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A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Instagram Posts of Local Saudi Arabian Social Media Influencers

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Abstract

This research uses a Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) method to study the Instagram content shared by social media influencers from Saudi Arabia. The goal is to explore how these influencers manage and shape their personas in the changing social and cultural environment of Saudi Arabia. The advent of media has revolutionized how people express themselves, interact with others, and define their identities. In Saudi Arabia, there has been an increase in media users, giving rise to a community of influential online figures.

The research delves into the tools such as texts, images, emojis, and hashtags that influencers employ in their posts to present desired self-images and maintain influence over their followers. By examining the linguistic and intertextual elements in the chosen posts, the researchers aim to uncover these influencers' dominant narratives and rhetorical strategies. Furthermore, the study investigates the socio-implications of these identity constructions and their potential influence on evolving societal norms and values within Saudi Arabian society.

Keywords

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, Saudi Arabian Social Media Influencers, Digital Identity Construction, Semiotic Resources, Visual and Linguistic Representations, Socio-Cultural Implications

INTRODUCTION

In this research we aim to examine how Saudi Arabian Social Media influencers navigate their identities through analyzing their Instagram posts. The focus is, on the evolving identity of women in the digital media landscape and its impact on their culture, language and social identity. The global rise of media in years has been a significant phenomenon reshaping how people communicate, interact and define themselves. Saudi Arabia is no exception to this transformation witnessing an increase in social media users over time. Individuals utilize platforms for purposes from expressing personal preferences to showcasing cultural aspects and constructing identities. Social media plays a role in shaping discussions representing cultures and influencing others within this context (Al Rawi, 2019). Within this backdrop lies a thriving community of social media influencers, in Saudi Arabia who wield influence over large online audiences (Alshareef, 2019).

This study aims to explore a set of media posts created by influencers to examine how they aim to sway their followers. The research methodology used is Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MMDA) which offers researchers the tools to analyze the audio written content of these social media posts. The focus on Instagram is due to its diverse nature allowing users to express themselves fully through modes. Influencers utilize resources such as text, images, emojis and hashtags for various purposes (Machin, 2016).

The goal of the research is to investigate the tactics employed by these users in shaping and projecting their identities. This involves interpreting their representations, language choices and references in their posts and how these elements contribute to maintaining influence over their audience. The study also delves into the socio implications of these posts. By analyzing motifs, themes and trends, in these posts researchers aim to comprehend the narratives within them that shape norms and values within the context of Saudi Arabian society evolution.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How do social media influencers in Saudi Arabia strategically use content to contruct their digital identities?
What popular visual and linguistic elements characterize the multimodal discourse of Saudi Arabian social media influencers?

Multimodal Discourse Analysis

Multimodal studies extend beyond simple linguistic interpretations and encompass a broad spectrum of communicative and representational modes of semiotic resources which are a part of any communicative event. These include the use of imagery, gestures, eye contact, speech and posture (Jewitt, 2009a). In this regard, Multimodal discourse Analysis (MMDA) is an analytical approach which focuses on intricate meaning in the discourse. Kress (2012) contends that this analysis goes beyond the traditional boundaries of text and focuses on multifaceted nature of communication and takes into account semiotic resources such as gestures, images, colors, sound, music and writing. The aim of MMDA is to enable researchers to decode how various modes in a communicative event combine together to form meaning. (Van Leeuwen, 2011) posits that MMDA studies how discourse is not a product of written text only but is very much dependent on the amalgamation of various modes.

Social media Influencer Content on Instagram

In the realm of social media, influencers on platforms like Instagram generate content which mirrors their personal lifestyle and interest (Abdin, 2015) contends are content on the social media intertwined with the narratives about the influencer's personal lives through advertorial content. Moreover, they encompass an array of formats ranging from real-time streaming to pre-recorded video content. The aim of this content is to develop para-social relationships with the audience (Sthern et al., 2019) which arises from the idea of developing intimacy and sense of authenticity with the audience.

The rise of social media influencers (SMIs) on Instagram marks an important shift in the landscape of digital communication. (Djafarova and Rushworth, 2017) contended that 'instafamous' celebrities exercise more influence over people in general than the traditional celebrities. Moreover, their influence stems from high reliability and credibility as a result they are positioned as powerful figures in online world (Abdin, 2018).

Role of Instagram in the Spread of Social Media Influencers

The role of Instagram in the popularity of social media influencers is very important as the visual interface and interactive features make it an ideal platform for SMIs to promote themselves (Uzunoğlu & Misci Kip, 2014; Mavroudis, 2019). Instagram allows users to self-present themselves in a way which aligns with the traditional celebrity culture yet showcasing a life which is very relatable for the ordinary being (Duffy, 2017).

Frier (2020) contended that Instagram has emerged as a platform for personal expression which allows influencers to navigate in an environment where they cultivate a sense of authenticity, relatability, competence and ordinariness.

While the topic of SMIs and their relationship with Instagram has garnered attention in an array of disciplines, linguistic studies focusing on Instagram are still emerging. Current research in this regard is very important as it focuses on the visual self-presentation of social media influencers in Saudi Arabia and how they construct their identity in general.

Identity and Self-Presentation Social Media Influencers on Instagram

The concept of identity in digital communication especially on Instagram platforms is very dynamic and multifaceted. The emergence of digitally mediated communication has given rise to the studies of online identities especially of SMIs. (Benwell and Stokeo, 2006) contend that representation of identities is not static, it an ongoing and dynamic performance. SMIs engage in a combination of textual and visual narratives to construct their identities. These identities are not merely fictional, they are usually tied to the real lives of influencers. On Instagram SMIs blend static elements of their identify with fluid and performative aspects to create a relatable and engaging online presence for their viewers (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Georgalou, 2017). It is important to study the identity of SMIs of Saudi Arabian women because they use an array of techniques to strategically construct their identities by blending personal and professional aspects of their life. The construction of identity on Instagram is not just about the information influencers explicitly provide in their profiles or posts. It involves a broader context of their interactions and the meanings they create through their content (Papacharissi, 2002). For Saudi influencers, this might involve showcasing aspects of their culture, lifestyle, and personal beliefs, thereby contributing to a richer, more complex online identity.

METHODOLOGY

The current study is qualitative and carries out a multimodal discourse analysis of Instagram posts of selected Saudi Arabian Influencers (SMIs). To ensure a fair sampling the researcher employed multi-stage sampling technique. In the first step, I selected 20 profiles of popular social media influencers Instagram handles based on their user engagement through their number of followers. In stage two 10 most popular profiles were selected and 10 photographs were randomly chosen from these profiles. For the analysis, I employed Machin and Mayr (2012) framework to study the diverse ways in which Saudi Arabian SMIs construct their identity on Instagram. The chosen framework will enable analysis of the complex interplay between textual, visual and symbolic elements in the posts. The aim is to study how Saudi Arabian influencers construct gender roles, individual personality and their online identity as Saudi Arabian women.

ANALYSIS

This section carries out a multimodal discourse analysis using Machina and Mayr (2012) framework to analyse the posts of Saudi Arabian social media influencers. The study has identified a theme contrasting *local cultural attire with global fashion trends and also glocal trends* exhibited by social media influencers. The study using Machin and Mays's framework analyse how clothing choices contribute to the construction of identity revealing a dichotomy tooted in local traditions and globally influenced trends.

Fig 1: The day we started. Three centuries since we raised the flag.

Fig 2: Spent the whole day @nikkibeachdubai, shooting for my new baby

Fig 3: One of the bravest decisions you make in your life is your decision to let go of everything that harms your soul, heart, and psyche.

a. Iconography

The pictures above are of three social media influencers who are in different but local and traditional attires of Saudi Arabia. In **Fig 1**, the influencer is draped in traditional black abaya in a desert and the caption states 'the day we started. Three centuries since we raised the flag' suggests a deep connection to historical and cultural roots, symbolizing a strong sense of traditional identity. **Iconography** in these images is used to denote visible attributes, clothing and setting while connoting deeper ideas related to identity. The **Fig 2** presents a woman in white garment by the beach in semi local dress who is celebrating the arrival of her new baby which suggests adoption of modern lifestyle choice. **Fig 3:** features a woman in Hijab, who is also in Abaya, the caption refers to making brave decisions about one life which hint at women empowerment.

b. Attributes

Attributes associated with the figures above reveal the influencers' lifestyle and beliefs. The Traditional attire in **Fig 1** focus on self-presentation and attachment to one's traditional Muslim Saudi Arabian Identity. In **Fig 2** the woman is seen as wearing headscarf in a modest manner, but her over-all presentation is still complementing her traditional Saudi Arabian identity. In **Fig 3** the woman is shown in full abaya, which again attributes to her traditional Saudi Arabian identity.

c. Settings

In **Fig 1** the setting of woman against desert landscape symbolizes her connection to traditional roots, heritage and a sense of endurance. This setting connotes values of strength, cultural preservation and a deep connection to history. In **Fig 2** the woman is on the beach having an open horizon behind her she is enjoying a sense of calm, peace and openness. In **fig 3** the setting reflects tiles suggest settings of privacy and intimacy focusing on everyday life of the individual. It focuses on contemporary values of self-care, personal are and a mix of modern urban life.

d. Salience

In **Fig 1** the woman herself becomes the most prominent salient feature because of the way her size is filling the frame. The contrast of the abaya with dull colours of the desert and her positioning also helps her assume the central position. Her centrality becomes a way of expressing her cultural identity and attire. In Fig 2 salience is achieved through the colour of the woman's attire which is white, contrasting against the silent blue of a neutral background. The colour of her attire positions her at the centre making her the focal point of attention. In Fig 3, it is the face of the woman that is given the most salience. Her direct stare at the camera lends her centrality in the picture. The contrasting colours of hijab and her lipstick against her skin tone also add to salience.

e. Social Distance and Intimacy

Woman's placement in relation to the camera determines the concept of social distance and intimacy. In **Fig 1**, the subject is at a medium distance from the camera. Her position in the frame also makes her surroundings stand out. Her distance from the camera shows that she has a more formal relationship with her audience and wants to give more attention to her

cultural background. In **Fig** 2 the subject is portrayed at a closer distance from the camera. Her body is visible in a beach setting, which creates the sense of a more intimate relation with the viewer and the subject's accessibility. In **Fig 3**, the subject's face is shown in a close up. This draws the viewer into a more persona space, highlighting the credibility of the subject and the warmth that the audience feels towards her. It also satisfies the followers' desire for authenticity and lends realness to the overall scene (Cunningham and Craig 2017).

f.   Vertical Angles and Power

(Puente et al., 2015) analyse how vertical angles determine power relations between the influencers and their followers. Different angles hint at different kinds of power relations: neutral shots stand for closeness and equality; low angle shots are for submission and high angle shots are for control and domination. In this regard, the shot in Fig 1 has been taken from a low angle, which makes the woman in the picture look more dominant and powerful. The sense of strength is attributable to the culture she represents. In Fig 2 &3 the shots are taken from a neutral angle. The viewer has been positioned on an equal level with the influencer, giving the overall scene a sense of openness and equality. Both of these frames show the engagement and communication between the subjects and the audience.

g.   Degree of detail articulation

Detail articulation means the amount of attention paid to image and video details that often reveals the extent to which empirical and abstract truths are negotiated. More detailed depictions are often the sign of a strive for objective truth-value, whereas more stylised images often represent a type rather than a particular person (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The figures used in this research accordingly use various kinds of details to articulate different messages. The first figure, Fig 1, has a rather high level of detail articulation. It focuses on the texture of the abaya, different features of the landscape etcetera to stress the empirical truth of the picture. Fig 2 also focuses on the details in the attire and landscape aiming for empirical truthfulness. Fig 3 also tries to achieve objective truth value by focusing the facial details of the subject and the items she owns like her mobile phone.

Fig 4: This bags IS THE MOMENT

Figure 5 we are back to cooking and recipes. what do you think is our upcoming recipe?

Fig 6 You never know how strong you are until being strong is your only choice

Figure 7 Don't wait for happy life!

a. Iconography

All the four subjects in the pictures are in one way or other representatives of the global aspect of social media influencers' identity. In fig 4, the subject is attired in a western dress and elegantly holding an umbrella and handbag. While the handbag is a global symbol of fashion, an umbrella is a symbol of the subject's readiness to adapt to different weather situations, an essential element of global citizenship. In fig 5 the subject seems to be well aware of global culinary ethics. She has a western attire and is not wearing any dupatta or abaya, as opposed to the figures 1, 2 and 3. Her way of presenting the food and her attire take her out of narrow cultural confines and make her a global citizen. The subject's attire in Fig 6, her long coat and wide-leg pants, speak of a global fashion sense. Confidence is reflected through her upstanding pose and the way she is assuming a central stage in the picture. Fig 7 also supports a subject who is cosmopolitan in many aspects. Her attire in not traditional in any sense, and there are also some body parts showing. Her locale resembles to global and luxury travel destinations, an experience commonly sought after globally.

b. Attributes

In fig 4, the very fashionable and full of accessories subject shows a modern and global outlook of the influencer. The style of clothing also hints at the professionalism of modern, urban subjects. They are also representatives of sophistication, urban high culture and success. In fig 5, the dress of the subject is casual yet open. The presentation of the food to the audience indiscriminately hints at the global host culture, a love for the culinary arts and also gastronomic experiences. The subject's fashion-forward dressing in the fig 6, her pair of heels, and her forward stride shows her familiarity with the global fashion and lifestyle. Fig 7 supports a subject who is modern yet minimalist, favouring the values peace and tranquillity within a natural setting. Elegance and timelessness are coupled in her persona and expressed through a neutral palette in clothing.

c. Setting

The subject in fig 4 is backgrounded by an urban street scene which has also the architectural look of Europe with parked cars etc., connoting to a global urban life. The universality and commonality of the setting is the main takeaway of the picture. It is a non-specific urban setting and can be easily recognized by the viewers all around the globe. The subject in fig 5 is also in a modern and easily relatable setting of a well-made kitchen. A kitchen is a universal signifier of a modern and comfortable lifestyle. The setting of the kitchen connects the influencer with the global understanding of domestic sophistication and culinary art. The setting of the figure 6 is most urban and global of all. It is a stylish interior, perhaps a hotel or fashionable indoor, anywhere in the world. It is easily relatable for an audience familiar with modern life's luxury and style. The subject seems quite comfortable in the setting, giving away the impression of an easily adaptable global identity. The figure 7 connects with the global way of living in a more subtle way. Its idyllic seascape is basically the desire of all and experience of many global citizens of the day. The global tendency towards tourism and leisure and escape is represented by the modernly dressed woman at the centre of the picture.

d. Salience

Fig 4 has a subject holding a handbag and an umbrella in her hands. The designer's handbag, because of its contrast with the background and its detailed pattern, is the most salient object of the picture. The handbag's central placement and sharply focused appearance draws the viewer's attention immediately towards it. The focus of the picture is rightly on the handbag as it is a symbol of globalized fashion. In Fig 5, it is the dish prepared by the cook which has the salience. The colour of the food in the dish is contrasted with the neutral tones of the influencer's clothes and the colour of the kitchen. The salience given to the food highlights the cook's role in the global culinary culture. Also, the centrality of the food in the picture resonates with the global trend of welcoming the cuisine all around the world. The influencer herself becomes the most salient entity in fig 6. Her stylish dress with it colours contrasting with the interior background make her the centre of attention. She seems to have an understanding of the global fashion culture and wants to take an embracing stride towards it. Surprisingly, in fig 7 it is the circular object that the woman is holding that becomes the centre of the picture. In other words, it is the most salient object, because of its colour and the way it is contrasted against the blue of the ocean. The salience given to this object takes the attention away from the subject in the picture and directs towards the contrasting blue of the water which represents tranquillity and peace in a natural environment.

e. Social Distance and Intimacy

In **Fig 4** the subject has been captured from a medium distance bringing to focus the body of the woman and her accessories. This highlights the personal style of the influencer but also a certain level of formality with the viewers. The accessibility of the influencer and her aspirational pose make her relatable to a global audience, constructing for her a global identity. **Fig 5** is close up of the influencer as a cook presenting some dish. The scene creates a sense of intimacy and direct engagement with world. The close-up of the subject invites people into her personal space, which is a kitchen, a very intimate part of the house. **Fig 6** supports a full body shot of the subject. The distance of the subject from the camera positions her as a friendly and approachable person who is a part of a worldwide community of foodies. **Fig 7** has a subject who is portrayed in a medium to full body shot. Her body is positioned against a blue seascape, helping her create a connection with the viewers. The medium shot is an open invitation to the audience to join in the subject's experience of leisure and peace.

f. Vertical angles and power

In fig 4, the angle of the camera is used to position the subject at an eye level with the viewers to highlight sense of equality, mutual respect and interdependence. Fig 5 uses a slightly high angle look down on the influencer who is in a semi submissive posture presenting the viewers with the food she has cooked. The close proximity of the camera also creates intimacy. Fig 6 captures the subject from a neutral angle. This angle creates a direct familiar connection with the viewers and present them as equals. Fig 7 once again uses a neutral angle to create a sense of equality and interdependence. The audience is placed at an equal footing with the influencer to despite the expansiveness of the frame.

g. Degree of Detail Articulation

Fig 4 has a high detail of articulation. The focus is on the make-up of the influencer and her belongings; even the rain-drops on the umbrella have been brought to focus. All this adds to the objectivity and reality of the scene. The truth-ness of the scene makes it look like attainable for the viewers who could be inspired to follow. **Fig 5** brings all the details to the presentation of the food which is in sharp focus. The kitchen has been portrayed clearly with all the settings and tools shown clearly. All this adds to the objectivity of the scene and shows the influencer to be part of the global culinary practice. **Fig 6** supports a subject who has been presented in great detail. From the fabric's type to its texture and all the ensemble of clothes, everything has been focused with great care. The deliberate presentation of the global fashion industry has been brought to focus by these details. The degree of articulation in **Fig 7** is rather in a contrast to other figures. The details are not focused on the influencer's clothes or accessories but on the background. The over all treatment of the subject gives the scene the value of an emotional truth which is associated with peacefulness and calm.

Fig 9: I Love you <u>all</u>

Fig 10: Singer. And a part time model

a. Iconography

The subject in Fig 9 represents a mixture of local plus global cultural identity, i.e glocal cultural identity. On one hand she is wearing a hijab showing her muslim arabian roots, on the other hand she is wearing a business class casual attire, highlight and embracing the influence of the global culture. In Fig 10 the model is once again a mixture of modern and traditional attire, as she is supporting western style pant shirt and overall with a traditional hijab. Her style of walking and her background make her look like a model attempting some sort of a cat walk.

b. Attributes

The clothes that the influencer in Fig 9 is wearing suggest a mixture of professional plus modest temprament. She is wearing likewise a broad smile on her face which shows her degree of frankness with the audience and her approacability. The professional clothing is for the global audience while her modesty clothes are for her local audience. There is commitment to her own culture and embracing of the global culture. The subject in Fig 10 is wearing a chic dress whose color tone is neutral. This is complemented by a black coat and a hijab which keeps her rooted to her own culture. The attributes of her clothing place her perfectly in a glocal context. She is open to adopt the modern world's fashion culture but not at the cost of her own culture.

c. Setting

The nuetral background of the influencer's image in fig 9 is used to lend more glow to her face. The simplicity of the background accentuates the colorfulness of her image. Also, the indoorsy setting gives an over all imression of intimacy and comfort and also a desirable as well as imitable quality to her style. The setting has a universal appeal, which can contrasted with her tradional dress, thus complementing the glocal identity she is supporting. In figure 10, the subject is walking throught an arcade which has paving stones and a europeanized architecture. The setting does invoke history, granduer and cospolitinaism among the viewers. All of this couched in the symbolic hijab which makes her open to the world but keeping her frimly grounded in her traditional setting.

d. Salience

Fig 9 has the face of the subject as the most salient feature of the image. She has a bright smile on her face which is framed by her dark cream colored hijab, neatly wrapped around her face. The background is neutral and unfocused while her face is accentuated and focused, inviting the viewer's attention directly to her face. This framing of and emphasis on her face poses her as an opn and accessible person, complementing her social media persona. This accessibilty is further and subtly complemented by her hijab, a frame and symbol of cultural identity. In Fig 10, the position of the subject herself is the most slaient feature of the image. It is the background which has been used as a frame to constrcut her glocal identity. Her attire, particularly, her hijab and the balck overcoat stands out in the setting. In a European background, the influencer's hijab and thus cultural identity is foucsed and highlighted. Her modern dress highlights her ability to work and walk with the contemporary world, while her hijab keeps her rooted in her culture.

e. Social Distance and Intimacy

In Fig 9, the close up shot of the face of the subject gives a feeling of intimacy and opnness persuading the viewer to create a connection with the influencer. The directeness of her gaze and her poised face comvey openess and connection. The intimacy conveyed through her smile invites the audience to estableish a direct relation with her, particularly for the global audience, at the same time recognizing the importance she gives to her local identity and culture. In fig 10, the subject has been captured from a medium distance which gives the viewer a full view of her body and attire. The positioning of the body and the distance from the camera restricts intimacy, however, does not completely stops it. It shows that in orde for the individual to maintain a glocal identity she needs to have multiple connections and navigate more than one identities.

f. Vertical Angles and Power

In Fig 9, the subject is seen with a gentle smile on her face and a direct gaze. The angle of the picture is at the eye level, establishing connection and familirity with the audience. The nuetrality of the angle shows the influencer as an equal to the audience. The unreal perfection of the global identity is balanced out with the real aspect of the subjects's cultural identity. For the subject in fig 10, the photo is once again taken at the eye level, thus negotiating the distance between the subject and the audience. The walikng subject is couched in a global setting highlighting the duality of her identity. There is also a fine detailing of the empirical and truthful setting to convey a message of authenticity.

g. Degree of Detail Articulation

The close-up shot of the subject's face in Fig 9 gives a high degree of detail and thus authenticity and confidence of the subject. The detailed nature of the image gives it an objective truth value. The expression on the face of the woman in the picture, the texture of her clothes and the details of skin tone are all reflective of authenticity. The setting of the picture mixes both the subject's personal attributes with her global outreacg, thus creating a glocal identity. The subject in Fig 10 is also interacting with her enviornment- which has global colors- to create a glocal identity. Her setting is shown to be global while her preferences local; a perfact blend of glocal identity.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The world of social media is highly complex and ever evolving. Over the time, it has assumed a central role in the lives global citizens. It has also given birth to various classes of people consuming it on daily basis. Social Media Influencers is one such class who in one way or the other create data/ discourse for the consumption of common people. In order to express themselves, to construct identites for themselves and maintain their influence, these social media influencers employ multiple or multimodal strategies; they use audio-visual and written data to achieve multiple goals referred above. While the consumption of this data and their influence always keep on increasing, it becomes important to understand, investigate and analyse the data produced by these influencers. The analysis of various social media posts by leading Saudi Arabian influencers in one such step. The analysis shows how adept these influencers are to create narratives and to navigate through the local, global and glocal identities.

Iconography, Attributes and Setting play a pivotal role in helping them create and navigate identities, as it is through the use of these that they successfully create and express identities. The attires they use, accessories they carry, and the background against which they are photographed, all are loaded with important cultural connotations. From choosing to wear Hijab along with the western style dresses to inviting the viewers into more personal spaces, like kitchens, all choices are loaded with different layers of meanings. Furthermore, the attention to the details in these pictures, for example, the focus on the texture of clothes to raindrops on the edge of an umbrella, culinary details, and variety in settings, all of these reinforce a certain identity. The settings and clothing, above all, help these influencers transcend cultural barriers to appeal to a global audience while at the same time maintaing a cultural rootedness.

Use of salience to bring focus upon certain things and to blurr certain things in the pictures is also clearly manuvered in these pictures. Tactful use of colors, contrasts and angles of capturing certain poses show the influencers' willingness to connect with the global culture, adopt the moder fashion trends, while at the same time maintaing fluid identity. Factors like social distance and intimacy have also been cleverly caliberated to create a connection with the viewers. Both kinds of shots, closeups and wider shots, have been used to invoke intimacy and frankness, and also

positioning themselves in the global landscape. Like the balance created between local and global through glocal identities, these approaches also help maintain a balance with the audience.

Apart from that Vertical angles have bben used to negotiate power relation with the audience. High angles provide the influencers with the chance to dominate their audience wherever nrcessary, while the low angles enable them to persuade their audience through humbleness and submission. Neutral angle, on the other hand, are used to create a sense of equality and interdependance bewteen the influencers and the viewers.

All in all, this multimodal discourse analysis of 10 images brings forth a carefully manuvered interplay of audio visual and wriiten data for the construction and negotiating of the influencer's identities. These influencers carefully constrct their online personas and work for concrete goals of maximizing their followeres. For this purpose, along with other tools, they also assume hybrid identities. They show a willingness to adopt the traditions of the modern world, and are also eager to preserve their own local traditions. The analysis highlights the importance of visual narratives for the construction online identities and their potential to influence others. It shows that these influencers have a huge amount of tactical support and resources to assert their agency.

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