonyms. This research is extremely important because it informs about women's presence in media spaces and the effect of socio-cultural circumstances on women's activities and engagement in electronic spaces.

The study also recommends quantitative studies of women's new media uses in general and social media in particular. Such studies can help researchers undertake qualitative research on women's uses.

More generally, institutions interested in women's issues have to launch major research projects similar to the ones launched in the area of traditional media. The aim is to monitor the dimensions of the relationship between women and new media in general and social media in particular:

- The digital divide and the effect of socio-cultural circumstances on women's access and activity in the virtual world.
 - The position of women as journalists in the electronic press and actors in professional news manufacturing in the digital media (news websites).
 - Women's social media uses in relation to individual and collective identity and engagement and forms of appearance in the virtual public space.
 - The roles of activists or the so-called influencers in social media.
 - Virtual public debate on women's issues and social media roles in shaping this debate.
- **Second:** At the level of advocacy and support for women's issues.
 - Using social media and its communicative potential to consolidate advocacy and support for women's issues by creating pages to promote a positive image of women and their unsterotypical social roles. Observatories of women's media image can create pages to promote balanced women's media contents to highlight the roles of activists and actors in the political and socio-cultural spheres.
 - Organizing training sessions in the area of media and gender for the benefit of the administrators of highly popular pages which sometimes disseminate contents that are harmful to women.
 - Developing women-related editorial contents, short texts, videos and infographics that are educational and original in terms of draft and design, and disseminating them in social media websites.

- **Third:** At the level of professional media
 - Sensitize professional media about the need to establish specific codes of ethics for the social media. Such codes cover gender discrimination, stereotypes and hostile and aggressive interactive styles among page users.
 - Organizing training sessions for professional media page administrators on Facebook and Twitter, or the so-called social media editors in particular in the area of gender to sensitize them about the importance of managing these pages according to journalism ethics.

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Glossary (Arabic - English)

Many to many communication	اتصال أفقي
One to many communication	اتصال عمودي
virtual ethnography	الإثنوغرافيا الافتراضية
Tablets	الأجهزة اللوحية
Moderation	إدارة الصفحة
Privacy settings	إدارة الخصوصية
Like	إعجاب
disinhibition	إلغاء الإكراهات
Technological affordances	إمكانات التكنولوجيا
Interpretative activities	أنشطة التأويلية
spam	بريد غير مرغوب فيها
Media and communication environment	بيئة الميديا والاتصال
Interpretation	تأويل
User experience	تجربة المستخدم
Engagement rate	تصنيف المشاركة
Collaboration	تعاون
Polyphony	تعدد أصوات الجمهور
Comments	تعليقات
Invisibilisation	تغيب
Interaction	تفاعل
Social interaction	تفاعل الاجتماعي
Preferences	تفضيلات
Reflexivity	تفكيرية
Converged technology	تكنولوجيا مندمجة
Reception	تلقي
Representations	تمثيلات

Representation	تمثيل
Self presentation	تمثيل الذات
Appropriation	تملك
Intertextuality	تناص
Off line socialization	تنشئة اجتماعية غير افتراضية
Regulation	تنظيم
Auto-regulation	تنظيم الذاتي
Focus group	جماعات البؤرية
Community of followers	جماعة وفية من المتابعين
Governance	حوكمة
Social commons	خدمات عمومية أساسية
Offline social networks	شبكات اجتماعية واقعية
Magic bullet theory	نظرية الطلقة/ القذيفة السحرية
Random sample	عينة عشوائية
Nonprobability sample	عينة غير احتمالية
Purposive sample	عينة قصدية
Virtual public space	الفضاء العمومي الافتراضي
Virtual spaces	فضاءات الافتراضية
Networked publics	فضاءات مشبّكة
asynchrony	للتزامنية الاتصال
ethical standards	مبادئ أخلاقية
Public sphere	مجال العمومي
News group	مجموعات النقاش
mix methodology	منهجية مركبة
User contribution	مساهمات المستخدمين
Share	مشاركة
User generated content	مضامين المستخدمين

Site design	معمار الموقع
Personal profile	ملمح شخصي
Public profile	ملمح عام
Platforms	منصّات
Social media platforms	منصات الميديا الاجتماعية
Online platforms	منصّات شبكية
Les réseaux socio- numériques	المواقع السوسيو-رقمية
Social network sites	مواقع الشبكات الاجتماعية
Research object	موضوع بحث
New media	الميديا الجديدة
Social media	الميديا الاجتماعية
Professional medias	الميديا المهنية
Pan-arab media	ميديا عربية
Social fabric	النسيج الاجتماعي
Public debate	نقاش عام
Hypodermic needle model	نموذج الحقنة ما تحت الجلدية
Social Genre	نوع اجتماعي
Media genre	نوع الميديا
Smartphones	هواتف ذكية
On line identity	هوية افتراضية
Digital identity	هوية رقمية
Off line identity	هوية واقعية
Governance bodies	هيئات تنظيمية
Ombudsman	وسيط-موفق

Annexes

Samples: Female adjectives, pseudonyms and comments

Tags cloud of adjectives used in the comments



Samples of female adjectives

Moroccan MD1

Corruption destroyed my playing career.

- Without embarrassment: Imen Ghouthan: This is the objective of the debate on ‘Internet pornography’.
- No shyness and no morality with Imen Ghouthan
- Our sister Iman, please carry on with the good work. May you always be excellent and commitment to enlightening your audience.
- The best TV presenter in the world.
- Bravo! Bravo!
- The ugliest TV presenter.
- The TV presenter looks like a porn actress.
- I swear to God. This is a whore.

A woman working for money transport company steals 256,000.

- She's clever! hhhh
- She's a mastermind, action-oriented, able hhh. She's clever.

A Belgian MP 'seduces' a colleague of Moroccan origin.

- In the Moroccan society, girls, women, divorced women, widows, wives and the unveiled should be put in the same basket. They are by nature into sex, corrupt and adulterous.
- Wherever there are whores, there are problems... (I could not understand the comment because it is in Moroccan dialect).
- There is something more noble than her beauty: Her knowledge, culture and position.
- - Moroccan women are the most beautiful and the most attractive. Wherever you go, the flag is raised high.
- She's Moroccan. Therefore, she's a whore.
- A much better woman has become an MP.
- The whore is your mother.
-

An Egyptian court sentenced singer Shirine to six months in prison and fined her.

- Impolite
- What do you expect singers to do apart from crime.
- I didn't tell my father I was a single mother.
- They don't feel ashamed and don't hide what they're doing.
- I spit on them. Whores.

Abdelaziz Rommani talks about Moroccan women

- My esteem and respect for all mothers, especially those living in the desert. They deserve to be honored.
- Hind Bouchamar explains her position about 'laughing at' Khnifra.
- Poor soul! She did nothing.
- I swear to God. She has no brains this one.

Saudi Al-Madina

- Hela Fakher: Arab artists are called upon to fight Daech artistically.
- Fear God, repent and go back to Him.

Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs explains the situation about the kidnapping of a Saudi woman in Pakistan.

- I swear to God. She suffered a lot. May God make it up for her.
- She eloped with a Pakistani, disgraced her family and put their head in the mud.

- May God reward her for what she did.
- The Shoura Council discussed the suggested amendments to the law on imprisonment and detention.
- May God guide our women and grant them the Hijab and chastity.
- God is great. How beautiful to see Salafist women follow God. May God protect them.

Death sentence for an Iranian woman who killed an intelligence officer for molesting her.

- Poor soul!
- May God be clement with her.
- A Kuwaiti woman shaves her head in solidarity with cancer patients.
- You're stupid.
- A positive step by a distinguished, able singer.
- She's brainless.

Emirati Al-Bayan

An Asian man kills a woman for taking off the mosque entry prayer.

- She deserves it.
- The hell with her.
- Death to her.
- A six-month prison sentence for singer Shirine Abdelwahab
- She deserves it. That will teach her.
- Let her get some education.
- May she not stand up again: corrupt and nation corrupting.
- Sissi bitch deserves it.
- Ladies from Dubai Media Institution in a reception to honor Dubai governmental institutions participating in Gitex technology week.
- May God protect them.
- Oh My God! They are beautiful.
- Surprise: Maali Zayid does not have cancer.
- May God cure her.
- May God guide her.
- Early in the morning and we're reading all this.

Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ

Dina Abdelhakim writes: The lesson is over... Go home.

- She looks like Hiha who served with me in the army battalion 108.
- She looks like my friend Ridha.
- A wrestling player.

Asma Mahfoudh: I'm less than to be described as the mother of rebels.

- These people are dirtier than you, mother of the excluded.
- Mother of traitors.
- You're a joke, a misguided woman.
- You're a joke.
- You're dirt.
- You're the lowest of the low in Egypt... You're an insect.
- You're a joke.
- You're a joke. I spit on you
- You mean the mother of whores.
- The mother of which rebels, you daughter of nothing... Mother of joke.... You're misguided... You sell your country for money and betray it...
- You're a dirty girl.
- You are a traitor. You can only be described as a
- May God punish you. May God destroy you and your dirty people.
- You're the daughter of a dirty woman. You whore, behave!
- The least I can say; you're the mother of whores. I spit on your mother... dirty, dirty, dirty.... Whore... I spit on you.

On video: The lawyer 'slaps' herself in opposition to Sana's imprisonment

- Go to Hell!
- Oh my God! She's slapping herself because her father died.
- The mother of rebels ignites a war between Asma Mahfoudh and Tuka Karman
- Why should Asma Mahfoudh be the mother of the revolution?
- God protect us from these dirty creatures. May God take them away.
- The mother of traitors. It's a pity you're living in Egypt.
- You're both lower than each other.
- I spit on you. You're both dirty.
- You whore!
- The dancer of Al-Maydan, the uterus of the January defeat... The worst activist... The breast feeder of orphans... Asma Mahfoudh and Twakal are the two dirtiest whores in the Arab nation.
- They're both traitors. Daughters of a bitch.
- Dirty traitors.
- Two similar bitches
- The breast feeders of Zion.
- The mother of whore, attack him.
- May you die.
- Ewe! You'll go to prison soon.
- May God take both of you away. Both are garbage.
- Both are bitches and traitors.

Shirihan to the Tunisian people: The great people wanted freedom and God and destiny responded to their call.

- Yes, you are wicked.
- You're the most disgraceful person. You're a bitch.
- We miss you a lot, chaste woman!

A rift in social network websites about the Egyptair air hostess

- This is a respected lady.
- Don't be angry. You're the best Egyptian lady.
- She's not an air hostess. She's a supervisor .
- You're my mother and the mother of every respectful young man.
- The symbol of Egyptian and Arab ladies.
- God's creation is great.
- She was beautiful like the moon.
- This is a great woman and a working wife.
- I travelled with her once. She is tasteful, very polite, extremely active, very kind with the passengers. A true pride for Egyptair.

Activists post pictures of Iranian women attacked with sulfuric acid for not wearing the veil.

- Poor women in the country of ideologies.
- The court sentences Shirihan for six months in prison for aggressing Sharif Mounir.
- Good for her. She deserves it.
- Do you see where arrogance has taken you to?
- She deserves it. Go to hell. She forgot her past, the daughter of a hungry woman.
- She'll learn how to be polite and dance well in prison.

Twitter users: Tawakal Karman's description of Asma Mahfoudh as 'the mother of rebels' is 'wrong and religiously illegal'.

- She's Mozza. That's true.
- She was nothing and now she's become the mother of the revolution.
- I say this girl is a dwarf.
- Raya and Sikina in the times of the terrorist brotherhood.
- I spit on you both, bitches. You're both low.
- Garbage.
- Both are garbage and no difference between them.
- In South Sudan, women call for stopping having sex to stop the war.
- You're the worst of Muslims.

Al-Jazeera TV

UN rapporteur shocked by sentencing an Iranian young woman to death

- God willing, Rihanna will be one of the martyrs in Paradise.
- May God have mercy on her.
- She was sentenced to death because she was a chaste Sunni.
- Smoking causes sterility among smoking mothers' boys.
- Mothers of the end of the world.
- May this whore be cursed.

Basma Belaid, the widow of Chokri Belaid

- Dirty figure.
- She cheated on him when he was alive and cheated on him after his death, bitch.
- I spit on her. How much I hate this face.
- The widow of Belaid is a cheater. hhhh
- Black widow.
- The greatest cheater.
- She is the killer.
- What a monster!
- Basma, the devil's face.
- A great whore.
- Basma, the criminal

One third of Kurdish fighters in Ain Al-Arab are women

- Arab women for sex marriage.
- Arab women are only good at having sex.
- This is a repression of women and not a liberation...
- The arms of Kurdish women set to confront Daech.
- Kurdish women are for sex and fighting. I mean for night fighting.
- The country of female dancers.
- Illegitimate women of gypsy pleasure.
- More honorable than many Arab Sheiks

Mosaïque FM

A woman arrested for preparing terrorist attacks.

- She deserves it, the bastard.
- Mbarka Al-Brahmi after winning a seat in parliament: I will follow the steps of my martyr husband.
- Good luck, Madam and bravo !

- Mbarka, the pissing woman.
- Six months in prison for Shirin Abdelwahab.
- She has the mind of Siham Badi.
- Your friend turned out to be a criminal.
- She went over the top. She's become vulgar.
- A singing monkey.
- Truly, she's not polite.
- Poor woman.
- Singers are handicapped.
- You've become a prison rat, Shirin.
- She's a big mouth.
- She turned out to be cheap.
- She deserves it, this hypocrite.

Near a polling station in Bizerte, a woman tried to attack people.

- Poor woman!
- She's a manipulated Nahdha party member.
- Great woman!
- Leave her alone. She must be insane.
- Fighter!
- Whore!
- A whore, for sure.
- Poor crazy woman.
- Crazy.
- Nahdha rats must have sent this crazy woman.
- How do you call her? A criminal?
- Bitch.
- She's crazy.
- She's a whore.
- The daughter of Elyssa and Kahena turned out to be a hooligan.

A 95-year-old woman votes

- She's a true, proud Tunisian lady.
- She's a free Tunisian lady, the daughter of Bourguiba.
- She's sweet.
- You're sweet, free lady.
- She's an artist.

Al-Aroui: The female terrorists of Oued Ellil were on their way to Syria

- Five whores died. Piss on them.
- They were going for sex not jihad. Whores.
- I'm sorry, but these were whores.
- Yearning for sex, dirty woman.

- Dirty women!
- They were whores.
- Whores with no honor.

Al-Arabiya

A Daech Jewish female fighter terrifies Israel

- This Jewish woman is garbage.
- Of course this Jewish woman went for sex.
- A woman was auctioned in public in Sidon, Lebanon.
- May God be with you, free women of Syria.
- This is what the Iranian Rihanna had said before she was sentenced to death.
- She's the pride of every girl in the world.
- A disgraceful woman...
- She lived in honor and died in honor.
- You're the pride of every Muslim woman.
- I swear to God. Her shoes are more pure than the beard of the infidel Khomeini.
- She defended her honor. Therefore, she's a martyr.
- Rihanna, the oppressed woman.
- In brief, a woman worth a State of men.
- Victim of the dirty Iranian regime.
- Martyr.
- Poor oppressed woman.

Cow milking and animal breeding are selection criteria for Miss Uganda.

- We should say ugly contest not beauty contest.

A six-month prison sentence and fine for Shirin for aggressing Sharif Mounir.

- Shirine is too arrogant and doesn't want to change.
- From a poor woman to a respected singer.
- She's disgraceful to start with.
- After her divorce, Shirin hit someone.
- This is a house maid. What do you expect from her?
- Low and naked.
- Terrible personality.

Daech slit the throat of Rihanna, the Kurdish fighter, after she had killed a hundred of them.

- A woman worth a hundred men.
- Kurdish women for fighting and Daech women for sex.

- A hero. May God have mercy on her.
- Kurdish woman = 100 Arab men
- God willing, she's a martyr.
- May God curse the unveiled.
- You're the honor of Kurdistan, my sister.
- A hero.
- This is the daughter of good family and honor.
- She's a hero, a symbol for the Kurdish nation.
- She's an extraordinary woman.

A demonstration in Iran against acid attacks against women

- Iranian women are wonderful.
- They're so sweet.
- Travel ban on Asma Mahfoudh
- Dirty girl.
- You're a crook and I'm not going to say anything else.
- Traitor and spy.
- Activist, my foot!
- A spy and a traitor. She's bargaining with the country. She must be killed.
- You're a whore, a foreign agent, a traitor and a bitch. Asma Mahfoudh is disgraceful...
An activist in prostitution.
- She's garbage and dirty.
- Worthless daughter.
- The bitch is a spy.
- A big traitor involved in traitor activities.
- A CIA agent.

Agreement to release the girls kidnapped by Bok Haram

- It would have been better to leave these girls where they are.
- The two Daech Austrian girls who got pregnant after sleeping with jihadists want to return back home
- How beautiful they are! May our brothers be happy with them.
- Disgraceful girls.
- May God take you away, whores.
- I swear to God. She's stupid.

MTV Lebanon

Back stage talk with geographer Chantel: «I feel like I have given them my heart.»

- She gives you a complex.
- She's like Cinderella.
- The Minister and Botox.
- At least she is honest

Al-Donya Syrian Channel

Beautiful women are beautiful women... The girls of Ain Al-Arab

- You're the princess. You're the bride. We bow to you.
- Kurdish girls are strong. May God have mercy on them and protect them.
- Heroes.
- Women of heroism and pride.
- Women who deserve respect and esteem.
- Beautiful women are our booty.
- The sisters of Khawla and Khansa
- Heroes and beautiful.
- Golden women.
- Hats off!

Sudanese Al-Jareeda newspaper

- Arrest of Deputy Chairperson of Al-Omma party, Meriem Sadok Al-Mahdi
- This Meriem, doesn't she have a husband? Half men, look after your wives.

Samples of pseudonyms

Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ	Spring of the soul, Flower of love, Rose Whisper, Gift of God, Mother of Mustafa, Fifi Ahmed, Mother of Housam and Hichem , Flower of Hope, Lilas Al-Abyari, Rose Mary, Nona.
Al-Jazeera	Perle Hiba, Nana Riri, Beautiful Creature, Mother of Sharif, Warda Al-naqib, Habiba Al-Rahman, Chomoukh the Yemenite, Jasmine Rose, Mother of Karim, White Flower.
Emirati Al-Bayan	Preserved Pearl Arnoba Tota tote Arnoba Azahra Abdullah Sosa Hanen Eslam Ezahra Duchess Nour Purple Batta Basyouni
Saudi Al-Madina	
MEDI1 TV	Angela - Hafosa OHB – Zahret Iyasamin - Sd-jad – Amissan - Emilie Titi fifi Beauty Crown Rain Whispers
Mosaïque FM	Amoula Kallél - Zaynouba Sherine Ourimi - Fatt Ouma - Eye Magic - Safa Saffouta Ar Wouch Toutou Takwa - Bint Bouha Ep Melki Totta Dalola Mayara - Benta Ghomrassen Clubistya tounsiya - Mimi sousse Zaineb tounsiya Amel tounsiya Tunisienne tounsiya - Achikat Al Watan Tounes - Hela Gafsaoui-
Al-Arabiya	Walking Queen - Morning Breeze - Zizo Zizo - Flowers Angel - Noah of the Mountain - Arrogant Woman - Light of Certitude - Hodhod - Damask Rose - Narcissus Flower - Mother of Meriem - Mother of Maher - Mother of Ammouna - Mother of Yasser - Al-Ajizi, Palestine is my country, Basil of the Levant - Princess Sosa Rose - Elmousoury - Jasmine Rose - Saja Al-Baghda-dia. Zizi Zizo
MTV Lebanon	Nona Salam Heba Sy Homse Fatat Jajatieh Princess Sousou Sandy Need Candy Vico Safa Safa - OmAbdo Homss Libanese Nrw
Sudanese Al-Jarida newspaper	الشروق الشروق
Al-Donya Syrian Channel	Malak Rohi - Maha Rose Rose Merhi - Saf Saf زهرة الياسمين الشام - نور الشام

Samples of the most popular comments

Mosaïque FM

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative debate	Out of context
<p>He's joking. Girls are so stupid but very cunning. It's impossible.</p> <p>Muslim brothers, go to Hell. We like it... Mind your business and stay at home.</p> <p>You stupid! What do the Muslim Brothers have to do with it? Mosaique is on your side and it published the news!!! Pooh! How stupid you are!</p> <p>Female militants.</p>	<p>Finally, these people take delight in their misery.</p> <p>Mbarka, the pissing woman</p> <p>hhhhhhhhhh</p>	<p>Now that's true. Democracy is real.</p>	

Al-Arabiya

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
<p>hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh</p> <p>Brother, why you have to say who is a militant or not. It doesn't matter. Be a strong man and defend your country. There are no more real men in this country. What a shame!</p> <p>Bastard.</p>		<p>You're right. Their hearts are full of hatred. The news was published by the Iranian channel, Isphahan.</p> <p>Who issued the ruling? The fighters whose flag is like ours!!!. Is it up to people to run justice among themselves without a flag and in a collapsing state?</p>	

MTV Lebanon

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
Lebanon is the first in the world. The proof is that you're a madam.			

Sudanese Al-Jareeda newspaper

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context

Syrian Al-Doniya channel

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
Brother, why you have to say who is a militant or not. It doesn't matter. Be a strong man and defend your country. There are no more real men in this country. What a shame!	Hhhhh You can't even say that we're not defending Kobani, dear friend.	The Messenger of God says (If you still believe in God and the Prophet): 'Whoever is killed for his money or honor is a martyr'. Servitude, booty and selling women are part of real Arab thinking...	

Al-Jazeera

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
May God give you a brain stroke! Gulf men are not men who stand up for their positions. They are for petrodollars only. Were it not for oil, they would have been slaves wandering in the desert. Ignorance is a disaster. A bag of rubbish ... I can see that God transformed your face into garbage. Ugly negro. You're just a toilet. The hell with the United Nations. Iranian republic of pleasure, cowardice and underworld.	This is haram and their life is haram. If they expel the immo-dest from the Gulf, they will follow them in the West. We are supposed to be leading a haram life. Hhh This Daech branch specializes in kidnapping women. Shocked. Wake up!	The presence of a woman wearing the niqab here contradicts the spirit of the niqab. She's really wrong and self-defeating. For those who say that Tunisians failed in their revolution, I say: We, Tunisians, are an aware people. But there are traitors. Real states are not built by governments but by popular awareness.	JAJAJAJA Let's see how many Mus-lims like 'there is no god but Allah'. Today is Friday and the Arafa day. Whoever is not fasting should seize the opportunity to pray. Pooh. You're confusing me.

Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa

May God take revenge on you, Sissi. You and all your rotten digs. You're right. She's a traitor and whoever defends her is a traitor, too. You're the mother of all whores.	No my friend. This photo didn't compel me to read the article. She was with me in the army. She looks like my friend Ridha. Who is this woman who looks like your aunt. Hhhh a nation of dancers, belly dancers	By the way, don't make a political issue out of it. She had a dubious relationship with Houssam Abou Al-Fotouh... This is known for years. She's an actress and people have questions about her and her relationships like most actresses. The people who say that Iran is a Muslim state should know that Iran is Shia and reject Aboubakar and Omar, God bless them. They are like Bachar Al-Assad. They think they get advantages for killing Sunni Muslims such as a place in Heaven. For this reason, they are killing Sunnis in Syria and Iraq. They are full of hatred and malice. They are apostates according to religious law and jurisdiction. Do you know that the niqab is forbidden because it's considered a symbol of Sunnism? The government of Iran is Shia and fights the Sunnis. These are criminal acts similar to the ones we have in Egypt and have nothing to do with wearing the veil.	Sweetest greetings to those who come here to read these silly comments. Egyptian men are men of connections. Hello, my name is Mansour. I'm 23. I write poetry. You can follow me by liking my page. Thanks.
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Emirati Al-Bayan

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
Criminals always seek to hide behind religion to lure the extremists and escape punishment. The cause is tremendous and she deserves to be punished... But this doesn't mean he should slit her throat. This is not Islam. May God guide him to the right path. Asian societies are derelict and honor doesn't mean much to them. Most of them can't be trusted with their kids.	Oh night! From one good thing to another. Does this mean that he can commit a serious crime for a silly behavior? What's this madness? Be patient or the poster will fool you.	She deserves it. The offender is mentally disturbed according to the accounts. She deserves it. She can be corrected. Impolite and uneducated.	Long live Emirates! May God bless the people of Emirates. There's no power but from God.

Saudi Al-Madina

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
<p>What for all these lies? Instead of repenting and going back to God, she shaved her hair. May God spare us what He afflicted him with. Instead of repeating what the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: «We thank God for curing us from what he afflicted them with and preferred us to many other creatures». A positive step from a distinguished actress. Observing Islamic requirements.</p>	<p>TV is the most powerful medium. When she shaves her head, does this mean the illness will subside hhh. We hope she will show solidarity with patients suffering from piles. Comments make you laugh hhhh</p>	<p>May God reward her. She suffered and waited till she recovered. Shaving one's head isn't religiously allowed. Instead of repeating what the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'We thank God for curing us from what he afflicted them with and preferred us to many other creatures'. A positive step from a distinguished actress. Observing Islamic requirements.</p>	<p>Who agrees with us that the Quran is a cure to Man. Be in solidarity with yourself. Shaving one's head is not religiously allowed.</p>

Moroccan MD1 TV

Insult	Sarcasm	Argumentative dialogue	Out of context
<p>Let's call a spade a spade. Adulterous women and not single mothers. There is nothing like a single mother. Every mother isn't single ??? I can't understand this question of single mothers! I've never come across a single mother. May God protect us and protect whoever says: I bear witness that God but Allah and I bear witness that Mohamed is the Messenger of God. Dear brother, I saw the video. In my view, there's nothing wrong. It's normal to hear something from another different region.</p>	<p>We're lucky they didn't produce a porn film to explain the case well. She can buy a plane and fly. hhh She can tell Sissi to take her out. You didn't tell your father, but you said it to the whole of Morocco hhh. Unfortunately, only barbers can take advantage of some heads</p>	<p>Your level is low. It's clear who you are from what you say. How can you cope? You don't deserve a conversation. Whoever hears the word 'Algerian', he must remember that he is 100% bastard. Sorry, I don't understand the language of stupid donkeys.</p>	<p>You'll never find a similar video in any website. Its content is exclusive.. Why this media disregard for legal and human rights violations perpetrated daily by the Zionist army against the Palestinians? And you're eating sweets after your dinner. I believe that Real Madrid is one of the reasons for happiness in life.</p>

Identity of media organizations

The Facebook profile picture is a significant indicator of the identity that the channel wishes to have because it represents itself and the image through which it appears to others.

In this framework, the Syrian Al-Donya channel chose the Syrian flag as a symbol whereas the Saudi Al-Madina newspaper focused on itself and so did Al-Arabiya channel. But the Tunisian Mosaïque FM turned its journalists into radio stars and gave diverse images about them (male and female alike). On the other hand, the Moroccan MEDI1 TV chose the viewers and the program participants to promote a new program with the participation of young Moroccan women and men.

Al-Jazeera channel uses a picture that is related to news and events. The Egyptian Al-Yawm Al-Sabaâ embedded its editorial philosophy (For our country, people and freedom) in a caricature. The same applies to the Sudanese newspaper profile.

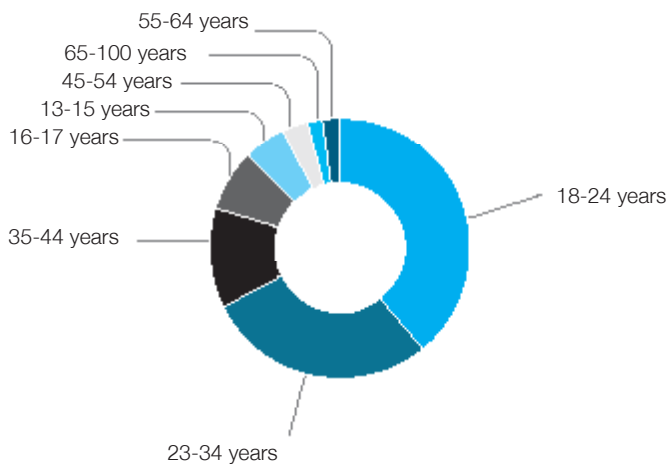






User distribution by age and sex in Tunisia

User age distribution



Tunisia Facebook demographics is other social media statistics we monitor. The largest age group is currently **18-24** followed by the users in the age of **25-34**

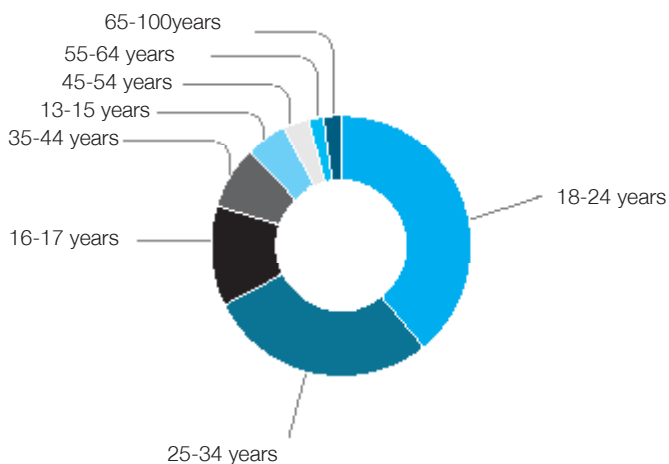
Male/Female User Ratio



there are **60% male** users and **40% female** users in **Tunisia**, compared to 48% and 52% in **Hong Kong** and 50% and 50% in **Czech Republic**

In Morocco

User age distribution



Morocco Facebook demographics is other social media statistics we monitor. The largest age group is currently **18-24** followed by the users in the age of **25-34**

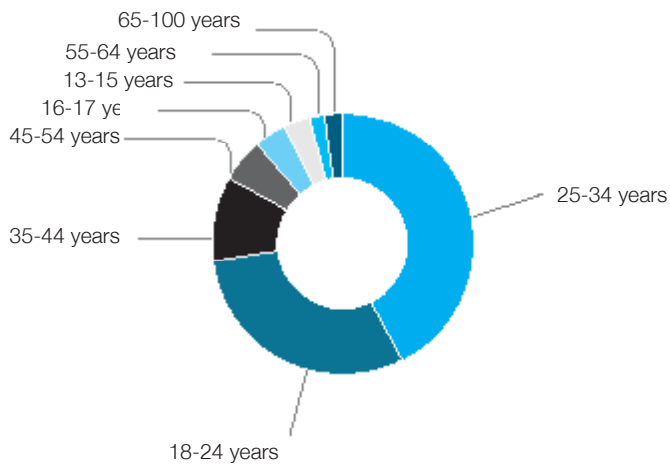
Male/Female User Ratio



there are **68% male** users and **32% female** users in **Morocco**, compared to 78% and 22% in **Iraq** and 71% and 29% in **Algeria**

User distribution by age and sex in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

User age distribution



Saudi Arabia Facebook demographics is other social media statistics we monitor. The largest age group is currently **25-34** followed by the users in the age of **18-24**

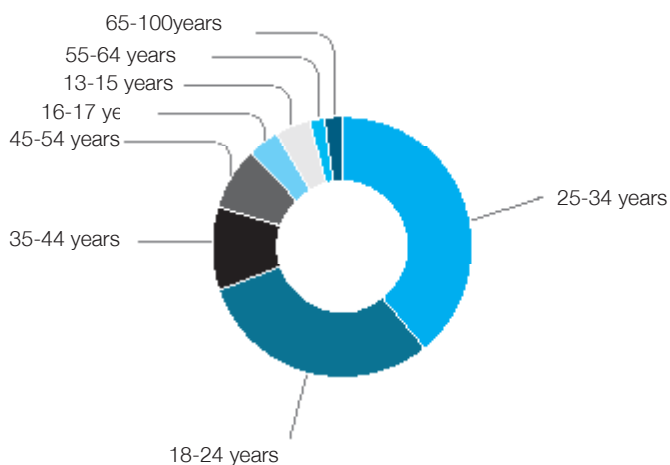
Male/Female User Ratio



there are **79% male** users and **21% female** users in **Saudi Arabia**, compared to 51% and 49% in **Russia** and 78% and 22% in **Iraq**

In Lebanon

User age distribution



Lebanon Facebook demographics is other social media statistics we monitor. The largest age group is currently **25-34** followed by the users in the age of **18-24**

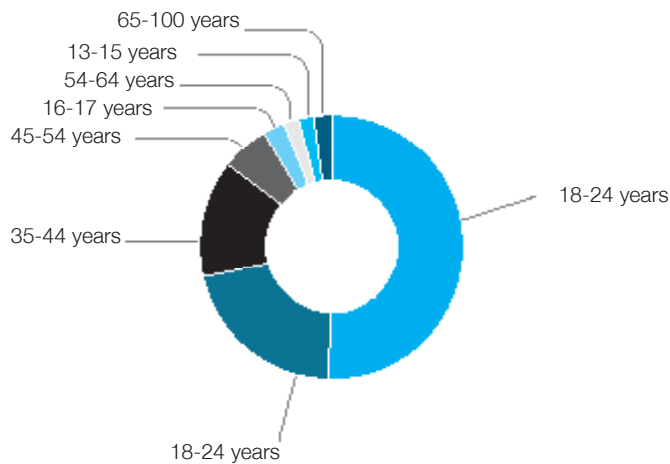
Male/Female User Ratio



there are **59% male** users and **41% female** users in **Lebanon**, compared to 51% and 49% in **Paraguay** and 50% and 50% in **Uruguay**

In the United Arab Emirates

User age distribution



United Arab Emirates Facebook demographics is other social media statistics we monitor. The largest age group is currently **25-34** followed by the users in the age of **18-24**

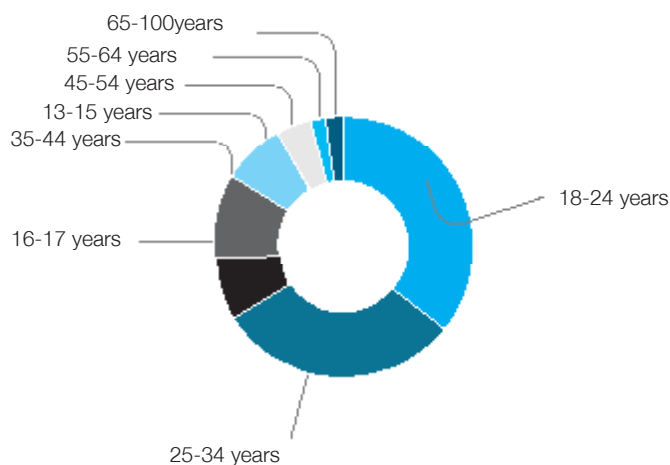
Male/Female User Ratio



the are **59% male** users and **41% female users** in **United Arab Emirates**, compared to 51% and 49% in **Belguim** and 50% and 50% in **Portugal**

In Egypt

User age distribution



Egypt Arab Emirates Facebook demographics is other social media statistics we monitor. The largest age group is curently **25-34** followed by the users in the age of **18-24**

Male/Female User Ratio



the are **69% male** users and **31% female users** in **Egypt**, compared to 53% and 47% in **Colombia** and 50% and 50% in **Malaysia**

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Frame 3	CNN Rules of Engagement on Facebook
Frame 4	Concept of digital divide
Frame 5	'Mozza Inbox'
Frame 6	Pseudonyms: An identity-hiding strategy in a conservative society
Frame 7	Flaming

List of articles

Al-Jazeera

Title	Like	Comment	Share
Kurdish women's arms in the face of Daech	23211	110	569
One third of Kurdish fighters in Ain-Al Arab are women.	8494	32	288
International outrage at sentencing to death Rihanna for killing an intelligence officer after a rape attempt.	8245	97	663
Lawyer Leila Ben Debba: The filming crew left her with the feeling she was hiding something.	2859	92	84
Nadia Daoud, the neighbor of Chokri Belaid, was bullied for not talking about Belaid's assassination.	2732	37	148
A French theater refuses entry to a Gulf woman wearing the niqab (text).	2382	54	115
Smoking mothers's sons may become sterile.	2174	74	209
Basma Al-Khalfaoui, widow of Chokri Belaid	1988	148	37
Wife of Mohamed Amine Kacem (Photo)	1977	53	16

UN Rapporteur shocked at the execution of an Iranian Sunni woman	1693	162	139
A 30-year sentence for an Israeli sect leader who married 21 women.	1619	204	62
Om Ali... A Kuwaiti car mechanic woman.	1176	72	16
Boko Haram kidnaps 60 girls in the north-east of Nigeria.	1079	80	14
She lost her husband and her residence in Israel (text).	844	20	13

Emirati Al-Bayan

Title	Like	Comment	Share
An Asian kills a woman for taking off the mosque entry prayer.	171	43	35
Fifteen years for a Quran teacher for raping a 7-year-old girl.	163	50	31
Dubai Media Foundation ladies in a honoring ceremony for Dubai government institutions participating in Gitex Technology Week 2014	159	11	0
Dubai women.. Dubai Ladies Club and Manal Art Office.	99	2	1
Six-month prison sentence for singer Shirin Abdelwahab.	93	14	20
Surprise... Maali Zayid does not have cancer.	66	16	1
Valuing Sheikha Fatima's media support to women.	47	2	0
Accusing a journalist of sexually harassing a housewife and the accused defends his case: I have an import post.	23	1	3
Rakshan Bani-Etemad: Water drops will necessarily create rivers.	13	0	0
Emirates are ahead of most countries in the world in the area of women's education.	10	0	0
Abu Dhabi Commercial Bank organizes breast cancer awareness events.	7	1	0
Launching electoral campaigns (Women in the Bahraini parliament).	4	0	0

Saudi Al-Madina

Title	Like	Comment	Share
A Kuwaiti singer shaves her head in solidarity with cancer patients.	114	41	5
Saudi foreign ministry explains the kidnapping details of a Saudi woman in Pakistan.	67	3	6
Saudi female students in the US congratulate the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques on the occasion of the Saudi National Day.	23	0	0
Hala Fakher to Al-Madina: Artists are called upon to fight Daech artistically.	22	6	0
On Tuesday, the Saudi Shura Council discusses the amendment proposals to the correctional and rehabilitation law.	16	3	0
Bells disturb beautiful women.	15	0	0
Substitute teachers flame Facebook pages (Text + photo).	14	0	0
Attack against women teachers at school.	12	0	1
Ministry of Education: Transfer of the 'woman teacher beaten by her husband' to a place of her choice.	12	0	0
Execution of an Iranian woman for killing an intelligence officer who molested her.	9	5	0
A 10-year delay in building the Girls School Compound in Jeddah	8	1	0
The moment a girl fell from the top of a building (Video)	8	0	0
A girl dies in a Jeddah fire after saving her mothers and sisters.	7	3	0
Making an African woman prisoner renounce suicide.	7	0	0
Abdelkarim: People talk on behalf of Saudi women and women's driving is our last priority.	7	0	0
The Department of Girls' Technical Training launches the integrated education initiative in six faculties (Text).	7	0	0

Ministry of Labor launches the third phase of feminizing women accessory shops next Saturday (Text + photo).	6	1	0
The first Asil and Rasil meeting seeks to raise mothers' awareness about talent and creativity.	6	0	0
Sudanese girl married at 5 and divorced at 8.	4	1	2
Umm Al-Qura University organizes a breast cancer awareness campaign (Text).	4	1	1
The Women's Branch of Alkharj Chamber of Commerce will post new job openings next Sunday (Text).	4	0	0
Absence of AC and remote classes force female language students to stay at home (Text + photo)	4	0	0
Retirement home women residents... Moaning from ingratitude and loneliness.	3	0	0
The Women's Branch of Alkharj Chamber of Commerce will post new job openings next Sunday (Text + photo).	3	0	0
The Women's Branch of Alkharj Chamber of Commerce will post new job openings tomorrow.	3	0	0

Moroccan MEDI1 TV

Title	Like	Comment	Share
A Belgian MP 'flirts' with a woman MP of Moroccan origin. She says: I am not Barbie (Text + photo).	871	84	140
'Bidoun Haraj': Iman Aghouthan: This is our objective in discussing porn websites (Photo).	538	118	35
An woman employee at a Paris money transit company steals 256,000 Euros.	527	22	65
Video: Hind Boumchamar explains her position about 'mocking' Khanifra (Video)	385	51	37
'Kissat Al-Nass': Corruption destroyed my dream as a champion athlete (Text + photo).	335	14	35
'Milaf Li Nikach': Reading and analyzing the budget (Photo).	327	7	6
Egyptian court sends singer Shirine for six months in prison and fines her.	296	52	50

'Kissat Nas': I didn't tell my father I was a single mother (Text + photo).	269	24	16
Abdelaziz Rommani talks about Moroccan women (Text + photo).	184	2	0
Fathia to 'Kissat Nas': A tongue slip made me realize I was an adopted child' (Text + photo)	173	9	0

Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa

Title	Like	Comment	Share
Social network websites divided over Egyptair hostess's photo (Text + photo).	4782	127	445
Shams Al-Baroudi to Sissi: I asked you to protect me and I will not keep quiet during your reign.	3558	16	373
The criminal court sends Shirine Abdelwahab for six months in prison for attacking Sharif Mounir.	3381	60	675
Lobna Asal collapses in tears for Al-Arish martyrs (Text + photo).	2088	48	234
Asma Mahfoudh: 'I am less than to be described as the 'Mother of Rebels'.	1594	37	237
Ministry of Social Solidarity: 3.7 billion Egyptian pounds as annual salary increase.	1469	70	121
A lawyer slapped herself in the face after sending Sana Youssef for three years in prison.	1361	37	179
Activists exchange photos of acid attacks against women refusing to wear the veil.	1221	42	476
Dina Abdelalim writes: The lesson is over...pack up and go.	1160	23	90
'Do you accept a customary marriage? And the girls replied: 'And if he tears off the two signed papers?'	829	212	141
Twitter users: Tawakal Karman's description of Asma Mahfoudh as the mother of rebels is 'wrong and haram'.	817	42	105
Nada: 'My husband shaved my hair and eyebrows because I refused he would take a second wife.'	767	31	102
South Sudanese women call for refraining from sex to end the war.	654	26	38
The name of 'mother of rebels' ignites a war between Asma Mahfoudh and Tawakal Karman.	507	38	41

Details of the killing of Bawsim by her mother (Text + photo).	253	46	16
Shirihan to the Tunisian peoples: The great people wanted freedom and God and destiny responded to them (Photo).	245	39	7

Mosaïque FM

Title	Like	Comment	Share
'Club Africain' Ladies: Handball Arab champions	466	52	94
Drunkard Maradona beats his girlfriend.	209	83	28
Siliana: Dismantling a terrorist cell in Krib.	4563	408	2021
A girl was caught preparing terrorist attacks.	1365	142	459
Beyoncé posts up a Quranic verse in her Instagram account.	1401	130	106
Mbarka Brahmi after winning a seat in parliament: I will walk in the steps of my martyr husband.	4679	409	718
Six months in prison for singer Shirin Abdelwahab	2660	443	722
Near a polling station in Bizerte: A woman attempts an attack.	1291	267	595
Balkiss Michri: An observer from one of the political parties supervises the elections in Tunisia.	164	30	42
A 95-year-old woman votes.	2661	180	13
Aroui: Oued Ellil women terrorists were on their way to Syria.	1336	437	437
Video: Elections in a village without drinking water supply.	315	184	34
An advertising poster causes 517 road accidents in 24 hours.	761	167	198
A warrant of detention for the man accused of raping his sister.	172	76	23
Death angel causes the death of 38.	104	48	81
A British woman sits in a café on the Syrian border to save her child from Daech	233	29	20

Al-Arabiya

Title	Like	Comment	Share
A Jewish girl fighting with Daech terrifies Israel.	26809	1732	1225
Maali Zayid does not suffer from cancer.	1414	81	18
A girl auctioned in Sidon, Lebanon	1965	162	56
This is what Iranian Rihanna said before her death.	14929	1338	1954
Milking cows and herding are selection criteria for Miss Uganda.	4483	91	79
Passive smoking and traffic pollution threaten pregnancy.	1850	15	2
Six months of imprisonment and a fine for Shirin for attacking Sharif Mounir.	4048	205	147
Daech slits the throat of Rihanna for killing a 100 Daech fighters.	46198	5297	2608
Demonstrations in Iran denouncing acid attacks against women.	6699	318	266
Travel ban for Asma Mahfoudh.	1364	318	266
A woman stuck in a chimney while attempting a theft.	1015	65	26
A father stones his daughter - A Daech slogan.	1511	96	51
An agreement to free the girls kidnapped by Boko Haram.	2795	114	36
The story of a 102-year-old woman refugee.	12646	293	290
Daech recognizes and shows pride in displacing Yazidis.	5468	1984	991
Yara: My heart is not beating for love and hasn't done so for a long time now.	3029	118	15
What our students abroad don't know about Chair-person Sahar Al-Dawsari.	1730	7	4
Pictures of men and children defending Kobani.	2349	574	117
Nobel Peace Prize for Pakistani Malala and Indian Sa-thyarti	4890	84	141
Terrifying news about Assad's soldiers raping women in an Aleppo village.	7130	2606	518

Obese woman fulfills her pilgrim rituals thanks to emergency assistance.	6812	196	175
Full details about the attack on three Emirati women in London.	2115	396	79
Releasing an Emirati press correspondent in Tehran.	2654	41	13
Egypt: Arrest of 500 sex offenders and women are armed with razors.	7169	1061	13
28 Iranian women prisoners go on hunger strike to watch a volley-ball game.	8123	605	284
Video: This is the Kurdish woman who preferred death to Daech.	21565	3497	1286
Norway legalizes military service for women.	9765	266	362

MTV Lebanon

Title	Like	Comment	Share
A 17-year-old girl for sale and a pimp employs good family girls.	5023	838	250
Monica Bellucci double in 'Ana Imraa'.	66	3	0
Back stage talk with geographer Chantel: 'I feel like I have given mu heart.'	65	8	0
The minister and Botox in 'Min Al-akhir'	427	20	1
Photo album of a Lebanese rural woman.	1056	19	16
Sandra Mansour will be back this September.	1274	25	0

Sudanese Al-Jareeda newspaper

Title	Like	Comment	Share
Husband kills wife in a row.	20	1	1
Ihsan Khalil went in hospital for a right knee surgery but...	63	18	28
Inside a prison cell (Women's prison).	533	3	55
Arrest of the vice-chairman of the Sudanese National Umma Party, Mariam Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi.	5118	17	51
Newspaper selection: Malala won the Nobel Peace Prize.	45	1	2

Syrian Al-Doniya channel

Title	Like	Comment	Share
Tunisian Ministry of Interior: Six people killed including five women.	2158	2	1
Beautiful women are beautiful women... women of Ain Al-Arab	5437	162	753
Brazil: Dilma Rousseff, president for second term.	2309	2	17



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