A Multimodal Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis of Saudi Women Representations and Newsworthiness in the UK and Saudi News Media

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Declaration

I, *Dina Mohamed Makki Sibai*, confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged – April, 2022.

Abstract

There is a considerable body of work that has explored the representations of women in the media. Yet, there are relatively few studies that have examined multimodal representations of Saudi women, who can be considered a marginalized social group. Existing research suggests that in the Western media, Saudi women have been perceived through an Orientalist lens with two representations dominating the picture: (1) as passive victims of an ultraconservative society or (2) as violent extremists (Abid & Al-Khazraji, 2017; Bashatah, 2017; Elyas et al., 2020; Mustafa & Troudi, 2019). Against the background of the recent societal reforms in Saudi Arabia that have contributed to the rights and improvement of women's lives, this study attempts to re-assess and expand on the previous research by considering larger datasets, multimodality and comparative perspectives.

The main aim of this study is to investigate how Saudi women have been represented in the UK and Saudi news media across two historic time periods in Saudi Arabia (SA): between 2011-2013 (when 2 highly publicized protests against the female driving ban took place) and 2017-2019 (when the driving ban was lifted, and women started driving in SA). Whereas past research has focused either on text or images, this study utilizes an innovative research-friendly Corpus-Assisted Multimodal Discourse Analysis (CAMDA) (Baker, 2020; Ledin & Machin, 2020) to examine both quantitative and qualitative representations (van Leeuwen, 2008) including their newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2017).

By analysing and comparing both textual and visual representations in two different demographic and historic contexts, a more comprehensive understanding has emerged of how the media, within the Saudi and UK contexts, perceived Saudi women, while identifying representational shifts that occurred over time. The multimodal findings reveal that Saudi women are activated more frequently than passivized in both historical contexts and a significant shift in Saudi women agency over time (i.e., pre-/post-driving ban lift) in both the UK and SA news media can be observed. Substantial shifts in beneficializing Saudi women are also detected which attests to the provisions that the Saudi government has made in terms of enabling Saudi women to become more empowered by taking up a greater variety of roles than was possible previously. The findings point to a greater functionalization of Saudi women but in the SA context only.

And as demonstrated by the DNVA, active agency representation outcomes and shifts are further reinforced by positive attitudes, especially in visual representations. As for

representations of passivation, it was found that depictions of Saudi women as victimized agents emerged significantly more in the 2011-2013 time period in both the UK and SA press. However, passivation continued as well as other Orientalizing biases in the UK press in the more current 2017-2019 even after the driving ban had been lifted.

Furthermore, the analysis of cultural categorization suggests multimodal shifts in Saudi women's public physical appearance and identity from conservative to more relaxed, unconservative tendencies, especially within the UK visual context; however, textually, it is the SA press that reflects more balanced representations – the diversity of current-day attire norms and the attitudes associated with those.

The analysis of cultural representation also reveals that Saudi women were individualized more frequently than collectivized in both geographical and historical contexts, and no significant shifts in being portrayed alone or in mixed groups were detected over time. Overall, it can be claimed that combining both visual (which were generally more positive in terms of social actor agency and attitude, and better reflecting on-ground cultural identity) and textual representations (which often revealed Orientalizing and marginalizing depictions) offered a more balanced understanding of the media representation of Saudi women that reflect on-ground realities, practices, and developments in the Saudi society.

This study contributes to the growing literature on minoritized group representations, more specifically shedding light on UK vs. Saudi representations of women in Saudi Arabia, and to the fields of Corpus-Assisted CDA and multimodal analysis frameworks at large by providing a more manageable multimodal analysis toolkit for scholars interested in investigating representations and newsworthiness of any social actor(s).

Table of Contents

<h1 style="text-align:center">List of Figures</h1>

List of Photos

List of Appendices

List of Keywords

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA), Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis (CACDA), Corpus-Assisted Multimodal Discourse Analysis (CAMDA), Discursive News Value Analysis (DNVA), newsworthiness, multimodality, representation, social actor, Saudi women

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"If we look at the empowerment of women worldwide, we see that Saudi Arabia has the biggest share, and it is proceeding at an extremely fast pace. As a Saudi woman holding a leading position, I do see a real impact of these social reforms in society."

~ May Alobaidy (2020), first Saudi woman to be appointed an adviser to a minister

We, Saudis, see and hear about these developments daily; we hear how women who we personally know, or not, have started to realize the opportunities that some of the recent changes including the increasing social and professional reforms taking place in Saudi Arabia (SA) are offering to them. And on this basis, as a Saudi woman myself, I thus assumed that the positive shifts taking place in the Saudi society would be duly reflected in the media in Saudi Arabia and worldwide.

This chapter starts with a discussion of the problem that this thesis addresses, rationale and aims of the study followed by indicating research gaps and the contributions. Finally, the research questions will be presented, and my research positionality explained.

1.1 Research Rationale and Aims

When it comes to Saudi women portrayed in the Western news, research has shown that backward Orientalist narratives relating to submissiveness, victimization, radicalism, etc. remain to this day (Alharbi, 2015; Elyas & Aljabri, 2020; Harun et al., 2018). It is not uncommon to come across representations in which the legal reforms in Saudi Arabia are recognised, but on-ground attitude changes and opportunities provided to women are often questioned and downgraded, as this example from a policy document by Begag and Habibi (2021) demonstrates: "While the legal reforms in Saudi Arabia have rapidly expanded throughout the last few years, alone they do not result in tangible improvement in the status of women. For this to occur, social norms must change alongside them and accordingly" (p. 1).

Undermining advancements in the East is not new – in fact, Muslim women have commonly long been viewed, and portrayed in the Western media, through an Orientalist lens as backward, passive, and oppressed victims due to their countries' strict regimes and disregard for women's rights (Said, 1978). How some journalists select certain photos and present them within institutionalized and/or ideological news frames often lends news reports to being biased (Machin, 2013), thus, ultimately providing readers with "little authentic" (Harvey & Brookes, 2018, p. 9) understanding of people's lives. While it cannot be denied that until recently, many

Saudi women were subjected to considerable restrictions and denied access to certain legal rights due to government, family, and tribal norms (AlMane & AlShaikh, 2013; Mohsin, 2017), the new legal reforms have considerably contributed to improvements in women's lives. For example, being able to drive has facilitated more women getting to work and there have been important "changes in the guardianship law, in the labor law, and in family law, among many others" (Tamayo et al., 2021).

Also, soaring numbers of Saudi women have started working outside the home (Women, Business, and the Law 2021; World Bank, 2020). According to Kelly (2021), official statistics indicate that just within the past five years, the number of employed women in SA has nearly double, from about 18 to 32 percent. In fact, Saudi women are currently being hired in positions that were once only occupied by men, such as in the military sector, as "soldiers, lance corporals, corporals, sergeants, and staff sergeants" (Westall, 2021, p. 1) as well as cashiers in shopping malls, customs officials at Saudi airports, client relationship managers at banks and waitresses at restaurants (Kelly, 2021). While there is still a lot of work to be done to ensure a better position of women in Saudi society, for example, in terms of the participation in the labour force, the current rate of change is fast.

Therefore, a big concern is that "while there is more than one Saudi Arabia, there is only one that Americans [i.e., the West] seem to be fixated upon" (Dunham, 2013, p. 6), which, according to the literature, is most frequently being foregrounded in the news media. Fairclough (2015) warns that repeated misrepresentation of a group based upon cultural obliviousness, discrimination and/or dominance may lead to them being "denied jobs and other valuable social 'goods'" (p. 77). And according to Shaheen (2012), the fear is that persistence of these one-dimensional Orientalist-nuanced texts and images that are driven by local and international agendas and power relations, as well as expectations of readers, will naturalize biased attitudes towards Muslims – perhaps, even altering the effects of specific "international policies on their lives" (Media Education Foundation, 2019, p. 1).

The reality is that some people who have not dealt one-on-one with Saudi women often assume that the majority are either oppressed and passive on the one hand or conservative supporters of extremist acts of violence against non-Muslims on the other (Alharbi, 2015; Topal, 2019). I believe that these are unjustified generalizations, and that more awareness needs to be raised when it comes to Muslim women in general, and more specifically to Saudi women, as they are often perceived as a minoritized group "under the Western gaze, placed in a continuum of

invisibility and hypervisibility . . . [that] widen Muslim women victimization in terms of discrimination, inequality, sexism, and patriarchy" (Elmoudden, 2022, p. 462). The Western media commonly portray Saudi women as subordinate in status to a more dominant group and the media are for many the main source of such misrepresentations. Therefore, more light needs to be shed on whether media recontextualizations have changed given the changes in the status of women in SA.

In exploring media representations, researchers often investigate social actor agency, how stories are recontextualized, what is backgrounded or foregrounded and how all of this is embedded within social and institutional power relations (Fairclough, 2005). Therefore, as researchers, what we can attempt to do is to reveal these underlying mechanisms of power relations and raise awareness of biased representations.

Fairclough (2015) ascertains that becoming aware of discourses of ideologies, power, and agendas "is the first step towards emancipation" (p. 14). The key is to be perceptive. Whether we realize it or not, all of us are impacted differently by the news we hear and see every day, consciously or subconsciously. Castello (2016) urges readers to become more aware of the fact that many of these news media depictions "appear to be politically and economically driven" (p. 55) and therefore we, as alert readers, must not blindly believe everything we read as misinformation may have a gradual impact on our perceptions and actions, potentially heightening the damaging polarizing effects of 'us' vs. 'them'. Choudhary (2016) believes that this type of awareness constitutes "a crucial step toward the changing discourse of Muslim women as portrayed in Western mass media" (p. 35).

Van Dijk (1996) believes that identification of the extensive power of news discourse can result in readers challenging it, signaling "modes of counterpower" (p. 13) against journalists, media institutions, and dominant agencies. Mostafa (2018) states that it is essential to reexamine representations of social actors. It is crucial that the ways in which Muslim women are portrayed in the media all over the world need to be investigated in not just one context, for example, the UK news; we also need to understand how Muslim women are represented in their local contexts, where they live and work. Only then may more varied representations, including "empowered agency" (p. 66), start to surface.

To date, most research has focused on textual representations - how Muslim women are portrayed through words. While words are important, nowadays media are increasingly becoming multimodal and visuals as a form of "cultural resource" (Harvey & Brookes, 2018,

p. 1) often play more prominent roles than the text in communicating meanings – strongly impacting how we understand and react to publicized information (Baker & McEnery, 2019; Machin & van Leeuwen, 2016). Only until recently Saudi women have been heavily photographed (Otaif, 2019), making a rigorous large-scale Corpus-Assisted Multimodal Discourse Analysis (CAMDA) study of news coverage and representation of Saudi women even more compelling.

As such, multi-semiotic research techniques might provide a better understanding of Saudi women's lives as portrayed in the media, encouraging critical and fresh perspectives (Mirza, 2018). Using research approaches that allow for the investigation of this multimodal reality is encouraged because it can contribute to more comprehensive and representative findings. As Bateman et al. (2017) conclude "'triangulations' of results appealing to a variety of methods and levels of abstraction should now be considered a high priority" (p. 141), hence, employing a "systematic investigation of these combined discursive-semiotic practices" (Harvey, 2013, p. 692) becomes crucial. The current study responds to this call by investigating not just textual but also visual representations of Saudi women to capture the multimodality of media production, bringing to light how social reality, such as that of Saudi women within the driving context, was being multimodally epitomized in the UK and SA news media.

Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that with the "increasing use of visual representation in a wide range of contexts, it becomes more and more pressing to be able to ask the same critical questions with regard to both verbal and visual representations" (p. 25). As such, the present large-scale CAMDA study is motivated by a personal drive to contribute to the literature with a sounder understanding of Saudi women representations and newsworthiness within the context of evolving women's rights including the driving rights in Saudi Arabia. It also aims to assess whether more balanced multimodal Saudi women representations emerge, evolving from the Orientalizing ones (Alharbi, 2015; Bashatah, 2017; Dahlan, 2011; Elyas & Aljabri, 2020; Harun et al., 2018; Mishra 2007; Taher, 2019). This is an important research endeavor as it is our responsibility to speak up and revisit ubiquitous stereotypes and biases associated with various minoritized groups.

1.2 Gaps and Significance

A review of previous Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) literature on Saudi women representations in the news media, as the Literature Review in Chapter 3 shows, revealed only a few studies and all of them are cases of qualitative research (Alharbi, 2015;

Alshakhs, 2012; Dahlan, 2011; Elyas & Aljabri, 2020; Elyas et al., 2020; Mishra, 2007; Taher, 2019). Even more scarce are corpus-assisted CDA (CACDA) studies (AlQunayir, 2019; Harun et al., 2018) and MCDA research (Abid & Al-Khazraji, 2017; Bashatah, 2017). And in the majority of these studies, there was strong evidence of Orientalist representations of Saudi women in the news media, regardless of the research context, corpus source, and/or corpus size (Alharbi, 2015; Bashatah, 2017; Dahlan, 2011; Elyas & Aljabri, 2020; Harun et al., 2018; Mishra 2007; Taher, 2019).

The only exceptions were those that observed more positive representations in terms of agency and visibility; namely, Abid and Al-Khazraji (2017) who multimodally investigated only one *CNN.com* article, Elyas et al. (2020) whose study was limited to representations found during International Women's Day in the Saudi press, and Dahlan (2011) whose investigation of 88 Canadian news articles found strong evidence of 'othering' in general, but which decreased over time. In these few studies, slightly more progressive changes in Saudi women representations over time were observed. For example, Dahlan (2011) noted that the Canadian media were reporting more on female empowerment and freedom towards the end of the 2001-2009 timespan.

As such, what follows is a discussion of how the current study attempts to extend on the present literature both contextually and methodologically and how it endeavors to respond to some of the limitations of previous research:

Contextually, this study aims to expand on the multimodal research conducted by Abid and Al-Khazraji (2017) and Bashatah (2017) – the only two MCDA studies that explored Saudi women in the news within the driving ban context in the US and UK press. Specifying a particular context in MCDA research is often recommended as investigating embedded ideologies and biases in relation to a specific context can be more accurately conducted, compared, and interpreted (Machin et al., 2016). Since driving, for example, is an act that both women and men should be represented as equally being able to practice and excel at, it is only assumed that the press would mirror impartiality regarding this activity as well.

Machin et al. (2016) state that a particular sociological context needs to be chosen otherwise a multimodal analysis would disconnect the modes "from their actual use . . . in specific instances of their deployment" (p. 304), lending to vague findings that would not be productive in addressing or resolving any concrete social issue. So, bearing in mind that the current study focuses on two social events at two different socio-political points of time, those of the driving

ban imposed on Saudi women and its lifting, it is projected that the surrounding discourses would be quite different in terms of how the SA and UK news media perceives and represents Saudi women in the two demographics.

Locally, it is only expected that the Saudi "loyalist media" (Rugh, 2007, p. 6) would be aligned with the government to a large extent during the 2011-2013 period when Saudi women were protesting the driving ban, thus possibly condemning Saudi females' actions during this time. Whereas when it comes to the UK news media, which unlike the SA media is not as heavily censored, examining representations during the 2011-2013 time period is important since there are no preconceptions, except for the predominantly Orientalist findings reported in previous literature. However, more currently in the 2017-2019 timespan, the tone in both the SA and UK media is predicted to be different when it comes to Saudi women being given their rights by the government to drive, and as such, this study investigates what types of multimodal discursive shifts in news media representations, if any, have occurred more recently.

Methodologically, this research is significant in terms of the multi-method approach that is utilized to investigate Saudi women representations in news media when compared to other studies on a similar topic. Extending data analysis to both textual and visual modes, as well as including the local Saudi media, are both new and important contributions to MCDA research that is more inclusive and representative in terms of data yielding more comprehensive findings. As such, the current research extends previous literature on Saudi women representations in the following ways:

1. There is no research on Saudi women representations that includes an investigation of data over an extended period except for Dahlan's (2011) in the Canadian press, from 2001-2009. More current comparative research is warranted, as Baker and McEnery (2019) state that "most discourses are not timebound and are dynamic through time - both within a period studied and beyond it" (p. 247). Hence, researching social actor representations at two important socio-political points in time is worthwhile as it can reveal changes in discursive representations.

2. This study adds an important comparative dimension to the existing body of research in the representations of Muslim/Saudi women. Unlike past research, with the exception of Taher's (2019), this study does not only compare two different points in time, but it does so cross-linguistically, utilizing corpus tools. In doing so, this research extends the CACDA academic approaches to Arabic.

3. Using corpus software can considerably enhance the scope and robustness of research since it can efficiently aid in the speed at which both quantitative and qualitative information can be obtained, and in the process, reduce researcher bias (Baker & McGlashan, 2020; Hunston, 2014) – particularly relevant when investigating issues, representations, etc. related to minority groups in large datasets.

4. Drawing on van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor representation networks, media representations of Saudi women in two very different key demographics, those of SA and the UK, are explored and compared in both Arabic and English. How prominent one representational feature is can be difficult to ascertain when there is nothing else to compare it against. By comparing one corpus, for example, (2011-2013 SA visual corpus) against another (2011-2013 UK visual corpus), the saliency and extent of a representational feature, for instance, the *Exclusion* of Saudi women, become more transparent.

5. A review of MCDA literature on Saudi women representations demonstrates a lack of multimodal research in this area, with the exceptions of Bashatah (2017), Abid and Al-Khazraji (2018), and Taher (2019) (Section 3.4.4., Chapter 3). As such, one of the main goals, as recommended by many CDA researchers, is to contribute to the literature on multimodality of social actor representations (Jewitt et al., 2016; van Leeuwen, 2020). More specifically, this study aims to build on Bednarek and Caple's (2017) CAMDA framework with the view to adjust it to study multimodal representations of a specific social actor. More precisely, the goal is to establish a workable method that explores both large and small multimodal data sets, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in order to determine to what extent the updated methodological framework holds up, which of its components work well and what needs to be modified.

6. To further understand and account for how frequently certain images of Saudi women are foregrounded, backgrounded, or even completely excluded in the current research, Bednarek and Caple's (2017) Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) is utilized to interpret any salient newsworthy patterns that may have emerged. As discussed in the Literature Review, none of the studies on Saudi women representations in the news media have taken advantage of this approach, and thus, this study adds another layer of interpretation that reflects the nature of media production. News values that are consistently repeated may help uncover certain embedded institutional ideologies and/or agendas. This thesis also contributes to the literature

on DNVA as, to date, there are no studies that have attempted to examine news values in the Saudi context and in relation to the representations of social actors.

7. With regards to MCDA, the majority of studies analyse texts first, and then a selection of images are qualitatively explored. Many scholars, including Caple et al. (2020), have felt the need to limit their data due to "the complexity of the analysis [which] necessitates a small dataset" (p. 28). This is understandable and has been the norm in traditional MCDA studies. However, while qualitative analysis is certainly viable for smaller-scale studies, it is inconceivable how such an approach would be solely applicable to large visual and textual corpora. The current study could have followed this approach and selected a small subset of images, but I believe that a more complete understanding of representations would have been lost had a small subset only been analysed. Although a vast number of studies have recommended combining multimodality and CDA, "few have managed to come up with a workable framework that combines the two approaches" (Ismail, 2017, p. 60).

As such, the current research expands on the methodological limitations of corpus-based approaches to discourse by including large sets of visual data to be analyzed systematically and in relation to the large textual data thus better reflecting the current nature and production of media representations of social actors. The aim, therefore, is to test the methodological feasibility of this eclectic approach in examining the representation of social actor(s), here being Saudi women, in an attempt to see how the framework works in practice. In doing so, this research endeavors to make new contributions to minimizing previous limitations relating to the size of data when performing complex multimodal investigations.

1.3 Research Questions

The goal of this research is to explore and analyse the discursive representations of Saudi women at two points of time and across two national media contexts by using an empirically robust multimodal investigation. As such, the current study seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1: How are Saudi women multimodally represented in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media in relation to the female driving ban and protests in Saudi Arabia?

> **RQ1a:** And how are Saudi women made newsworthy in and through these representations?

RQ2: To what extent can we detect, if any, shifts in Orientalist ideologies over time?

RQ3: How do the images and texts work together (or not) to reinforce the representations of minoritized groups such as the Saudi women in the context of significant societal conflicts and changes?

1.4 Researcher Positionality

As this research partly involves a critical qualitative examination of Saudi women representations immersed in the Saudi society pre-/post- driving ban lift via UK and SA news discourses, it is therefore of fundamental importance to practice reflexivity which entails being fully mindful of one's epistemological positionality towards the studied social actors, their social actions, and geographical contexts. The aim of this research practice is the conveyance of explicit transparency to others reading this study as well as remaining cognizant of one's own position and influence throughout as research cannot be separated from a researcher's "social-historical-political" (Holmes, 2020, p. 3) biography. This is critical as positionality has the potential to shape and impact all aspects of the research process, including the research questions as well as the employed research approach and the interpretation of outcomes.

It has been suggested that researchers should identify preconceptions, motivation, and qualifications, in addition to possible positionality changes over time, which may lead to a "reduction of bias and partisanship . . . and, over time, are better able to identify these so that they may then take account of them" (Holmes, 2020, p. 4). As such, my epistemological stance in the current study is that the representations, as advanced by the two diverse geographical news discourse corpora in the more current UK and SA press, would mirror to some extent shifts in Saudi women agency and identity representations since the last few years have truly been a crucial transformative period for Saudi women rights in Saudi Arabia.

Furthermore, as I am a Saudi female academic and mother of two adult daughters, and as I have lived for an extended period of time in both Saudi Arabia and the United States, ontologically, I would consider myself to have neither only the insider or outsider perspective into the two different geographic and social contexts (i.e., Arabic/Muslim and Western/Non-Muslim). Rather, I would argue that I "inhabit multiple positions along that continuum at the same time . . . as situations involving different values arise, different statuses are activated, and the lines of separation shift . . . [using] terminology that is meaningful to and from the perspective of a person from within the culture whose beliefs and behaviours are being studied" (Holmes, 2020, p. 6). As such, I believe I am well placed to report on and interpret how Saudi women are being depicted on a national and international level and propose recommendations accordingly.

Hence, this study is partly driven by my interest and social duty to be a part of this awareness movement, and to contribute with comprehensive critical multimodal findings on Saudi women representations in the news media given the perceived and increasing visibility of Saudi women in different domains of social life. Zamakhshari (2018) emphasizes the importance of documenting this important transformational period in SA as allowing women to drive was a major "symbolic step for women as part of their quest to achieve visibility and social equality" (p. 5) – an investigation that is in line with the aims and goals of CDA, as social phenomena recontextualizations often need to be critically explored and questioned (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Chapter 2: The Research Background

For decades, Saudi women have been found to be misrepresented in the media as a homogeneous group of faceless, veiled women (Le Renard, 2014), lacking basic privileges (Al-Saud, 2012; Karimullah, 2020), and having little to say as they are chiefly construed as silent compliant victims who need to be rescued by men and whose rights need to be defended (Alharbi, 2015; Al-Hazmi & Windsor, 2013). Alharbi (2015) contends that news depictions of Saudi women are "rife with an Orientalizing gaze where Saudi women are constructed in a monolithic sense in which they have homogenous goals, needs and dreams" (p. 4). One main reason for such misinformation, as Al-Saud argues, is due to a lack of critical empirical research on Saudi women's social stance and contributions (2012). In fact, on both a national and international scale, "the social status of Saudi Arabian women has often been used as a 'barometer' of progress" (p. 4) and "blanket assumptions" (p. 5) about their stances and roles all too often passively accepted.

Since Al-Saud's (2012) research, many social reforms have taken place concerning Saudi women's rights and social status. Certainly, it is about time that Saudi women be seen as active instigators, and not solely oppressed beings personifying a docile order, patriarchal submission, and moral purity. Saudi female scholar, Maisah Sobaihi, was the first Saudi to participate in the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in 2013. Through her one-woman play, she aimed to raise awareness that though Saudi women do face social struggles, these complications do not define them. In an interview, she states that Saudi "women's positions continue to change in many ways. I think that women have always been active and a very positive force in Saudi society. It's just that I don't think they were as visible as they are now" (Jiffry, 2013, p. 1). Indeed, Saudi women are contributing both locally and internationally in various social, political, and economic spheres (Elyas et al., 2020; Khamis, 2019), and rights are being given to them at an accelerated speed (Bleiker, 2019).

There also appears to be a local governmental movement towards curbing the dissemination of misrepresentations and stereotypes pertaining to Saudi females. In 2016, the Ministry of Media reported that any publication including damaging information about Saudi women was a punishable offence (AlQusayer, 2016). And in 2017, as a response to the repeated mockery of Saudi women's performance at the workplace on TV, the Ministry issued another statement warning producers to not broadcast any show or program that may contain offensive material reinforcing false perceptions (Bukhait, 2017). Official reactions such as these have been

welcomed and interpreted as government support for portraying more representative images of Saudi women's lives, which is of course in line with the government's agenda.

These shifts have also been recognized more recently in *The World Bank* report "Women, Business, and the Law 2020" in which Saudi Arabia was identified as "the top reformer globally in the last year" (World Bank, 2020, p. 1). The report states that many Saudis believe that throughout history, Saudi women "have always been strong, active doers but their efforts were neither documented nor given attention" (p. 1). And according to the more recent WBL 2021 index, it was revealed that Saudi Arabia scored 80 out of 100, up from the 70.6 in 2020 as all restrictions on Saudi women's employment have been removed (Women, Business, and the Law 2021).

And from a legal standpoint, great support for women driving came in the form of a recent Tweet (Photo 1.) on 28 October 2021, via the @AJELNEWS24 account for most current and urgent news in SA, and which has a following of 8.1 million.

Photo 1. Legal support for women driving (AJELNEWS24, 2021)

The Tweet states: "Legal Counsel, "Ahmed Ajab": A man does not have the right to prevent his wife from driving a car as long as she has the opportunity to own a vehicle, and if there is a need to drive herself to and from work, for example, and if the costs are much less than paying a driver, and if there is no current or expected harm from her driving". Clearly, some societal resistance is still at play to this day, but at least news outlets are making people more aware

that women cannot be legally held back when it comes to rights that the government has given them.

Presently, Saudi women have more opportunities to contribute on all societal fronts, mainly due to the rising support for gender equality at the workplace, as women currently make up 41% of all Saudi employees in SA (Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development, 2021). Dr Iqbaal Darandari, a female member of the Saudi Consultative Council, tweeted "Do not try to take away people's rights, especially women's, as we [Saudi women] are in an era of visibility" (@AlwatanNews24, December 11, 2019) which was largely instigated by allowing women to drive in 2018 that represented great "symbolic strides" (Kavaler, 2019, p. 1) for women in SA, and which gained a great deal of local and international media attention.

This is not surprising given that banning women from driving in SA was, for several decades, one of the most fiercely debated issues concerning Saudi women's rights (Almahmoud, 2015). This huge debate, most intensely beginning in the early 1990s, continued to resurface till it was recently resolved in September 2017. The main reason women in SA were prohibited to drive was due to the strict, sexist teachings of Wahhabism, founded by Muhamad Ibn Abd Al-Wahhab in 1726, which is "the most intransigent and intolerant form of Islam" (Baker et al., 2013, p. 109).

Wahhabism, which lasted approximately from 1726 to the mid-2000s (Commins, 2016), controlled most aspects of life in Saudi Arabia, and among the most confined were women. Being loyal to the Wahhabi doctrine meant enforcing certain roles on women and harshly discouraging others. For instance, women were typically raised to believe that their main goal in life was to get married and care for the husband and family. Going out to work was not encouraged unless there was a dire financial necessity. And not being able to work, travel, and participate in many other social opportunities without the approval of a male guardian further limited many Saudi women from achieving their dreams and ambitions. In essence, Wahhabi teachings, especially those that had been ingrained into the older generations' minds, lead to the marginalization of women in Saudi Arabia within their own society (Thompson, 2015).

In 1932, the Wahhabi regime gained its momentum due to its extensive support and allegiance in the establishment of the Saudi state attained by King Abdul Aziz, his army, Gulf countries, and British army allies. Additionally, the Wahhabi doctrine gained longer-term strength and more supporters from its strong association to the Sunni sector which oversees the Muslim holy cities of Makkah and Al-Medina (Dahlan, 2011; Tschirhart, 2014). Those who did not follow

Wahhabi beliefs were essentially considered as defectors to be shamed, shunned, and punished by government authorities (Qureshi, 2005). And such reprimands were typically carried out by a governmentally supported and sponsored institute called the Saudi Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice (CPVPV) whose chief aim was ensuring the public's obedience with the strictest interpretations of Islamic law (Tschirhart, 2014). They were also firmly active, both on the ground and via national media discourse, in imposing various other restrictions, including but not limited to, controlling what women wore, what haircuts were "against" Islamic teachings, and what jobs, in their opinion, were inappropriate for women.

With regards to women driving in Saudi Arabia, several prominent Wahhabi clerics "mutawas" argued that since men and women need to remain segregated and women must wear a veil in public, driving under such limitations would be impossible (Alenazy, 2017). In fact, it was the Grand mutawa of the CPVPV at that time in 2013, Sheikh Abdullah Ibn Baz, who publicized his religious edict "fatwa" via all online and offline media modes, declaring that women were prohibited from driving as this would result in frequent instances of men and women being alone together (i.e., "khalwa" which is prohibited in Islam) and would ultimately lead to many sins (Ibn Baz, n.d.). Ibn Baz's driving ban fatwa received massive support from other Saudi Islamic scholars.

Some of the arguments put forward by the supporters of the ban were based on discriminatory and unevidenced claims. For example, in 2013 Sheikh Saleh Fawzan stated that driving completely goes against women's gentle nature (Harun et al., 2018) and Sheikh Saleh al-Lohaidan, also in 2013, declared that driving would put women's ovaries, thus pregnancies, at risk (Aljarallah, 2017). And most recently in 2017, Sheikh Saad Al-Hijri stated that a woman has half a brain and would only possess a quarter of it if allowed to, for instance, drive to go shopping (Bell & Shaikhouni, 2017).

Such severe pronouncements made by these once highly influential religious authoritarians, who were backed by the monarchy due to their historical alliances and political power set the scene and pace of life in SA. For decades, these religious scholars were, what van Dijk (1996) called the "elites", who instigate, monitor and regulate the most powerful mediums of institutional and public discourse. According to Alotaibi (2017), these clerics appealed to people's feelings on controversial issues, stressing presumed detrimental social and religious consequences, including subversion and lack of faith. No doubt, their ideologies were

embedded in all social discourses, suppressing women's rights, and controlling their lives all in the name of their interpretation of Islam. Such discourse played a vast role in managing public opinion and decisions, resulting in "patriarchal domination…naturalizing gendered inequalities" (Topal, 2019, p. 2) which served as "obstacles to the advancement of women's rights" (Alhargan, 2012, p. 131) in most areas of family and work life.

Nevertheless, Saudi women made several serious attempts to persuade the government to lift the driving ban, as they rejected the mutawas', such as that of Ibn Baz's, unwarranted declarations founded solely on Wahhabi "Bedouin tribal customs" (Dahlan, 2011, p. 91) that do not relate, in any manner, to genuine Islamic tenets. Realizing that the Saudi society will forever remain defined by religious institutions to a certain extent, Saudi women, too, began utilizing religious discourse for demanding their social needs (Alenazy, 2017). For instance, they often resorted to asking whether it was Islamically sounder to drive themselves around or to be in khalwa with a personal/taxi driver while going somewhere. Saudi women repeatedly tried reasoning with governmental authorities stating that they did not want to protest or challenge the laws and authorities in any way and that all they wanted was to drive, which they saw as a simple, basic human right (Al-Saud, 2012; Al-Sharif, 2017).

This plea for driving reform officially started on 6 November 1990, when around 47 women in 15 cars gathered and defiantly drove around in the SA capital, Riyadh (AlMufarreh, 2017). The author states that this, in part, was prompted by the American military women and Kuwaiti refugees who were driving around freely in the northern regions of SA at that time, close to the Saudi-Kuwaiti border, during the 1990 Gulf War with Iraq. Saudi women began to heatedly question why these women in the north were allowed to drive in SA, but not Saudi women, which thus, in big part, motivated the 1990 demonstration.

AlMufarreh interviewed one of the 1990 protesters who revealed that the whole protest was arranged by word of mouth as these Saudi women were afraid of being silenced even before the protest started. These courageous, highly educated activists, who possessed driving licenses from abroad, suffered extreme backlash as they were subsequently fired from their jobs, imprisoned for some time, and vilified through Mosque amplifiers right after Friday congregation prayers (Aljarallah, 2017; AlMufarreh, 2017).

CPVPV mutawas and the extremely conservative public at that time regarded "freedom of mobility for women as something that could lead to immorality and Westernization of the country" (Doğruel, 2015, p. 92). The reality is that the protest shocked everyone locally as it

was the first time that Saudi women had carried out any type of demonstration in SA (Bashatah, 2017). They were finally showing, through tangible actions, that they were ready to be seen and heard and were now peacefully calling for the right to drive after decades of being silenced (AlMane & AlShaikh, 2013). The authors documented, in detail, in their famous book السادس من نوفمبر[*The 6*th *of November*], the events surrounding this historic protest day. They stated that though the protest was a brave first attempt, it received only little attention, chiefly negative, in the local news and next to no coverage internationally, with the exception of the *BBC* and *The New York Times*, whose discourses were more neutral (AlMane & AlShaikh, 2013).

Afraid of the growing power of the religious clerics in the 1990s (Pall, 2018), and fearful that history would repeat itself, Saudi women became highly defeated and the following protest in SA was only initiated decades later on 17 June 2011 (AlMane & AlShaikh, 2013). There was mounting frustration among women in SA as not being able to drive was "one of the most pervasive limitations to women's visibility, physical movement and their full participation in the public sphere" (Mohsin, 2017, p. 1). This is ever so more relevant in a vast country, like SA, which has limited public transportation options and whose harsh weather and street sidewalk infrastructure hugely limits walking. Al-Sharif (2017) explains that the Arab Spring social reform protests in other countries is what partly encouraged some Saudi women activists to take to social media and form the #Women2Drive campaign. They became more driven following Manal Al Sharif's video-documented attempt of driving in May 2011.

Saudi women were further encouraged as in September of that year, a royal decree was released that mandated "women [be issued] personal identification cards for the first time…King Abdullah promoted these reforms *dismissing* the objections of senior religious scholars" (Topal, 2019, p. 3). For the first time, women's challenging questions and demands were beginning to receive some recognition from the monarchy as tension between the extreme conservatives and liberals began to grow. The Kingdom's slogan is that it is بلد الأمن و أمان [a country of security and stability]; and eager to maintain this stability, King Abdullah's identification card initiative began giving more agency to Saudi women, which felt promising, and for the most part, kept the peace between both conformists and liberals for some time (Cordesman et al., 2011).

Though Manal Al-Sharif was imprisoned for 10 days, banned from talking to the media, and was contractually warned to never drive again in SA, this incident was not in vain. Manal's

courage elicited great awareness and inspired other Saudi women to join the online #Women2Drive movement, and so in June 2011, a number of Saudi women "perhaps 30 or 40" (Burke, 2011, p. 1) in various regions in SA, got behind the wheel, videoed themselves driving around, and uploaded them on social media. But yet again, several protestors were arrested and were warned that further punishment would be inflicted on those who tried to drive in the future (AlMufarreh, 2017). The author states that the online driving campaigns at Twitter and Facebook, along with the posted videos, which received a lot of local attention, but relatively little international reportage, did, at least, lead to a highly publicized campaign two years later in SA, on 26 October 2013.

This huge #26thOctober online campaign was led by female Saudi activists Manal Al-Sharif, Eman Al-Nafjan and Wajeha Al-Huwaider, who used a multitude of online social media visuals and posts for their campaign (Thorsen & Sreedharan, 2019). They also published a petition website (http://www.oct26driving.com – currently not active) listing a number of driving demands. The authors report that this time, however, 3 days prior to October 26, the public was warned by the spokesman of the Ministry of Interior that any woman caught driving would be detained.

Because women strongly feared the authorities at this point, only a few protestors actually drove around on the 26th. These included Al-Nafjan and the other Saudi women drivers who she was filming, and they were quickly arrested, forced to sign an agreement to not drive again, and released the same day (Thorsen & Sreedharan, 2019). This "leniency" may have been incited following the Human Rights Watch's statement two days earlier, on 24 October 2013, stating "Saudi should end the country's driving ban for women as the 'Women2Drive' campaign gathers momentum" (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

Gaining confidence from this new international recognition and having a sense of security that her driving attempt will go unpunished, on 30 November 2014, Loujain Al-Hathloul tried to drive into SA from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) but was detained at the border and jailed for 73 days, together with a friend who later tried to help her (AlMufarreh, 2017). Despite that such attempts of reviving women's driving rights were sometimes met with strict consequences, Mohsin (2017) points out that the "activists' campaign resonated globally, transcended local and regional borders, and brought the issue of driving on the local and international agenda" (p. 1). True, it did take some time for change to occur, but finally, on 26 September 2017, King Salman, "who has been portraying himself as a reformist leader" (Al-

Khamri, 2018, p. 1), announced the driving ban lift in SA, stating that women would officially have the right to drive on 24 June 2018.

This, however, is not to say that lifting the driving ban was primarily due to the bottom-up campaigning of Saudi women, as any form of protesting was officially declared as a criminal act by the Ministry of Interior in SA on 5 March 2011. The issued statement declared that the Kingdom strictly prohibits all forms of protests, as well as advocating for them, because they conflict with the principles of Islamic law and the values and customs of Saudi society, and that the security forces are authorized to take all necessary measures on anyone who tries to disrupt the system in any way (Saudi Press Agency, 2011).

It has also been argued that the driving ban lift decree was issued due to several other top-down factors. For one, Topal (2019) reasons that the Kingdom's shifting away from "ultra-conservative Islam" towards a "moderate Islam" (p. 1) in 2017, was one of the main reasons for Saudi women's evolving rights and status in SA. The author states that the Kingdom mediatized these transformations as تمكين المرأة [women's empowerment], which has become one of the most frequently used phrases in local public discourses on Saudi women. Al-Khamri (2018), however, contends that the driving ban was lifted, most prominently, to facilitate women joining the Saudi labour force and taking part in revitalizing the nation's economy.

Such a significant step is in keeping with Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 whose 24th objective aims to "increase women's participation in the labor market" (Vision 2030, 2020), and which has yielded some notable success:

> As for the most prominent indicators of the National Transformation Program related to the empowerment of women, the Saudi female labor force participation rate amounted to 31.3% in Q3 of 2020, compared to 21.2 in 2017. The Saudi female unemployment rate amounted to 30.2% in Q3 of 2020, decreasing from 31.7% in Q1 of 2019. As for the economic participation index of Saudi females, the percentage in the first half of 2020 was 31.4% compared to 17% in 2017 (Saudi Press Agency, 2021)

Further motivation came from the government's desire to improve public and economic relations on both domestic and international fronts (Baumann, 2019), as suggested on the Vision 2030 site's front page since SA is "using its strategic location to build its role as an integral driver of international trade and to connect three continents" (p. 1). Sharing similar rationales, Topal (2019) maintains that these driving reforms "are indeed part of a larger

socioeconomic transformation with political and cultural implications" (p. 1). Regardless of the social, economic, and political reasons that lead to lifting the ban, this historical emancipating news for women in SA spread far and wide in the news media. Gaining such a transformative right was truly a jubilant, triumphant moment not only for Saudi women but also for women's rights and empowerment worldwide.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter begins by outlining the concept of Orientalism and its position in the media will be introduced which is followed by a more specific discussion of the power of news media and the effect of foregrounded representations and news values. Next, Critical Discourse Analysis via Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Framework and Leeuwen's (2008) multimodal social actor representations, supplemented by Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA, serving as the theoretical framework and methodology of this study, will be detailed, respectively. Finally, MCDA studies on Muslim women, and more specifically, Saudi women, will be reviewed.

3.1 Orientalism in the Media

Though Muslim women continue to make eminent advances in leadership, education, politics and decision-making both on national and international fronts (Azid & Ward-Butts, 2020), there continues to be a debate that revolves around how they are represented by Western journalism in conjunction with "the politics of gender and Orientalism in the neo-imperial era" (Al-Ghadeer, 2019, p. 307). The reality is that Muslim women, including Saudi women, have often been found to be underrepresented and/or misrepresented in Western media.

Based on their linguistic analysis of articles written on Muslim women in both *Time* and *Newsweek* news magazines over a 3-year period from 2011-2013, Khan and Zahra (2016) found that the Western print media regularly victimizes and marginalizes Muslim women oftentimes referencing the Islamic countries they are affiliated with, in effect damaging non-Muslim's perceptions of Islam, Islamic countries, and their citizens. The literature conducted on Muslim women in media and sociology studies have suggested all too often that these women are adversely perceived as uncultured inferiors due to their countries' lack of democracy and the abrogation of women's rights (Said, 1978).

Renowned postcolonial philosopher Edward Said (1978) believes that a society establishes its identity more powerfully by imagining an 'other' that is culturally inferior in all facets of life as opposed to the West, especially Europe and America, which perceives itself as culturally and intellectually superior. Taher (2019) maintains that this artificial rift of 'us' vs. 'them' is how the East is often represented by the West, whereby "the Orient was also *remade*" (p. 89), in other words, frequently misrepresented and, thus, misconstrued. Orientalist discourses are therefore based on representations of Muslims and other Middle Eastern minorities as the 'other', which are then categorized in four main homogenous groups; namely, (1) inferior, (2) exotic, (3) monolithic thus Westerners justifying the utilization of "highly generalized and

systematic vocabulary for describing the Orient" (Said, 1978, p. 300), and (4) violent which is to be feared and/or controlled.

According to Said, Orientalist discourse mainly comprises of besmirching Western depictions of Arabs and Islam as barbaric, oppressive, and backward, as well as encompassing tendencies of "sensuality", "despotism", "aberrant mentality", and "habits of inaccuracy" (1978, p. 205). And to this day, such pervasive Orientalist delineations continue to be privileged and ingrained in people's minds via all types of visual and textual mediums (Sendi, 2019), as often observed in the press, reinforcing "an imaginative geography of West versus East" (Abu-Lughod, 2013, p. 32). They also appear in endless Hollywood movies as found by Shaheen (2012) who in over 95% of 1,000 reviewed movies found that Americans and Europeans are repeatedly represented as "bright, brave heroes and Arabs as dangerous, dumb baddies. . .billionaires, bombers, and belly dancers" (p. 12).

Jack Shaheen, the author of *Reel Bad Arabs*, argues that these movies are "the leading source of propagandistic images that damage and isolate . . . dehumanize and injure innocent people" (2012, p. 2), such as those found in the 2018 movie *Beirut* in which the citizens were perpetuated as brutal terrorists, and the movie as a whole "bleeds Orientalism" (Mehdi, 2018, p. 1). Orientalist underpinnings have also been uncovered in popular songs such as in Katy Perry's *Dark Horse* in which Egyptians are constructed as Evil for being associated with the Illuminati all-seeing eye, and as a consequence are destroyed, one non-white man after the other (Pennington, 2016). They are also found in adult cartoons like *Stan of Arabia* (Albalawi, 2015) and even in children's animations that are occasionally filled with 'othering' images, such as *in Lady and the Tramp*, *Mulan*, *The Jungle Book*, and *Aladdin* (Trogus, 2020) in which Disney often depicts characters' "evil nature with their race" (p. 1).

Albalawi (2015) stresses that every country has its fair share of good and bad and that just like any other country, "Saudi Arabia is not an ideal country without problems" (p. 65) but the danger is when stereotypes, like the ones uncovered in his study of *Stan of Arabia* (a once famous American animated comedy series saturated with Orientalist stereotypes) are outright untrue or exaggerated and overgeneralized, such as the one of Saudi women often represented as submissive, salacious creatures. Having received over 7 million views when this series was first released in 2005 and countless more since then, Albalawi maintains that those who have not directly dealt with Saudis may be encouraged to practice "malicious harassment or

profiling" (p. 84) after watching or reading such discourses, possibly believing that this is everyday life in SA.

We also find this distinction of Western 'us' vs. Eastern 'them' being reinforced in abundance in "a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators" (Said, 1978, p. 2), who often use stereotypical misrepresentations time and again in their writings to establish their premises and narrative plots of "hegemony and superiority over the East" (Sendi, 2019, p 17). Sendi (2019) states that despite the variety of writing genres in the market, Islam is consistently represented by Westerners as an oppressive religion that deprives women of their rights and that these types of storylines possess exceptionally unwavering popularity as they strengthen pre-existing viewpoints on Muslim women. But in truth, it is not just Westerners who have encouraged propagation of such images.

In her research, Al-Harby (2017) uncovered Orientalist depictions in a number of contemporary fictional pieces, one of which was authored by a female Saudi writer, Rajaa Alsanea, who, in 2007, published *Girls of Riyadh*. Alsanea explicitly states in her introduction that the main aim behind writing the book is the undoing of Western stereotypical images of Saudi women. However, what happens in the process is that Alsanea, "practices self-Orientalism" (p. 184) by restricting her depiction of Saudi women to the privileged affluents of Saudi society, many of whom are restricted in remote, prestigious areas "creating the effect of a "harem (in Hollywood) all over again" (p. 182).

Orientalism and its permeation of 'othering' are not new. Since the 18th and 19th century Imperialist conquests in the Islamic world, the defamation of Muslim women has been used time and again to justify and abet colonization movements and exploitation of resources in the Arab World (Said, 1978). More specifically, if we consider Arab women, we find that due to historically volatile political relations between the West and the Gulf counties, reporting about women living in the Gulf was affected, "leading to the appropriation of women as tokens of political pressure" (Al-Ghadeer, 2019, p. 308) which often resulted in the frequent victimization of Middle Eastern women in the media and Western rationalizations of military intervention.

In effect, Saudi women have often been stigmatized as a "singular and monolithic" (Jamjoom, 2020, p. 16) homogeneous, oppressed 'other' in the media (Elyamany, 2019) who have no agency and are in dire need of being rescued (Taher, 2019). According to Said (1978), such

presumptions are often measured against the West's ethnocentric "positional superiority" (p. 7), which in fact has lead to an often confused version of the "White savior complex" (Mirza, 2018, p. 1) whereby Westerners who call for "saving" Muslim women are the very same ones who are persecuting those women, for example, for freely choosing to wear a burqa in some countries including the Netherlands, Austria, and Belgium. This issue has recently been further complicated by COVID in some countries, such as France, where Muslim women who were wearing burqas were still being fined, whilst the rest were not for *not* wearing a medical mask (Martinez & Sarno, 2020). According to the authors, the reality is that "the discourse has completely changed" (p. 1).

Though the enforcement of laws that aim to benefit a country and its people on a wide scale are necessary, such as the Netherland's upholding of the burqa ban, what should be shed light on here are government policies when it comes to pushing for human rights vs. Muslim women rights – namely, how these women are being depicted in the media as a consequence, which is evidently affected by evolving social events and political ideologies. Along similar lines, Fairclough (2015) explains that in contemporary Britain, for instance, "it is mainly white middle-class people who act as gatekeepers in gatekeeping encounters with members of the various ethnic (and cultural) minorities of Asian, West Indian, African, etc., origin" (p. 40), and thus in the process are more likely to drive news discourses in such a way that benefits their own agendas.

As for representations of Saudi women more specifically in news discourses, research suggests oscillating representations depending on factors such as "geographical location of the texts, the power relationship between Islam and the West, and the Western discourse on gender" (Sendi, 2019, p. 16). On the one hand, we find relentless Orientalist depictions (Al-Hejin, 2014; Sarkhoh, 2013) in which Saudi women are often perceived as threatening agents because of the veil they wear, their presumed fanatic thoughts, and their increasing numbers.

And on the other hand, Saudi women, to this day, are also perceived as agents of "power, seduction and grandeur" (Al-Ghadeer, 2019, p. 306), which recently have been more frequently replaced by perceptions of them being "oppressed and victims of patriarchy" (Alharbi, 2015, p. 10; AlQallaf, 2018; Elyamany, 2019). Bashatah (2017) argues that Saudi women, via various semio-discursive strategies, are regularly misrepresented in news reports for many reasons, including hidden economic and political agendas geared towards a "new type of colonization" (p. 220), trivializing "women and their causes, especially in Saudi Arabia . . . without

understanding key cultural differences or the formation of gender in the Middle East" (Al-Ghadeer, 2019, p. 307).

Another long-held Orientalist assumption pertains to the misogyny and tacit supremacy of Eastern men (Taher, 2019). This is not to say that this is fictitious as the oppression of women is "a harsh reality in all countries of the world" (Sendi, 2019, p. 19). Saudi men, themselves, acknowledge that this exists in their own society. For example, in a 2011 Arabic article in *AlRiyadh* newspaper titled "The Misogynist (Who Hates Women)", Bukhait (2017) explains that misogyny can result in various social injustices against women, such as the ramifications of those who declared that women driving is a sin or those who would rather see a Saudi women "wrapped up in her suffocating black abaya selling items under the scorching sun" (p. 1) rather than picturing her in an air-conditioned store pursuing her business. Any and every war against women's rights is a misogynist's "sacred war" (p. 1).

Fierce misogynist ideologies also run through Saudi director, producer, and women rights supporter Al-Esa's (2017) satiric YouTube song [Hwages](#), meaning "Concerns" in English, in which the opening scene shows a young boy in the driver's seat and behind him six Saudi women, highlighting the boy's authority over the adult women which signifies their "low status" (Al-Harby, 2017, p. 188). The song is packed with intentionally infuriating misogynist and patriarchal images and the lyrics, which mostly consist of repetitive prayers from women pleading for men's annihilation for the psychological damage they have inflicted on them, as it sends a clear message of the ongoing discriminatory injustices that endure in many conservative Saudi families, and at the workplace. A case in point is reported by Kurdi (2014) who in her study of Saudi female journalists working in the local Saudi press found that gender discrimination greatly affected their "pay, job opportunities, promotion, availability and access to information" (p. 2).

Indeed, many Saudi women, till very recently, were customarily consigned to second-class citizen status majorly due to the Kingdom's male guardianship system (Elyas & Aljabri, 2020) "restricting the movement of women and [perpetrating] discrimination against [them]" (AlSuraihi, 2019, p. 2). This was revealed in AlSuraihi's (2019) empirical study based on semi-structured in-depth interviews of 20 elected Saudi women of the Municipal Election of 2015. Equally serious is the fact that Saudi women have often been discriminated against in the workplace since they are frequently seen as lacking akin mental/physical abilities to perform

as well as their Western counterparts or even on par to other Arab women who do not "look" Middle Eastern (Al-Asfour et al., 2017; Awad, 2010).

As such, one of the aims of this study was to explore if such Orientalist ideologies exist in two quite powerful historical periods in Saudi Arabia when it comes to Saudi women's agency and visibility; namely, those of when Saudi women first started protesting and later when women were granted the right to drive. The expectation was that when Saudi women are discussed within an empowering news context, they would be given due recognition and portrayed as they actually *are* rather than how some ill-informed, biased news agencies imagine them to be, reflecting, or not, the concrete societal changes rapidly taking place in Saudi Arabia, and in effect, discursively shifting the "master narrative behind who the Saudi woman is" (Jamjoom, 2020, p. 16), and in the process aiding in the dismantling of presuppositions about Saudi women.

3.2 News Media, Power, and Newsworthiness

The far-reaching influential power of mass media on human perceptions, immediate reactions, and its longer-term ramifications has long been established in the fields of mass communication and Sociology, and more recently in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research (Baker & McGlashan, 2020; Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Fairclough, 2015). Fairclough (1995) contends that the media is a "signifying power" (p. 2) which is exercised and consolidated through linguistic and visual choices, reflecting hidden ideologies, interests, and desired agendas of those whose who possess authority and have control over or access to the public mass media, be it written or spoken. The media's impact in all its multimodal (i.e., textual, visual, and auditory) formats, ranging from TV broadcasts and the radio to the press and social media, is inescapable, especially considering that we live in a "media-saturated world" (Couldry, 2001, p. 10), and thus, their influence must not be underestimated.

Couldry (2001) argues that media consumers often "believe in the authority of media discourse in countless local contexts" (p. 5), resulting in strong ties between the power of the media, its geographical dissemination, and local "naturalized" reception. The result of such dynamic phenomena is various "media cultures" (p. 6) which encourage people to think and act a certain way, creating a sense that this is what is natural or expected, as the media discursively defines social class and control which may lead to driving societies apart (Fairclough, 2015).

Realizing the gravity of both textual and visual media discourse, many scholars (Bednarek, 2016; Caple, 2017; Machin & van Leeuwen, 2016) have called for and initiated research studies

that attempt to dissect and uncover such naturalization to reach empirically informed conclusions and bring to light embedded ideologies and agendas. This, in turn, is believed to help raise awareness among media consumers and help stakeholders formulate potential social improvements based on the findings of these projects.

The common assumption is that a news agency's duty towards its readers is to provide them with varied, credible, and impartial information about important occurrences around the world, "often described as the 'eyes and ears of the public'" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 22). Well-informed citizens expect this now more than ever as the media, such as online news media, are perceived as one of the most fundamental resources for free, instantaneous information. Two leading world news suppliers are the British-based *Reuters* and the US-based *Associated Press* (AP) who pride themselves on "definitive" global news coverage, state "More than half the world's population sees our content every day" ([The Associated Press](#)), as they also check the facts behind the news – so are recognized as credible news sources.

Baker and McGlashan (2020) argue that analysing large news discourse has never been more crucial as the way that people engage with the news in the last two decades has changed, as well as press agency practices. As news consumers are now able to quickly access the news online from any mobile device and interact with it, something very significant is taking place:

> Newspaper editors are able to gather large amounts of data about their readers in terms of which links they click on and how long they remain on a web page (as well as other forms of 'customer analytics'). Such information can then be used in order to refine news content to prioritise the sorts of stories that readers are most likely to read (Baker & McGlashan, 2020, p. 2)

In the same vein, Jaworska (2016) draws our attention to the fact that mediatized discourses are not mainly a reflection of what press agencies see as significant and stimulating but are in effect motivated by "profit orientation" (p. 150) and are thus selected for their popularity to appeal to and attract the imagined, broader target market (Albawardi & Jones, 2021; Jaworska, 2016). This is not to be taken lightly, as it has long been recognized that the press plays a pivotal role in how the news, and its ideological underpinnings, is construed and disseminated in society (Bednarek & Caple, 2017), ultimately determining "which ideas and which version of the facts shall reach the public" (Falah, 2005, p. 304), influencing people's stances and impacting their life decisions.

Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) maintain that most newspapers "make no attempt to be unbiased" (p. 8), explicitly and/or implicitly revealing their opinions on issues, often repeatedly, frequently leading to discrimination and marginalization since "cumulative" (Baker & McEnery, 2005, p. 199) discourse is most impactful. Fairclough (2015) adds that the British press blatantly presents the attitudes and ideologies of those in power, and at times exercises "the power to disguise power" (p. 80) when this fits the institution's dispositions. Van Dijk (2015) thus cautions individuals to be vigilant as the news we read and the images we see are, for the most part, products of white "powerful elite groups and institutions" (p. 40).

Echoing similar concerns, Mayr (2008) states that news articles and images, like those obtained from *Getty Images*, the AP, or *Reuters*, are "not in themselves ideologically constructed" (p. 77). The author argues that how the journalists pick out certain photos and represent them within pre-set institutionalized and/or ideological news frames is what lends news reports to often being prejudiced in terms of what world events are mediatized or not. So, for instance, in the case of Saudi women, as discussed previously, we find that the literature has shown a long history of Saudi women being portrayed both visually and textually as "invisible, marginal, suppressed and, more importantly, in need of saving by the West" (Al-Ghadeer, 2019, p. 311), which may ultimately affect how Non-Muslims see Saudi Arabia and its women.

This is troublesome since the way Saudi women are often perceived is not how the majority perceive themselves, and so the misrepresentations are thoughtlessly recycled, and distorted stereotypes keep thriving. A case in point is Harvard Professor Claudia Goldin who described her trip to Saudi Arabia in *The New York Times* as being on *Star Trek*, insinuating Orientalist 'us' vs. 'them' alienation (Al-Ghadeer, 2019). And also that of Nicholas Kristof, one of *The New York Times*' most prominent writers, who expressed his shock at seeing a group of Saudi women, in a mall in SA, looking at a sheer blouse and described them as "giggly black ghosts . . . fingering a blouse so sheer and low-cut that my wife would never be caught dead in it" (Kristof in Al-Ghadeer, 2019, p. 310), which once again, implies 'otherness' as well as Orientalist images of them as frivolous promiscuous creatures, reminiscent of Albalawi's (2015) findings in *Stan of Arabia*.

We should keep in mind, however, that what stories are selected and what finally gets published must be in some ways newsworthy and that newsworthiness is far from universal. Mayr (2008) argues that news values can be rather seen as an internalized "set of arbitrary values that have become established over time through institutionalized practices" (p. 73), directing writers to

what news stories should be pursued and prioritized. The author points to Galtung and Ruge (1965) who pinpointed 12 standards by which journalists typically measure the newsworthiness of a piece; namely, Frequency, Threshold, Unambiguity, Meaningfulness, Consonance, Unexpectedness, Continuity, Composition, Reference to elite nations, people, and particular persons, and Reference to something negative. Since then, a few others have been added such as "surprise stories", "predictability", and "picture opportunities and sex" (Mayr, 2008, p. 75).

Bednarek and Caple (2017), who have done much work on newsworthiness and have introduced news values as discursive practices, maintain that journalists tend to report on stories that are believed to be as newsworthy enough for publication by their respective news agencies. These news reports typically include several newsworthy values that are "socioculturally assigned, rather than 'natural' or 'inherent' in the event" (Caple et al., 2020, p. 4).

In effect, this means that the constructed news that makes it to the public will typically include one or more news value, as outlined in Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA framework; namely, Aesthetic Appeal, Consonance, Eliteness, Impact, Negativity, Positivity, Proximity, Superlativeness, Timeliness, and Unexpectedness (to be explained in more detail later). No doubt, these types of intentional discursive choices of what events or social actors to include often "draws attention to the routine absence of other types of events (and, arguably, of other perspectives) from most news" (Harcup, 2019, p. 1), frequently resulting in the persistent absence of the impacts that these backgrounded events or people may have in reality (Schröter & Taylor, 2018).

News positioning, in large part, as perceived and outlined by van Leeuwen (2008) is achieved by a recontextualization of what particular journalists and their institutes deem as socially and ideologically noteworthy "representations of social practices" (p. 6) and social actors. To achieve this, journalists often shape meaning in the news media by employing various techniques, such as foregrounding a social actor, for instance, via *Nomination* (e.g., Manal Al-Sharif), *Activation* (e.g., Saudi women *take to* the roads), or backgrounding them via *Exclusion* or *Subjugation* via certain verb collocates (e.g., Authorities have previously *detained* women) or prepositional phrase collocates with "against" (e.g., practices that discriminate *against* women) - all of which in addition to other practices will be explained in Chapter 4.

Similarly, recontextualization also takes place when utilizing news photos. Ledin and Machin (2020) argue that news images, such as those obtained from *Getty Images*, the AP, or *Reuters*,

are rarely "neutral recordings of reality," (p. 39) as they align news viewers with some truths, often those that are in sync with consumerism (Machin, 2004), and distance them from others. Falah (2005) states that such photographs are often chosen in compliance with agency policies or the journalist's tangential intuition about a photo's appropriateness, often contributing to the reinforcement of motivated ideologies.

3.3 Approaches to Study News Discourse

3.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Machin and Mayr (2012) state that linguists, in the 1970s and 1980s, like Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew were among the first to draw on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which focuses on the critical social uses of languages, i.e., mapping the choices made in discourse in relation to the socio-political context. According to Baker and McGlashan (2020), CDA "is a methodological approach to the analysis of language in order to examine social problems, with a focus on power, particularly issues around abuses of power including discrimination and disempowerment" (p. 1). These scholars believe that language not only has the power to shape public opinion but more importantly, language serves to "maintain and legitimise certain kinds of social practices" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 19) via explicit or implicit stances and ideologies.

Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that the term "ideology", which was coined by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in the early 1800s, is key in any critical linguistic study as "ideology obscures the nature of our unequal societies and prevents us from seeing [and doing] alternatives" (p. 25) which can be observed by detecting what is hidden, substituted, deemphasized, or enhanced (Ledin & Machin, 2020). Ideologies, or in other words dispositions and identity, are embedded in every aspect of our lives, e.g., in ideas, knowledge, and everyday institutional practices. For instance, in Western societies, achieving financial success is typically discursively embedded both textually and visually as a priority if one is to be considered truly successful (Desjardins, 2018). Thus, investigating discourses critically has become crucial for developing better-informed societies.

Several CDA approaches exist, "each with different (and sometimes overlapping) theoretical and analytical foci and tool-sets, e.g., Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2003) dialectical-relational approach, Reisgl and Wodak's (2001) Discourse-Historical Analysis, Van Dijk's (2006) socio-cognitive approach and van Leeuwen's (1996, 1997) focus on social actor representation" (Baker & McGlashan, 2020, p. 5). But when it comes to examining news discourse, one well-

established approach is that of Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional CDA theoretical framework, which explores "the relationship between discourse and other elements or 'moments' of social practices and social events" (Fairclough, 2005, p. 2).

Fairclough (1992) states that any discourse has three dimensions. Firstly, the micro-dimension includes analysing a text, allowing us to reveal grammatically and/or semantically embedded ideologies that, otherwise, would most likely go unnoticed. Secondly, the framework includes the meso-dimension which examines the discursive processes of production, distribution, and interpretation of the text(s) within particular social institutional settings as textual and visual choices are rarely ever neutral.

Lastly, we can examine the macro-dimension that investigates the broader social practices that underlie representations and how they interrelate with the whole society. Discourse, both as an agent and mirror of social changes, is exactly what CDA research sets out to investigate and uncover by "deeply understanding the expansiveness, complexity, and multimodality of discourse as acts of communication that help constitute the meaning and experience of everyday life" (Tharp & Tharp, 2019, p. 75). As such, Fairclough's framework will be adopted to gain a more comprehensive understanding of Saudi women's past and current representations, social stance, and newsworthiness in the local and international media within the various social dimensions of the news discourse corpora selected for this study, as outlined in *Figure 1*.

Micro-dimension:
Investigating Saudi women
textual / visual representations in different
temporal/geographical news corpora –
using van Leeuwen's (2008) networks

Meso-dimension:
Comparing/discussing the results uncovered at the micro-dimension and investigating Saudi women newsworthiness in relation to news production via the news values that were most prominently used by journalists at the production phase since they cannot be asked about the discursive processes that were implemented when reporting the news – using Bednarek and Caple's DNVA (2017)

Macro-dimension:
A discussion of all findings in relation to the changing Saudisociety at large, and more specifically to what extent the representations converge/diverge from previous Orientalist findings and perceptions, and what underlie these representations and how they interrelate with the whole society and their implications

Figure 1. The investigation of Fairclough's methodological dimensions in this study

Alongside Fairclough's CDA framework, a corpus-assisted analytical approach will be employed relating to length, arbitrariness, and representativeness of chosen texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In fact, corpus-assisted CDA research is frequently adopted among discourse analysts for its advantages over not using a corpus-assisted method when it comes to analysing large datasets.

3.3.2 Corpus Linguistics

Sinclair (1992) was one of the first linguists to fully realize the significant potentials of automated language analysis, as such analyses produce valuable insights into the "richness of patterning in natural language" (p. 381). As researchers started taking on extensive corpora investigations, Sinclair posited that "there is no substitute for experience of corpus work: the results of even simple questions cannot be predicted, and the retrieval of linguistic facts is a humbling experience" (p. 381).

Hasan (1992) adds that analysing "semantic patterns in corpora may be a very demanding task; but this task cannot be shelved aside" (pp. 300-301) as not analysing enough data raises the risk of finding ungeneralizable patterns accidentally (Bateman et al., 2017). Present-day researchers interested in uncovering statistically significant linguistic patterns could not agree more. Hunston (2014) strongly believes that the use of corpora and specialised corpus software, which have frequently been utilized since the development of personal computers in the 1990s, elevates the "extent, reach, depth and strength" (p. 1) of research.

Jaworska (2016) sums up the strengths of adopting a corpus-assisted approach as opposed to not doing so when conducting CDA:

> By examining the interplay between context, text, and language, DA and CDA have been invaluable in providing insights into how media symbolically produce and reproduce norms and ideologies, especially of the powerful and dominant groups. However, both approaches operate normally with smaller sets of media data. Whilst this can produce rich accounts of a particular issue shedding light on nuanced or subtle discursive strategies and representations, findings obtained from an analysis of a handful of articles are difficult to generalise beyond the studied cases. They may also tell us little about the more pervasive and widespread ways of how media construct events (p. 150)

Baker and Levon (2015) add that a corpus-assisted approach reduces researcher bias, facilitates indicative large-scale corpora to be analysed efficiently, and allows for a "form of triangulation" (p. 223) when unpacking the rationale behind discourses. Moreover, Baker and McGlashan (2020) maintain that this type of approach enables researchers "to draw their observations from a wide range of texts rather than 'cherry-picking' a few texts which prove a preconceived point, thus attempts to mitigate researcher bias" (p. 5). This is particularly pertinent when it comes to investigating large-scale news media corpora for the compounded effect that repetitive news and accompanying images have on news consumers (Fairclough, 2015), and which may not be immediately noticeable without the aid of powerful corpus tools.

Baker and McGlashan (2020) further discuss the importance of corpus tools as they provide both qualitative frequency and statistical test options in the identification of linguistic patterns as well as the utilization of concordance tools for a more in-depth qualitative reading of particularly prototypical patterns, advocating "moving forwards and backwards between corpus techniques and close reading in order to form and test new hypotheses" (p. 6). Surely, integrating CDA with a corpus-assisted analysis can be a "useful methodology synergy" (Baker et al., 2008, p. 274), revealing "much more nuanced patterns of language use and representations in the media when compared with a quantitative or qualitative analysis alone" (Jaworska, 2016, p. 151).

Though an abundance of research has turned to corpus-assisted CDA methods over the last 20 years, Haider (2016) points out that it is "rare to find studies that have applied the combination on Arabic texts" (p. 13), and which remains the case as shown in the Literature Review, thus studies such as his and the current research will hopefully contribute to the corpus-assisted motivated research on Arabic discourse. And to reveal further representation patterns, corpus-assisted CDA is to be additionally reinforced in the current study by investigating images, overcoming one of the main limitations of a classic corpus approach, thus strengthening the reliability of research findings. Considering that Saudi women, as marginalized Muslim women, have long been filtered through an Orientalist lens (Bouferrouk, 2019), it is the aim of this multimodal study to explore, with the least amount of bias as possible, whether such representations currently persist in the driving ban/rights news context or whether changes in representation patterns have occurred.

3.3.3 Newsworthiness via DNVA

Harcup (2019) explains that news is journalism's main product, and the decisions that journalists make on a daily basis regarding what is noteworthy have been scrutinized by academics since before journalism studies became a separate field. The concept of news values has been at the center of this discussion, which can be interpreted as a standard of newsworthiness against which journalists evaluate the potential publication of stories, as well as an analytical tool for scholars looking for salient patterns of reporting and representation in the news media. Caple et al. (2020) explain that newsworthiness looks at how "worthy" a social event or actor is deemed to be reported on in the news, discursively constructed through semiotic resources, such as language and images, via a set of established news values as those found in Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA framework:

Table 1

Bednarek and Caple's (2017, p. 55) News Values and their Definitions in DNVA

News value	Definition
Aesthetic Appeal	discursively constructed as beautiful (visuals only)
Consonance	discursively constructed as (stereo)typical
Eliteness	discursively constructed as of high status or fame
Impact	discursively constructed as having significant effects or consequences
Negativity	discursively constructed as negative
Positivity	discursively constructed as positive
Proximity	discursively constructed as geographically/culturally near the audience
Superlativeness	discursively constructed as being of high intensity or large scope/scale
Timeliness	discursively constructed as timely in relation to the publication date
Unexpectedness	discursively constructed as unexpected

According to Bednarek (2016), the value of Consonance refers to discourse stereotypes, such as *notorious for* or *once again*. Next is Eliteness, relating to high-status social actors or institutions (e.g., *Harvard University* and *top diplomats*); Impact, reflected in discourse of great significance, as in *momentous* and *will stun the world*; Superlativeness, which is commonly used to express high intensity or large scope such as *thousands*, *extreme*, *growing*, and *most shocking*. The next two are considered newsworthy values for their Negativity, as in *terrible*, *distraught*, and *breaching*, as well as for the Unexpectedness of some news, expressed by terms such *astonishing* and *can't believe*. And the final two values concern Proximity (i.e., how

geographically near the event is, e.g., *home-grown* and *our*) and Timeliness (i.e., how current the event is, e.g., *latest*, *on-going*, and *is about to*).

Bednarek and Caple (2017) argue that constructing news in a particular manner ultimately leads to the foregrounding and/or backgrounding of news stories so that in effect, the more that news values materialize in the report, the higher the chance that the story will be published. Once a social occurrence is published repeatedly, there becomes a high likelihood of reinforcing "ideologically loaded 'maps of meaning'" (Harcup, 2019, p. 5) that are often in line with the mainstream status quo. As such, one important point that needs to be raised and considered here is whether all news values are equal, or whether some are more important than others. Or do they all apply to some degree, but are unevenly weighted, within, but also between cultures?

Hanitzsch (2019) draws our attention to the fact that comparative journalism researchers often presume "methodological and theoretical universalism, with the risk of producing measurement out of context" (p. 516). The author argues that this issue is particularly pertinent to large-scale comparative projects, such as those involving a comparison of news values, which, in reality, may only be locally relevant, or in other words, culturally bound (Caple, 2018). No doubt, many scholars believe that news values are "far from a unified entity" (O'Neill & Harcup, 2019, p. 216) since they are distinguished by a number of factors including the specific context news judgments are made (e.g., in media markets and organizations), news locale, medium, and format.

Therefore, it may not be possible to evaluate news values in a meaningful manner without also taking into account "occupational routines, budgets, the market, and ideology as well as wider societal, cultural, economic, and political considerations" (O'Neill & Harcup, 2019, p. 225). Based on this, according to Hanitzsch (2019), when conducting any comparative study, one needs to remember that as one examines cultural specifics more closely, what we perceive as similarities may actually reveal a multitude of differences. Moreover, the author stresses that researchers need to stay aware of the fact that most news value taxonomies rest on notions and indicators that have emerged from Western contexts and which have often become a benchmark for judging journalism in other parts of the world.

Keeping this in mind and how news values might vary across the chosen contexts in the current research, when it comes to the UK press, we find that O'Neill and Harcup's (2020) investigation of more than 2,000 lead stories in 10 UK national broadsheets and tabloids revealed an updated and expanded set of frequently emphasized news values. The authors

concluded that, although exceptions are bound to occur, news stories must generally satisfy one or usually more of the 15 following values: Exclusivity, Bad news, Conflict, Surprise, Audio-visuals, Shareability, Entertainment, Drama, Follow-up stories, Powerful elite, Relevance, Magnitude, Celebrity, Good news, and News organization's agenda.

As for the Saudi news media, as mentioned earlier, SA enforces strict censorship laws over all forms of media, including newspapers, that mandates the use of decent language and adherence to state laws as well as contributing "towards educating the nation and supporting its unity" (Basic Law of Governance, 1992, p. 8). According to Alnajrani et al. (2018), as a result, self-censorship is endorsed and exercised among journalists and which has resulted in SA media ranking nearly last on press freedom, 172 of 180 nations, (Reporters without Borders, 2019). Consequently, what news values tend to be foregrounded by journalists are no doubt influenced.

Alnajrani et al. (2018) found that the concept of "the Ideal Journalist" (p. 7) in SA is a very important one. The authors explain that the country's image must be protected by not allowing the broadcasting of negative news "that relates to sexual news or killings" (p. 8). The authors explain that there is an understood commitment among Saudi journalists to depicting SA in a positive light in general, and more specifically, as a safe and modern society. As discussed, although mainstream news values may appear to be a set of fixed, recurrent themes frequently published in the news, O'Neill and Harcup (2019) state that "they actually form part of an ideological structure" (p. 223) that serve the agendas of the most powerful elite in every society. Hence, any researcher interested in investigating news values in different contexts needs to be mindful of such discrepancies.

3.3.4 Multimodality

According to Hart (2020), "Multimodality does not represent an approach to discourse analysis but, rather, a commitment to studying the range of modes, besides language, that are drawn upon to convey meaning in any act of communication. The term 'mode' refers to a set of representational resources, existing in different channels or modalities, which carry conventionalised meanings within a given community" (p. 143). The author states that multimodality increasingly became the focus of attention among discourse analysis scholars in the late twentieth century who recognised the importance of accounting for the enmeshed nature of texts and images, and which constitutes, what Hart believes, was the "multimodal turn" (p. 143).

Indeed, more current literature has seen an upsurge in researchers adopting, or calling for, a MCDA framework that includes a critical semiotic analysis of resources, such as images, in addition to texts (Bednarek & Caple, 2017; Ledin & Machin, 2017; van Leeuwen, 2020). Ledin and Machin (2020) state that previously, 'monomodality' was the preferred type of discourse, but over time, people started realizing the impact that images made when integrated into the text, often provoking people to take action (Stöckl et al., 2019). And hence, their thoughts and practices on how the different modes can be combined to enhance communication evolved and became easier partly due to new technologies "often merging the two into unified wholes" (van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 64).

Kress (2011) contends that with the increase of visuals that accompany texts (as illustrated in *Figure 2.* below), there is a growing consensus among linguists that a genuine understanding of a text, for example, a news report, can only be achieved if all textual and visual modes of communication are taken into consideration, as they complement one another and create equally important modes of meaning-making, that are typically "motivated according to the interests of the meaning-maker" (O'Halloran & Fei, 2014, p. 138), and which often aim to manipulate and regulate social practices in the interests of the dominant elite (Machin, 2016).
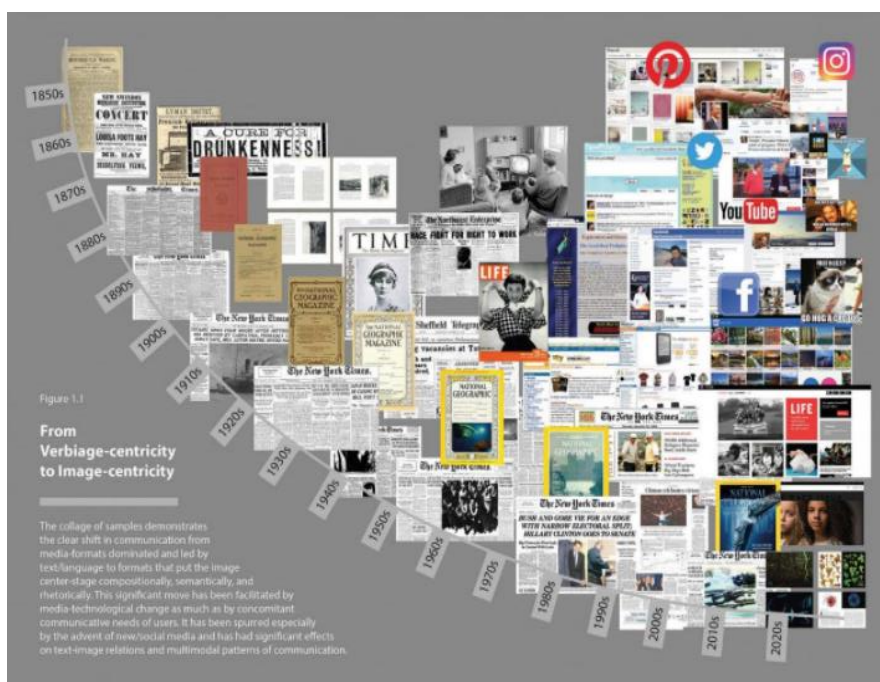
Figure 2. The increase of visuals that accompany news texts over time (Stöckl, et al., 2019, p. 4)

It has been argued that images play a key role in communicating "wider ideas, moods and attitudes and identities" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 19). And when it comes to multimodal news

articles, MCDA research may explore how an "institution regulates the use of such images" (Machin, 2016, p. 331), and how recurrent images may ascertain particular power relations and ideologies, thus influencing public opinions and perceptions. This becomes more pertinent as it has been claimed that media consumers may quickly forget the details of news stories, but images can often be recalled for a much longer duration (Falah, 2005).

And with regards to photos of Saudi women more specifically, there may be an even stronger, swifter inclination to observe an image due to long-standing Western intrigue of what is obscured behind a woman's veil (Al-Harby, 2017). Therefore, examining images which are currently being incorporated more frequently and seamlessly into news reports (Podlasov & O'Halloran, 2013) has become crucial in attaining more holistic analyses, thus obtaining more accurate findings on news discourses (Caple, 2017).

While there is a body of insightful MCDA studies, as the next section (3.4.4) will demonstrate, most researchers tend to investigate news texts quite thoroughly and efficiently via well-established corpus tools, but only a selection of images are examined qualitatively. Previous literature shows that to date, a scarcity of scholars have worked extensively on creating more complex MCDA frameworks except for two key efforts that have made great strides in incorporating several of the research approaches to be used in this study, and thus need to be given special attention:

(1) Professor Kay O'Halloran, who along with her Multimodal Analysis Lab team, created the Multimodal Analysis Image software which is a program for coding and analysing multimodal texts that include both language and image components. Using this software, O'Halloran, together with researchers from various other academic fields, have conducted numerous studies (Lab Publications) in which they have attempted to reconcile both textual/visual modes in a singular methodical framework.

One such study is that of O'Halloran et al. (2019) who analysed violent extremist discourse representations found in all online text and images relating to the ISIS-owned magazine *Dabiq*, since the start of its publication in 2013 to 2019. The authors found that in general, both text and images "function to legitimise ISIS as an officially recognisable government" (p. 467) via frequently repeated phrases such as "the ISIS government" along with standard army outfits, adding to this the "positive" emotional appeal of the images as the soldiers are grinning while holding their hands up as if to celebrate a victorious moment.

But since O'Halloran et al.'s (2019) approach requires both manual annotation and machine learning - advanced technology beyond the scope of many researchers, they acknowledge that "the challenges of this endeavor cannot be underestimated" (p. 468) and state that to date, "none of the [other multimodal] approaches involve the study of the meanings arising from the text and image relations in large datasets" (p. 459), and that there needs to be a movement towards designing frameworks that can handle the large volume of visual and textual data being produced and distributed these days.

(2) Professor Monika Bednarek and Professor Helen Caple, in 2014, using DNVA as their analysis framework, started creating such an integrative approach, which they tentatively labelled Corpus-Assisted Multimodal Discourse Analysis (CAMDA). In a later paper, Bednarek and Caple (2017) explain how the CAMDA framework was utilized in an actual case study. Using an MS Access relationship database, the researchers examine salient news values in 99 highly shared online news articles published that year around the world in terms of (1) *only* the first image that appears in these articles, (2) their headlines, and (3) opening paragraphs, not the whole article.

The selected images were first analysed qualitatively, followed by a textual analysis using corpus tools. Both semiotic resources were finally brought together in a table and compared to check "the extent to which words and image *reinforce* the same news values, the extent to which they construct *complementary* news values, and the extent to which they *clash* with each other" (p. 200). The authors found that the majority of news value constructions were "reinforced across all three elements of the story opening—the headline, the image, and the opening paragraph" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 219), with only a few cases whereby there was a clash across the semiotic modes, most specifically pertaining to *Negativity* and *Positivity* found in texts vs. images.

One other more recent project worth mentioning here is that of Caple et al. (2020) in which they, first, explicitly outline their complete CAMDA framework in a detailed table that presents how each news value can be used in constructing news events via various linguistic and visual resource examples (pp. 9-17). As for the study itself, the CAMDA framework is used in a cross-linguistic comparison of news values in multimodal articles on The National Day in both China (in 2015 & 2016) and Australia (in 2016 and 2017), each of the corpora consisting of 100+ articles and 30-50 images. Using MS Excel spreadsheets for the visual analysis and corpus

tools for the texts, DNVA findings of both the verbal and visual reporting of the national day celebrations in China and Australia are presented in turn.

What is important to focus on here is that Caple et al. (2020) provide a three-dimensional topology (*Figure 3.* below) for explicitly situating research (for transparency), and state that their study would be situated as: Intersemiotic, intertextual, and cross-linguistic.
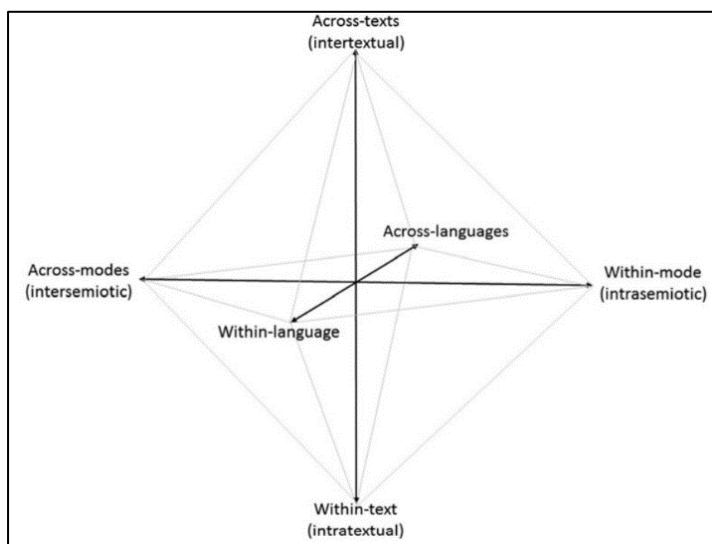
Figure 3. A three-dimensional topology for situating research (Caple et al., 2020, p. 27)

Adopting the CAMDA framework, Ismail (2017) explored the representation of female and male athletes in Malaysian sports news discourse during two timespans, September to November, in 2013 and 2014, in six local newspapers published in English. The author quantitatively conducted a textual analysis on a corpus of 7,640 articles (around 3 million words) via corpus tools, and then utilizing the same CAMDA approach as Bednarek and Caple (2017), conducted a qualitative multimodal investigation on a sub-corpus of 36 article texts and images, but this time investigated gender, passivity/activity, volition, and emotivity instead of news values.

Using this approach, Ismail (2017) found out that there was a significant lack of female athlete coverage when compared to male athletes and evidence of some passive and emotional stereotypes typically associated with women. Important to note here is that Ismail's study was the only one found in the literature that utilized the CAMDA framework and, thus, states that "there is room for more innovation and methodological experimentation with such a combination" (p. 60).

Some scholars have expressed concerns about analysing both texts and visuals under similar criteria. Kress (2011) clarifies "it is a matter of intellectual generosity" (p. 241) to acknowledge the limits of one approach and think about employing another that might better serve the research queries. In the same vein, Jewitt et al. (2016) point out that it is "a matter of epistemology: some argue that the differences between, say, image and speech are too great to handle within one and the same framework" (p. 6). The authors realize that various semiotic modes possess their own meaning-making potentials (i.e., affordances) which may not lend themselves to utilizing the same analytical standards.

But then again, Kress and van Leeuwen (2020) assert that "a detailed comparison can bring out how in some respects they [different modes] realize similar meanings, albeit in different ways" (p. 72). Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2004) in relation to various semiotic modes encourage "new uses of existing resources" (p. 8), and Jewitt et al. (2016) go on to state that "notwithstanding the differences, it is still possible, at a more general level, to establish common principles of meaning-making" (p. 4). As such, for this study a deductive, "theory-driven approach" (Hart, 2020, p. 153) was utilized. Then using similar coding criteria, a cross-linguistic corpus analysis of all the news texts was carried out, finally bringing together both the visual and textual analyses to see how well both modes work together to give a more balanced and comprehensive picture of social actor representation and newsworthiness.

3.4 MCDA Research on Representations in the News Media

Since this study is concerned with media representations of Saudi women, who have long been recognised as the 'other' or minoritized group, the following sections review the literature on various minoritized groups, with a special focus on women.

3.4.1 Corpus-Assisted CDA Studies of Women Representations in the News Media

As this section demonstrates, a plethora of research has shown the extent to which women are underrepresented, and often misrepresented, in the news media. In her data-driven book *Invisible Women*, Perez (2019) provides ample statistical evidence of male dominance in the political spheres which has thus led to fewer women in positions of power, for instance in news organizations. The author asserts that this imbalance in female job quota has ultimately facilitated the "gender data gap problem" (p. 218), resulting in recontextualized representations of women in the media, potentially altering readers' perceptions and ideologies at large. Harun et al. (2018) posit that many "of these misrepresentations are echoed in applied linguistic research on the discursive construction of women in news discourse" (p. 468).

One of the first studies that investigated gender discrimination in the news media was Fowler's research (1991) who examined depictions of females in UK news articles which focused on the 1985 New Year's events and Honours List. By examining the syntactic and semantic structure choices made, the author found that marriage, family, and sexual stereotypes were typically foregrounded in the representation of women. Similarly, employing CDA and van Leeuwen's framework for the analysis of social actors, Lirola (2016) studied representations of Irish women during a critical historical period, that of the Celtic Tiger in a 93-article corpus extending from 1997-2008, from one newspaper. The author found increased active visibility of women in the public arena, but female depictions of being a wife, mother, homemaker, etc. still lingered.

Some years later, further essentialist outcomes on women representations emerged in Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) whose large-scale corpus-assisted study of the British press found that women were chiefly categorized in terms of their "social and aesthetic esteem, especially, but not exclusively, in the tabloid press" (p. 124), whereas men were represented as having more social and physical power, as reflected in adjectives such as "top, richest…wealthy, self-made" (p. 113).

Along the same lines, similar gendered representations have also continued to emerge in more current research. For example, Tischner et al's. (2019) CDA investigation of twelve 2011-2013 BBC broadcasts found double standard representations in the way that elite women leaders were expected to perform. The authors argue that these broadcasts' focus on women's appearance and societal duties on the one hand and in doing so, serve to "reinstates the gender binaries of male/female, active/passive, subject/object . . . that undermine women's plausibility as leaders" (p. 472). And on the other hand, there is an over-emphasis on the need to adopt masculine traits to succeed politically and this may suggest the inability to perceive competent women leaders in non-masculinist ways.

Additionally, according to Cameron and Shaw (2020), a more cordial style of political speech which is becoming increasingly popular in the construction of prominent female politicians was evident in their discursive case study of the 2015 UK General Election campaign party leaders' debates broadcasted on the BBC April 2 and April 16. The authors argue that whereas men are judged as individuals, women politicians are typically portrayed as having a "different voice" (p. 145) which displays less aggressive, gender-specific expectations and norms. Essentially, an "ideal" cooperative female speaker who does not really exist in real life is

foregrounded over portraying factors that may truly differentiate female political communication, such as "age, class, ethnicity, political allegiance and experience" (Cameron & Shaw, 2020, p. 157).

A further common depiction of Western women in the news media is that of victimization as reported by Tranchese & Sugiura's (2021) CA-CDA research of representations of raped female social actors in four British broadsheets. The authors investigated a total of 484 articles for a 1-year timespan in 2008. The results show that not only are women often depicted as victims but that quantifying victims using many, more, other, etc. has the effect of recontextualizing these women as a homogeneous group of people whose practices are combined and constructed into the same identity and who are typically "talked about rather than doing the talking" (p. 155).

In fact, such findings are reflected to this day as illustrated in the 6th Global Media Monitoring Project's (GMMP) 2020 report that states "The most severe underrepresentation in gender-based violence stories takes place in newspapers, in which women are just 35% of subjects and sources" (p. 2). When people are not given the opportunity to openly relay their own stories in their own words, especially those that matter most to them, this may compromise news integrity to its multitude of audiences.

Goulandris and McLaughlin (2020) conducted a study that focused on the multimodal construction of Meredith Kercher as a victim of murder in the British press during 3-6 November 2007 in 45 newspaper articles, including 105 photographs. The authors revealed that the news media depiction of Kercher was multi-faceted "contingent on whatever will magnify newsworthiness" (p. 1043), including reductionist representations through sexualization and biographical inaccuracies. Additionally, an array of journalistic recontextualizations were found to be used to construct Kercher into a profitable newsworthy victimized social actor by highlighting her personal information, especially images of her, and by foregrounding sensationalized angles to keep news consumers' interested.

According to the GMMP 2020 report, much news media remain sexist, and women are still marginalized and/or are heavily misrepresented in mainstream journalism. Whereas men are more likely to be featured as active social agents, women tend to appear more as "victims, celebrities, or silent fashion icons" (Franks & Howell, 2019, p. 50). And even when news stories feature women in relation to feminism and feminist movements (whereby one of the main aims is highlighting equal representations of women in all facets of society), this area is

underrepresented in the British press in comparison to other issues related to women (Wasterlain, 2020). In her CA-CDA analysis of changing representations of feminists in a large-scale corpus of British newspapers between 1993 and 2013, Wasterlain (2020) found that negative depictions of feminism and feminists were more frequent than positive ones. More specifically, the author explains that "On the one hand, the word feminism itself is still associated with radicalism and extremism, but on the other hand, feminism is defended, valued and recognised for what it is" (p. 92).

As demonstrated above, the literature indicates that in the Western media women are still largely overrepresented as primary caregivers and located in domestic roles even when it comes to succeeding outside the home. Harmer (2021) adds that despite the importance of highlighting the marginalization of white women in the news, it is also vital to note that some women are further backgrounded due to "other social characteristics, such as race, age, and sexuality" (p. 7). The author maintains that this may lead to a reinforcement of the notion that some people have the right to occupy certain spaces while others do not, and which is the focus of the next section.

3.4.2 Corpus-Assisted CDA Studies of Muslim Women Representations in the News Media

Before delving into the literature on Muslim women, special acknowledgment needs to be given to the corpus-assisted CDA research conducted on the representations of Muslims, in general, in the media by Baker et al. (2013). Their book encompasses eight comprehensive studies on Muslims in the UK media, one of which found occasional "dislike or disapproval of Muslim women" (p. 229). However, after updating the data in their subsequent study Baker and McEnery (2019), the authors found a slight, yet significant positive discursive upsurge in how Muslim women were depicted "particularly in terms of questioning their oppression or discussion of positive female role models" (p. 231).

Such findings reveal the importance of comparing two different timespans as "studies should be restaged, and the findings of time-bound analyses should not be assumed to be generalisable beyond the period studied" (Baker and McEnery, 2019, p. 247). The current study on Saudi women is coincidently set between two similar time frames (2011-2013 and 2017-2019), and just as Baker and McEnery's (2019) research revealed shifting attitudes in the press media, the current research also sought to examine whether some evolving perceptions and ideologies regarding Saudi women within a time of significant socio-political changes would also be uncovered.

One of the first comprehensive studies on Muslim women representations in the news media which discussed the implications of persistent undue misconceptions is that of Bullock (1999). In her thesis, the author discusses feminist ethnography of some Canadian Muslim women, traces the origins of Orientalist perceptions of the veil, and surveys Muslim women about contemporary views on wearing the veil and its implications in the Muslim world, and attempts the formulation of a positive theory of the veil.

To further this point, Bullock and Jafri (2000) examined Muslim women's perceptions about representations of Muslim women in the Canadian media, mainly using focus groups. They found that the majority of the participants strongly felt that they were being represented as something *other* than a typical Canadian woman - most prominently as a passive woman with a headscarf who is typically recognized as an immigrant. Bullock (1999) challenged those who see the hijab as hindering and called them out for not trying to appreciate these women's actual points of view.

Bullock and Jafri (2000) contend that Canada is a nation that takes pride in its diversity of people, and argue that the only way for the Orientalist paradigm of 'other' vs. 'us' to be dismantled is if there is a better balance of coverage and understanding of Muslim women in the media, who are often depicted as intimidating outcasts. In an Australian context, Imtoual (2005) called for a serious, more realistic recontextualization of Muslim women in local news media discourse. The author contends that "newspapers are culpable, or at least complicit, in the religious racism experienced by Australian Muslims on a daily basis" (p. 1).

Golnaraghi and Mills (2013) confirm these concerns and add that such discrimination in the Canadian media, and thus policies, may have led to Muslim women employment inequality as Muslim women unemployment rates are among the highest among the major religions. And in the US context, Greenberg and Miazhevich (2012) who analysed British Muslim women representations over a 12-year span, from 1997 to 2009, in the US media, found that *The New York* Times was repeatedly biased as it represented these women via a "hegemonic ideology of assimilationism" (p. 93) which, according to the authors, leads to stereotypes of social 'othering'.

Negative depictions of Muslim women seem to prevail to this day, as found in Bouferrouk (2019) and Otaif (2019) who studied UK news discourses. Otaif's (2019) diachronic 1992-2013 research on Muslim women depictions, which had a similar corpus context to that of Baker's (2010) work on the UK press, also found several adverse Muslim women associations

ranging from being oppressed and needing liberation to being "problematic social actors" (p. 256) who refuse to remove their face-veils.

One of this study's strengths, however, is that Otaif (2019) clearly defines what a veil is (i.e., the face veil as opposed to the head hijab), thus resolving the issue that the veil "as a descriptive feature is often unclear" (Sarkhoh, 2013, p. 19), which has often raised serious concerns around its discursive purpose (Al-Hejin, 2014). Sarkhoh argues that this is unfortunate as the veil is often unjustifiably associated with ignorance, subjugation, and more recently with violence. Otaif's findings are, thus, more reliable and relevant when it comes to this specific lexical distinction. Such charted head scarf lexical differences can also be found in Baker et al. (2013) where the word *hijab* is most ubiquitous and consistent over time in their corpora.

Likewise, after having discussed the niqab and completing his research, Bouferrouk (2019) warned that "such misuse of these [head/face covering] terms must be avoided" (p. 222). Employing a 2010 - 2016 corpus from *The Daily Telegraph*, he investigated both the main corpus using a combination of concordance analysis with transitivity as well as inspecting a sub-corpus of headlines using Fairclough's CDA framework. In line with previous studies on Muslim women, Bouferrouk exposed damaging discursive patterns reflecting the media's Orientalist, secular, and conservative ideologies of Muslim women as a backward, minority 'other', as in *The Telegraph's* "Like a Harry Potter Invisibility Cloak, the burka conceals the identity of the wearer" (p. 137). Bouferrouk urges future researchers to "benefit from a multi-model analysis…in this case the use of images, visuals and colors" (p. 220) and recommended using Van Leeuwen and Jewitt's (2004) multimodal analysis.

Eltantawy (2007), however, found more positive depictions in the news media. The author investigated Muslim women representations in various political, social, and economical US media discourse contexts from 2001-2005 and found that "the oppressed, passive, helpless and ignorant Muslim woman did not dominate the coverage" (p. 301). The author believes that such promising findings have come to light since research that focuses on a specific sociocultural context, limits journalists from generalizing about all Muslim women. One can add to this that such contextualized studies demonstrate what the different women of the world can actually achieve and how they live their real, everyday lives, slowly breaking down the tendency to aggregate women who seem to look similar into one stereotypical group.

3.4.3 Corpus-Assisted CDA Studies of Saudi Women Representations in the News Media

A careful investigation of the existing research on the representations of Saudi women in the media quickly reveals that though more research is currently being conducted in this area, these studies are far and few between. Mishra (2007) compared representations of Saudi women in 2001-2004 US and Arab news articles. This qualitative study which utilized feminist and Orientalism theories uncovered that the US media's portrayal of Saudi women is one of local subjugation. Saudi women have been shown to be portrayed as in need of international rescuing – a similar conclusion to that of Bouferrouk (2019) and Otaif's (2019) research on Muslim women. This marginalized Oriental perspective of Saudi women seems to be commonly reflected in the media. More often than not, Saudi women have been perceived as "emotional, passive, nurturing, weak, dependent, decorative, non-assertive, and incompetent except in narrowly defined domestic chores" (Alarifi, 2001, p. 1).

The reality, however, is that this is not in line with the personal convictions of many Saudi Islamic feminists who live fulfilling lives, as observed by Mishra (2007), and confirmed in Tschirhart's (2014) study of eight blog posts at SaudiWoman's Blog (2017) authored by Eman Al Nafjan and the resulting 889 comments which were discursively analysed. Tschirhart's (2014) found "that unlike feminist movements elsewhere, their [Saudi women] calls are not revolutionary, but are instead rooted in discourses of religious righteousness" (p. 6); and for the most part, oppose the Western feminist stance, desiring a reconciliation of reform within the accepted religious norms.

Many other Saudi scholars echo and confirm these beliefs. AlSuraihi (2019) found that though numerous Saudi women, as previously discussed, are still indeed constrained in many respects both politically and socially, they "abide by these restrictions as a form of respect towards customs and traditions" (p. 148), and any emancipating movements need to be Islamically and culturally acceptable "from within their own culture and worldview" (Hoza, 2019, p. 1). Jamjoom (2020) also explains that "implementing a Western centric form of feminism" (p. 16) has never been an option for Saudi society due to its "colonial and secular overtones" (Hoza, 2019, p. 4), and more specifically to its association with non-Islamic practices of "lesbianism, abortion, aggressiveness or sexual freedom" (Kurdi, 2014, p. 52), which warrants discussing findings on Saudi women in a different light.

Such findings are not new – Offenhauer (2005) also states that women in Saudi Arabia mainly call for civil freedom and rights reform within the boundaries of Islamic laws. We also find

similar Muslim women convictions in the findings of Midden and Ponzanesi (2013) who conducted CDA investigations of postings on four websites in the Netherlands for Dutch Muslim women as well as on focus group discourse. The authors concluded that "any feminist intervention that begins with the idea that women must give up their religious identity in order to be emancipated is highly problematic" (p. 203).

Conducting a qualitative CDA study, Dahlan (2011) explored Saudi women representations in the Canadian press. Drawing on Hegel's model of dialectics, the author was particularly interested in investigating discourses of 'self' vs. 'other' as outlined by Said's *Orientalism*. Employing multi-textual analysis methods on 88 articles published between 2001 and 2009, Dahlan's findings affirmed Mishra's (2007) oppressive framing of Saudi women found in other Western media, such as women not being able to drive, the constraining, demoralizing issue of guardianship for adult Saudi women, and having to wear a black cloak in public, exacerbating 'otherness'.

However, by extending the temporal span of the data, Dahlan (2011) found that over time, as the media was reporting more on female empowerment and freedom, gradually more progressive changes in Saudi women depictions started surfacing, such as an increased mention of them in educational, business, and executive contexts – again supporting the notion of examining and comparing discursive practices over time, as sometimes research findings, especially on social matters which evolve over time and vary in different contexts, may not be fully realized unless presented within a broader temporal context (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The importance of this methodological approach has long been emphasized; Fowler (1991) states that "newspapers conceal history, presenting events as autonomous, instantaneous and rapidly erased. It would be an important critical activity to retrieve change and causation by diachronic study" (p. 226).

A further study was conducted by Alharbi (2015) who examined the salient descriptions propagated about Saudi women in the American media. 209 articles between 2010 and 2013 were collected from four American news organizations (i.e., *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Time Magazine,* and *The Associated Press*) and analysed using a systematic CDA qualitative supported with an NVivo coding process. The author's findings were partially similar to those of Mishra (2007) and Dahlan (2011) in that Saudi women are often portrayed as silent submissive victims who "need to be saved and their rights need to be defended"

(Alharbi, 2015, p. 4). Such representations were signified in the news discourse by referring to Saudi women's rights, for instance, as "*limited* or *not enough*" (p. 35).

Adding to this, Alharbi (2015) found another trend in the US news media, that of homogeny, implying that all Saudi women have the same ambitions and needs in life, as mediatized in "black-clad women" (p. 71), while the reality is that Saudi women differ greatly in all aspects of life, including regional customs, dress, social class, levels of education, aims, and open-mindedness. Such findings align with those of Alharbi (2012) who found similar notions of Muslim homogeneity in her study of pre-and post- 9/11 US news corpora, as well as Baker et al. (2012) who also revealed the homogeneity of the 'Muslim world' in British press discourse. Alharbi (2015) draws attention to the fact that "circulating stereotypes along with their allegations never get the chance to be examined and validated in these reports, instead they get reproduced and recontextualized many times and on different occasions" (p. 654).

Alenazy (2017) conducted a CDA investigation of the impact of sexism on cognition and discourse found within 9 driving ban related articles written in Arabic, in 2005, by well-known Saudi religious and conservative men. The findings showed prominent social conundrums such as male patriarchy, dominance, and gender inequality, reflected in eight discourse foci, the first of which is "The women2drive campaign is a sedition organized by the enemies of religion and of the country" (p. 86).

And in a comparative study, Harun et al. (2018) examine the use of modality in strategic news reporting on the struggles faced because of the driving ban between 2010-2014, in one news agency situated in SA (*AlJazirah*) and one in the UK (*BBC* Arabic). The authors concluded that both news outlets have different methods of reporting, and this is so because of the media's divergent "political agendas and ideologies" (p. 466). For instance, in relation to women driving cars in SA, while the following was found in the SA news discourse: "People start asking why women in the city were *prevented* from driving cars" (p. 476), a firmer: "Women are *prohibited* from driving in Saudi Arabia" (p. 476) was found in the UK media.

Also in a comparative study, AlQunayir (2019) conducted a CDA of how Saudi Arabia was portrayed in news articles in both the Arabic BBC and the translated and trans-edited English BBC Monitoring Middle East (BBCM-M) between 2013 and 2015. Among the author's research outcomes was evidence of discursive distancing of Saudi Arabia in general, and Saudi women in particular. In the BBCM-M, Saudi women were found to be lexically edited out in such a way that "elite" public male figures ended up being mentioned as active agents more

often than Saudi women. And in the rare instances when Saudi women were included, they were often depicted as extremists, such as the case of a Saudi mother proudly announcing that her son would join Al-Qa'ida.

Surely, this is extremist behavior and there is no denying that some Saudi women, unfortunately, do endorse it, but when most other Saudi female voices are systematically suppressed, the only conspicuous image that remains is a perception that most Saudi women 'must' support extremism. A news credibility study conducted by members of the Pew Research Center found that the BBC is ranked as the most widely used and trusted source of news in the UK, as "about half of British adults (48%) name the BBC as their main source for news" (Mitchell et al., 2018, p. 1). If this is the case, then the findings of Harun et al. (2018) and AlQunayir (2019) are something to take note of since the majority of Brits, who may not know much about Saudi women except for what is presented in the news, are no doubt at a great disadvantage being impacted by the imbalanced information presented about this minority group.

Another scholar who also found frequent notions of 'otherness' when it comes to depictions of Saudi Arabia, and more specifically, Saudi women, is Elyas and Aljabri (2020). The authors investigated representations of Saudi women within the context of the press' reactions to the release of the royal decree that removed the male guardianship system in SA, in three widely-read newspapers in the US, UK, and Canada; namely, *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, and *Toronto Star*. Utilizing van Dijk's framework of ideological categories (2004), the findings of this CDA research on 6 news articles from each of the three newspapers, between 1-4 August 2019, revealed that apart from the different discursive strategies used by each newspaper, all three depicted the status of Saudi women in term of "negative other-presentation, and victimization" (p. 353).

Elyas and Aljabri (2020) quote one such example from *The Guardian*, "'the bizarre guardianship system is pervasive in Saudi Arabia. It stipulates that women are not legal persons'" (p. 350) and argue that statements such as these are damaging to both Saudi Arabia and Saudi women. They go on to explain that instead of celebrating and being optimistic about these new rights given to Saudi women, "the three newspapers have only considered the empty half of the glass, highlighting what the Saudi authorities did not do" (p. 354).

The reality is that the majority of research findings on Saudi women, thus far, have highlighted *Negative* news values (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) which often seem to take precedence over

more positive social occurrences and changes in the Middle East. For this reason, as CDA researchers, it is our role to bring to the forefront embedded discursive messages and implications via large-scale linguistic studies to reveal more comprehensive information on the stances taken towards Saudi women in the current day news media.

One final study I would like to discuss here, which seems to be on the very opposite end of the spectrum in terms of findings and interpretations, is that of Elyas et al. (2020). In this study, the authors examine Saudi women representations in 17 articles collected from various Arabic and English Saudi newspapers and magazines within the timeframe surrounding International Women's Day, published between March 6-33, 2016. The research findings showed that though some journalists believe that there is still room for improvement when it comes to gender inequalities in SA, in general, Saudi women:

> have their own identities . . . represented in terms of their active participation in different fields, such as participating in the Shura Council, in economic activities, making scientific discoveries, and also their valuable social roles. A number of Saudi experts, who are famous around the world for their significant achievements and the prizes they have won, are given as examples of positive symbols of Saudi culture. They are represented as a source of pride for Saudis (Elyas et al., 2020, p. 18)

The authors state that such depictions contradict Alshakhs' (2012) findings which revealed that Saudi women were mainly represented as housewives in the local media, during, before, and after 9/11. No doubt, these types of positive discourses and depictions found in Elyas et al. (2020) are what we, all Saudi researchers, hope local and international media would foreground more often when it comes to Saudi women, but the reality is that the context of their study and selected data, is, in itself, very pro-women to begin with (i.e., International Women's Day), so it is only expected that the majority of news discourse will focus on their various roles and personal achievements. As Elyas et al.'s (2020) study is extremely contextualized, this makes it difficult to compare and discuss their findings with those in studies that include broader social contexts.

And in relation to my current social context of Saudi women driving and related issues, which, too, I recognize as a limitation in terms of the specificity of the context, however, in the current study, Saudi women representations in two very different social demographics were examined. And equally important in this research was the focus on whether there were any embedded

representation shifts in news discourses over time when it came to perceptions of Saudi women, both locally in SA and in the UK press, and to what extent Orientalist depictions still prevail.

Elyas et al. (2020) recommend that researchers "tackle the representations of SW in Western news websites . . . [and] in the current era where women are allowed to drive and are seen as peers of men" (p. 20), and this is what the current study aimed to achieve while extending the methodological framework to include a multimodal dimension. As can be observed in the next section, increasingly more studies seem to be including a multimodal CDA approach which will hopefully result in more illuminating findings.

3.4.4 MCDA Studies of Saudi Women Representations in the News Media

Since multimodal analysis in corpus-assisted CDA studies can enhance our understanding and interpretations of news media discourse, in the last decade, researchers have been increasingly making more efforts to explore this relatively new synergy (Ledin & Machin, 2018). As such, this section will focus on reviewing how some researchers, interested in investigating Muslim women in general and Saudi women representations in the news media in particular, have recognized the importance of examining images accompanying the texts. But due to the lack of MCDA research that focuses on Muslim women/Saudi women representations in the news, a few other multimodal media-related studies will be discussed as well.

One of the first MCDA studies that focused on Muslim women in the news media was that of Falah (2005). The author, aware of the Orientalist 'othering' stereotypes found in previous studies, as in those of Bullock (1999), moves on to analysing further semiotic resources; namely, over 500 Muslim women images in various US newspapers between 2001-2003, their headlines and captions. Drawing on van Dijk's (1996) notion of "elite [Western] racism", the author's main aim was to uncover how editorial decisions play a big role in the recontextualization of meanings associated with images of Muslims and Arabs. Falah (2005) points out that a detailed investigation of news images was crucial as ironically "images of women abound in this reportage, but seldom are the accompanying articles about women" (p. 317).

This, in fact, points to that the images of these Muslim women and the embedded ideologies exist mainly as an implicit justification for US presence in those regions, and to continually view Muslim women as the victimized or radical 'other'. The author does not deny that Muslim women in some war-stricken regions do suffer, however, Falah's concern is the "circumscribed understandings of Muslims…reduces the experiences and political sentiments of Muslim

women to a few stereotypes" (p. 318). Through his detailed content analyses, Falah explains how the frequent portrayal of Muslim women in the US media oscillating between being passive in need of Western liberation on the one end, or defiant political actors on the other, serves a bigger agenda and that is of justifying US political intervention in the Middle East or lack of.

In a similar study, McCafferty (2005) conducts a critical content analysis of all headlines, captions, and images, but adds to his study news stories, in *The New York Times* articles that focus on Muslim women between 2000 and 2002. The analyses pointed to dismissing previous passive Orientalist stereotypes in the post 9/11 discourse, but this only resulted in bolstering other equally damaging generalizations. One new stereotype that has emerged is that of only being able to achieve success if Muslim women overcome, according to the West, religious obstacles, essentially meaning that such success is an exception.

Visual analysis confirmed this as McCafferty (2005) found that Muslim women are only represented as established if they are in "westernized" (p. 29) attire while reinforcing the stereotype of the veiled Muslim women as the 'other'. The other textual and visual pattern was empowered Muslim women recontextualized as extremists, mediated as in "she has been memorialized among Palestinians and in the Arab world as the first woman to carry out a suicide bombing" (p. 76) – a parallel outcome to that of Falah (2005) who reported sensationalized fanatic representations.

In more current research, Mostafa (2018) examined multimodal representations of a famous Arab Muslim female athlete, Sarah Ahmed, in the news media within the context of Rio's 2016 Olympics. Mostafa hypothesized that since tangible transformative actions are being taken to include more women in the professional sports arena, it is only expected that such empowerment is mediated in the news. The author conducted a qualitative analysis of semiotic choices, social actor analysis, and transitivity analysis, on one article from the Olympic.org (including 3 large images) and one from a local Egyptian newspaper (including 1 medium-sized image) in 2017.

Mostafa (2018) found similar visual individualistic and foregrounding representations, and a few notable textual differences. For instance, Olympic.org represents Sarah as a young shy athlete with only her brother to support her, but the Egyptian news story portrays Sarah as an articulate female, having a strong support system of 5 family members and friends. Nonetheless, Mostafa states that both lexical and visual modes were able "to produce and

legitimize a discourse of female empowerment defying stereotypical values" (p. 65) – findings similar to those of Jaworska and Hunt (2017) who found positive female athlete discursive patterns when the female athletes were successful and won in their investigation of the British press pre-/post- and during the London Olympics 2012.

In the local Saudi context, Taher (2019) conducted a qualitative MCDA on the Saudi and UK 2013 IKEA catalogues to investigate representations of *Exclusion* of Saudi women when multimodally comparing both catalogues, as well as a CDA analysis of 34 news articles from Google News that reported on the striking absence of Saudi women in the Saudi catalogue. The findings showed that, when compared to the English UK edition, there was a large discrepancy between the visual and textual analyses, whereby "females are linguistically visible within the Saudi edition but are visually excluded" (p. 2) and are linguistically confined to their traditional roles as "housewives, and non-working roles" (p. 134) which Taher argues is how IKEA perceives Saudi women.

Unfortunately, it is not just Westerners; Alshakh's (2012) study on a local Saudi TV show also revealed an almost complete visual absence of Saudi women and when they appeared, it was predominantly as housewives. As to how the newspapers portrayed Saudi women, Taher uncovered further negative depictions connected to Orientalist perceptions of backwardness and oppression, findings similarly reflected in those of Mishra (2007) who also found Saudi women depicted as having oppressed existences as "passive victims of Islamic law" (p. 267).

Another more inclusive MCDA methodology was employed by Abid and Al-Khazraji (2017). Their case study of one online CNN 2013 news report on the female driving ban in SA investigated all three semiotic dimensions (Fairclough, 1992); namely, the news production (headline, images, and text) and reader reception (2,066 comments) discourses using van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor theory. It was found that the CNN article portrayed Saudi women as courageous social actors in general, in all the semiotic modes, even though there were 11 instances of Saudi women as active agents vs. 14 instances of them being acted upon in the textual discourse. This was exemplified in the images that show Saudi women looking away from the reader, driving defiantly in a non-traditional beige headscarf, as well as in the textual discourse, e.g., "Saudi women will once again defy their nation's long-standing driving ban" (p. 227).

However, when reviewing the readers' reactions, 94% of the comments were found to be racist against Muslims and Islam, which were categorized by Abid and Al-Khazraji (2017) into three

domains: sexism, ignorance, and violence. The authors point out that where one would expect the comments to be about Saudi women's struggles and/or courageousness, instead they are pejoratively veered towards personal convictions of Muslims and Islam. The authors also call attention to the fact that "CNN online commenting monitors" apparently deem such comments as "okay" since their Community Guidelines state that "obscenities, threats, hate speech, material that's ethnically or racially offensive, abusive comments and spam" (p. 230) would be removed. The authors argue that if only the production phase is examined in CDA research, the findings would be limited to the representations of the journalist, thus not fully representing the ideologies of the complete news discourse which includes the media consumers' opinions.

Though this conclusion is sound to a certain extent as analysing the reception phase provides valuable, (un)anonymous insight into the attitudes of some media consumers on any given topic, there lies one, complex limitation when using such discourse channels for analysis – that of representativeness. To demonstrate, a controversial Tweet about sex change in Saudi Arabia and reissuing national cards was posted on 30 November 2019, via @Ma3alialMowaten that has a following of 89.2K. And while the attached clip was viewed 129K times, there were only 44 comments under this tweet, the majority of which were condemning sex changes. Here, one cannot help but question, what do the vast remaining majority think?

Although online social media venues, such as Twitter, have provided the opportunity for Saudis of different backgrounds, ideologies, and religious convictions to freely express themselves on practically anything, "this freedom stops much short of the freedom enjoyed by Western publics" (Thorsen & Sreedharan, 2019, p. 1126), as many constricting factors come into play. For one, many Saudis, because of their conservative upbringing, have great reservations about openly expressing their opinions on controversial issues.

Many are afraid of being ridiculed, or even more seriously ostracized, by their families, which the authors call "self-censorship" (Thorsen & Sreedharan, 2019, p. 1126), or "it can also be the result of a more deliberate decision to remain silent in order not to rock the boat" (Schröter & Taylor, 2018, p. 10). Moreover, "social censorship" plays a huge role as well. Thorsen and Sreedharan (2019) state that there has been strict government censorship of all online platforms used in SA since 2008, and that all media users are urged to report any improper political, social, and/or religious content to the Internet Service Unit.

According to Dennis et al. (2019), who authored the 2019 *Media Use in the Middle East* report, only 58% of Saudis felt safe talking about local politics online. As such, lack of representative

sampling should be stated as a viable limitation when investigating reader replies about a controversial issue, as one may be quick to believe that such results are generalizable because of the large number of comments (over 2000 in Abid and Al-Khazraji's, 2017 study, for example), which technically is far from the reality. It is mainly for this reason that the current study will not investigate the news receivers' interpretative discourse, which is part of Fairclough's 3rd macro-dimension. Though critically examining receivers' replies can produce extremely valuable feedback, most CDA research on minority representations in the media do not, as this literature review has demonstrated. And I believe this is for good reason, particularly when the context is controversial and receiver discourse is not compiled in a highly inclusive/representative manner.

One final highly relevant study to the current research is that of Bashatah (2017) who conducted a multimodal qualitative content analysis on how Saudi women were framed, partly, in relation to the driving ban in four major UK newspapers from 2005-2013. A total of 43 photos were collected and analysed from 53 news articles. Among the author's many findings was that textually, the news stories highlight Saudi women's struggles rather than their efforts in breaking out of the "traditional norms in their society" (p. 162). And visually, Bashatah found that though all the articles textually focused on Saudi women protesting against the driving ban, the "images seemed confused" (p. 151) as 69.76% of the 43 photographs foregrounded veiled women and did not focus on the central issues of protesting or driving – an optimal opportunity to highlight Saudi women agency, overshadowed, yet once again, by Orientalist stereotyping. The author states that this is concerning as such negative stereotypes "can create significant barriers in communication" (p. 229) between SA and the UK.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

Traditionally, most CDA studies that focus on multimodality, quantitatively and/or qualitatively, examine texts first, and only later, examine a number of visuals qualitatively, which is often referred to in the literature as the MCDA approach (Kress, 2010; Ledin & Machin, 2017; Machin, 2016). However, Ledin and Machin (2017) maintain that since various semiotic modes are co-produced in communication and co-operate inter-semiotically, analysing them separately without attempting to utilize affordances that point to shared communicative meanings in both modes may compromise the interconnectedness of multimodal discursiveness.

To overcome some of the limitations of previous MCDA studies on Saudi women representations in the media whose findings have predominantly been found to be filtered through an Orientalist lens (Alharbi, 2015; Al-Saud, 2012; Karimullah, 2020), (1) textual and visual affordances, as outlined in van Leeuwen (2008) and Bednarek and Caple (2017), were assessed and chosen in terms of potential meaning-making compatibility and were employed in the analysis of multimodal Saudi women representations and newsworthiness, resulting in a more comprehensive multi-dimensional understanding of the findings, and (2) all images that accompany the texts, and not just a selection, were analysed. More precisely, this study aimed to explore in detail, and with as much impartiality as possible, in what ways Saudi women are multimodally represented and assess the extent to which Orientalist textual and visual representations persist in the context of lifting the driving ban or if shifts in representation patterns and newsworthiness could be observed over time.

4.1 Research Design

Weighing on which approach to adopt for the current investigation of Saudi women representations, one could have resorted to the aforementioned MCDA approach (Kress, 2010; Ledin & Machin, 2017; Machin, 2016); however, in doing so, this study would need a small visual corpus, resulting in an analysis that is partial and maybe not fully representative of the visual representations and the patterns widely distributed in the two national media contexts. And if we try to increase the amount of visual data, then the tools of MCDA are not suitable due to the insurmountable challenges that one would face in terms of the amount of time and space needed to efficiently analyze and compare multimodal representations quantitatively considering the diverse affordances that make up both visual and textual modes, and then

qualitatively explain, in detail, representation and newsworthiness findings and implications for each image.

Therefore, a new take on the CAMDA framework was utilized to investigate multimodal representations and newsworthiness of Saudi women in the context of the driving ban and its lifting, and the data sources under consideration were the UK and Saudi news media. The overarching conceptual framework for the analysis was Fairclough's (1992) 3-dimensional CDA which explores "the relationship between discourse and other elements or 'moments' of social practices and social events" (Fairclough, 2005, p. 2).

Given (1) the increasing visualization of people and events in the media in our modern world (Stöckl et al., 2019) and (2) the advantages of considering more than one mode of communication and their affordances (Kress, 2011), it is then imperative to move beyond only a linguistic analysis of texts, and which necessitates employing a wider socio-semantic framework, like that of Fairclough's (1992), allowing us to reveal societal ideologies that underlie the representations of Saudi women as well as showing how these ideologies, Orientalist or otherwise, are reinforced or contested in textual/visual multimodal representations, and how both text and image work together (or not) to do ideological work.

In answering the first three research questions, **RQ1:** How are Saudi women multimodally represented in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media in relation to the female driving ban and protests in Saudi Arabia? **RQ1a:** And how are Saudi women made newsworthy in and through these representations?, and **RQ2:** To what extent can we detect, if any, shifts in Orientalist representations over time? Fairclough's 1st micro-linguistic phase via an adapted holistic version of van Leeuwen's (2008) networks of visual and textual representation of social actors were utilized to investigate Saudi women textual and visual representations in different temporal and geographical corpora, and ascertaining the extent to which Orientalist depictions surface, or not, and to what extent. To achieve this, van Leeuwen's (2008) textual and visual social actor networks were adapted and used for the Saudi women representation coding criteria, which was followed by a quantitative/qualitative analysis of images, and then finally a corpus-assisted CDA of the text corpora.

Fairclough's 2nd meso-linguistic interpretation phase was also utilized alongside Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA framework to qualitatively evaluate the newsworthiness of Saudi women in the news corpora under investigation. Exploring Saudi women's newsworthiness was important as it complemented a representation analysis providing insight into what different

news agencies across the two different socio-political and geographical contexts deemed worthy of publishing when it came to Saudi women at the two critical points in time. And finally, Fairclough's 3rd macro-dimension was drawn on to examine the broader social practices that underlie Saudi women representations and newsworthiness, and how they interrelate with the whole socio-political climate and other comparable social occurrences.

Hence, for this study, to achieve better representativeness of Saudi women representations and newsworthiness in the news media in two significant historical and geographical contexts, it was decided that a mixed method approach was best suited for the investigation:

(A) Visual Analysis: All extracted images were first analyzed *quantitatively* via a novel coding system utilizing MS Excel sheets based on counting representation frequencies (see Table 6) and conducting Chi-square statistics to test whether or not any significant statistical differences emerge (Allami & Barzegar, 2020; Lee, 2016; Montasseri et al., 2020; Sunderland & McGlashan, 2012) overcoming obstacles of time, space, and comparability issues touched on above.

According to Bateman and Hiippala (2020), one of the most appropriate statistical tests for investigating categorical data is that of Chi-square test of association which is based on expected vs. observed frequency, and which is utilized "to compare qualitative categories that have no intrinsic 'ordering' of their own" (p. 11). As such, visual findings were subsequently analysed and compared by employing Chi-square, run using SPSS, to examine whether there were statistically significant differences in Saudi women visual representations in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media.

One point that needs to be clarified before moving on is that though Chi-square is presented and interpreted in some types of research, especially clinical research, through Cramér's V effect size (ES), as "clinical significance reflects its impact on clinical practice" (Ranganathan et al., 2015, p. 169), it was decided that ES would not be reported in this study for several reasons:

First, reporting ES would not add any insight into a better understanding of social actor representations since the context of this study did not involve any biological/clinical tests where pinpointing ES impact was crucial. And regarding multimodal studies similar in nature to the current research (e.g., Allami & Barzegar, 2020; Lee, 2016; Montasseri et al., 2020), none reported ES findings. In fact, when searching at Google Scholar for representation studies that included ES using the following keyword combination (representation AND Leeuwen AND

"social actor" AND Chi-square AND "effect size"), I only found 3 linguistic studies that reported ES, and upon reading the analyses, ES was merely stated in numbers and as "weak", "medium", or "strong", with no further interpretive insights.

Second, and equally important is that ES is highly sensitive to large datasets, often yielding weak field associations (i.e., weak ES), but since the whole point of this research was to investigate social actor visual/textual patterns across large datasets, looking into ES, in this case, would have actually confounded data interpretation. As such, it was determined that interpreting statistical significance alone was sufficient considering the methodological framework of this research as statistical significance does indicate "the reliability of the study results" (Ranganathan et al., 2015, p. 169).

Descriptive frequency percentages were employed as well for more detailed *qualitative* investigations. The findings of these visual analyses were later compared with the findings of the UK and SA corpora to explore the degree to which the CAMDA framework worked when analyzing multimodal representations and newsworthiness of minoritized groups such as Saudi women, as to determine to what extent, if any, shifts in representations and news values in relation to Saudi women were observed across both contexts and over time.

(B) Textual Analysis: According to Baker (2020), "a collocate is a word which often occurs near or next to another word and suggests that the two words share an important relationship with one another" (p. 133). *Quantitative* analysis was thus based on assessing collocate percentage frequencies while considering LogDice scores. LogDice is one type of "statistic measure for identifying collocations. It expresses the typicality of the collocation" (Sketch Engine, 2021) by comparing "the frequency of two words when they co-occur versus the frequencies of each word occurring by itself" (Egbert et al., 2020, p. 26).

Unlike other traditional measures (e.g., MI score, *t*-score, and log-likelihood ratio) that take corpus size into account, LogDice is not affected by the size of the corpus and was used in this study since it is the preferred type of statistics that is utilized to compare collocation scores between corpora of unequal sizes (Baker, 2014; Rychlý 2014). Following studies in the literature, collocates of a LogDice score of 7 or above only were considered indicating "a strong collocational association" (Egbert et al., 2020, p. 26), with a minimum frequency of 5, and using Sketch Engine's "default range for identifying collocates (5 words either side of the node)" (Baker, 2014, p. 145).

(C) Visual and Textual Analyses: *Qualitative* analysis of representations was based on a detailed investigation and comparison of salient visual and textual patterns, in images and concordances, and what social actor representations they chiefly pointed to. This was supplemented by adopting the construct of newsworthiness for representation interpretations from the point of view of media news values.

Next, visual and textual findings were compared both diachronically and geographically, as comparing representations in two contexts is crucial. Partington et al. (2013) maintain:

> It is only possible to both uncover and evaluate the particular features of a discourse type by comparing it with others. We are not deontologically justified in making statements about the relevance of a phenomenon observed to occur in one discourse type unless, where it is possible, we compare how the phenomenon behaves elsewhere (p. 12)

And the final step was bringing together the findings of both the visual and textual analyses to see where the results converge and/or diverge while exploring how well this approach works in critical multimodal investigations of social actor representations and their newsworthiness.

Similar to Caple et al.'s (2020) CAMDA framework, the following mixed methods approach proved suitable for the context of the study conducted here, and in sum, can be situated as:
• Intersemiotic (analysing verbal and visual modes in news media)
• Intertextual (analysing patterns across texts, not just within texts)
• Cross-linguistic (comparing Arabic with British English)

This approach, which moved from a micro-linguistic phase of social actor representation analysis via visual coding and corpus linguistic analysis, to a broader macro-social explanatory phase, as visualized in (*Figure 4.*) below, resulted in a multi-levelled insight into news agency representations and practices when it comes to portraying Saudi women in different historical and geographical news media contexts, and their broader social implications.

RQ1 How are Saudi women multimodally represented and made newsworthy in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media in relation to the female driving ban and protests in Saudi Arabia? **RQ1a** And how are Saudi women made newsworthy in and through these representations?

RQ2 To what extent can we detect, if any, shifts in Orientalist ideologies over time?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS for RQ1 and RQ2 Fairclough's (1992):
1st micro-dimension (linguistic phase), 2nd meso-dimension (supplementary interpretative phase), and 3rd macro-dimension (sociolinguistic interpretive phase)
+ Adaptation of van Leeuwen's (2008) social actor visual/textual networks of categories and affordances
+ Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA

METHODS for RQ1 and RQ2

1. *Quantitative* visual analysis via coding affordances under 2 main representation categories, and utilizing frequency percentages and Chi-square statistics + *Qualitative* interpretations of salient image patterns

2. *Quantitative* textual analysis via Sketch Engine (i.e., Word Sketch and Wordlist). Identifying and analysing potentially compatible meaning-making affordances to those set in the visual analysis, and utilizing frequency percentages and LogDice + *Qualitative* concordance line interpretations for salient textual patterns

3. Multimodal (visual and textual) findings are brought together and presented side-by-side, compared, and discussed + A discussion of all Saudi women representation findings in relation to how they interrelate with the whole society at large, salient ideological underpinnings, and implications

* Visual and textual findings pointing to Orientalist representations and salient news values are compared and discussed

RQ3 How do the images and texts work together (or not) to reinforce the representations and newsworthiness of minoritized groups such as the Saudi women in the context of significant societal conflicts and changes?

Figure 4. Visualization of research questions, conceptual frameworks, and methods

4.2 Data Sources

The rationale for choosing the news media is due to the powerful role that the media can play in disseminating representations of all people, including minority groups (Harun et al., 2018). Another reason why the news media was chosen pertains to the fact that many of the "ethnic events" (van Dijk, 2015, p. 7), such as radical social disturbances that people talk about in everyday life, are mainly mediated through the news, and brought home to people who have no, or little knowledge about, these events.

In fact, for most of us, media are the prime source of information, including information about people – majority and minority, and how media discourses describe, evaluate, in short, represent others. And since choices that media make when representing others frequently fit media agendas and wider ideologies, they are hence a good source of identifying these ideologies, often impacting the way we, as viewers and readers, imagine and think of others (Fairclough, 1995; Jones et al., 2020). Research has shown that media play a profound role in influencing "how people generate their knowledge, attitudes, positions and practices" (Obeidat, 2002, p. 1) towards any minority group, and raising news consumers' awareness around the power of the media remains an important endeavor among researchers.

Two key geographical areas were targeted when collecting the data – the UK and Saudi Arabia. The major reasons for choosing the UK and SA were twofold; first, there is an almost complete lack of MCDA literature on Saudi women representations in the news media conducted in these two geographic demographics. And the second, and foremost, reason for choosing the UK and SA news, explained in depth below, is because examining the representation of Saudi women in these two parts of the world is crucial from a socio-political viewpoint.

From a social stance, Saudi women play tangible political and executive roles in SA and this is only increasing as they are being given more rights and becoming more independent (Elyas et al., 2020). Al-Mulhim (2012) states that contrary to Western opinion, Saudi women have been quite active in the political, social and economic sectors for a long time, as some were key active figures since the 19th century. If Saudi women and their achievements are discussed more boldly in the local media and brought into the light after many years of having been silenced, excluded, and misrepresented, only then will they be taken more seriously, both within SA and internationally, and hopefully, in due course, acknowledged more realistically in the literature.

As for the relevance of choosing the UK news media, this lies in the fact that there has been a long-standing relationship between the UK and Saudi Arabia as highlighted in the shared interests of both governments, and their citizens, "especially in the areas of trade and investment, education, culture, energy and climate security, and defence" (GOV.UK). This statement is realized in multiple manners, but with regards to the context of this project, we find that, for example, the *Amnesty International UK* and *Chatham House* organizations actively took part in championing Saudi women's right to drive in 2013. Further, the UK has supported Saudi women in many professional sectors, e.g., the UK ambassador to SA welcomed the Kingdom's first female cultural attaché to the UK (Hassan, 2020), and many female Saudi students have come to study in the UK, reaching 6870 students to date (Safeer2, 2022).

The importance of investigating UK news discourse thus lies in better understanding underlying representations that UK media present and which may have an impact on how Saudi women view themselves while staying and/or studying in the UK. It can show how the 'other' society regards and treats them and what kind of attitudes are disseminated through the UK news media. This needs to be explored because negative representations might undermine their academic ambitions and well-being or even lead to discrimination and racist abuse, especially when wearing the veil, which is often perceived as a form of victimization and/or extremism (Khan, 2018). It could also act as a deterrent of undertaking a period of stay in the UK if the news is always negative. Certainly, a more balanced media depiction reflecting Saudi women's achievements and progressive status is long overdue, echoing the increasing number of Saudi women in the work force (The World Bank, 2021), and as detailed previously in Chapter 1, so that they, like any other women, can prosper in whatever society they choose to live in.

As for the UK corpora, relevant news articles and images were collected from seven daily newspapers: two left-wing broadsheets (*The Independent* and *The Guardian*/*The Observer*), two right-wing broadsheets (*The Telegraph*/*Sunday Telegraph* and *The Times*/*Sunday Times*), and three tabloids (*The Daily Mail*/*Mail on Sunday*, *The Mirror*/*Sunday Mirror*, and *The Sun*), in an effort to represent the national print media in the UK including different political orientations (left vs. right) and styles (tabloids vs. broadsheets) so that the corpus is not skewed to a particular type of newspaper. As such, since the focus of this study was an exploration of Saudi women representations in the UK media in general, the choice was made to only include national newspapers, as regional newspapers rarely report on international events and hence are not a suitable source of data.

According to the BBC (2022), UK newspapers are either image led or text led. Tabloids are image led, 'popular' newspapers and can be divided into two groups: 'red tops' and 'middle market' dailies. 'Red tops' used in the corpus are *The Sun* and *The Mirror* which "report on politics and international news but tend to include more celebrity gossip and scandal. They write short stories using simple language and they have more pictures than other newspapers" (BBC, 2022, p. 1), are emotionally-charged, and do not follow a clear political leaning (O'Neill & Harcup, 2020). The *Daily Mail* however is considered a 'middle market' daily which "refers to the target readership of these newspapers, which is somewhere between the red tops and the broadsheets" (BBC, 2022, p. 1). In general, tabloids prioritize images and representations over more impartial and whole representations of actual on-ground realities frequently presenting only a fragment of the complete story, and often "exploiting personal tragedy for public spectacle with scandal and sensationalism" (Wasserman, 2019, p. 278). Broadsheets, however, are considered to be more text led, 'quality' newspapers which have more in-depth news content than tabloids (BBC, 2022).

As for the SA corpora, all relevant news articles were collected from three leading daily national Saudi broadsheets, published in Arabic, covering all of Saudi Arabia; namely, *AlRiyadh*, *Aljazirah* [The Gulf], and *Okaz* [A famous traditional Saudi market] (BBC.com, 2019). All three newspapers are privately-owned, but operate under licenses issued by the Ministry of Media, which states that one of their aims is to "apply a new media approach that ensures to the Saudi citizen the freedom of expression derived from the Islamic approach and State policy." Though all three newspapers are authored by journalists who exercise self-censorship and are monitored by editors-in-chief who are officially approved or appointed by

the government (Alzahrani, 2016), the newspapers do differ slightly in their socio-political orientations – and is one of the main rationales for selecting them.

AlRiyadh newspaper, which is based in the capital of SA, is conservative, pro-government; *Okaz*, which is based in the western region, is more liberal; and *Aljazirah*, which is based in AlRiyadh, is more centrist (Al Sowilem, 2016; IndustryArabic.com). As for why other national newspapers were not included, such as *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Alyaum*, logistically speaking, only a couple of articles were found online during the 2011-3013 timespan in both newspapers, and though *AlWatan* had a sufficient number of articles, the copy/paste feature was inoperable in *AlWatan's* news site making it impossible to capture the texts efficiently. As such, it was decided that the three above-mentioned news outlets would be representative enough for this study in terms of variety and quantity.

No SA tabloids were included because the print media in SA differ from the media in the UK in that these kinds of newspapers are not published in SA. One might argue that this provides challenges for compiling equivalent corpora, but since the selection represents the newspaper market in both countries, the lack of tabloids does not affect the validity of the corpora (Hellmueller & Mellado, 2016). As for copyright issues, "fair dealing" was upheld as permission is not typically required when news articles are used for non-commercial research purposes (GOV.UK).

To gain a better understanding of newspaper readership in both the UK and SA, the following table (Table 2 below) shows the political alignment, frequency, circulation range, and local rank of all the newspapers chosen for this study. The statistics were obtained from 4International Media & Newspapers, last updated in 2019 for over 7,000 online newspapers, using an algorithm composed of "four unbiased and independent web metrics".

Table 2

UK and SA Newspapers – Political Alignment, Circulation, and Web Rank in 2019

	Newspapers	**Type**	**Alignment**	**Circulation Range**	**Web Rank**
UK	*The Guardian/The Observer*	Broadsheet	Left-wing	300,000-400,000	1st
	The Daily Mail Mail on Sunday	Midrange-Tabloid	Right-wing	+1,000,000	2nd
	The Telegraph Sunday Telegraph	Broadsheet	Right-wing	500,000-1,000,000	3rd
	The Independent	Broadsheet	Left-wing	200,000-300,000	4th
	The Sun	Tabloid	Right-wing	+1,000,000	6th

	The Mirror *Sunday Mirror*	Tabloid	Labour	+1,000,000	7th
	The Times *Sunday Times*	Broadsheet	Right-wing	500,000-1,000,000	10th
SA	*AlRiyadh*	Broadsheet	Pro-government	100,000-200,000	3rd
	Okaz	Broadsheet	More liberal	100,000-200,000	5th
	AlJazirah	Broadsheet	Centrist	100,000-200,000	8th

Two important time frames in the modern history of Saudi Arabia were selected for the corpora compilation: First, the UK and SA textual and visual 2011-2013 corpora (UK1T/UK1V and SA1T/SA1V henceforth). The dates for collecting the articles were set from 1 May 2011 to 1 November 2013, a total of 2.5 years, which cover the two protests against the driving ban instigated on 17 June 2011 and 26 October 2013. The reason why May 1 was chosen as the starting date for collecting articles is because even before the pre-June 17 protest, there was much societal unrest regarding women being prohibited to drive in SA and anti-ban-driving sentiments started to be voiced. This resulted in several articles in both the UK and SA media reporting on women defiantly driving in SA and in some instances being apprehended, published as early as May 19 in the SA1T. And though there were no protests in 2012, the same can be stated for why this year was included as a number of stories relating to the driving ban and protests were published during that time reflecting the importance of mobility rights for women in SA.

The second time frame that was chosen for the UK and SA textual and visual corpora was 2017-2019 (UK2T/UK2V and SA2T/SA2V henceforth). The dates for collecting the articles were set from 1 September 2017 to 1 March 2019, a total of 2.5 years, which cover pre-reports predicting the lift of the driving ban, the royal decree lifting the ban on women driving on 26 September 2017, later women starting to drive on 24 June 2018 in SA, and post-reactions. A timespan of 2.5 years for both time frames was determined to achieve comparability between the two corpora relevant to the context and the socio-political changes taking place in SA.

4.3 Data Collection

The following steps were undertaken to collect relevant data from the sources described above:

1. For both UK1T and UK2T corpora, the following search term was utilized at *LexisNexis UK*:

Saudi AND (woman OR women OR female* OR girl OR lad*) AND (driv* OR car* OR ban* OR protest* OR campaign*)

As for the SA1T and SA2T corpora, due to SA newspapers not being available in *LexisNexis*, an alternative source was needed, so a search term with different news site combinations (example below) was utilized at Google.com for each of the three SA newspapers. Also, doing an advanced search within each site was not possible since only *AlJazirah* has a complete, searchable archive. Once the search term was entered, the timespan ranges were then set via the "tools" feature. Example query at Google.com:

(قيادة OR قادت OR سياقة OR تقود OR سائقة OR منع OR تجمع) AND (امرأه OR امرأة OR نساء OR أنثى OR ايناث OR سيدة OR سيدات OR فتاة) AND (سيارة OR سيارتها OR سياره OR سيارات OR مركبة OR مركبات) AND (منع OR تجمع) site:https://www.okaz.com.sa/

which roughly translates to:

(drive OR *she drove OR driving OR she drives OR protest OR ban) AND (woman OR women OR female OR lady OR ladies OR girl) AND (car OR cars OR a/the car OR the cars) site:https://www.okaz.com.sa/

And for both UK and SA articles, only publications that focus on issues pertaining to Saudi women driving were included. To ensure this, each news report was manually scanned to make sure that this topic appeared several times throughout each collected article, otherwise, it would be discarded. Texts were then compiled in individual Word documents according to the various newspapers. Table 3 and Table 4 present an overview of the complete UK and SA textual and visual corpora.

Table 3

The UK 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 Textual and Visual News Corpora

Newspapers	UK1T Articles	UK2T Articles	UK1T Tokens	UK2T Tokens	UK1V Images	UK2V Images
The Independent	28	29	12,433	19,071	14	96
The Guardian/The Observer	28	18	19,026	12,693	25	30
The Times/Sunday Times	18	25	10,202	18,634	13	36
The Telegraph/Sunday Telegraph	22	18	9095	11,281	12	51
The Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday	18	112	6927	67,966	49	300
The Mirror/Sunday Mirror	4	13	1313	3530	1	23
The Sun	10	18	979	3445	0	33
Total	**128**	**233**	**59,975**	**136,620**	**114**	**569**

Table 4

The SA 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 Textual and Visual News Corpora

Newspapers	SA1T Articles	SA2T Articles	SA1T Tokens	SA2T Tokens	SA1V Images	SA2V Images

AlRiyadh	78	218	53,677	124,886	62	400
AlJazirah	133	253	82,473	112,812	16	176
Okaz	75	246	38,929	82,766	2	371
Total	**286**	**717**	**175,079**	**320,464**	**80**	**947**

2. Texts were individually collected to ensure (a) that only the headlines and texts were included and (b) that none of the news articles were repeated. To guarantee this, lists of chronologically ordered news article headlines, and links (needed to access the images within each article), were created for each UK and SA newspaper article (Appendix 1).

3. Once the individual articles were collected for each newspaper, all the texts were compiled in four text corpora; namely, UK1T, UK2T, SA1T, and SA2T (Appendix 2).

4. The next step was to compile the visual corpora. Each link was used to access and search each news article individually as this was the only way to capture the images. All the images were manually collected using the copy/paste feature, and saved in four MS Excel sheets labelled UK1V, UK2V, SA1V, and SA2V (Appendix 3), along with the source links, as shown in *Figure 5*. (Note: Categorization acronyms will be explained in more detail later)

Figure 5. Excel table sample used for quantitative and qualitative visual analyses

4.4 Textual and Visual Analytical Frameworks

Since the focus of this research is on a multimodal investigation of Saudi women representations and how these representations and their newsworthiness are constructed, the most suited approach for this type of detailed textual and visual representation analysis of social actors, and that would facilitate answering the research questions, was to draw on: (1) An adapted version of van Leeuwen's (2008) visual networks, (2) An adapted version of van Leeuwen's (2008) textual networks, and (3) Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA which is utilized to further interpret representation findings by evaluating visual/textual newsworthiness in both UK/SA contexts. The three methods are discussed below in detail.

4.4.1 Visual Analytical Toolkit

For this study, it was crucial to capture the true interconnectedness of "text" and image encompassing both textual and visual modes; hence, the toolkit that was to be devised for the CAMDA framework needed to display a certain degree of multimodal compatibility by choosing all applicable visual/textual affordances which point to potentially similar meaning-making representations. Since the methodological approach attempted to give equal weight to both text and image analyses, the first crucial question that arose when devising the framework was this: Does one initiate analysis with the visual corpora or the textual corpora? It was decided that visual analysis of the corpora should be the first stage in the CAMDA framework due to two important reasons:

1. In any multimodal research, one needs to take into consideration the layout of the headlines, images, text, etc. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). As such, for the news stories under investigation, it was found that placement of the majority of images on each webpage was foregrounded either right above the headline, immediately under the headline, or 1-3 lines under the headline.

Table 5

Foregrounded Placement of Images in the UK and SA News Articles

Corpora	Articles (Total)	No. of Articles that Include Images	No. of Articles that Foreground Images
UK1V	128	111	97 (87.3%)
UK2V	233	184	150 (81.5%)
SA1V	286	49	49 (100%)
SA2V	717	529	528 (99.8%)

Table 5 shows that in all four UK/SA news corpora, when an image was included in the news report, its compositional positioning was foregrounded in the majority of articles, ranging from 81.5% up to 100%. Thus, it seemed reasonable to start with a visual analysis since images are what any typical newsreader would first and foremost encounter in most cases. This way, visual analyses would not be influenced by findings from textual analyses which could 'prime' the researcher to look at images from a particular angle. Briefly, applying this methodological adaptation aimed at identifying salient visual patterns and representations, or recurrent 'hot spots' of meaning (O'Halloran, 2004) – similar to those that a newsreader may perceive at a first glance.

No doubt, perceptions of images do differ from one individual to another, especially considering the multi-national backgrounds of news media consumers, but only the most salient

representations were investigated; namely, the absence or existence of Saudi women actively participating, or not, how prominently they are photographed, whether they are in groups or are alone, and perceptions around what they are wearing – all affordances that have been clearly defined below, and which can be objectively perceived to a large extent. With textual analysis, however, optimal objectivity is the aim as often a "researcher's ideological orientation predetermines which lexical patterns are considered evidentiary" (Karimullah, 2020, p. 25). But since quantitative CACDA is what takes place first when investigating textual frequencies and patterns, as will be shown in the CAMDA Framework (discussed in detail below), this can help reduce researcher bias.

2. The second reason why the visual analysis was conducted first was due to the fact that van Leeuwen's (2008) visual social actor representation network included one main representation category, i.e., dis/empowered *Relation,* which is not separately and explicitly stated in the textual network, as it is included under *Activation*. And since similar representation categories were targeted in constructing the CAMDA that would facilitate the comparing of multimodal visual/textual findings later, the more objective approach was starting with the visual toolkit and analysis as there would be no personal selections made during the construction of the CAMDA framework. Based on van Leeuwen's visual social actor networks *Figure 6.*, two main visual representation categories to facilitate answering this study's research questions were identified and adapted (Table 6 below).
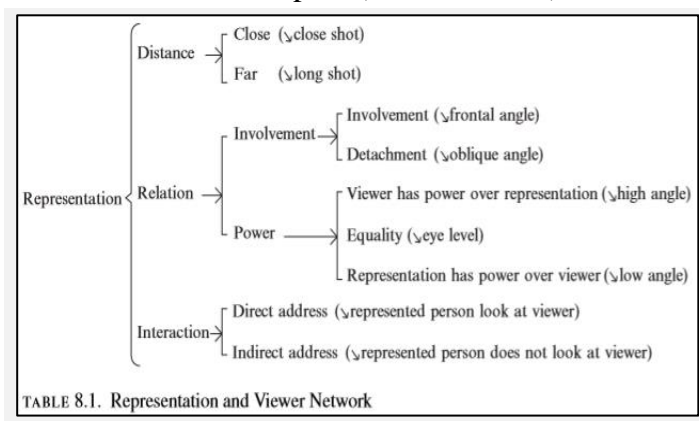
TABLE 8.1. Representation and Viewer Network
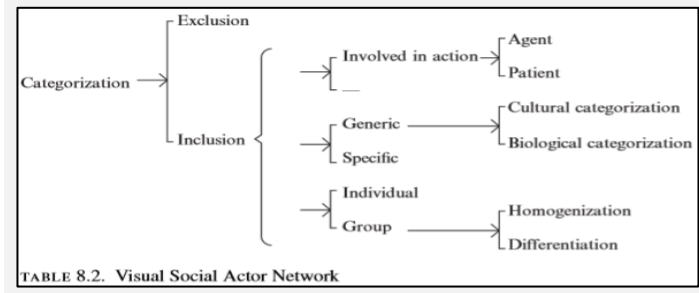
TABLE 8.2. Visual Social Actor Network

Figure 6. van Leeuwen's visual social actor representation networks (2008, pp. 141 & 147)

Table 6

Visual Social Actor Representation Analytical Toolkit Adapted from van Leeuwen's (2008) Visual and Textual Networks

1. Agency	
Active Agency	*Passive Agency*
(1) Role Allocation **a. Transactive Agents:** Active, dynamic force in an activity **b. Beneficialized Agents:** Empowered by being given something	**(1) Role Allocation:** **a. Intransactive Agents** Action with no effect **b. Patients:** No action, or at receiving end of action
(2) Functionalized Agents: Specified public figure known for her role in society or attire showing profession, hobby, role, etc. + Nomination	**(2) Impersonalization:** **a. Objectivation:** Spatialization, Utterance Automization, Instrumentalization, Somatization **b. Impersonalization:** Abstraction
(3) Power Relations: **a.** Eye-level camera angle (equality) **b.** Low to high camera angle (superiority) **c.** Via Distance/Gaze: - CLOS/MIDD shot + DIRE gaze - CLOS/MIDD shot + BACK/INDR gaze (driving) - LONG shot + DIRE gaze	**(3) Power Relations:** **a.** High to low camera angle (inferiority) **b.** Via Distance/Gaze: - LONG shot + BACK/INDR gaze - MIDD/CLOS shot + BACK/INDR gaze (no driving) **c.** Unfocused/Blurry face, and Intentionally covered face **(4) Exclusion:** Complete absence of social actor

2. Cultural Categorization
(1) Physical Identification: Saudi women hair and attire including hijab and/or veil
(2) Relational Identification: Kinship relations
(3) Individualization vs. Collectivization: *Genericization*: look different, *Assimilation*: look similar, homogenized, and *Aggregation*: depicted as statistics
(4) Mixed vs. Segregated gender representations

While devising the visual analytical toolkit (Table 6), a few adjustments were made:

(1) Beneficialization (which is included under *Passivation* in van Leeuwen's textual network, *Figure 23*., p. 94) was utilized partly to investigate Saudi women agency as within the context of this research, being given a certificate or driving license, for instance, does in fact point to a type of pre-agency. And since according to van Leeuwen (2008) "beneficialization may be realized by participation" (p. 34), it was decided that since there is some type of partaking suggesting being enabled as active agents, including beneficialized Saudi women would be most suitable under active agency.

(2) To avoid repetition of categories, *Nomination* vs. *Categorization* were split: *Nomination* was included under *Functionalization*, which both deal with specified social actors known for taking on a particular role. And *Categorization*, which includes *Identification* and *Functionalization*, could have been considered as the second representation category (i.e., Cultural Categorization). But since *Functionalization* indexes types of agency depicting social actors in terms of something they do, for instance, an occupation or role, it was included under *Agency*, leaving *Categorization* to include both types of *Identification*: *Relational* and *Physical*.

Bateman et al. (2017) argue that "changing the definitions of categories so that they fit your data is always to be avoided . . . [to maintain] productive traction between well defined categories" (p. 232). I completely agree with the authors in theory, but when a category allows for a slightly different interpretation in line with the originator's vision, in this case, van Leeuwen's, then I see no reason why what a category includes cannot be slightly modified to yield more precise findings.

(3) Van Leeuwen's "Representation and Viewer Network" (*Figure 6.*) includes: (a) *Involvement* which is realized via frontal and oblique camera angles that indicate involvement and detachment respectively and (b) *Interaction* realized by direct and indirect gazes. Due to the similar social actor/viewer interactional representations they would both ultimately convey, it was decided that only one would be chosen, and that would be *Interaction* since the focus of this research is more on details pertaining to Saudi women themselves.

(4) The category *Distance* (via close, mid, and long distances) was combined with *Interaction* gazes. The main reason behind this is that though both of these affordances can be analysed visually in their own right, textually this is not possible, as will be explained and justified in depth later. And to avoid repeated, overlapping categories, both *Distance/Gaze* combinations were included under the *Agency* since they point to social actor-viewer power relations (i.e., symbolic relationship), essentially, foregrounding and backgrounding the social actor as a member of society that possesses, or not, some degree of agency.

(5) Since the aforementioned *Interaction* gazes (*Figure 6.*), include only two types: direct and indirect, it was felt that adding a third category, "back" gazes, was necessary as these were salient and meaningful within the social context of this research. *Figure 7.* below presents examples of women portraying a back gaze. Knowing the conservative nature of many Saudi women, it is possible that not having her face showing was the only way that she would allow

her photo to be published (Bashatah, 2017). In any case, what we do know for sure is that picking such a photo where a women's back is to the camera was not a haphazard matter on the news journalist's part, and our analysis needs to address such publication decisions - a practice encouraged by multimodal researchers who encourage "adding particular categories that have been determined to be potentially relevant" (Bateman et al., 2017, p. 146).

| UK2V | SA2V |
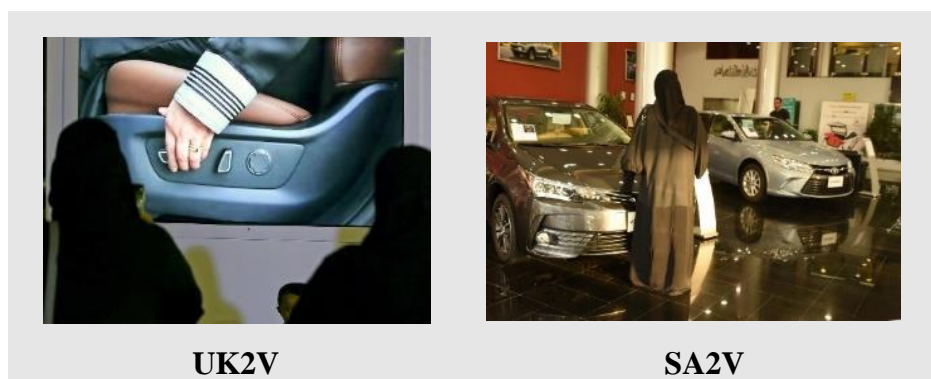
Figure 7. Examples of social actor backgrounding via back gaze (SA1V corpus)

(6) The representation category *Classification* (under *Categorization*), in which "social actors are referred to in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42), was not employed since, for one, visually many of the subcategories including age, class, wealth, etc., could not be determined as many of the women are veiled, and hence such features are not apparent to the viewer. And secondly, though such features could be investigated textually, it was decided that these affordances would not be examined since women drivers in general were the focus on this study regardless of age, class, etc.

(7) Instead of using *Assimilation* as an umbrella term for images that include a group of women, and which connotes "conformity" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 37), *Collectivization*, a more general inclusive term, was chosen in order to cover all the different types of groups: (1) *Genericization*: a group of women who look different, (2) *Assimilation*: a group of women who look similar thus suggesting homogenization, and (3) *Aggregation*: a group of women depicted as statistics, e.g., as in images of polls. The three types of collectivization will be discussed in more detail later.

The next step in devising the final visual social actor coding system was to determine the detailed composition of each of the social actor representation sub-categories that will be used in the analysis. As such, the following sections describe these categories, the justifications behind how each was formulated, and how each will be used in the visual analysis.

(A) Agency via Role Allocation and Functionalization

One of the most important social actor representation categories investigated by many critical linguists (van Leeuwen, 2008) is that of active or passive agency or what van Leeuwen calls *Role Allocation*. The author states that the social actors in photos/texts may be involved in some action, in which case they would be considered as the doers of that action, thus categorized as *Agents*. Van Leeuwen (2008) further breaks down agents into two types, i.e., *Transactive* and *Intransactive*, which are employed to distinguish "between actions which have an effect on others, or on the world, and actions which do not" (p. 60). Visually speaking, *Transactive, Beneficialized,* and *Functionalized Agents* are displayed as an active, empowered social actor.

Conversely, social actors may also be depicted as not being involved in any action or are at the receiving end of an action, in which case they would be categorized as *Passive Patients*, in addition to *Intransactive Agents* who are typically shown as doing some action that has no real effect, and therefore, may be perceived as agentless, disempowered social actors depending on the context. It was also decided that images discursively portraying social actors in terms of *Impersonalization*; namely, "non-human" attributes, would be included under inactive agency as impersonalized social actors tend to have a passivizing, marginalizing effect, obfuscating social identity thus representing social actors "in a more abstract, factual manner" (Merkl-Davies & Koller, 2012). According to van Leeuwen (2008), one type of *Impersonalization* is *Abstraction* where a social actor is depicted by means of an assigned quality.

Another type of *Impersonalization* is *Objectivation*. Van Leeuwen (2008) explains that social actors can be objectified by referring to them in terms of a location or object that is either directly related to them or the action. Van Leeuwen outlines four common types of *Objectivation* whereby social actors are referred to by means of (1) *Spatialization*: via a place with which they are closely associated, e.g., a parking lot (2) *Utterance Autonomization*: via their utterances, e.g., in the form of polls, (3) *Instrumentalization* via the instrument with which the action is carried out, e.g., a car, and (4) *Somatization* via a part of their body, e.g., a hand on a steering wheel.

In the case of *Somatization*, Carah and Louw (2015) state that not showing the head of a social actor may signify a "faceless *distant* figure" (p. 36) and Tamašauskaitė (2017) suggests that in cutting away certain body parts, the context becomes "more important than the participants of them" (p. 53). In such images where social actors are "cropped, or not a salient part of the

image, . . . the images have limited interactive features" (Jewitt & Henriksen, 2016, p. 156) and we are no longer aligned with their feelings (Ledin & Machin, 2020).

Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that of great importance here is to ask what the social actors are actually doing or not, as well as what they were doing or not in reality but is not shown in the captured image at that moment of time. Van Leeuwen (2008) goes on to claim that this is an essential issue to consider as portraying people too frequently in certain roles may symbolically exclude them from other roles and actions, confining them to only a limited few, effectively essentializing identity by role.

Ledin and Machin (2020) point out that the visual researcher needs to always bear in mind that the photo that s/he is analysing is indeed a still image captured at a particular moment in time, acting as an "indexical sign" (p. 56), and thus, we can only guess what action or event is actually taking place by checking other components in the image; namely, objects, background scene, pose, etc. So, for example, within the context of this study, when the image included a Saudi woman (1) in the driver's seat, (2) going into or coming out of the driver's seat, or (3) even holding the driver's seat door, though all the social actors in these photos were technically captured as still images, one can easily deduce what is taking place, and based on that, Saudi women in such images were coded as *Transactive Agents* as they are depicted as an active and dynamic force in these activities.

Machin and Mayr (2012) clarify that when analyzing agency, the analyst should focus on three aspects of visual meaning: (1) the participants, i.e., agents or patients, (2) the action itself, and (3) the circumstances, or context, associated with the action. According to Alharbi (2015) "contextualizing agency" (p. 50) is crucial, especially within the context of SA, where many Saudi women who follow extremist Wahhabi beliefs have other constructions of agency that may be unfamiliar to many Westerners, as discussed in the Literature Review. In concurrence, Mustafa and Troudi (2019) call for "a more nuanced definition" (p. 135) of agency as their investigation of the literature on Saudi women revealed that "most of the reported agentic actions of Saudi women in Saudi Arabia can be classified as compliant agency, i.e., women choose to conform to religious teachings while taking action" (p. 136).

Even less-conservative Saudi women, many of whom still hold cultural traditions close, also firmly believe that female agency is not necessarily only expressed by "self-empowerment and resistance . . . framed in terms of liberal imperialist understanding of agency" (Alharbi, 2015, p. 74), but rather in terms of their more domesticated social norms – an observation found by

many researchers on Muslim/Saudi women representations (Alarifi, 2001; Bahammam, 2018; Taher, 2019). Another example from the current study would be that of a woman holding up a driver's license (see *Figure 9.* below) who, most likely, would be considered a *Patient*, or at most an *Intransactive Agent* in a Western context, but in fact would index *Transactive* agency in the Saudi context. Being among the first females to start driving in Saudi Arabia was a bold move as many were afraid of how their male counterparts would react (Obaid, 2020) as well as adapting to the reckless driving of many young males which is witnessed on a daily basis in the streets of SA (WHO, 2019), and that regularly results in accidents and deaths, as reflected in the relatively high number of road deaths per capita in SA (WHO, 2021), as *Figure 8.* below shows.
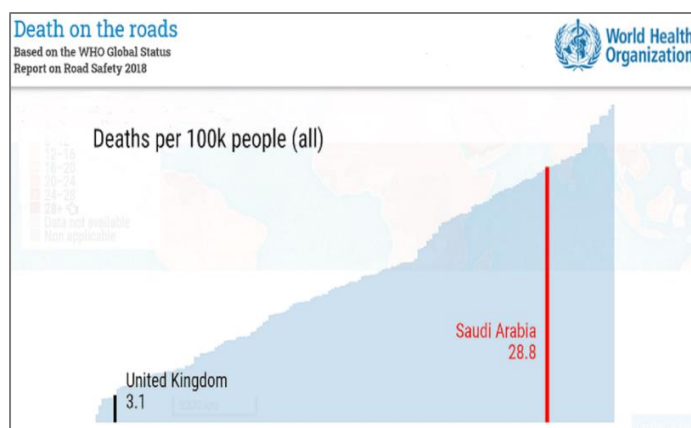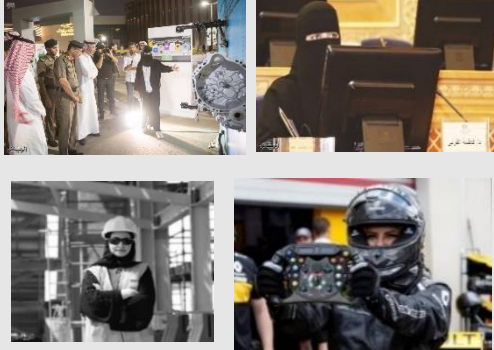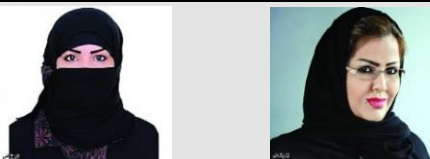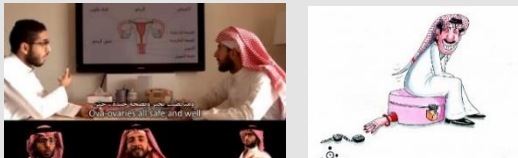
Figure 8. SA vs. UK road deaths per capita (WHO, 2021)

As such, keeping the context in mind while performing the analysis for this research is pertinent as conducting a contextually ill-informed analysis may result in ideological findings that reinforce an Orientalist discourse of stereotypes that are often associated with Saudi women, such as those of being passive agents who are typically "oppressed, segregated and subjugated" (Alharbi, 2015, p. 51).

Considering that the context of this research directly relates to Saudi women protesting the driving ban and its later lifting and them being able to drive, Saudi women in the four UK/SA corpora were analyzed and grouped into several recurrent active, passive, beneficialized, and functionalized social actor categories (*Figure 9.* below). For *Role Allocation*, frequency percentages for each type of representation were calculated by totaling all role allocation raw frequencies which were then divided by each representation to see among all role allocation types, which ones emerged as most salient. This also facilitated making comparisons in terms of percentage frequencies and Chi-square statistics. For *Functionalization*, however, only raw

frequencies were examined as the UK and SA corpora had both similar and different categories which made a one-to-one comparison not possible.

	Agents (Transactive)	Code	Visual Examples
Active Agency	**Activated or Beneficialized Action:** Going into or coming out of the driver's seat, or holding the driver's seat door, just received a driving licence, walking in a car showroom or exhibition, possibly with the intention of buying a car, trying a driving simulator, or attending a car-related event – indexing taking action in some car-related situation	**TRAN**	
	Functionalization	Code	Visual Examples
	Profession/Role: Administrative/government employee or official, activist, driver, driving trainee, princess, speaker, engineer, tailor, fashion designer, auto mechanic, car racer, motorcyclist, singer, actress, hotel receptionist, athlete, etc. – indexing the action of participating in that field/activity	**FUNC**	
Passivity	Agents (Intransactive)	Code	Visual Examples
	Sitting in the back/passenger seat, getting into, or out of the vehicle either from the back or passenger seat – indexing that she will be driven, or casually walking or chatting with no visible purpose, and playing – indexing no active agency when it comes to the issue of driving	**INTR**	
	Patients		Visual Examples
	Contextless Social Actor: Standing or sitting Saudi women captured with no background, doing nothing - indexing no action at all	**PATI**	
	Impersonalization		Visual Examples
	Abstraction: Stereotypical qualities (e.g., motherhood and oppressed)	**ABST**	
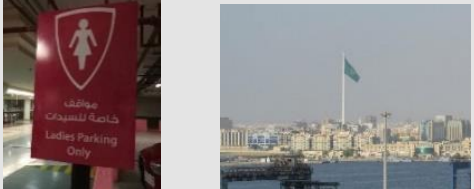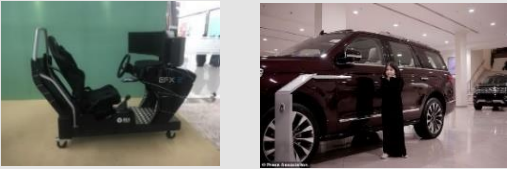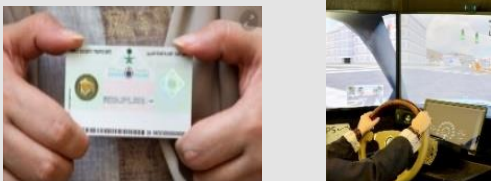
Spatialization: Close association to a place (e.g., Saudi Arabia, parking lot)	**SPAC**		
Utterance Autonomization: A connection to something the social actor has said (e.g., polls)	**UTTR**		
Instrumentalization: Object linked to an action a social actor carries out (e.g., a car, a simulator)	**INST**		
Somatization: "We see people but key aspects of their identity are concealed" (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 53)	**SOMA**		

Figure 9. Saudi women active and passive agency in the UK and SA corpora

(B) Agency via Power Relations

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), recontextualization of power relations and interactions between the depicted social actor and the viewer can be visually achieved mainly via (1) Camera Angle and (2) Distance/Gaze:

Camera Angle: According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), a photographer's discursive use of a particular camera angle (i.e., high, eye-level, or low) when filming or photographing the social actor may create three possible metaphorical power associations: The first two are superiority and equality, signifying an empowered, foregrounded 'us' relationship between the social actor and viewer, and the third which is inferiority, signifying a disempowered, backgrounded 'them'. Van Leeuwen (2008) explains:

> To look down on someone is to exert imaginary symbolic power over that person, to occupy, with regard to that person, the kind of "high" position which, in real life, would be created by stages, pulpits, balconies, and other devices for literally elevating people in order to show their social elevation. To look up at someone signifies that the someone has symbolic power over the viewer, whether as an authority, a role model, or something else. To look at someone from eye level signals equality (p. 139)

Figure 10. below illustrates the 3 camera angles that were utilized to capture Saudi women within the context of this study, as reflected in images found in both the UK and SA news corpora.

Angles	Code	Visual Affordances	Representations	Visual Examples
High	**HIGH**	The camera angle is from high to low	"makes the subject look small and insignificant" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 138); The viewer "has power over" (p. 138) the social actor in the image	
Eye-level	**EYEL**	The camera angle is at eye-level	"The point of view is one of equality and there is no power difference involved" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 139)	
Low	**LOWA**	The camera angle is from low to high	"Low angles generally give an impression of superiority, exaltation and triumph" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 138); The social actor in the image viewer has power over the viewer	

Figure 10. Kress and van Leeuwen (2020) camera angles and power relations

Having said this, it has been claimed that "there are no absolute meanings attached to technical choices such as . . . camera angles" (O'Halloran et al., 2015, p. 392). In other words, viewing the social actor from a low angle should not automatically instill that person with power, and looking down on a person because of a high-to-low angle should not weaken or eliminate the status of that person because, in fact, real meaning, according to the authors, derives from the social actor "in collaboration with other choices" (p. 392) in the context.

As such, in relation to Saudi women within the context of this study, it would be inaccurate, for example, to automatically conclude that all high-angled images in which they appear disempower them. Bateman et al. (2017) stresses that multimodal analysis "demands a more flexible openness to the properties of whatever it is that is being analysed and the situations in which it is used or occurs" (p. 1).

As such, we need to always keep in mind that some shots, for practical purposes, may need to be taken from a certain height to possibly better capture the whole scene. For example, as can

be seen in Photo 2 below, both Saudi women are surrounded by moving and stationary cars indicating that they are now part of this "scene", celebrating their right to drive as well. Further, when a social actor directly addresses the viewer via a direct gaze, as in the famous activist Lujain Al-Hathloul's selfie (Photo 3. below), as discussed below (*Figure 11*.), this would be considered as a "demand" image whereby the social actor is symbolically demanding acknowledgment from the viewer, which is a powerful sign, regardless of the camera angle.

Photo 2. High angle shot, capturing a complete scene

Photo 3. High angle "demand" shot of Lujain Al-Hathloul

And on the flip side, not every image that depicts Saudi women from a low-to-high angle is an empowering one. So, for instance, Photo 4. below from the SA2V depicts women walking up a dirt road with their backs turned towards the viewer. Had these women been wearing sports clothes, the image would then potentially point to Saudi women empowerment, but this is not the case. With shoes in hand and big bags on shoulders, this image, if anything, depicts Saudi women going through some atypical, strenuous experience, which is further confirmed by both the article's headline "Teachers: The decision protects us from the harassment of drivers and worn-out vehicles" and photo caption "Driving will ease the suffering of women and reduce the transportation of teachers in worn-out vehicles" (Abaas, 2017, p. 1).

Photo 4. Low-to-high angled shot depicting disempowerment

Distance/Gaze: Research has shown that the images that journalists choose to include in news reports often include one or more social actors which can be foregrounded and/or backgrounded via various recontextualization strategies (Bednarek & Caple, 2017; van Leeuwen, 2008), thus, symbolically creating a closer, or more distant and detached, relationship between the social actor and the news viewer. Visually, such relations are most commonly established via combinations of various social actor distance and gaze (*Figure 15*. below, p. 83), and the affordances they offer in communicating a message within a certain context (Machin & Mayr, 2012), often empowering or disempowering a certain social actor or event.

In what follows is a detailed discussion of how both foregrounding/backgrounding representations are individually realized and coded via *Distance* and *Gaze* within the context of this research. After that, both visual affordances were combined, and also coded, to serve as the second analysis tool for investigating Saudi women power relations within the UK and SA news media. Combining the categories is necessary for the methodological framework of this study since the full message and representation that the image evokes may not be conveyed via one affordance alone. Bateman et al. (2017) explain that in multimodal analysis, the researcher "will need to find points of contact and overlap both in the basic functioning of combinations of expressive resources and in the methods for analysing them" (p. 8). Therefore, merging both, as discussed in depth below, collectively create a better means to measure both visual, and later textual, evidence of social actor power and agency.

Coding Distance: Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) have distinguished several interaction relationships, ranging on a continuum from close and personal, 'one of us' relations via close-

up shots of social actors to a more formal social, informative relation via mid-shots, to extremely distant 'otherness', achieved via long shots of a social actor, more clearly outlined in *Figure 11*. below. Ledin and Machin (2020) define social distance as "the association of physical proximity and intimacy. In images as in real life, distance signifies social relations. We 'keep our distance' from people we do not like and 'get close to' people we see as part of our circle of friends or intimates" (p. 84). In the same vein, Höllerer et al. (2019) argue that analysing this distance is of great importance as it "has legitimating effects in the sense that it positions the viewer either at intimate distance or at impersonal distance" (p. 174), essentially providing him/her with representationally more, or less, power over the social actor.

Distance	Code	Affordances	Social Distance Representations	Examples
Close shots	**CLOS**	Head, or head and shoulders (Note: must occupy most of the photo frame)	Foregrounding, close, intimate, emotional (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020) desirable intimacy, and "can be used to draw the viewer into the thoughts of the person depicted" (Machin & Mayr, 2013, p. 363).	
Mid Shots	**MIDD**	Ranging from the head to the waist, or the full figure (Note: must occupy most of the photo frame)	Social, objective, and is "the distance at which 'impersonal business occurs'" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 124).	
Long shots	**LONG**	The full figure must occupy "about half the height of the frame" (p. 124), or anything less than that	"Detachment and 'otherness'" Höllerer et al., 2019, p. 171), "no individuality" (Babaii et al., 2016, p. 24) which often leads to "social estrangement" (Dezheng, 2011, p. 73), backgrounding, and objectification as there is no "individual recognition of their feelings" (Gunay, 2015, p. 393). Long-shot social actors "are so small that we can hardly distinguish their facial features . . . which greatly diminishes the impact of their look, or are figures in the background, looking blankly and more or less accidentally in the direction of the camera" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 119).	

Figure 11. Social distances coding criteria of Saudi women and examples

Though long shots typically represent social actor disempowerment or backgrounding, when a social actor directly looks at the viewer, "symbolic 'contact'" (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 85) is established, creating a sense of strong presence and closeness to the social actor. The social actor here is depicted as "demanding" to enter an imaginary relationship with the viewer (Kress, 2010; Ledin & Machin, 2020), in which the social actor is, more or less, asking the viewer to acknowledge his/her presence (Jones, 2020), as illustrated in *Figure 12*. below.

Figure 12. Examples of direct gaze/long-shot empowered Saudi women

Coding Gaze: When social actors are visually presented as looking at the viewer ("Direct", *Figure 13*. below), this often depicts that both the viewer and social actor are symbolically interacting with each other via "direct address" (Ledin and Mayr, 2020, p. 81; van Leeuwen, 2008), which potentially points to the foregrounding of the social actor, whereby the news viewer may feel "closer" to this person in the photo. On the other hand, images that depict the social actor completely from behind ("Back", *Figure 13*. below) are not indicative of a close, intimate social relation with the social actor (Höllerer et al., 2019; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Along similar lines, Ledin and Machin (2020) state that "non-frontal perspectives signal that we are some kind of observers, as if given a snapshot of a reality we are not part of" (p. 82) and Höllerer et al. (2019) maintain that social actors that are shown from behind "creates detachment from the 'other'" (pp. 175-176).

Based on this, a brief description, as initially outlined by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), of how different social actor gazes can be interpreted when it comes to examining social distance representations of a particular social actor is presented in *Figure 13*. below.

Gazes	Code	Visual Affordances	Representations	Visual Examples
Direct	**DIRE**	Social actor gazes directly "acknowledges the viewers explicitly, addressing them with a visual 'you'" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 117), as if it were a "symbolic demand" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 141) to be acknowledged	"The frontal angle is the angle of maximum involvement." (p. 146) + "Contact is established, even if it is only on an imaginary level" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 116)	
Indirect	**INDR**	Social actor does not directly gaze at the viewer, "looks past us, at something else, or at nothing in particular" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 251)	Social actor is the "object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made. The viewer's role is that of an invisible onlooker" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 118)	
Back	**BACK**	Social actor's back is turned, thus a complete absence of gaze	"Non-frontal perspectives signal that we are some kind of observers, . . . possibly as a bystander or at time as an eavesdropper" (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 82), "is the object of the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020, p. 118)	

Figure 13. Kress and van Leeuwen (2020) social actor gaze affordances and what they represent

Worth noting is that the context of the research, here being the banning of women to drive in Saudi Arabia and its subsequent lifting, plays a significant role in how social actor gazes are recontextualized, coded, and analysed. Jewitt et al. (2016) argue that researchers need to focus on context in multimodal studies and "should not be too prescriptive in terms of the meanings assigned to individual system choices, given that meaning is the result of systemic combinations" (p. 56) that are created differently by different societies. Even though an indirect gaze, which typically suggests detachment and vulnerability, Ledin and Machin (2020) state

that it can, "depending on circumstances [here driving], index togetherness," (p. 85), and even back gazes in the context of this research often "offer us their [social actors'] perspective of the world" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 99) which can be in fact empowering, as driving necessitates looking towards the road, which means their backs are turned to the viewers.

It is important to note here that upon a careful qualitative examination of each individual image in the close and mid shot categories, two noteworthy recontextualizations (i.e., facial blurriness and obstruction), emerged which warrant some discussion, and then based on this, a "reassignment" of categorization. If we take a look at the images in *Figure 14*. below, according to Kress and van Leeuwen's social distance classifications, these images would technically be categorized as foregrounded close/mid shots. In reality, however, these images should not be included in these two categories. When the focus of an image is obscured to this extent (*Figure 14*.), it renders the social actor's "facial expression as mere outline . . . [and] individuality is diminished" (Fawzy, 2019, p. 76).

Such a disconnect may result in contradictory representations; on the one hand, news viewers may want to support these close-shot Saudi women for their lack of freedom and independence as a result of not being permitted to drive, but at the same time, such recontextualized images in the form of vague, blurred outlines may trigger "visually evaluating them as social misfits and chaos that needs to be contained (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 76) or rather possibly pitying them, taking us "too close to the energy of the moment, suggesting the need to pull back" (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 84). Based on these discrepancies, the decision was made to categorize such obscure or blurred close and mid shot images under disempowerment as they serve the same type of distant, emotionless, and visual 'otherness' representations.

(1) Obscured mid shot   **(2)** Unfocused close shot
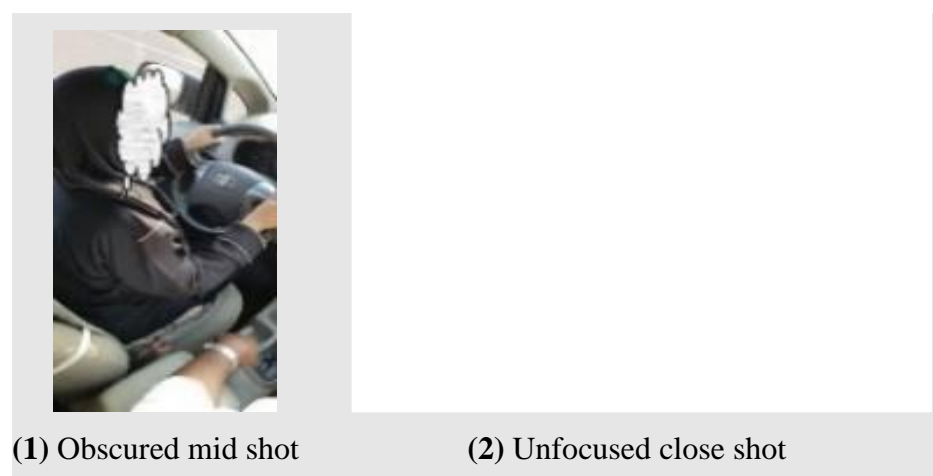
Figure 14. Social actor *Objectivation* via close/mid shots of covered/blurred Saudi women

Taking into consideration all these variables, it was decided that *Distance* and *Gaze* would be combined and coded to be utilized in the interpretation of the visual backgrounding and foregrounding of Saudi women in the context of this study, as outlined in *Figure 15.* below.

Empowered, Foregrounded Affordances & Codes		Visual Examples
(F1) Distance: close/mid shot + Gaze: direct **(F2)** Distance: close/mid shot + Gaze: back/indirect (while driving) **(F3)** Distance: long shot + Gaze: Direct	**FORE**	
Disempowered, Backgrounded Affordances & Codes		**Visual Examples**
(B1) Unfocused/ Blurry, & Intentionally covered faces by journalists **(B2)** Distance: long shot + back/indirect gaze **(B3)** Distance: mid/close shot + back or indirect gaze (no driving) **(B4)** Exclusion	**BACK**	

Figure 15. Visual affordances and coding combinations of *Distances/Gazes* for this study

Combining Role Allocation, Functionalization, and Power Relations: The importance of combining representations of role allocation, functionalization, and power relations lies in the fact that while distance/gaze do play some part in how a viewer perceives social actor empowerment, agency is more accurately interpreted when taking into consideration other affordances. As can be seen here, for example, though Photo 5. below technically backgrounds Saudi women due to them being shot from a long distance and they are not gazing directly at the viewer, and Photo 6. exhibits Impersonalization via *Somatization*, one cannot conclude that

these images represent Saudi women as "disempowered" since there is more to consider, i.e., functionalized as presenters and activated as driving, respectively. In more abstract terms, the general multimodal sense of these images, and others similar to them, actually reflect empowered women regardless sometimes of the existence or not of individual affordances.

Photo 5. Long-shot empowered Saudi women   Photo 6. Impersonalization, *Somatization*

In other words, within the context of this study which focuses on Saudi women, it is not really a comparison of *who* is being foregrounded, as one or more Saudi women are often in the image, but has more to do with *how* she is situated overall; i.e., is she foregrounded more frequently as an empowered, active agent or as a passive social actor, possibly indicating 'otherness'. As such, role allocation, functionalization, and power relation findings were combined so that when at least one of them was marked by the number 1 for exhibiting the representation, that image would ultimately be marked as demonstrating overall Saudi women agency, as illustrated in this sample analysis below:

	Images	Links	News	(1) Agency											
				ROLE ALL	IMPR (exclusion)	Quan SPSS	FUNC	Quan SPSS	Angle	Dist	Gaze	POWR code	POWR	Quan SPSS	Total AGENCY
34		https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/01/23/inside-saudi-arabias-women-taking-great-driving-lessons-desert/	Bro-Tel	ACTV (dr-related)	PERS	1	activist lujain driver	1	HIGH	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1
35		https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/saudi-arabian-women-demand-laws-to-drive-out-all-inequality-manal-al-sharif-3q99s92zf	Bro-Tim	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	manal activist	1	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1
66		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/afp/article-4924874/Saudi-women-face-work-barriers-driving-ban.html	Tab-Dai	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	NA	0	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	B2	BKGR	0	0

Figure 16. Sample of overall analysis of representations of agency

Coding Visual Exclusion of Saudi Women: *Exclusion* is a central concern for CDA research. According to van Leeuwen (2008) "representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (p. 28).

Specifically, *Exclusion* relates to how a social actor is eliminated and "what discourse strategy is used for it" (Mursida & Ermanto, 2018, p. 301). Some social actor exclusions may be unintentional - images which journalists assume readers already know or which are deemed irrelevant to them; however, others may be reflective of the journalist's (or the institution's) particular ideologies and in what manner they want the reader to be impacted (Fairclough, 1992).

Irrespective of the reasons, *Exclusion* of a particular social actor often implies identity suppression and anonymity – the strongest form of marginalized representation (van Leeuwen, 2008). *Exclusion* within the context of this study is realized by a complete visual "suppression" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29) or absence of the main social actor that is investigated in this study – the Saudi woman/women, as illustrated in *Figure 17*. below.

| UK1V | SA1V |
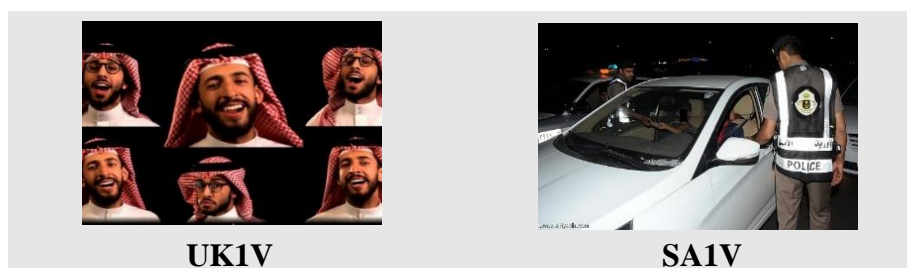
Figure 17. Examples of Saudi women Exclusion

(2) Cultural Categorization

The second social actor representation that will be investigated in this research is cultural categorization, which according to van Leeuwen (2008), includes attributes commonly used to categorize members of society, including:

(1) *Relational Identification* which "represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship, or work relations to each other" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 43), and that can visually be recognized via two or more women (e.g., friends, mother/daughter/aunt, and colleagues) interacting with each other, or even by acts such as talking, hugging, kissing, etc. (see *Figure 18*. below). Van Leeuwen states that though in Western culture identifying relational roles is becoming increasingly less important than identifying a person's agency and functionalization, in other societies, such as Saudi Arabia, such family, and extended relational ties still play a key role in self-representation (Cultural Atlas, 2021).

In fact, relationship loyalty in SA "overrides most other societal rules and regulations" (Hofstede Insights, 2021) and are thus important to investigate. However, we need to bear in

mind that unlike in texts where particular kinship or other relation terms are clearly stated, visually it is often impossible to pinpoint the relationship. For example, in the relationship (RELA) images below (*Figure 18*.), the one on the left is most likely a mother-daughter relationship; as for the one on the right, one would not be able to ascertain whether these two women are friends, sisters, cousins, etc. As such, in the visual analysis, an examination of the particular relationship types will not be conducted.

Code	Visual Examples	Code	Visual Examples
RELA		**NREL**	

Figure 18. Relational identification in the UK and SA corpora

(2) *Physical Identification* which is realized via, for instance, "items of dress" (Chokheli-Losnegård, 2019, p. 31), is claimed to include cultural attributes that often connote positive or negative associations attached to particular socio-cultural groups, So, in the case of this study, where the majority of images were taken outside in the streets, one salient physical attribute that emerged in the UK and SA visual corpora was that of Saudi women attire, and more specifically the various ways that Saudi women choose to cover, or not, their hair and/or faces in public (i.e., hijabs).

Considering that there has become quite a large range of hijab styles that Saudi women choose from, when searching online for an image that included all these varieties (to be potentially used for categorizing hijab types in the current study), there were none, as there were only those that showed different forms of Islamic hijab, as the ones in *Figure 19*. which were retrieved from sites that supposedly were showcasing Saudi women dress code, all of which were missing popular hijab variations commonly seen in SA.

https://www.expatwoman.com/saudi-arabia/guide/dress-code-in-saudi-arabia

https://rb.gy/yfyrk8

https://www.familytravel-middleeast.com/what-to-wear-saudi-arabia/
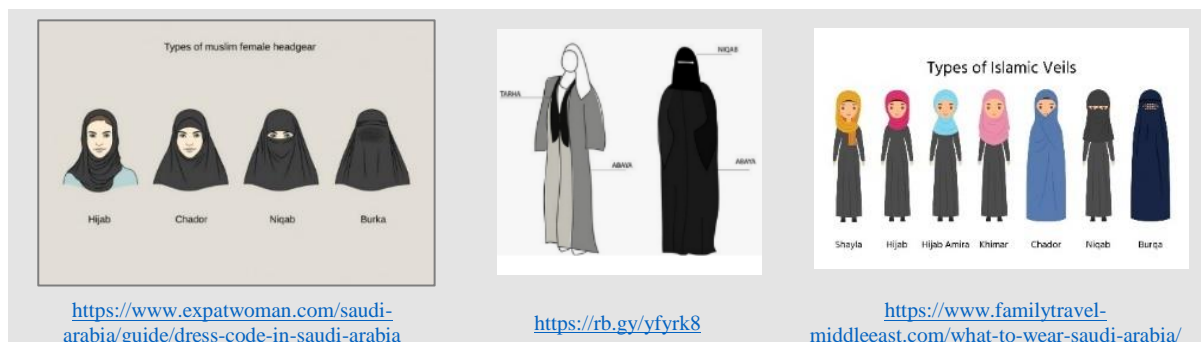
Figure 19. Internet illustrations of Saudi women dress code

As such, the depictions in *Figure 20.* below were adapted from the 1st photo on the left in *Figure 19.* above and shown to over 100 Saudi female PhD students, in one of my personal WhatsApp chat groups, many of whom gave important feedback on the images and their religious/cultural connotations, which resulted in this final illustration (*Figure 20.*) of the different ways Saudi women nowadays wear, or not, head scarfs and veils in public, and which was digitally adapted and drawn by my niece, Lema Sibai.

#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9
Hair uncovered with/out makeup	Neck showing with/out makeup "turban"	Hair showing with/out makeup	Hijab (i.e., hair fully covered) + makeup	Hijab without makeup	Hijab without makeup "chador" (Eastern region)	Hijab with "lathma" (i.e., mouth is covered)	Face almost fully veiled "niqab"	Face fully veiled "khimar"
Saudi Cultural Categorization								
Non-Hijabi	Less Conservative Hijabi			Conservative Hijabi		Very Conservative Hijabi		
Western Cultural Categorization								
Non-Conservative	Conservative							
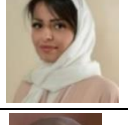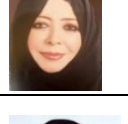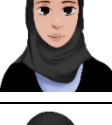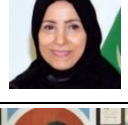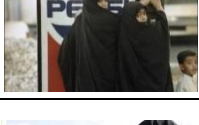
Figure 20. Range of hijab varieties and what they connote in Saudi Arabia (Lema Sibai, 2021 - adapted from expatwoman.com, 2018)

Many foreigners may assume that these varieties are closely linked to religion, and while of course to a certain extent they are, (1) a Saudi veiled woman could "look" extremely conservative in public to appease her family and society, but in reality may not fully practice other Islamic deeds like the five prayers, etc., and (2) the different hijab styles are actually more geographically bound than anything else. To demonstrate, if we take a look at (*Figure 20.*), we find that **(1)** Images #5 and #6 connote the exact same level of conservativeness, but #6 is typically only worn in the Eastern region, **(2)** Where #5 would be considered a very conservative hijabi in many parts of the world, this is not the case in SA, as only #7, #8, and #9 would be deemed as highly conservative, "acceptable" types of Islamic hijab that discourage men from looking at them impurely, "to protect her and save others' souls" (Ibn Baz, n.d., p. 1), and **(3)** Though #7 and #8 are almost the same, #8 would rarely be seen worn by young women living in the Eastern region.

As for *Physical Identification* representation analysis in the current study, since previous literature has typically considered any veiled women as an emblem of "extreme Islamism, to be a kind of symbol of enmity, a sign of male oppression, and lack of allegiance to the cultures

of the host countries" (Wilking, 2020, p. 26), it was decided that any veiled women in the UK and SA corpora would be categorized as a "very conservative hijabi" so that the conclusions of this study could be compared more accurately with those found in previous literature on Saudi women representations.

Based on these factors, and the consensus on what each hijab style connotes in terms of the degree of visual conservativeness (*Figure 20.*), the images in the UK and SA corpora were coded, and then analyzed. Two groups of images could not be included under any of these categories: **(1)** a mixed representation of hijabis when more than one Saudi woman appeared in these photos, and this was labelled as the "Mixed Hijabis" group, and **(2)** images of Saudi women wearing helmets, as protective headgear on motorcycles or in race cars or images of Saudi women with their heads cropped out or who have been impersonalized, which were included in one final category simply labelled "N/AP" as these types of images do not fall under the specified cultural category of "hijab" (*Figure 21.*).

Conservativeness & Codes		Style	Affordances	Examples from the Corpora
Non-Hijabi (NOTH)			Hair uncovered with/out makeup	
Less Conservative Hijabi (LESS)	**OTHR**		Neck showing with/out makeup "turban"	
			Hair showing, w/out makeup	
			Hijab (i.e., hair fully covered) + makeup	
Conservative Hijabi (CONS)			Hijab without makeup	
			Hijab without makeup "chador" (Eastern region)	
Mixed Hijabis (MIXD)		One image that includes a group of Saudi women wearing different hijabs		

Not Applicable (N/AP)		Images of Saudi women wearing helmets, heads cropped out, & Impersonalization		
Very Conservative Hijabi	**VERY**		Hijab with "lathma"	
			Face almost fully veiled "niqab"	
			Face fully veiled "khimar"	

Figure 21. Categories, affordances, and codes used to analyze the headwear of Saudi women

It is true that though Muslim females "wear a variety of hijabs and veils (which would have a variety of class and other meanings to the initiated), to Western eyes, however, their head coverings may look very similar and create a "they are all the same" effect" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 146). This is exactly the concern, and why bringing more awareness to this issue is pertinent. The literature often points to Western and European media's focus on Saudi women's conservative dress which authors quickly associate with Orientalist ideologies of submission by being "forced" to wear the veil (Taher, 2019) which makes Saudi women seem as if they are being portrayed as one oppressed person.

However, in doing both (a) a conservative/non-conservative analysis from a Western's perception, and (b) a detailed analysis of the different ways Saudi women actually present themselves in public, as portrayed in both the UK and SA media, more robust findings emerged that are truly representative of the variety of looks found in the Saudi society. Acknowledging such distinctions is important and hopefully researchers will become more mindful about making sweeping Orientalist finding claims, especially in studies that include a limited visual corpus which under no case can yield generalizable findings.

Two final types of groups that were important to look into were:
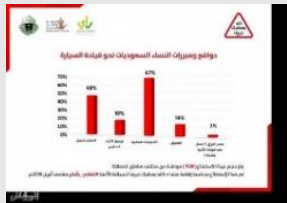
(1) Females Only vs. Mixed Groups: As Saudi women are going out to work more frequently, and often in a mixed-gender environment, it was of interest to see if this is also reflected in the news media via increased interactions with men in the more current 2017-2019 corpora.

(2) Individualized vs. Collectivized Social Actors: According to van Leeuwen (2008), social actors may be depicted as (1) individuals visually realized by shots that show only one person, in which case he has referred to as *Individualization*, or as (2) groups whereby the image includes more than one social actor, which he has categorized as *Collectivization*. In CDA, representations of *Individualization* and *Collectivization* are of great importance as this can make a difference in the way that the people and the events in which they are involved are represented (Ledin & Machin, 2020). And in the case of Saudi women who are often misrepresented, an investigation of these representations is necessary as a way of "resisting Eurocentric hegemony by highlighting the stories of people living in the margin" (Jamjoom, 2020, p. 13).

Ledin and Machin (2020) explain that *Individualization* often has the effect of bringing the social actor symbolically closer to the viewer, thus "humanizing them" (p. 48) which may make them more intriguing. Conversely, collectivization may have a homogenizing, anonymizing effect (Mayr & Machin, 2012), as "we are not encouraged to align with their [social actors'] feelings and interests" (Ledin & Machin, 2020, p. 48), and this is what van Leeuwen (2008) categorizes as *Assimilation*. For instance, by depicting a group of people wearing the same attire, taking part in a similar activity, stipulating and reinforcing certain stereotypes about a particular society becomes a real possibility, which is highly unjust "given that societies are not homogeneous, but composed of groups with varying, and often contradictory, interests" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 20), and which in this research is labelled as *Genericization*.

In addition to *Genericization* and *Assimilation*, a third way Saudi women may be depicted in groups is via *Objectivization*, more specifically *Aggregation*, whereby they are represented as statistics, which often visually translates into images of polls, infographics including numbers, etc. An important cultural issue to note here is that some societies (i.e., individualist societies) place more significance on individual visibility and achievements whereas in other more collectivist societies, like SA, more stress is placed on group affiliations (Al-Asfour et al., 2017). It was of paramount importance to keep this in mind while doing the analysis, as it would be highly inaccurate and unfounded to run an analysis on images coming from different cultures using a standardized, universal system that deems individuality as an absolute positive social characteristic, and collectivism as a weak cultural attribute. Saudi Arabia is a highly collectivist culture, scoring 25, when compared to the UK with a score of 89 (Hofstede Insights, 2021), whereby Saudi citizens take great pride "in a close long-term commitment to the member 'group', be that a family, extended family, or extended relationships" (p. 1).

Having said this, we also need to consider that when the UK news media chooses which images are to be published, as mentioned repeatedly before, choices are never neutral (Caple et al., 2020; Ledin & Machin, 2020), regardless of how an image is perceived in its local context. As such, Saudi women were investigated for representations of *Individualization* and *Collectivization*, according to the categories in *Figure 22*.

Saudi Women Individualization	Code	Visual Examples
Individualized: 1 Saudi woman	**INDV**	
Saudi Women Collectivization	**Code**	**Visual Examples**
Genericized: Saudi women who display different coloured attire and/or hijab styles	**COLL GNRC**	
Assimilated: Saudi women who display similar coloured attire and/or hijab styles (i.e., homogenized)	**COLL ASSM**	
Objectified (Aggregated): In terms of numbers/statistics	**COLL AGGR**	

Figure 22. Individualized and *Collectivized* Saudi women in the UK and SA corpora

At this stage, the final coding system for the visual (sub-)categories of representations was formulated (Table 7 below) and utilized for coding the images in the Excel analysis sheets. When the social actor (i.e., Saudi woman) was completely absent in an image, this was considered as *Exclusion*, and the complete row was crossed out to indicate that this photo was not to be further analysed for other social actor representations. As for the rest of the representations, any instance the photo exhibited one of the sub-category affordances, that cell was coded accordingly, which later in SPSS was coded as 1 if marked and 0 if unmarked. A summary of the coding system is outlined in Table 7 below.

Table 7

Visual Social Actor Representation Analysis Toolkit

Representations			Quantitative Coding (SPSS)		Sub-category Qualitative Coding of Affordances & Visual Realizations
1	**Agency**		Active, Empowered, & Foregrounded Agent: 1	**ACTV**	**TRAN** (Transactive agent performing dynamic action)
					FUNC (Indexing an empowered role or occupation)
					CLOS (Head, or head and shoulders)
					MIDD (From the head to the waist, or the full figure)
					EYEL (Eye level angle)
					HIGH (High to low camera angle – context dependent)
					LOWA (Low to high camera angle – contextual)
					DIRE (Direct gaze)
					INDR (Indirect gaze + driving)
					BACK (back gaze + driving)
			Passive, Disempowered, Backgrounded Patient: 0	**PTNT**	**EXCL** (total absence of social actor)
					PASS (Passive social actor)
					INTR (Intransactive social actor)
					LONG (Full figure is half the height of the frame)
					HIGH (high to low camera angle – contextual)
					LOWA (Low to high camera angle – contextual)
					BACK (back is turned to the viewer – contextual)
					IMPR (Impersonalization)
					OBJC (Objectivation)
					SOMA (Somatization, key identity features are cropped)
					INST (Instrumentalization, object linked to action)
					SPAC (Spatialization, close association to place)
					ABST (Abstraction, stereotypical quality)
					BLUR (Unfocused / Blurry face)
					COVR (Intentionally covered face)
2	**Cultural Categorization**	Physical Identification	Other Hijabs: 0	**OTHR**	**NOTH** (no headcover) **LESS** (headcover, hair showing, and/or makeup) **CONS** (head cover, no hair showing, no makeup) **MIXD** (various hijab types) **N/AP** (helmet, head cropped out/ Impersonalization)
			Very Conservative: 1	**VERY**	Head covered, no makeup, face (partly) veiled
		Relational Identification	Relations: 1	**RELA**	Friends, daughter/mother/aunt, etc.
			No Relations: 0	**NREL**	No clear relationship
		Individualization vs. Collectivization	Individualization: 1	**INDV**	1 social actor
			Collectivization: 0	**COLL**	**GNRC** (different looking social actors in a group) **ASSM** (similar looking social actors in a group) **AGGR** (in terms of numbers/statistics)
		Mixed vs. Female Only	Mixed: 1	**MIXD**	Men and women
			Female only: 0	**FEMO**	Women only

4.4.2 Textual Analytical Toolkit

After having detected social actor representation commonalities between the visual and textual networks, it was decided that all of van Leeuwen's (2008) main textual social actor representation categories, namely, *Exclusion*, and the chief types of *Inclusion* would be included in the textual analytical toolkit (*Figure 23*. below). However, some sub-categories were excluded for which justifications are provided in Table 8 below.

Regarding the labelling of textual representation categories, since the visual categories already have similar labels to those in the textual network, to avoid confusion, a few textual sub-categories and/or affordance labels were slightly adjusted so that both visual and textual categories could be referred to similarly facilitating multimodal finding comparisons and discussions. Table 8 below also outlines which representation category labels remained the same and which were adjusted and why.

TABLE 2.4. Social Actor Network
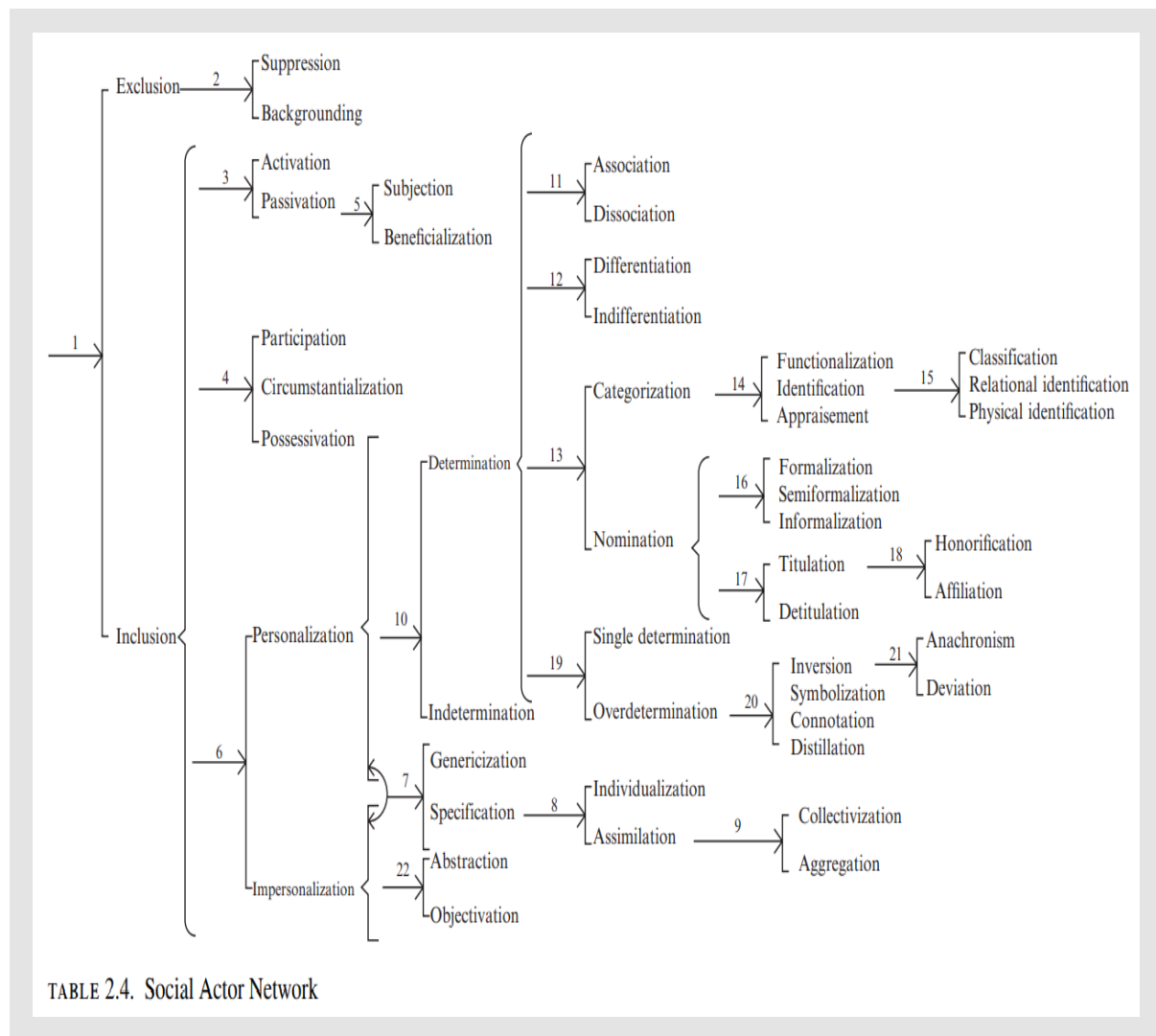
Figure 23. Van Leeuwen's textual social actor network (2008, p. 52)

Table 8

van Leeuwen (2008) Textual Network Label Adaptations and Justifications

Textual Social Actor Representation Categories	Justifications for Adjusting a Category Label	Sub-categories/Affordances Not Included and Justifications
Exclusion	***Exclusion*** Just as discussed in the visual toolkit, here *Exclusion* also means complete textual absence of social actor	**Suppression** is realized the same way *Exclusion* is
Role Allocation	***Role Allocation*** (*Activation* vs. *Passivation*) was chosen as a multimodal umbrella term from the textual network since the visual network included similar categories (i.e., *Agent* vs. *Patient*).	**Participation** is realized the same way as *Agent*
Power Relations	NA	This category was not textually investigated since it was unfeasible to examine textual power relations by looking into pronouns such as "them", "us", etc. via corpus tools due to the large scale of data that would require (1) reading each concordance to ensure that the Saudi women under investigation were the ones using them, and (2) in Arabic, the same would be required, but extra care would be needed since these pronouns also could point to objects.
Individual-ization	***Individualization*** vs. ***Collectivization*** were chosen as umbrella terms from the textual network since in both visual network (*Individual, Group, Homogenization*) and textual network (*Individualization, Assimilation, Collectivization, and Aggregation*), the sub-categories are similar	**Personalization** as a label was not included since *Individualization* entails *Personalization* **Association and Dissociation** are not required as only Saudi women are under investigation, no other groups. **Differentiation** is visually represented the same way as *Collectivization* (i.e., a group of Saudi women) **Overdetermination** occurs when social actors are represented as participating in more than one social practice at the same time and includes the sub-types (1) *Inversion: Anachronism and Deviation:* social actor connected to 2 opposing practices, (2) *Symbolization*: fictional character stands for nonfictional, and (3) *Distillation*: Combination of *Generalization* and *Abstraction*. Accurately comparing visual/textual instances of social actors represented as simultaneously participating in more than one social practice is not feasible in large datasets since these types of comparisons are more of a qualitative nature and are only meaningful when described individually. **Titulation** and **Detitulation** were included in Leeuwen's textual network, but not explained
Cultural Categoriz-Ation	***Cultural Categorization*** from the visual network was chosen over the label ***Categorization*** in the textual network since it covers both *Relational Identification* and *Physical Identification*	**Classification** (age, class, race, etc.) cannot be analyzed multimodally since its affordances cannot be accurately investigated visually due to lack of classifying labels

In order to present lexical findings, a number of procedures were carried out via Sketch Engine:

(1) Role Allocation Representations of *Activation*, *Beneficialization*, and *Passivation* were detected by using the Word Sketch tool via an assessment of the most frequent words that strongly collocated with Saudi women. As such, collocates that pointed to Saudi women agency (i.e., dynamic action and/or empowerment) or passiveness (i.e., no action and/or disempowerment) facilitated the identification and interpretation of role allocation patterns or prosodies that surrounded the social actor (here being Saudi women) under investigation. However, there were four important issues that needed to be addressed before doing the analysis:

(A) In English, the only search word that was used at Word Sketch was the lemma *woman* for its obvious prominence, as can be seen in Table 9 below, and hence *female*, *girl*, and *lady* were excluded. But in Arabic, several words that frequently refer to an adult woman were detected in the SA1T and SA2T corpora and were thus included; namely, all singular and plural noun forms, with and without articles, of نساء\امرأة [women], **سيدات** [ladies], and even **بنات / فتيات** [girls] which actually refer to young adult ladies in the data rather than female children. The only term that was excluded was **أنثى** [female (as a noun)] since it only appeared a few times. As such, the search term string that was used at Word Sketch to analyse the SA corpora was:

البنات/بنات/البنت/بنت/سيدات/السيدات/السيدة/سيدة/فتيات/الفتيات/الفتاة/فتاة/نساء/نسائ/النسوة/النسو ة/كنساء/نساء/كامراة/المراة/امراة

Table 9
Frequency of Social Actor Words in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	INCLUDED in the Analysis				EXCLUDED from the Analysis	
	woman / امرأة	girl / فتاة أو بنت	lady / سيدة	TOTAL	girl/lady	female (as a noun)
UK1 (N=59,975)	women (1149), woman (229), women's (124), woman's (15)	N/A	N/A	**1517** (2.2% of corpus)	girls (6), girl (6), lady (3)	females (11) female (1)
UK2 (N=136,620)	women (2450), women's (399), woman (197), woman's (51)	N/A	N/A	**3097** (2% of corpus)	girls (32), girl (6), girls' (1), ladies (10), lady (3), ladies' (2)	females (16) female (9)
SA1 (N=175,079)	المراة [the woman] (2292) النساء [the women] (458) امراة [woman] (136) نساء [women] (110) نسائ [women] (29) النسوة [the women] (18) كامراة [as a woman] (8) نسوة [women] (6) كنساء [as women] (1) **Total: 3058**	البنات [the girls] (37) الفتاة [the girl] (33) فتاة [girl] (23) الفتيات [the girls] (13) بنات [girls] (13) بنت [girl] (9) البنت [the girl] (8) فتيات [the girls] (4) **Total: 140**	سيدة [lady] (30) السيدة [the lady] (26) السيدات [the ladies] (24) سيدات [ladies] (20) **Total: 100**	**3298** (1.7% of corpus)	N/A	انثى [female] (3) الانثى [the female] (2)
SA2 (N=320,464)	المراة [the woman] (4028) النساء [the women] (961) امراة [woman] (140) نساء [women] (140) نسائ [women] (11) كنساء [as women] (10) النسوة [the women] (4) كامراة [as a woman] (2) **Total: 5296**	الفتيات [the girls] (63) بنت [girl] (62) البنات [the girls] (57) بنات [girls] (41) الفتاة [the girl] (33) فتاة [girl] (28) فتيات [the girls] (15) البنت [the girl] (6) **Total: 305**	السيدات [the ladies] (311) سيدة [lady] (86) سيدات [ladies] (63) السيدة [the lady] (31) **Total: 491**	**6092** (1.8% of corpus)	N/A	الانثى [the female] (7) انثى [female] (4)

(B) After examining the individual concordances, it was found that there were some instances whereby the social actor terms under investigation closely collocated with words that clearly pointed to these women not being Saudi. Therefore, a manual search was conducted using the Concordance tool at Sketch Engine to pinpoint these cases. The following concordances present all the exceptions excluded from analysis, and Table 9 above reflects the social actor frequencies *after* excluding these concordances.

Concordance lines excluded from the UK1T Corpus:

1	☐	ⓘ doc#0 or trampled in the reconciliation process," she told	**Afghan women**	in 2010. </s><s> Tell that to the Taleban, waiting in	🗋
2	☐	ⓘ doc#0 ><s> "No one thinks it will be easy. </s><s> It took	**American women**	80 years to get the vote, but we will not stop until t	🗋
3	☐	ⓘ doc#0 In the Land of Invisible Women, Qanta Ahmed, a	**British Muslim doctor**	, notes the horrific car accidents in Saudi Arabia, th	🗋
4	☐	ⓘ doc#0 > Consider what Amany Abdulfadl, member of the	**Egyptian Centre**	for Monitoring Women's Priorities, said in a 2007 p	🗋
5	☐	ⓘ doc#0 g dressed as a clown at birthday parties. </s><s>	**Kuwaiti woman**	arrested in Saudi Arabia for driving her diabetic fat	🗋
6	☐	ⓘ doc#0 protest against the country's female driving ban: A	**Kuwaiti woman**	was arrested in Saudi Arabia for driving her diabet	🗋
7	☐	ⓘ doc#0 in Saudi Arabia for driving sick father to hospital:	**Kuwaiti woman**	, driving in Saudi Arabia, pulled over with her diabe	🗋
8	☐	ⓘ doc#0 ested their driving ban in Saudi Arabia. </s><s> A	**Kuwaiti woman**	has been arrested in Saudi Arabia for driving her c	🗋
9	☐	ⓘ doc#0 held in custody pending an investigation. </s><s>	**Kuwaiti women**	are free to drive in their country and enjoy far more	🗋
10	☐	ⓘ doc#0 : without permission from a male relative. </s><s>	**Kuwaiti women**	gained the right to vote and stand for political offic	🗋
11	☐	ⓘ doc#0 rters on Twitter pointed out the key role played by	**women in the history of Islam**	, noting that Aisha, the widow of the Prophet Muha	🗋
12	☐	ⓘ doc#0 /s><s> 'Supporters pointed out the role played by	**women in the history of Islam**	'. </s><s> The freedom of the road is a feminist iss	🗋

Concordance lines excluded from the UK2T Corpus:

1	☐	ⓘ doc#0 nething about the way the media portrays	**American women**	.' </s><s> I think we all have to do a better	🗋
2	☐	ⓘ doc#0 aid the action is "unprecedented". </s><s>	**Brit woman**	leads Saudi drive tutors after U-turn: A BRI	🗋
3	☐	ⓘ doc#0 an leads Saudi drive tutors after U-turn: A	**BRITISH woman**	has been chosen to train the first female dr	🗋
4	☐	ⓘ doc#0 here was energetic, defiant and powerful,"	**Chiara Capraro**	, women's human rights programme mana	🗋
5	☐	ⓘ doc#0 ost show only their eyes -- if that. </s><s>	**Expatriate women**	, once obliged to veil, now get away with o	🗋
6	☐	ⓘ doc#0 ie of the Saudi reforms offer this. </s><s>	**History**	is littered with dictators who have promote	🗋
7	☐	ⓘ doc#0 men who drove military vehicles. </s><s>	**Kuwaiti women**	who had fled the invasion also drove. </s>	🗋
8	☐	ⓘ doc#0 eeds some good news. </s><s> Its fury at	**Shiite Iran**	– where women have been driving for deca	🗋
9	☐	ⓘ doc#0 n from holding driving licences. </s><s> A	**Sydney woman**	who was one of the driving forces for gettir	🗋
10	☐	ⓘ doc#0 er the Muslim kingdom was elected to the	**United Nations women's rights commission**	, despite a terrible record on the issue. </s	🗋
11	☐	ⓘ doc#0 er the Muslim kingdom was elected to the	**United Nations women's rights commission**	, despite a terrible record on the issue. </s	🗋
12	☐	ⓘ doc#0 er the Muslim kingdom was elected to the	**United Nations women's rights commission**	, despite a terrible record on the issue. </s	🗋

Concordance lines excluded from the SA1T Corpus:

Arabic	English
السيدات الكويتيات مسلمات و محافظات	Kuwaiti women are Muslim and modest
السيدة كيلنتون و المراة السعودية !: يقول	Lady Clinton and the Saudi woman
السيدة كلينتون ! <s/><s> ماذا كان توقع	Lady Clinton! <s/><s> what did she
السيدة كلينتون ! <s/><s> التي كانت متـ	Lady Clinton! <s/><s> who was
السيدة كلينتون ف نحن لا نريد ل ها ان تـ	Lady Clinton as we do not want
السيدة كلينتون سواء في غلاء الشعير او ا	Lady Clinton either because of the
السيدة هيلاري كلينتون و ماقصة دعم ها	Lady Hillary Clinton and her support
السيدة خديجة بنت خويلد في الغرفة التج	Lady Khadija the daughter or prophet
السيدة احلام الشامسي , و نحتاج فعلا ل	Lady Ahlam Alshamsi (she is Emarati)
المراة الاجنبية و مصافحة ها , و تحريم نـ	Foreign women and shaking her hand
المراة الكويتية سبقت اخت ها السعوديـ	Kuwaiti women have surpassed their
المراة اجنبية تعمل في المملكة و هي مـ	Expatriate woman working in KSA
المراة القطرية اليوم في كل مكان . <s/>	The Qatari woman is everywhere
النساء غير السعوديات او غير المسلمات	Non-Saudi women or Non-Muslim
النساء الاجنبيات في فضاء الحظر ل ربما	Foreign women are in a prohibited
النساء غير السعوديات ب قيادة السيارة	Non-Saudi women driving a car
النساء غير السعوديات او غير المسلمات	Non-Saudi women or Non-Muslim
النساء الاجنبيات في فضاء الحظر ل ربما	Foreign women are in a prohibited
النساء العاريات الاجنبيات اللائي ربما لم	Foreign naked women who which
سيدة لبنانية تقود سيارة في احد شوارع	A Lebanese lady driving a car
نساء كويتيات يقدن سيارة هن و يتجولـ	Kuwaiti women driving their cars
نساء اجنبيات ب بزات عسكرية قدمن ,	Foreign women wearing military
نساء العرب و المسلمين قديما ل دواب	Arab and Muslim women long ago
نساء كويتيات يقدن سيارة هن و يتجولـ	Kuwaiti women driving their cars
نساء اجنبيات ب بزات عسكرية قدمن ,	Foreign women wearing military

Concordance lines excluded from the SA2T Corpus:

Arabic	English
السيدات غير السعوديات , و في مراحـ	Non-Saudi ladies at stages
السيدات الفرنسيات ل اقامة ورشة مـ	French ladies setting up a workshop
السيدات اللبنانيات في فرنسا , و سعـ	Lebanese women in France
السيدات : الكويتية بدرية سعود الصبا	Ladies: Kuwaiti Badriah Alsaud
السيدة الاماراتية موزة نكحان , و كـ	The Emarati lady Moza Nakhaan
السيدة عائشة عرور .. <s/><s> كان	The Emarati lady Aisha Alaraor
المراة العالمي ب عنوان " المراة تـ	International women titled "Woman
المراة العراقية في وجه الارهاب و ا	The Iraqi woman in the face of terrorism
المراة العراقية في المناطق التي اـ	The Iraqi woman in areas that
المراة الاماراتية في المجلس الوطـ	The Emarati woman in the National
المراة الاماراتية في زمن قياسي ما	The Emarati woman in record time
سيدات ب حرينيات (عايشة ب هلـ	Bahraini ladies Aisha in
سيدات خليجيات يعبرن جسر الملك	Ladies from the Gulf cross the King's
سيدات لبنانيات على 6 مقاعد من اـ	Lebanese ladies on 6 seats of

(C) All feminine pronouns (she, her, هي [she], ها [her], ت [she], and هن [feminine they/them]) were excluded from the analysis since Arabic pronouns do not consistently refer to human females, such as the pronoun ت [t] which is attached at the beginning of verbs as in تذهب [she went] or feminine ها [her] attached at the end of words تواجهها [face her]. Extracting these female pronouns would have been almost impossible since these very same pronouns can refer to non-human entities and would thus be translated as [its]. The concordances below from the SA2T corpus illustrate how the pronoun ها means [her] in the first two concordance lines, i.e., [her driving] and [her statement], but refers to non-humans in the final two lines, i.e., [its recommendations] where "its" refers to "a committee" in the 3rd line and [its account] refers to the CBS network in the 4th line.

ل السيارة تعد خطوة رائدة	يعتبر تعديلا ضروريا في ضرورات الحياة العصرية , ل ان المراة شريكة الرجل في الحركة التنموية ل البلاد و قيادة	ها
قائلة : " ادام الله هذه القفز	ية ل البلاد و قيادة ها ل السيارة تعد خطوة رائدة في سبيل هذا الهدف المواكب ل رؤية 2030, و ختمت تصريح	ها
خلال ثلاثين يوما من تاريخ	المالية , و العمل و التنمية الاجتماعية); ل دراسة الترتيبات اللازمة ل انفاذ ذلك , و على اللجنة الرفع ب توصياة	ها
نشر ه التلفزيون السعودي و على وكالة الانباء السعودية " واس " . و كتبت شبكة سي بي اس CBS على حساب	ب تويتر فور صدور الامر ال	ها

It is considered an important modification in the necessities of modern life, because women are men's Partners in the country's developmental movement, and her driving a car is a pioneering step

(women) the country and its leadership in her driving a car is a pioneering step towards this goal that is aligned with Vision 2030, and she concluded her statement by saying: "May God sustain these leaps

finance, labor and social development); To study the necessary arrangements to implement this, and the committee must submit its recommendations within thirty days from the date of this

The Saudi TV bulletin and on the Saudi Press Agency, SPA, and CBS network wrote on its account at Twitter as soon as the order was issued

The only way to include these types of female pronouns is to read each concordance line individually, and this is not feasible within the time limits of this study and, in fact, defeats the purpose of using corpus tools for analysis as there are a total of 7938 (SA1T) and 16,827 (SA2T) instances of the attached female pronoun ت [she], in addition to 5169 (SA1T) and 8581 (SA2T) occurrences of the potentially feminine pronoun ها [her] and 494 (SA1T) and 572 (SA2T) occurrences of the potentially feminine pronoun هي [she].

(D) It was also observed that one of the collocates; namely **قيادة [driving]**, appeared very frequently in the resulting lists in both the UK and SA, and which at first glance seems to point to Saudi women being activated as social actors who are driving. However, a closer inspection of the concordances revealed that قيادة المرأة [women driving] was often preceded by the phrases *ban on* and *issue of* which do not index active, dynamic agency on the women's part, but rather

indicate that the concept or idea of women driving is being challenged or contested, as demonstrated in the following examples:

n to 10 lashes for challenging a	**ban on**	**women driving**	in the conservative Muslim kingdom, Am
force authorities to reverse the	**ban on**	**women driving**	. </s><s> Saudi Arabia remains the only
er claims that to politicise the	**issue of**	**women driving**	is in no one's interest: it is a matter of ov
r in Arab News explains: "The	**issue of**	**women driving**	has been debated for decades and no a

As such, it was decided that any concordance that included "women driving" directly preceded by *ban on* or *issue of* in the UK corpora would be excluded. Similarly, it was decided that any concordance line including any forms of the words قضية, قرار, يحق, حظر, تحريم, منع, سمح منح, تتيح, [allow, permit, prohibit, forbid, ban, entitled, decree, issue of, topic of, matter of, agenda of] immediately preceding قيادة المرأة [women driving] would also be excluded as these words and phrases when combined with "women driving" again pointed to the topic of driving rather than Saudi women actively driving as exemplified in the following concordances:

ف ب البريد السعودي- على ان اصدار **قرار قيادة المراة** ل السيارة يجب ان يتم ب شكل تدريجي

غالبية ابناء المجتمع , ل ذلك ف ان**موضوع قيادة المراة** السعودية ل السيارة اصبح من المواضيع

الذي نعيش ه . <s/></s> و بقاء فكرة **حظر قيادة المراة** ارضاء ل المتشددين هو امر يرجح فكرة س

Saudi Post - provided that the issuance of the women driving decree must be done gradually

the majority of society members, therefore, the issue of Saudi women driving cars has become

the reality in which we live </s> <s> The endurance of the idea of banning women driving is to please the extremists is something that favours the idea of

(2) Functionalization Representations, according to van Leeuwen (2008), occur when "social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance, an occupation or role . . . by a noun, formed from a verb, through suffixes such as -er, -ant, -ent, -ian, -ee, . . . second, . . . through suffixes such as -ist, -eer, . . .third, by the compounding of nouns . . . as in "cameraman," "chairperson"" (p. 42). Both *Functionalization* and *Nomination* (i.e., names) were checked individually via the Wordlist tool, collected and categorized, and then frequencies were calculated.

And when it came to collecting Arabic functionalization terms, such as قاضيات [female judges], المتميزات [the distinguished women], and المحققات [female investigators], extra care was required when choosing which of these words to include in the analysis as many of them are also

homonymic and may only differ in meaning due to the varying diacritics they normally display in written texts, but which do not appear in Sketch Engine output screens.

For example, the word المخالفات [the violations], which appeared 131 times in the SA2T can be pronounced in Arabic with a diacritic below one of the letters المخالِفات [the female offenders], or with a diacritic above one of the letters المخالَفات which can mean [traffic violations] or [violation fines] (Almaany.com - Official Arabic/English Dictionary). Checking these concordance lines revealed only 1 instance (the last line in the examples below*)* where the word refers to female traffic offenders, translation: [and regarding what was presented regarding apprehending *female traffic offenders* and constructing rooms], whereas the remaining 130 instances all referred to other types of violations and fines.

و قد فعل ها الملك سلمان بن عبدالعزيز - حفظ ه الله - و اقر هذا الحق ل ها ب خطوة السماح ل ها ب القيادة ف اذا ما وجدت التخوفات من حدوث **المخالفات** من المراة او وجود التحرش
و تحريك الوظائف المجمدة ل النساء ل ظروف المنع السابقة . \</s\>\<s\> خبراء و مختصون : قيادة المراة ل السيارة تنهي زمن التحرش ب الاطفال و **المخالفات** العمالية : اتفق عدد من ال
من قضاء حوائجهن الضرورية , و ك ذلك البيئة المرورية اصبحت اكثر امانا من السابق ب فضل الانظمة الصارمة الجديدة التي حدت من **المخالفات** التي تهدد سلامة مرتادي ال
ان شركات التامين تمنح في الوقت الراهن خصومات تصل الى 30 % من قيمة البوليصة ل السائق الذي لدية سجل ثلاث سنوات خال من المطالب و **المخالفات** , ك ما ان ها تمنح خصم و
(نقاط التفتيش) و من ثم مراكز انطلاق الدوريات . \</s\>\<s\> و صرحت الادارة عن وجود تطبيق " باشر " عبر الاجهزة الذكية يمكن من خلال ه تصوير **المخالفات** المرورية , و الاستحداث و
المراة ل السيارة , و ان الامر الملكي ب هذا الخصوص س ينفذ في وقت ه و كل الامور تسير الى ما تصبو الي ه القيادة . \</s\>\<s\> و عما طرح عن توقيف **المخالفات** من السيدات و انشاء غرف

(3) Cultural Categorization Representations, more specifically those of *Physical Identification* (i.e., via public attire), and *Relational Identification* (i.e., kinship relations), were checked individually via the Wordlist tool, collected and categorized, and then frequencies were calculated. Collocates pointing to mixed-gender and gender segregation depictions were also examined via words such as *mixed* and *segregation*.

(4) For all representations, some collocates in context were assessed and discussed in more detail via qualitative analyses of concordance lines, in addition to examining the newsworthiness of salient collocations.

In brief, quantitative and qualitative investigations are recommended by leading corpus researchers, such as Baker and McEnery (2019), who argue that such tools can generate and reveal a great amount of knowledge on how social actors are portrayed. No doubt, the manner in which visual and textual social actor representations are realized in the corpora are quite different, and this is the very reason why not many researchers have attempted to link both and make direct quantitative and qualitative comparisons when large datasets are involved. Accordingly, drawing connections between both semiotic modes in the representations of Saudi women across the data was built on a very careful understanding of van Leeuwen's (2008) textual/visual social actor representation networks and adapting them for the analytical framework in this study (*Figure 24.*) below.
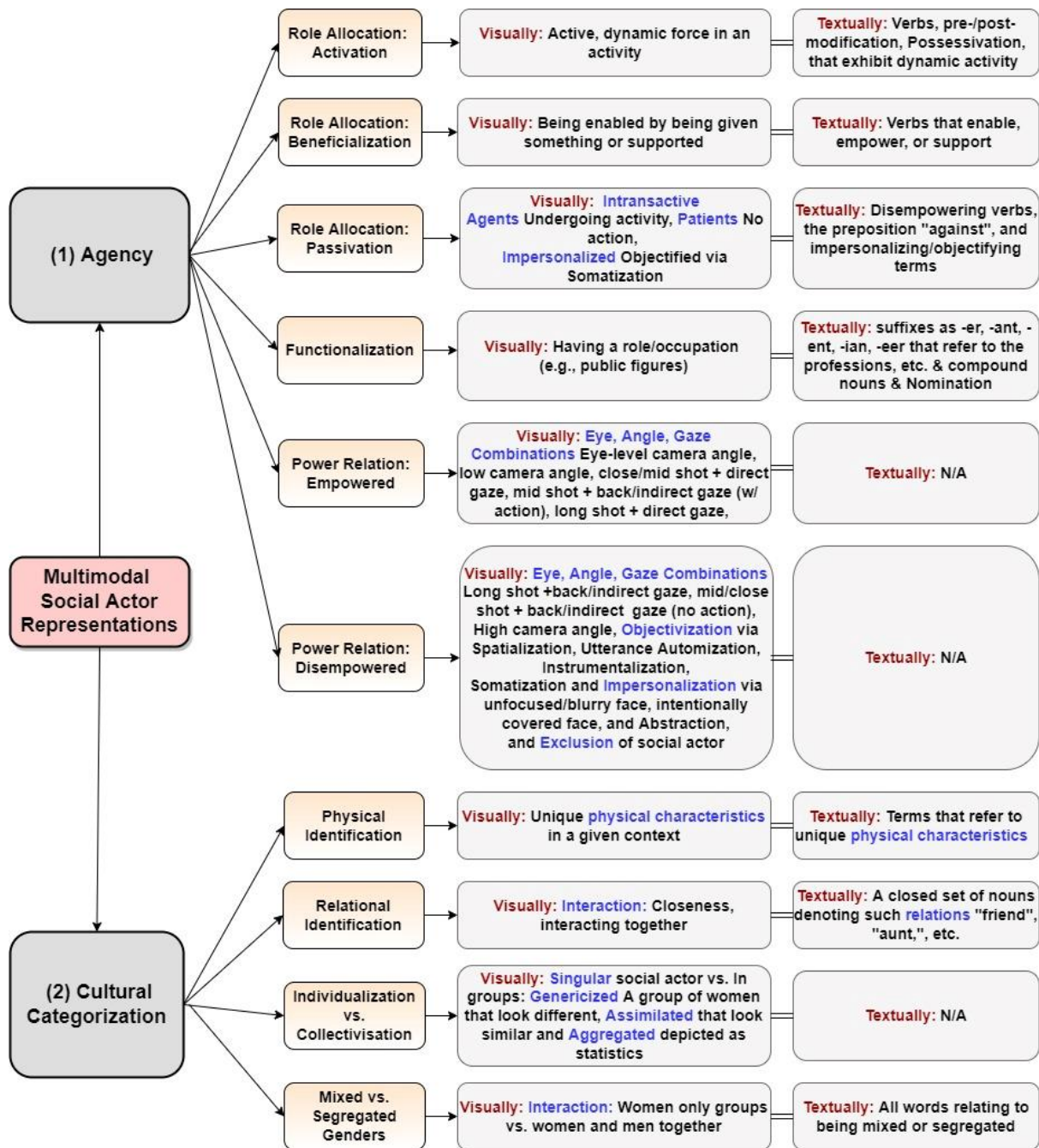
Figure 24. An adapted version of van Leeuwen's (2008) visual/textual social actor representation network and affordance (created via diagrams.net)

4.4.3 Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) Toolkit

Since the "newsworthiness" of a story is essentially the main principle used in news media production, Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA was utilized in this study as an interpretive tool since it facilitates understanding the kind of news values that were discursively and multimodally emphasized through the representations of the social actor under investigation. More specifically, DNVA helps to uncover how Saudi women were discursively constructed

as newsworthy actors across the two contexts and timespans, and what kind of values were then disseminated to audiences. Saudi women visual newsworthiness was analysed quantitatively by coding news values (Table 10) and frequency counting using Excel sheets.

Textually, corpus linguistic techniques were employed to help identify what ideologies were regularly being attached to Saudi women and perpetuated, and which often align with both media agendas and imagined audience preferences and/or expectations. Textual newsworthiness, as such, was analysed by examining what news value "pointers", i.e., "forms that may potentially establish newsworthiness" (Bednarek, 2016, p. 229) were being foregrounded via frequency percentages. It is important to note here that Table 10 provides a complete list of both *potential* visual and textual news values that are relevant in both the UK and SA, but only those that emerged as salient were discussed in the analysis.

Table 10

Visual/Textual Social Actor DNVA Toolkit: Visual Affordance Codes and Textual Pointers

News Values	Definition	Visual Pointers & Codes	Visual Example	Textual Pointer Examples
Consonance	Constructed as a stereotype	**CONS-DPND** (dependent on male driver) **CONS-CRLS** (careless) **CONS-OPRS** (oppressed) **CONS-EXTC** (exotic woman)		Any words that generalize representations without backing it up by facts, e.g., *most* Saudi women, *oppressed*, etc.
Eliteness	Constructed as of high status or fame	**ELIT-ROYL** (royalty) **ELIT-ACTV** (activists) **ELIT-RACE** (racer) **ELIT-CNCL** (Consultative Council)		Names relating to female royalty, female activists, female racers, and the female Consultative Council
Negativity	Constructed as negative	**NEGV-SADF** (sad) **NEGV-ANGR** (angry/upset) **NEGV-CARS** (car crashed, burnt) **NEGV-MOCK** (mocking women driving)		All words relating to Saudi women anger/sadness + any events related to cars crashing or burning since these were salient visually
Positivity	Constructed as positive	**POST-SMIL** (smiling) **POST-VICT** (victory ✌) **POST-THUM** (thumbs 👍) **POST-HAND** (one or more hands/arms up) **POST-CLAP** (clapping) **POST-PLAY** (playing)		All positive and celebratory words attached to Saudi women

Superlative-ness	Constructed as being of high intensity or large scope/scale	**SUPR-WINR** (e.g., winning 1st place)		Any superlative terminology relating to Saudi women (e.g., the most, the first)
Unexpected-ness	Constructed as unexpected	**UNXP-DRIV** (e.g., Driving while banned)		Any terminology related to any unexpected news related to Saudi women (e.g., shocked, surprised, etc.)
Impact	Constructed as having significant effects or conse-quences	**IMPC-DRIV** (Driving when it was banned) **IMPC-EVNT** (e.g., an event, gathering, meeting, where powerful people speak up and/or make decisions)		Name of an impactful event/meeting, words related to campaigning, etc.
Proximity	Constructed as geography-ically or culturally near the audience	**PRXM** (e.g., driving school, streets, Saudi cities, etc.)		Driving schools, famous streets, Saudi cities, etc.
Timeliness	Constructed as timely in relation to the publication date	**TIME** (e.g., any image relating to women driving)		Any words related to cars, driving, and banning

Aesthetic Appeal which is discursively constructed as beautiful was not included for 2 reasons: (1) Visually, human beauty is subjective hence difficult to objectively analyze, and (2) this is a multimodal study and aesthetic appeal cannot be analysed textually (Bednarek & Caple, 2017)

4.4.4 Researcher and Interrater Analysis Procedures

To ensure analysis stability and reliability, each representation feature, in both the UK and SA visual corpora, was analyzed within 3 consecutive days to guarantee that the visual analysis was completed, to the best of my ability, under similar conditions for all four visual corpora (N=1710). In addition, Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA was employed qualitatively, when relevant, to further facilitate visual interpretations of women driving in SA from the perspective of newsworthiness.

A further important matter to note at the outset is the importance of employing an interrater for reliability measures in qualitative research (Jaworska & Kinloch, 2018). Therefore, a carefully

chosen reliable interrater, who is a postgraduate student herself, was asked to participate at this important stage. She is currently working towards an online MBA degree at the University of Birmingham, and due to her focused nature, she was considered as a suitable interrater for re-coding the data to ensure better reliability. The coding system (Table 10 above) was carefully explained to the interrater, and then we coded a few images together on an Excel sheet for practice to ensure that the interrater understood perfectly well what was entailed in analysing each photo. Next, using her own laptop, the interrater proceeded to verbally code all 1710 images in the four UK and SA corpora while I followed her coding of each image on my laptop screen, noting on the screen any discrepancies in our analyses, which we immediately resolved on the spot.

A few coding differences were due to (1) my doubts, for instance, about a particular social actor *Gaze* or camera *Angle* for some images, (2) overlooking something in the image, or (3) code typos. The reason why I did not ask the interrater to write down her coding is due to the need for a quick, spontaneous "authentic" response, as similar as possible to what one would experience in real-life while looking at a news article. The whole procedure was completed in 11 hours, across three successive days, and the interrater was paid 10 pounds per hour for her assistance after the interrating sessions ended. The complete interrating process progressed very smoothly and the interrater's coding agreed with mine to a large extent (27 discrepancies, 98% agreement). This was an encouraging outcome as it attested to the validity and reliability of the adapted visual representations analytical toolkit and its practicality as it can be utilized by anyone no matter how large the visual dataset is.

4.4.5 The CAMDA Framework

The development of a transparent, replicable holistic CAMDA framework that better integrates both textual and visual semiotic analyses and findings was at the core of this research to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of representation and newsworthiness via an investigation of inter-semiotic relationships of texts and images that portray Saudi women in the UK and Saudi media. The devised novel framework (Table 11 below) enables fellow scholars to replicate similar integrative studies using their own corpora, contexts, and analysis criteria, critically "linking smaller, more 'micro' acts of communication with the broader, 'macro' acts that constitute society and culture" (Bateman et al., 2017, p. 134).

Table 11

CAMDA Framework for Analyzing News Discourse

Fairclough's 3 Dimensional Framework	STAGE 1 Representation Categories & Affordances	STAGE 2a Visual Representations Analysis	STAGE 3a Textual Representations Analysis
Micro-level	Detecting commonalities (and justifying the exclusion of differences) in visual and textual representation/ newsworthiness categories and meaning-making affordances	**Quantitative & Qualitative CDA:** Salient patterns of visual representations using an adaptation of van Leeuwen's (2008) visual social actor representation networks + a discussion of overall findings and individual images	**Quantitative & Qualitative CDA:** Salient patterns of textual representations using an adaptation of van Leeuwen's (2008) textual social actor representation networks and corpus-based discourse analysis + a discussion of overall findings and individual collocation lines
		STAGE 2b Visual DNVA Analysis	**STAGE 3b Textual DNVA Analysis**
Meso-level		Analysis of production and distribution of visual discursive practices in relation to societal shifts within a particular social institutional setting by further interpreting representation findings qualitatively via DNVA	Analysis of production and distribution of textual discursive practices in relation to societal shifts within a particular social institutional setting by further interpreting representation findings qualitatively via DNVA
STAGE 4 Multimodal Representation Analyses			
Macro-level	Bringing together both visual/textual analyses to compare general findings and discuss broad social practices that underlie representations and how they interrelate with the whole society + shifts (if any) in Orientalist delineations in the news media + Implications/Recommendations		

Chapter 5: Analysis of Multimodal Representations of Saudi Women Agency and Cultural Categorization

According to van Leeuwen (2008), "representations can reallocate roles or rearrange the social relations between the participants" (p. 32), and therefore, looking into such recontextualizations is pertinent when it comes to better understanding how Saudi women have been represented and if, and to what extent, these representations depicted them as empowered social agents, or not, and how they were culturally identified. As such, this chapter examines two main types of representations: (1) Multimodal Representations of Saudi Women Agency, and (2) Multimodal Representations of Saudi Women Cultural Categorization. For both types, first visual (section 5.1), then textual (section 5.2), representations are discussed. Subsequently, combining and comparing visual and textual findings is undertaken (section 5.3) to show how representations of agency and cultural identification were constructed multimodally.

More specifically, this chapter will answer the following research questions: **RQ1:** How are Saudi women multimodally represented in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media in relation to the female driving ban and protests in Saudi Arabia? **RQ1a:** And how are Saudi women made newsworthy in and through these representations? **RQ2:** To what extent can we detect, if any, shifts in Orientalist representations over time? In answering these research questions, a better understanding of how the UK and SA news media multimodally represent minoritized groups, here being Saudi women, was the aim as previous research has rarely investigated social actor representation utilizing a comprehensive CAMDA framework that facilitates the analysis of both small and large multimodal datasets.

5.1 Visual Representations

5.1.1 Agency via Role Allocation
Firstly, all images were examined and categorised quantitatively (as outlined in section 4.4.1 in the Research Methodology) to obtain a general sense of how frequently Saudi women were visually *activated* and *beneficialized* or *passivized* in the news media at two different socio-historical points in time (Table 12 below). For this comparison, *Active* and *Beneficialized* social actors were combined since both point to agency within the context of this research.

Table 12
Chi-square Comparisons for Overall Saudi Women Role Allocation in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Inclusion (N=1358)	Active and Beneficialized Agents (N=1102)	Intransactive Agents and Passive Patients (N=256)	X^2	Sig.
UK1V	99	67 (67.7%)	32 (32.3%)	9.424	.002
UK2V	500	407 (81.4%)	93 (18.6%)		
SA1V	48	27 (56.3%)	21 (43.8%)	25.179	.000
SA2V	711	601 (84.5%)	110 (15.5%)		
UK1V	99	67 (67.7%)	32 (32.3%)	1.831	.179
SA1V	48	27 (56.3%)	21 (43.8%)		
UK2V	500	407 (81.4%)	93 (18.6%)	2.060	.151
SA2V	711	601 (84.5%)	110 (15.5%)		

As can be observed, a comparison of role allocation in the UK and SA news media shows evidence of significant statistical increase in active visual representation of Saudi women over time in the news corpora of each country: from 67.7% in the UK1V to 81.4% in the UK2V (X^2 = 9.424, df = 1, p < .002), and from 56.3% in the SA1V to 84.5% in the SA2V (X^2 = 25.179, df = 1, p < .000), which is roughly a 15% and 20% rise respectively. This can also clearly be seen in the chart (*Figure 25.*)
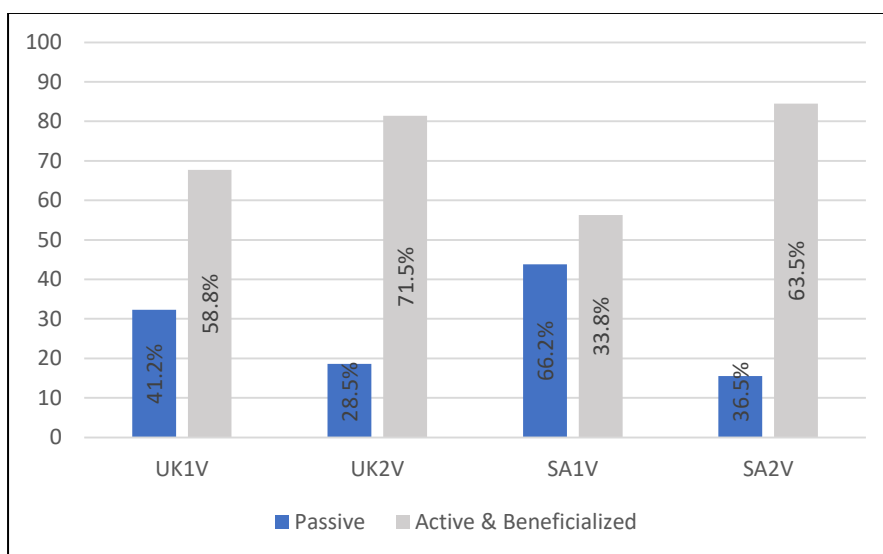
Figure 25. Saudi women active and passive role allocation frequencies

Having said this, one needs to keep in mind the context in which a Saudi woman is practically more likely to be engaging in some driving-related action in the more current 2017-2019 corpora that focused on the lifting of the driving ban. And so unequivocally generalizing that the UK and SA news media are increasingly foregrounding all representations of Saudi women in active roles cannot be asserted. For such a claim to be made, one would need to repeat a similar type of large-scale visual data analysis on all images of Saudi women in the news media within a postulated duration, but most importantly without specifying any context which may

skew active agency findings, though this is unfeasible within the scope of a PhD. However, what can be claimed here is that in the context of lifting the ban, Saudi women were represented in more active roles.

Another interesting finding is that no evidence of significant statistical difference between the UK1V and SA1V news corpora can be observed ($X^2 = 1.831$, df = 1, p > .179). This basically means that, in general, both 2011-2013 UK and SA news media almost equally foregrounded Saudi women as *Transactive Agents* more frequently than as *Intransactive Agents* and/or *Passive Patients*, ranging from 56.3% in the SA1V to 67.7% in the UK1V. Had not a comparison been conducted, it may have been quickly assumed that the UK1V press was excessively marginalizing Saudi women in the media since visual passivation (32.3%) was quite high. However, clearly such an interpretation is unsubstantiated as looking at SA1V passivation displayed even a higher percentage (43.8%).

Though the findings in relation to Saudi women agency shed some light on general representations in terms of frequency trends, a more detailed qualitative investigation into the various types of role allocation most frequently associated with Saudi women within the context of this study needs to be conducted to better understand what kind of specific actions Saudi women are portrayed as performing in the images. Based on the salient types of role allocation patterns outlined in the Research Methodology (*Figure 9*., p. 74), Saudi women agency was coded accordingly in Excel sheets, yielding the most frequently repeated (non)actions (see Table 13).

Table 13
Saudi Women Role Allocation Patterns in the Visual UK and SA Corpora

Corpora (N=1358)	Active (N=708, 52.1%)					Beneficialization (N=394, 29%)	Passive (N=256, 18.9%)		
	Driv-Ing	Drive-related	Work-ing	Speak-ing	*Total*		Intrans-active	Passive Patient (non-actions)	*Total*
UK1V (N=99)	60 **60.6%**	5 **5.1%**	0 **0%**	0 **0%**	65 **65.7%**	2 **2%**	22 **22.2%**	10 **10.1%**	32 **32.3%**
UK2V (N=500)	227 **45.4%**	47 **9.4%**	9 **1.8%**	13 **2.6%**	296 **59.2%**	111 **22.2%**	35 **7%**	58 **11.6%**	93 **18.6%**
SA1V (N=48)	17 **35.4%**	3 **6.25%**	6 **12.5%**	1 **2.1%**	27 **56.3%**	0 **0%**	9 **18.7%**	12 **25%**	21 **43.7%**
SA2V (N=711)	214 **30.1%**	50 **7%**	36 **5.1%**	20 **2.8%**	320 **45%**	281 **39.5%**	17 **2.4%**	93 **13.1%**	110 **15.5%**

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[1] The small numbers in Table 13 refer to the actual counts

First, in both the UK and SA corpora, there was a slight decrease of Transactive social actor agency in the more current UK (from 65.7% to 59.2%) and SA news media (from 56.3% to 45%), but a notable upsurge over time in beneficializing and empowering women to take action (UK 2% to 22.2%; SA 0% to 39.5%). This is to be expected as agency analysis was partly constructed against the backdrop of issues relating to protesting the driving ban in 2011-2013 in which Saudi women were the instigators of action, thus a slight drop in agency in the more recent news corpora is understandable. This discursively links the social actor to a context that often requires some kind of active action, here being driving a car, and this leads us to the next finding.

If we examine all the active role allocation representations in Table 13, we find that Saudi women are activated in about half of the images as engaged in driving a car, or dynamically taking part in some type of action related to driving a car in the UK news media (UK1V 65.7% and UK2V 54.8%), but not in the SA news media. This lack in the SA1V (41.7%) is not an unexpected outcome as it may have been reflecting authoritative ideologies and perpetuated discourses of keeping Saudi women off the streets when it came to protesting the driving ban and driving publicly where they could be photographed (Otaif, 2019), potentially instigating further protests and backlash leading to civil unrest. As for the SA2V (37.1%), the lack of Saudi women shown as driving a car does not necessarily indicate their lack of agency, but rather an equal concern of visually endorsing how Saudi women were preparing, and should be preparing, to drive safely via images of *beneficialization* (39.5%).

Given the specific context of this research, certainly such high frequency rates relating to driving are anticipated, as DNVA news values of *Timeliness, Proximity*, and *Unexpectedness* (more specifically the novelty of Saudi women driving for the first time in SA in the earlier 2011-2013 corpora and them being able to drive in the later 2017-2019 period), are achieved rendering such photos as newsworthy.

As far as professional roles are concerned, if we look at representations of Saudi women who are activated as "working" in the workplace and "speaking" (Table 13), we notice that the frequency percentages in the visual UK news corpora (i.e., UK1V 0%; UK2V 1.8%) when compared to the SA news corpora (i.e., SA1V 12.5%; SA2V 5.1%) are clearly lower, most prominently so in the UK1V (0%). Also, one very clear discrepancy appears in the depiction of Saudi women as office/official employees since only 3 images with such roles were found in the UK2V as opposed to 34 in the SA2V (Table 13).

One could argue that absence of other types of professional activation in the UK1V and UK2V essentially limits news consumers' perceptions of Saudi women to only rebellious social agents driving in protest but who are not able to perform any activities other than driving outside of the domestic space. Further evidence comes from a study of 142 images of Saudi women driving in 2018 in which Albawardi and Jones (2021) also found that the majority of photos at *Shutterstock*, *Getty Images* and *Google Images* depicted Saudi women in a car holding the steering wheel and who were homogeneously "unproblematically cheerful" (p. 38), suggesting a disconnect from the real world, and thus the "actual struggles and triumphs of Saudi women and the reality of the world in which they operate is never formulated" (p. 38).

On the contrary, the SA1V demonstrates other forms of agency such as Saudi women being depicted as actresses on Saudi TV, as members of The Majlis Al-Shura (i.e., the Consultative Council which is the legislative, advisory body of SA), as public figures being interviewed, and as hard-working peddlers making a living (*Figure 26*. below). Similar findings come from Bashatah (2017) who also found that UK newspapers, for example, "did not focus on the increasing political representation of Saudi women" (p. 139), and Karimullah (2020) whose CA-CDA of Arab women in the political sphere revealed dominant representations of Saudi, Iranian and Yemeni women as "oppressed non-agents" (p. 45).

Figure 26. Saudi women portrayed in non-domestic roles in the SA news media

The lack of such images in the UK1V and UK2V could, however, just be due to the fact that publishing images of Saudi women actively engaging in non-driving/protesting actions when the whole focus of the report is supposedly on issues relating to driving may not make sense in terms of newsworthiness, especially with regards to news consumers expecting stories that

include something new, unexpected, and timely in relation to the topic. So why, then, did the SA news media foreground images where Saudi women are shown taking an active part in the workplace and/or speaking publicly relatively more frequently than in the UK press?

This can likely be best understood in terms of showing other ways Saudi women as active agents in the SA1V at a time when driving was an activity they were banned from, thus, the importance of highlighting other arenas where they *were* active was newsworthy in terms of *Timeliness*, *Proximity*, and *Impact* (e.g., as in the 2nd photo in *Figure 26.* above, of women holding strong decision-making positions), perhaps, in part, to temper current tensions and to show that lifting the ban was not only that single 'big' issue.

And in the SA2V, varied Transactive agent representations may point to SA news agencies being possibly encouraged to publish images of not only women who were then allowed to drive, but also to underscore advancements in other areas of women's rights in SA and their growing active presence in varied facets of society, which is one of the main agendas of Saudi journalism (Alnajrani et al., 2018). No doubt, this echoes on-ground societal developments when it comes to Saudi women in the workforce, and this is in keeping with bigger agendas of increasing "women's participation in the workforce the wider Saudi economy and having more women in leadership positions [as this] is one of the key goals of the Kingdom's Vision 2030 reform strategy" (Gassem, 2020, p. 1).

The final type of visual representation discussed here pertains to Saudi women's depictions as exhibiting passivity. Considering the results in Table 13, first, we find a shift in both UK and SA news corpora since Saudi women depicted as Intransactive agents and/or passive patients decreased in the more current UK2V and SA2V corpora (18.6% and 15.5% respectively) when compared to the UK1V and SA1V corpora (32.3% and 43.7% respectively), with the biggest shift observed between the SA1V and SA2V corpora.

One important thing to note here is that though we can observe an overall decrease in passive role allocation over time from the general findings discussed above, such results were anticipated since one would expect more active agency in the current news corpora as women started driving themselves. However, there are two groups of images that passivize Saudi women in ways that stand out in each of the UK and SA corpora, and which were worth examining in more detail:

(1) Torched Cars:

A number of images showing a Saudi woman's car torched one week after women were officially allowed to drive in 24 June 2018, as illustrated in *Figure 27.* below.

| UK2V | UK2V | SA2V |
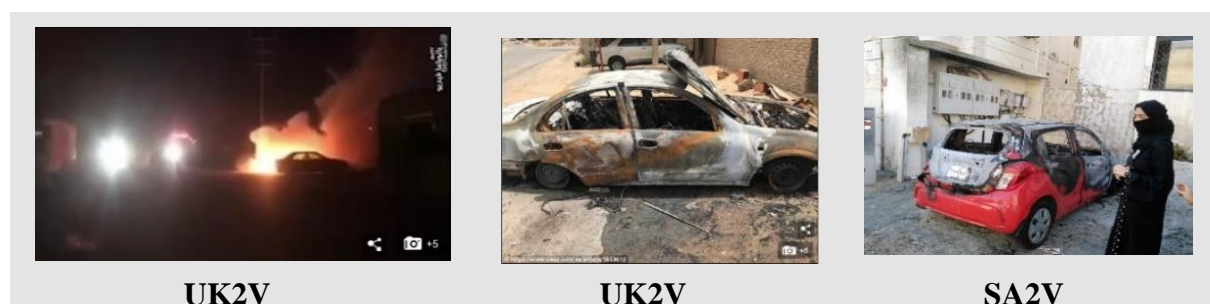
Figure 27. Examples of torched cars from the UK2V and SA2V corpora

These images were found in both the UK2V and SA2V, but surprisingly were present in the UK2V (8 photos) more frequently than in the SA2V corpus (1 photo). As for the newsworthiness of these images within the UK media context, one could list a number of news values, such as *Timeliness, Impact, Negativity,* and *Unexpectedness* – none of which would presumably affect the average UK reader. The only type of impact this has is an element of surprise as it was showing backlash to the new law, but since and both "bad news" and "surprise" are frequently found news values in the UK press (O'Neill & Harcup, 2019), such a finding then is not so unexpected. No doubt, injustices do exist in the Saudi culture as does the victimization of women, in general, in many other cultures, but when several articles publish the same story and images, the alarm is that UK news consumers might believe that this is the dominant type of behaviour against Saudi women who need saving, thus "justifying" future political intervention agendas if needed.

Having said this, one must also take into consideration the types of newspapers that these images are published in. A further look at the UK2V corpus shows that 6 out of the 8 images appear in tabloids, mainly in the middle-range tabloid *The Daily Mail* which is image-led and widely read (see Table 2 in the Research Methodology for readership). And research has shown that *The Daily Mail* has a tendency to mostly represent women "according to stereotypes and myths that contribute to their oppression" (Tassadit, 2015, p. 1).

Tassadit (2015) adds that many tabloid journalists have confirmed that they focus on "all what is strange, sex and violence related stories" (p. 3) as they attract readers' attention and sell more than any other type of newspaper. *The Daily Mail's* focus on reporting this type of violence and victimisation may lead to a constricted representation of the main social actors of the news

story, here being Saudi women, which is alarming as these kinds of representations are disseminated to a large fraction of the British society.

(2) Getting into Taxis:

A number of images depict Saudi women as being dependent on male drivers to get around, as illustrated in *Figure 28*. below

UK1V (N=99)	UK2V (N=500)	SA1V (N=48)	SA2V (N=711)
17 photos (17.2%)	**11 photos (2.2%)**	**6 photos (12.5%)**	**11 photos (1.5%)**

Figure 28. Examples of Saudi women as dependents in the UK2V and SA2V corpora

These types of images show Saudi women's Intransactive agency when it comes to the activity of driving and appear most frequently in the UK1V (22.2%) and SA1V (18.7%). These percentages then considerably decreased in the 2017-2019 UK2V (7%) and SA2V (2.4%) news corpora. These results echo, and in fact confirm via this study's larger, cross-cultural comparative datasets, past representation findings that observed similar evidence of "a large and perhaps disproportionate amount of coverage was related in one way or another to Saudi women waiting for taxis, or presented as groups of anonymous females . . . as passive, even when they were protesting about their right to freedom of movement" (Bashatah, 2017, p. 154).

Evidently, the UK1V passivized women in this manner slightly more frequently than the SA2V did, so the question arises whether it would be reasonable to conclude that the 2011-2013 UK1V news media was markedly Orientalist in its depictions of Saudi women in the context of the protests. Based on visuals only, making such a definitive claim I believe would be unsound, but the results are still thought-provoking and do suggest that Saudi women reliance on males was visually foregrounded in both past UK and SA news media.

5.1.2 Agency via Functionalization

According to van Leeuwen (2008), both "nomination and functionalization ("What do you do?")" (pp. 43-44) are key in Western societies, especially when people introduce themselves for the first time. Based on the potential impact of that information in terms of social status positioning, functionalization of Saudi women, namely, visual representations of them as exhibiting some occupation and/or role, thus possessing agency, were analyzed and compared

across the datasets. Before continuing, however, it is important to note that *Nomination* (i.e., proper names, titles, etc.) was not visually examined since this discursive affordance cannot be perceived via images; however, it was investigated textually, and ultimately multimodal limitations were addressed.

Upon examination of the UK and SA corpora, a variety of ways that Saudi women were functionalized for their roles in society were detected via their attire and/or visual context indexing a particular profession, hobby, role, etc., examples of which are provided in Figure 29. below followed by their frequencies in the UK and SA corpora in Table 14 (p. 115).

driver	go-cart driver	driving trainee	car racer
activist	elite (model)	mocking the elite	princess
employee	learner	achiever	supporter
presenter	instructor	customer	desert bike rider
singer	tailor	hotel receptionist	peddler
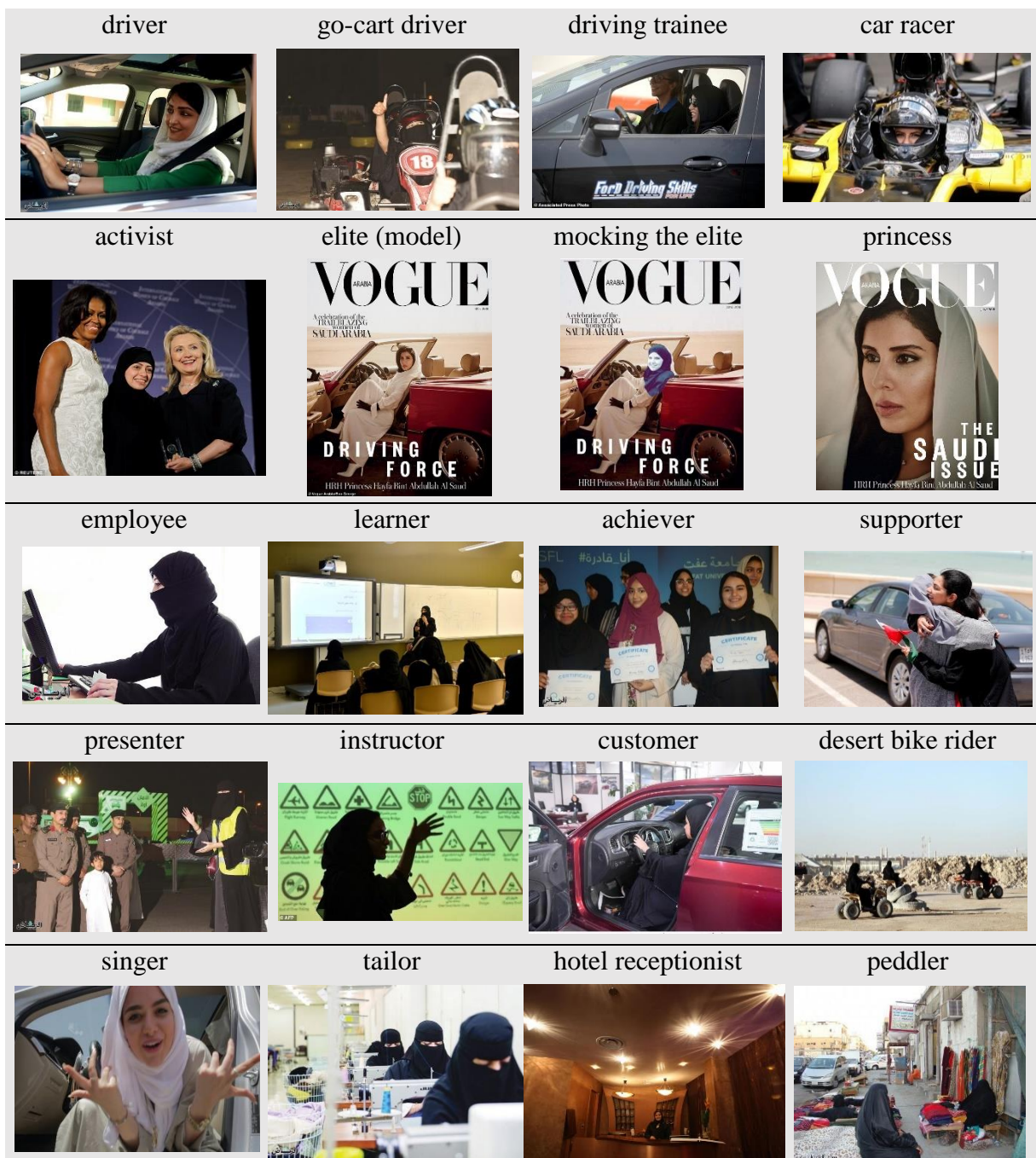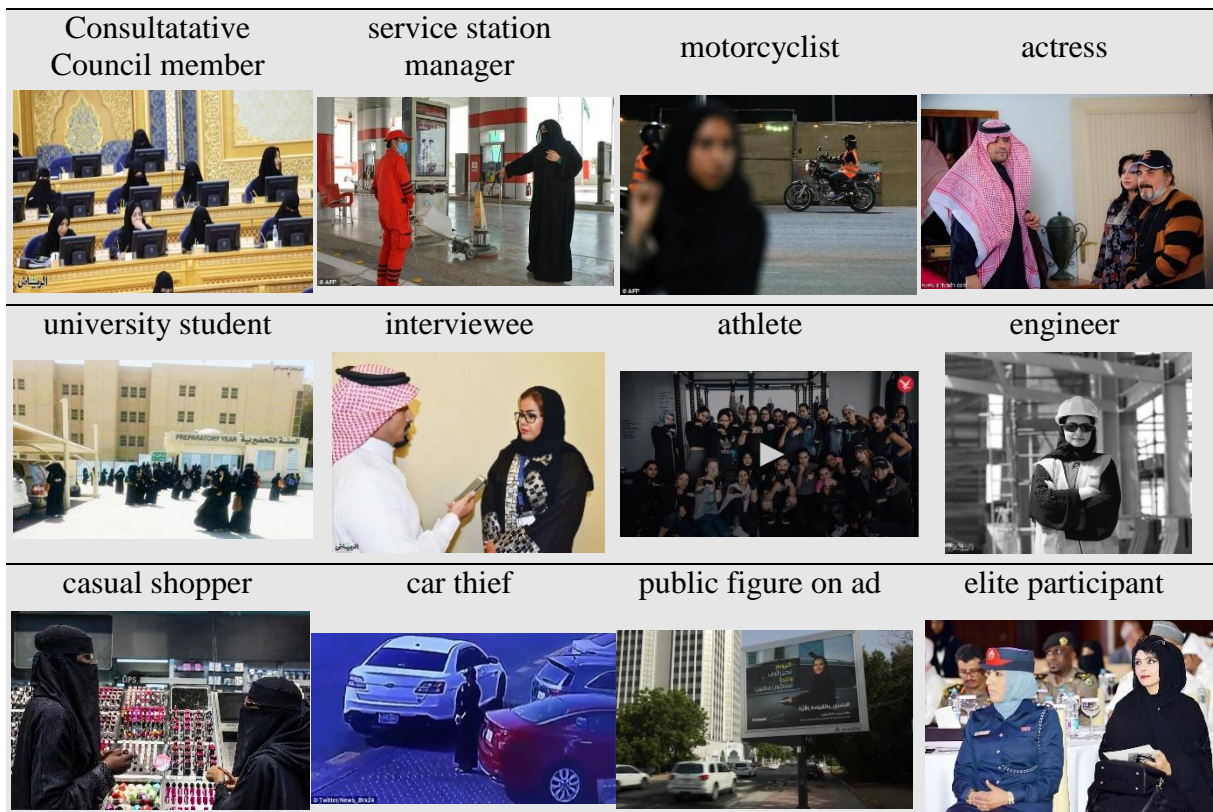
Figure 29. Examples of Saudi women Functionalization in the UK and SA corpora

Table 14

Saudi Women Visual Functualization Frequencies

Corpora	Saudi Women Functionalization
UK1V (N=99)	driver (59, 60%), activist (42, 42.4%), desert bike rider (3, 3%), supporter (2, 2%)
UK2V (N=500)	driver (218, 43.6%), activist (95, 19%), achiever (27, 5.4%), driving trainee (23, 4.6%), customer (18, 3.6%), supporter (16, 3.2%), car racer (14, 2.8%), princess (12, 2.4%), model (12, 2.4%), cart driver (8, 1.6%), motorcyclist (8, 1.6%), learner (11, 2.2%), instructor (5, 1%), singer (5, 1%), elite participant (5, 1%), presenter (4, .8%), employee (4, .8%), athlete (3, .6%), hotel receptionist (3, .6%), interviewee (3, .6%), mocking the elite (3, .6%), car mechanic (2, .4%), dirt bike rider (1, .2%)
SA1V (N=48)	driver (18, 37.5%), actress (3, 6.3%), Consultative Council member (2, 4.1%), desert bike rider (2, 4.1%), interviewee (1, 2.1%), peddler (1, 2.1%), shopper (1, 2.1%)
SA2V (N=711)	driver (250, 35.2%), driving trainee (39, 5.5%), employee (38, 5.3%), achiever (34, 4.8%), customer (29, 4.1%), presenter/instructor (24, 3.4%), supporter (19, 2.7%), learner (20, 2.8%), car racer (12, 1.7%), elite participant (7, 1%), Consultative Council member (4, .6%) desert bike rider (4, .6%), cart driver (2, .4%), activist (1, .1%), princess (1, .1%), tailor (1, .1%), engineer (1, .1%), interviewee (1, .1%), car thief (1, .1%), shopper (1, .1%), face of an ad (1, .1%), university student (1, .1%)

Table 14 reveals that apart from the majority of women who were functionalized as ***drivers*** in

all the UK (UK1V 59, 60%; UK2V 218, 43.6%) and SA (SA1V 18, 37.5%; SA2V 250, 35.2%)

news corpora, and ***driving trainees*** in the (UK2V 23, 4.6%; SA2V 39, 5.5%), which were expected due to the context of this study, for the most part, the UK and SA press functionalized Saudi women differently. As such, what follows is a discussion of how Saudi women agency in both the UK and SA press share a number of key functionalizations but also how they differ in a number of respects:

UK2V/SA2V Similarities: Both news media foregrounded Saudi women who were similarly functionalized as ***achievers*** receiving certificates, awards, licences, etc. (UK2V 27, 5,4%; SA 34, 4.8%), ***customers*** in a car exhibit potentially buying a car (UK2V 18, 3.6%; SA2V 29, 4.1%), ***supporters*** of the driving decree being issued (UK2V 16, 3.2%; SA2V 19, 2.7%), and ***learners*** eager to know more about driving (UK2V 8, 1.6%; SA2V 20, 2.8%). One exceptionally prominent group of images portrayed ***car racers*** (UK2V 14, 2.8%; SA2V 12, 1.7%), which was most notable for the repeated images capturing one well-known car racer, Aseel AlHamad.

As it seems, emphasizing Aseel visually in both the UK2V and SA2V news corpora (*Figure 30.*) was a testament to the importance of such a novel sport initiative by Saudi females which had long been only openly pursued by men in Saudi Arabia.
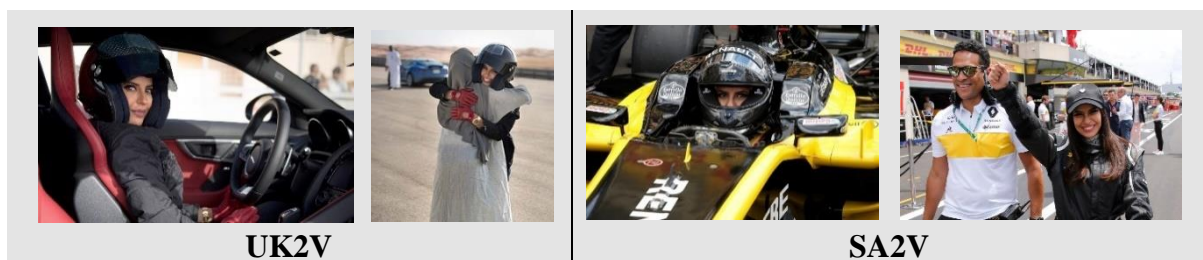
Figure 30. Examples of racer Aseel AlHamad from the UK2V and SA2V corpora

The reason why Aseel was allowed to be this visible in the news media may be due to the fact that she is what is commonly known as a "state feminist . . . She dresses modestly, and while she pushes the boundaries of how women are expected to behave, she never criticizes the state" (Baker, 2018, p. 1). In brief, she is an exemplary Saudi woman who encompasses forward thinking, all the while not being politically nor religiously disruptive - in other words, embodying a societal role that was in sync with the goals set forth for not only Saudi women, but all citizens, in Saudi Vision 2030, reflecting interlinking ideologies between the media and the state in SA.

UK2V/SA2V Differences: Table 14 above also reveals some discrepancies in how the UK and SA news media visually functionalized Saudi women. While the SA2V press focused on

representing women as productive *employees* (38, 5.3%) and as *presenters and instructors* (24, 3.4%) which reflect more current on-ground roles pursued by Saudi women, the UK2V highlighted other roles, those of Saudi women as *activists*, *princesses*, *famous car racers*, etc. or in other words, the Elite. Though other important Saudi female public figures may have existed in the corpora, due to the constraints of some being veiled or unnamed, it was not possible to verify their identity. Therefore, Elite functionalization analysis and comparison was limited to the aforementioned groups, the frequency rates of which are presented in Table 15 below.

Table 15

Saudi Women Elite Functionalization in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Public Figures	Frequency	Examples
UK1V (N=99)	Manal Al-Sharif Maha al-Qahtani Madeha Aljroush	25 (25.3%) 12 (12.1%) 5 (5.1%)	Manal Al-Sharif, Activist Aisha Almana, Activist
SA1V (N=48)	Manal Al-Sharif Maha al-Qahtani Madeha Aljroush	0 (0%) 0 (0%) 0 (0%)	Maha AlQahtani, Activist Princess Reema
UK2V (N=500)	Lujain Al-Hathloul Aziza Al-Yousef Manal Al-Sharif Princess Hayfa Aseel AlHamad Madeha Aljroush Eman Al-Najfan Maha al-Qahtani Aisha Almana Princess Reema Reem Alaboud	33 (6.6%) 33 (6.6%) 28 (5.6%) 12 (2.4%) 12 (2.4%) 7 (1.4%) 7 (1.4%) 3 (.6%) 2 (.4%) 1 (.2%) 0 (0%)	Madeha Aljroush, Activist Aziza Al-Yousef, Activist Lujain Al-Hathloul, Activist Eman Al-Najfan, Activist Princess Hayfa Aseel AlHamad, Racer Reem Alaboud, Racer
SA2V (N=711)	Aseel AlHamad Reem Alaboud Princess Reema Aziza Al-Yousef Manal Al-Sharif Lujain Al-Hathloul Maha al-Qahtani Madeha Aljroush Eman Al-Najfan Aisha Almana Princess Hayfa	7 (1%) 5 (.7%) 1 (.1%) 1 (.1%) 1 (.1%) 0 (0%) 0 (0%) 0 (0%) 0 (0%) 0 (0%) 0 (0%)	

Overall, Table 15 demonstrates the UK news media's preference for foregrounding images of female public figures who played strong roles in trying to create change, with Manal Al-Sharif (25.3%) being by far the most frequently represented persona during the 2011-2013 period in the UK1V, and Lujain Al-Hathloul (6.6%) and Aziza Al-Yousef (6.6%) who were the top two most frequent in the UK2V corpus. And if we assess these images in terms of DNVA, we also find them to be newsworthy via several news values such as *Impact* for the power and social/political effect that the women in these images possessed within the context of this study, the *Unexpectedness* and resulting conflict of their actions, as elements of "surprise", "conflict", and "drama" are all among the most recurrent news values foregrounded by the UK press (O'Neill & Harcup, 2019).

Manal's repeated attempts at trying to reverse the driving ban clearly made her newsworthy (Al-Sharif, 2017), as previously discussed in detail in Chapter 2, but why were Aziza and Lujain so heavily foregrounded in the UK2V? In fact, a deeper look into both activists' lives reveals that they were not only driving campaigners, but also human rights activists and were detained at one point, along with Aisha Almana and Madeha Aljroush, by the Saudi police in 2018 for related movements (Human Rights Watch, 2019), thus perhaps heightening their newsworthiness via *Unexpectedness* in UK news reports.

However, if we look at the SA news media, we can clearly see almost a complete absence of female Saudi activists, with the exception of one image of Manal Al-Sharif and one of Aziza Al-Yousef in the SA2V corpus. This was projected within the context of the Saudi culture which "frequently convicts persons for alleged insults to religion" (Human Rights Watch, 2008), which Lujain allegedly did, and protesting is strictly forbidden in SA (Saudi Press Agency, 2011) because of social disturbances that it may instigate. Against such restrictions, no doubt local newspapers, too, were mirroring government policies, and by not publishing images of the activists, this clearly sent a firm message that such controversial public figures "undermining the 'security and stability' of Saudi Arabia" (Pleasance & Linning, 2018, p. 1) and who seek to serve a foreign agenda inside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (BBC News, 2020) are not to be commended or even acknowledged – in effect, silencing the campaign by not including images of the female activists.

Rather, the three most prominent Elite social actors that stood out in the SA2V were those of race car drivers Aseel AlHamad and Reem Alaboud, and that of Princess Reema AlSaud, who at the time was the Executive Vice-President of Development and Planning at the Kingdom's

Sport Authority and is currently SA's first woman Ambassador to the United States. Surely, all three ladies reflected the evolving Saudi women that SA *chose* to feature – that of a strong, active, yet conforming member in the Saudi society.

Further evidence of these activists' contrasting societal acceptance and newsworthiness when comparing the UK and SA news corpora stems from the fact that the overall most frequently recurrent images (i.e., the exact same image) in all the UK and SA datasets were those of the activists Maha Al-Qahtani (UK1V, 14 images) and Aziza Al-Yousef (UK2V, 22 images), while the ones that were most repeated in the SA news media were of anonymous Saudi women, as demonstrated in *Figure 31.* below.

Maha Al-Qahtani *14 images*	Aziza Al-Yousef *22 images*	2 anonymous women, 4 each – total *8 images*	*14 images* of the same anonymous woman
UK1V	**UK2V**	**SA1V**	**SA2V**
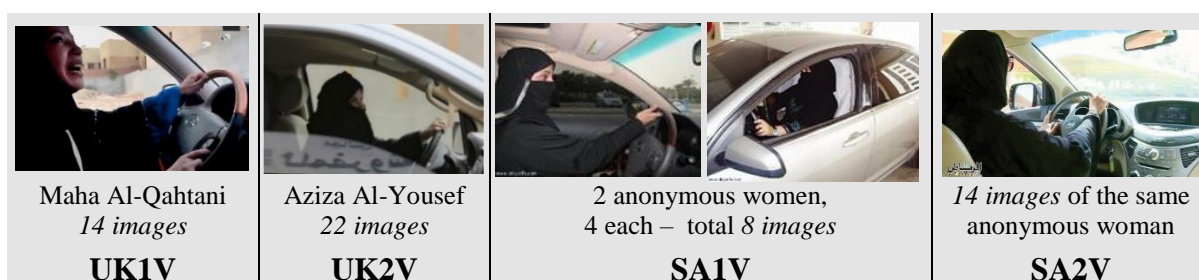
Figure 31. Most frequently published images overall in the UK and SA corpora

A few final notable observations on the visual foregrounding of Saudi women agency via *Functionalization* are as follows:

(1) The Saudi female Consultative Council "the Shura" only appeared in the SA1V and SA2V corpora (*Figure 32.* below), so the visual absence of this first-time ever appointing of 30 women into a powerful SA government body (BBC News, 2013) in the UK news media is notable. Not showing any evidence of this development may give the impression that Saudi women had no major agency in their local context, thus lessening their chances of potentially having any political or social power in other geographical contexts. However, what is important to point out here is that a comparative analysis, such as the one conducted in this research, can point to potentially salient absences (via presence in another dataset).

SA1V	SA2V

Figure 32. Examples of the SA female Shura in the SA1V and SA2V corpora

(2) Images of Princess Hayfa, one of late King Abdullah's daughters, were published repeatedly in several news articles in the UK2V corpus, but none appeared in the SA2V corpus. In these images, Princess Hayfa is photographed by *Vogue* modelling in the desert, but most prominently in a red car (Table 15 above), celebrating Prince Mohamed's decree of lifting the driving ban. Why these photos of Princess Hayfa were not published in the local Saudi media could be due to:

 a. Female modelling (*Figure 33.*, photos #1 & #2), in general, is still considered as "risqué" (Gorney, 2016, p. 1) in Saudi Arabia, and so taking this mind-set into consideration and adding a member of the royal family to the conversation, is not something the local news would be authorized to publish (Al-Otaibi, 2016).

| #1 | #2 | #3 | #4 |

Figure 33. Images of Princess Hayfa exclusively published in the UK2V press

b. Some of the images that Princess Hayfa appears in show her head cropped off and replaced by the heads of other Saudi activists such as Loujain Al-Hathloul and Aziza Al-Yousef (*Figure 33.*, photos #3 and #4, respectively). Pleasance and Linning (2018) explain that in these photos Princess Hayfa is celebrating the King's lifting of the driving ban, but that such images drove angry activists to photoshop some of these images since "while the kingdom is preparing to hand historic rights to women, campaigners who fought for those rights are languishing in jail" (p. 1). As discussed previously, supporting rights activists was prohibited and certainly the SA news media was not permitted to report on anything that endorsed them, let alone disparaging any member of the royal family. On the other hand, however, foregrounding such sensationalized news in the UK press is not unexpected as journalists regularly highlight eye-catching perspectives concerning women in general, may they be Saudi, Western, or otherwise, especially when visual "evidence" accompanies what is being reported (Goulandris & McLaughlin, 2020).

5.1.3 Agency via Power Relations

One of the most important factors to keep in mind in photojournalism is that captured social actor(s) in an image are always presented from the photojournalist's perspective in which a viewer is positioned (Jones et al., 2020), and that such positioning results in various potential power relations (i.e., superiority, equality, and inferiority) that are partly achieved via a photographer's discursive use of a particular camera angle, distance, etc. when filming or photographing the social actor (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020). As such, this section attempts to investigate to what extent Saudi women were depicted as being empowered or disempowered agents in relation to the news reader in the UK and SA news media corpora.

Within the context of this research, and as outlined in *Figure 11.* in the Research Methodology, Saudi women were categorized as social actors possessing empowered agency when the image depicted a Saudi woman as symbolically close to the news reader via visual foregrounding affordances. On the other end, Saudi women representations of disempowerment were pinpointed based on Saudi women depicted as symbolically distant or backgrounded from the news consumer, and thus lacking agency. Each of these spatial affordances was examined separately, and then discussed together in order to determine whether any notably significant differences in visual Saudi women power relations in the UK and SA news corpora emerged, and to what extent.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2020), recontextualization of power relations and interactions between the depicted social actor and the viewer can be visually achieved mainly via **(1)** Camera Angle, **(2)** Distance, and **(3)** Gaze. As already discussed in depth in the Research Methodology, van Leeuwen's (2008) visual social actor relation affordances of Angle, Distance, and Gaze were combined in such a way to create a coding system that would facilitate both a qualitative and quantitative statistical analysis of how frequently Saudi women were foregrounded (i.e., positioned as empowered social agents) or backgrounded (i.e., disempowered) in the UK and SA news media.

Further, *Impersonalization*, specifically *Objectivation*, was added to the analysis since it is a visual affordance that can potentially "background the identity and/or role of social actors" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 47). And all images that excluded Saudi women were included as well as *Exclusion* often suggests "visually representing people as 'others'" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 147), thus disempowering them. A complete analysis of camera angle utilization in capturing Saudi women is provided in *Figure 34.* below:

UK1V (N=99)		
Relation	Freq.	Example
Eye-Level Equality	95 **96%**	
High-to-Low Not Disempowered (driving ban had still not been lifted)	2 **2%**	
Low-to-High Empowered	2 **2%**	

SA1V (N=48)		
Relation	Freq.	Example
Eye-Level Equality	43 **89.6%**	
High-to-Low Not Disempowered (focusing on road)	4 **8.3%**	
High-to-Low Disempowered (no women driving in protest)	1 **2.1%**	

UK2V (N=500)		
Relation	Freq.	Example
Eye-Level Equality	427 **85.4%**	
Low-to-High Empowered	51 **10.2%**	
High-to-Low Not Disempowered (e.g., close, "demand" shots, capturing complete setting/scene)	16 **3.2%**	
High-to-Low Disempowered (e.g., woman car thief caught via a street security cam, torched car)	6 **1.2%**	
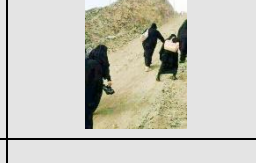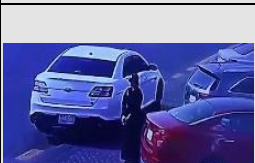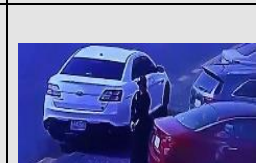
SA2V (N=711)		
Relation	Freq.	Example
Eye-Level Equality	654 **91.9%**	
Low-to-High Empowered	24 **3.5%**	
Low-to-High Disempowered	1 **.1%**	
High-to-Low Not Disempowered (e.g., close, "demand" shots, capturing complete setting/scene)	31 **4.4%**	
High-to-Low Disempowered (e.g., woman car thief caught via a street security cam)	1 **.1%**	

Figure 34. Power relations via camera angle in the UK and SA corpora
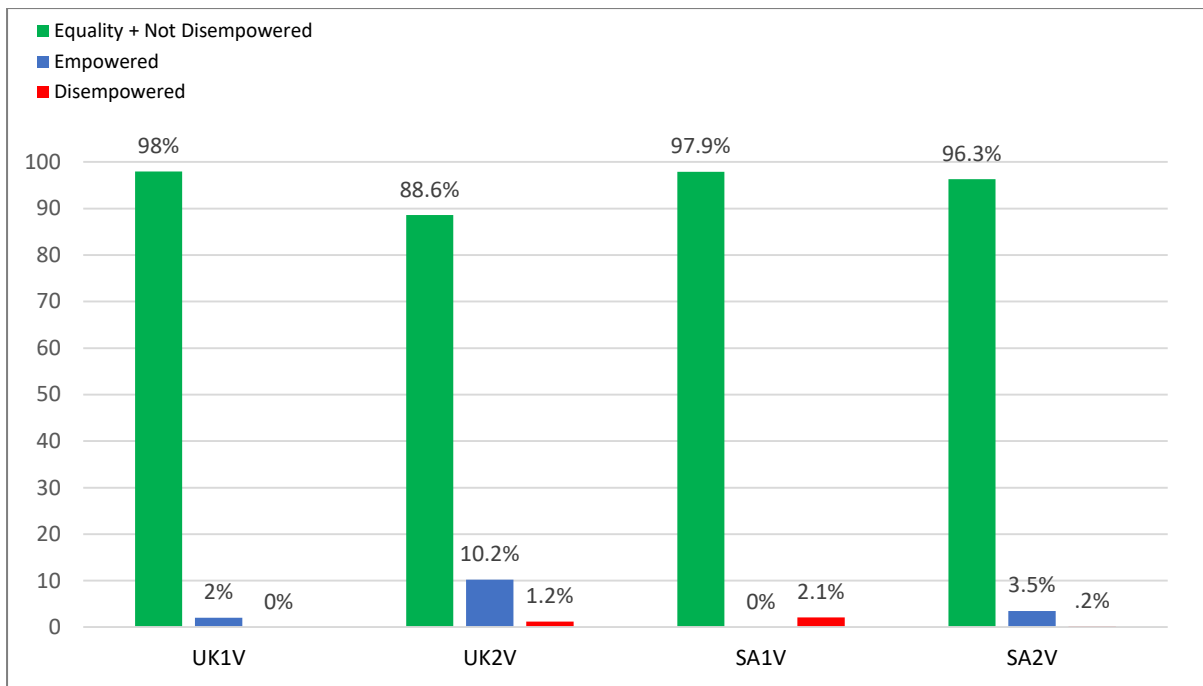
Figure 35. Saudi women power relation frequencies via Angle

What we can observe from *Figure 34*. and *Figure 35*. above is that, overall, eye-level camera angle signalling social actor-viewer equality is the dominant power relation representation, ranging from 88.6% in the UK1V up to 98% in the UK2V. Another striking positive observation is that the low-to-high angle depicting an empowered Saudi woman in the more current UK2V (51 images - 10.2%) and SA2V (24 images – 3.5%) was more frequently utilized than in the past (UK1V 2%; SA1V 0%).

Further, in many of the high-to-low angle images, especially in the 2017-2019 corpora, Saudi women most likely were not automatically portrayed as powerless social actors in the majority of these images (UK2V 16 images – 3.2%; SA2V 31 images – 4.4%). With regards to the UK2V corpus, only 1.2% and .1% in the SA2V of the images truly depicted Saudi women in a manner that could be construed as disempowering (as shown in *Figure 36* being shot as a car thief or victim whose car was torched).

| **UK2V** | **UK2V** | **UK2V** | **SA2V** |
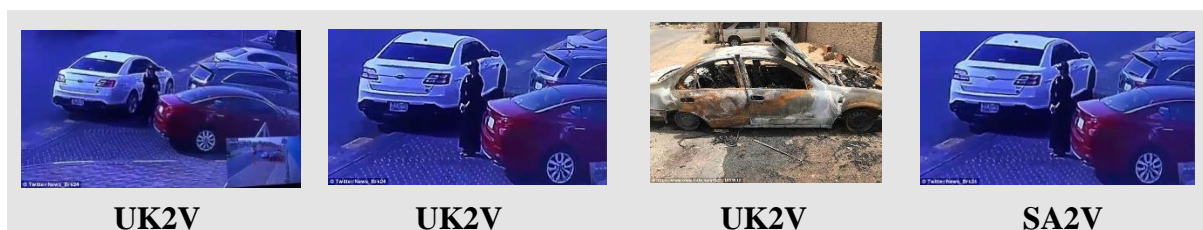
Figure 36. Examples of high-to-low angled images depicting disempowerment

As for the 2011-2013 corpora, we find that there were very few of these high-to-low angle images to begin with, but judging from what is present, it can be concluded that 100% of the UK1V images did not connote social actor disempowerment while 2.1% of the SA1V images suggest a disempowered stance.

Since this analysis revealed many variables when interpreting power relations via camera angles, it quickly became clear that it would be unsound to automatically assign Saudi women representations of agency based on Angle frequency counts. Therefore, a more flexible approach was taken: low, high, and eye-level angles were documented in the Excel sheets, enabling a qualitative examination, such as the one conducted in *Figure 34.* above, but Angle frequencies were not included in the final quantitative analysis (Table 16 below) since including them may have resulted in misleading findings.

As such, Table 16 looks at only *Distance* & *Gaze* combination frequencies, *Impersonalization*, and *Exclusion* (as outlined in the Research Methodology), which will subsequently be followed by a more detailed qualitative interpretation of the nature and implications of these social actor-news viewer power relations.

Table 16

*Saudi Women Foregrounding and Backgrounding Frequencies via Distance, Gaze,
Impersonalization, and Exclusion in the Visual UK and SA Corpora*

Corpora	Foregrounded				Backgrounded				
	close/ mid shot + direct gaze	close/ mid shot + back or indirect gaze while driving or working	long shot + direct gaze	Total	non-background ing impersonal-ization	back or indirect gaze + long shot	mid/close shot + back or indirect gaze (not driving) OR backgrounding impersonal-ization	exclusion of social actor	Total
	F1	F2	F3		B1	B2	B3	B4	
UK1V N=114	25 (21.9%)	53 (46.5%)	0 (0%)	**78 68.4%**	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	21 (18.4%)	15 (13.2%)	**36 31.6%**
UK2V N=569	117 (20.5%)	245 (43.1%)	4 (.7%)	**366 64.3%**	37 (6.5%)	34 (6%)	63 (11.1%)	69 (12.1%)	**203 35.7%**
SA1V N=80	4 (5%)	26 (32.5%)	1 (1.3%)	**31 38.8%**	0 (0%)	3 (3.8%)	14 (17.4%)	32 (40%)	**49 61.2%**
SA2V N=947	178 (18.8%)	281 (29.7%)	2 (.2%)	**461 48.7%**	153 (16.2%)	46 (4.9%)	51 (5.3%)	236 (24.9%)	**486 51.3%**

Upon examining the social relation frequencies above, it was revealed that Saudi women were more frequently visually foregrounded in three UK and SA news corpora than they were backgrounded, with the UK1V corpus having the highest foregrounding frequencies (68.4%), followed by the UK2V (64.3%), then the SA2V (48.7%).

One reason for the notably low visual foregrounding frequency rate in the SA1V news (38.8%) could be due to Saudi Arabia's more conservative ideologies and expectations when it came to photographing and publishing well-defined close-ups foregrounding Saudi women, especially in Riyadh - the "Wahhabi" capital - at a time when many Saudis still resisted the idea of women driving (Hubbard, 2017). Moreover, local SA news agencies may have been more sensitive to "conservative families who did not want to see the photos of their daughters in newspapers, let alone the Internet" (Al-Ghamdi, 2015, p. 1), with the exception of those who are well-educated and have "liberal, and wealthy backgrounds, who also tend to be public figures" (Le Renard, 2014, p. 1).

This is further confirmed if we look at the increased shift of published photos of Saudi women from 5% in the SA1V newspapers to 18.8% in the SA2V, gazing directly at the camera with great confidence (#1, *Figure 37.* below), not afraid of being recognized, which seems to mirror on-ground developments whereby Saudi women are becoming more visible in society, and families are becoming more tolerant of female relatives being photographed and their photos publicly circulated. UK journalists, however, not having this concern in mind, and reasonably so, is reflected in the almost parallel frequency rates of images published of close/mid shot Saudi women directly addressing the camera (i.e., UK1V 21.9%; UK2V 20.5%).

| #1 SA2V | #2 UK2V |
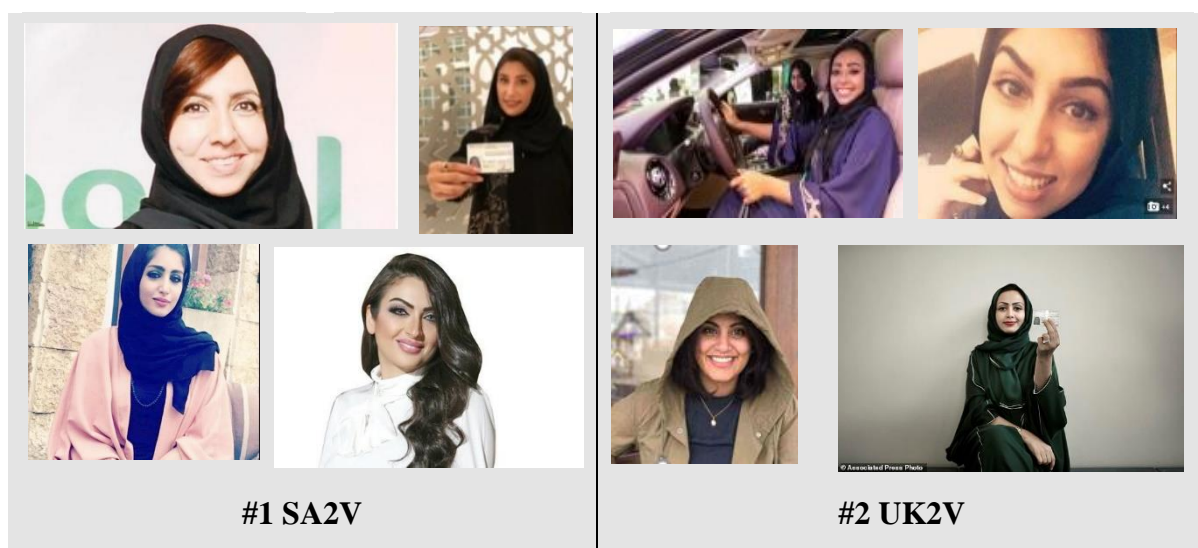
Figure 37. Examples of foregrounding Saudi women via close/mid-shots, direct gazes

As for the SA2V and UK2V images that include close-shot/direct gazes, the results are extremely similar, with a slightly higher foregrounding frequency in the UK2V (20.5%) as opposed to SA2V (18.8%). And even with regards to the different types of foregrounding (i.e., F1, F2, and F3), both 2011-2013 UK and SA news media seemed to foreground Saudi women within the context of this research in similar manners. In both news corpora, close/mid shots of women driving with an indirect or back gaze **F2** surpassed all other types of foregrounding (UK1V 46.5%; UK2V 43.1%; SA1V 32.5%; SA2V 29.7%), followed by close/mid shots of Saudi women with direct gazes **F1** (UK1V 21.9%; UK2V 20.5%; SA1V 5%; SA2V 18.8%), and finally long shots with direct gazes **F3** (UK1V 0%; UK2V .7%%; SA1V 1.3%; SA2V .2%).

The popularity of publishing these types of close/mid shot photos of women driving with an indirect or back gaze (**F2**) in the press may be motivated by their illustrative role in the news report, displaying an array of images of Saudi women engaged in vehicle-/driving- related actions and events, which, in fact, is in line with the expectations that a news viewer would have when choosing to read an article on females driving in Saudi Arabia. And hence, as Gillian and Marley (2010) state, the viewer becomes "more accepting of them [social actors]" (p. 23), which is indicative of the UK and SA news media depicting Saudi women in a visually objective, informative manner to the reader in the majority of articles within the context of this study.

By a careful analysis of camera angle and context, we can state with more confidence that visual disempowering representations of Saudi women do not appear to dominate in the UK news media within this study. The importance of deconstructing visual recontextualizations cannot be stated enough. Future multimodal research on Saudi women, or any social actor for that matter, needs to carefully assess every visual aspect contextually in order to attain the most realistic, objective readings of the multimodal data under investigation.

As for the extent to which the UK and SA news media visually backgrounded Saudi women within the context of this research, first, an analysis and explanation of images that depicted Saudi women (1) *Exclusion* will be presented, followed by looking into (2) *Impersonalization* in more detail (Table 17 below).

(1) Saudi Women Exclusion

Caple (2017) maintains that is "vitally important that researchers of discourse/images take into consideration the context of news production, as this has the potential for adding a layer of

interpretation to any detailed analysis that might be undertaken" (p. 233). Therefore, keeping the Saudi context and photojournalistic limitations in mind, Saudi women visual backgrounding was examined by analysing images that exclude Saudi women and which point to "suppression, [as] there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 29). Who passivized Saudi women visually, why, and if there were any shifts, Orientalist or otherwise were explored. To begin with, a general overview of how frequently Saudi women were excluded is presented in Table 17.

Table 17

Comparisons of Saudi Women Exclusion and Inclusion in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Total N=1710	Visual Inclusion (N=1358)	Visual Exclusion (N=352)
UK1V	114	99 (86.8%)	15 (13.2%)
UK2V	569	500 (87.9%)	69 (12.1%)
SA1V	80	48 (60%)	32 (40%)
SA2V	947	711 (75.1%)	236 (24.9%)

The question of what *other* social actors or events were foregrounded potentially pointing to the subjugation or beneficialization of Saudi women can possibly be better comprehended via an investigation of newsworthiness of some of the images that excluded Saudi women. Due to the large number of images that excluded Saudi women in the more current 2017-2019 UK2V and SA2V corpora (i.e., 69 and 236 respectively), the images were sorted into different categories based on salient recurrent patterns facilitating analysis, which also allowed for comparisons to be made. The following table (Table 18) presents an overview of all the photos in both UK and SA corpora that exclude Saudi women.

Table 18

Newsworthiness of Photos that Exclude Saudi Women in the UK and SA Visual News Corpora

	Exclusion Category	Visual Exclusion of Saudi Women (N=352)							
		UK1V (N=15)		UK2V (N=69)		SA1V (N=32)		SA2V (N=236)	
1	(Non-)Saudi men, non-Saudi women, children	1	.7%	6	8.7%	15	46.8%	99	41.9%
2	The Elite (Saudi Royals)	3	20%	29	42%	1	3.1%	33	14%
	The Elite (Saudi Sheikhs)	0	0%	7	10.2%	2	6.3%	33	14%
	The Elite (Saudi Police and Government Officials)	0	0%	13	18.8%	10	31.3%	67	28.4%

			UK1V		UK2V		SA1V		SA2V
	The Elite (Saudi Celebrity)	8	53.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Saudi Male Elite Total	11	73.3%	49	71%	13	40.6%	133	56.4%
3	The Elite (Non-Saudis)	3	20%	12	17.4%	0	0%	4	1.7%
4	Random buildings, areas, and objects – No social actors	0	0%	2	2.9%	4	12.5%	0	0%

A general look at Table 18 reveals that the top two most frequently published images that exclude Saudi women in the 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora are those of Saudi "Elites" (i.e., 73.3% in UK1V; 71% in UK2V; 40.6% in SA1V; 56.4% in SA2V). This is followed by images of mostly unspecified (non-)Saudi men, women, and children, and finally only a few images that included non-Saudi elites and random objects or areas.

1. (Non-)Saudi Men, non-Saudi Women, and Children: A variety of images are included in this category, such as context-less photographs of men, men in the street or office, employees of different nationalities, etc. The findings in Table 18 show that the images in this category were most frequently published in the Saudi media, more specifically, 46.8% in the SA1V and 41.9% in the SA2V corpora, as opposed to .7% in the UK1V and 8.7% in the UK2V corpora.

(1) UK1V   **(2) UK2V**   **(3) SA1V**   **(4) SA2V**
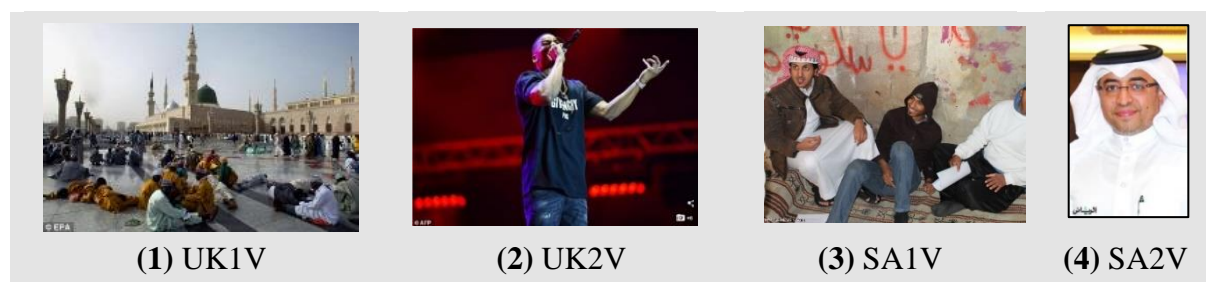
Figure 38. Examples of images that include social actors who are not Saudi women

With regards to this group of images in the SA2V (N=99), a closer examination of the photos reveals that an overwhelming number of these (83 images, 83.8%) are close-shot images of Saudi men (e.g., #4, *Figure 38.*). So, when it comes to representing a social actor who is not a Saudi woman, clearly the alternative was to choose a close-up of a Saudi man who is smiling, which according to van Leeuwen (2008) and others, reflects who the media wants to emphasize and be seen as friendly, and approachable, which perhaps is yet one other way to "perpetuate and consecrate male domination" (Mustafa & Troudi, 2019, p. 136) over women in Saudi Arabia.

Turning to the UK press, if we examine the only image in this category in the UK1V corpus, which is a photo of a large number of non-Saudi men, sitting on the ground, in an open area in a mosque (#1, *Figure 38.*), none of the news values that make an image newsworthy are present

at first glance. In addition, the image alone has no relation of any kind to the issue of women driving, and thus looking at the image on its own is quite confusing and pointless.

But once one reads the headline of the article in which the image is included: "Saudi woman 'raped by chauffeur' as campaign to let both sexes drive gathers pace" or the caption right under the image "Attack: The unnamed woman claimed she was raped in the Saudi Arabian western holy city of Medina" (*The Daily Mail*, 2011), we find that the image conveys wrong information since the girl the article refers to was actually raped in an industrial area in Medina, and not on any holy site. This is not to be taken lightly as mosques are sacred grounds to Muslims who consider them to be the purest of all locations, and hence such misrepresentations are ultimately offensive to Muslims and further highlight, and reaffirm, misleading extremist non-Muslim stereotypes.

Why, then, include an image of a huge mosque and not an industrial area? The reality is that these images are nothing but materialisations of ideologically-laden interests of the anonymous *Daily Mail* article reporter or *Daily Mail* news agency, which rendered this image of high *Negativity*, *Unexpectedness*, and religious oppression *Consonance*, thus "worthy" of being published, as subjugated representations of Saudi women surface as the intended message. Van Dijk (2013) states that quality press is often overshadowed by tabloids which regularly consist of photojournalism that highlight "crime, violence, and sex" (p. 47), both nationally and internationally, and which often "offend, shock, mislead, stereotype, and confuse" (Lester, 2008, p. 1).

2. Saudi Elites: Upon examination of all the images that excluded Saudi women, four salient *Elite* Saudi social actor patterns emerged: (1) Members of the Saudi royal family, (2) religious clerics "sheikhs", (3) Saudi policemen and government officials, and (4) celebrities. Table 19 presents frequency percentages of each type of elite Saudi male social actor.

Table 19
Saudi, Male Elites in the UK and SA Corpora

Elite Saudis	2011-2013 UK/SA Corpora		2017-2019 UK/SA Corpora	
	UK1V (N=11)	SA1V (N=13)	UK2V (N=49)	SA2V (N=133)
Royalty	3 (27.3%)	1 (7.7%)	29 (59.2%)	33 (24.8%)
Sheikhs	0 (0%)	2 (15.4%)	7 (14.3%)	33 (24.8%)
Police & Gov. Officials	0 (0%)	10 (76.9%)	13 (26.5%)	67 (50.4%)
Celebrities	8 (72.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

As previously mentioned, one of the first things we notice in Table 19 above when examining the UK2V news media corpus is that the most frequently foregrounded images of social actors (apart from Saudi women) are those of Saudi royalty, such as Prince Mohamed and King Salman in the UKV2 (29 images – 59.2%), whereas in the UK1V it is (3 images – 27.3%), in the SA1V (1 image – 7.7%) and (33 images – 24.8%) in the SA2V corpus. This relatively high number of images of members from the ruling Saudi family in the UK2V corpus may be due to their:

(a) *Eliteness* which is one of the news values commonly found in many news photos. Though King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia (whose rein lasted from 2005 to 2013) and the current King Salman and his acting son Prince Mohamed, are easily recognizable elite key figures in the Gulf region and neighbouring Arab countries, these social actors may not be as widely known, for example, in the UK, by all news consumers. However, "other attributes or aspects of the setting might be included in the shot to place the person in an elite context . . . culturally associated with elite professionals" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 115).

Here one could argue that even though many UK media viewers may not recognize King Abdullah as a person of high status, several features in the same photo (Photo 7.) point to constructing him as an elite authoritative figure who most probably plays an active, powerful role in society. Among those visuals would be the King's elaborate attire, including a gold lined cape, who is guarded in the background by a figure, adorned with medals, stars/stripes and wearing a beret, which most likely indicates a person of official rank. Other "regalia" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 115) is podium-type seating arrangement, microphone, and the green flag of SA in the background.

Photo 7. Example of an Elite Saudi royal family member in the UK1V corpus

(b) *Impact:* Images are often not enough for understanding the whole story, nevertheless, they do make an impact. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) confirm that reactions "play a key role in representation" (p. 98), and therefore social institutes, such as news agencies, are keen on representing how key social actors "feel, or should feel" (p. 98). Visually, the message sent through Photo 7. above is of a stern social agent via his facial reaction, foregrounding a

formidable, emotionally controlled King even though this image accompanied 2 different articles reporting on Saudi women being sentenced to, then exempted from, 10 lashings. Visual passivation of Saudi women is thus evident without them being physically in the photograph.

Also worth drawing attention to here is the fact that 40 out of the 49 images of Saudi elites in the UK2V corpus are published in tabloids, more specifically, 30 in *The Daily Mail*, 5 in *The Sun*, and 5 in *The Mirror*. This is quite a large number, but an expected finding as tabloid agencies understand the appeal of providing news and images of the elite which often serve as light "'talking-points' as well as 'flick-through'" (Johansson, 2007, p. 181) reading opportunities that comfortably fit into the daily lives of news consumers. Moreover, Johansson maintains that news in tabloids often "offer a vent for frustration rooted in experiences of social inequality, which means that an equally significant part of the appeal can be the ability to 'attack' and criticise social privilege" (p. 181), allowing news consumers some sense of control over this inequality and distrust, even if only momentarily.

(2) Saudi Women Impersonalization

Table 20

Saudi Women Impersonalization Affordances and Examples in the UK and SA Corpora

	UK1V (N=99)	UK2V (N=500)	SA1V (N=48)	SA2V (N=711)
Abstraction	0 (0%)	3 (.6%)	9 (18.8%)	61 (8.6%)
Spatialization	0 (0%)	12 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	35 (4.9%)
Utterance Automization	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	5 (.7%)
Instrument-alization	0 (0%)	16 (3.2%)	0 (0%)	36 (5.1%)

Somatization	1 (1%)	13 (2.6%)	0 (0%)	14 (2%)
Face Blurred	0 (0%)	1 (.2%)	0 (0%)	1 (.1%)
Face Concealed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (.3%)
Total	1 (**1%**)	45 (**9%**)	9 (**18.8%**)	154 (**21.7%**)

Upon taking a closer look at Table 20, we find that only 17 images out of 154 in the SA2V depict *Somatization* (14 images, 2%), or concealed/blurred facial features (3 images, .4%), whereby identity is suppressed, thus "backgrounding" these women in the eyes of news viewers – also only 2.8% in total in the UK2V, 1% in the SA1V, and 0% in the UK1V are impersonalized. However, taking into consideration the context of SA and some women's reservations about being photographed publicly, claiming that these images automatically background Saudi women cannot be made since there is a strong possibility that some of these women, themselves, may have not permitted journalists to publish clear images of their faces.

As for the remaining majority of the impersonalized images in Table 20 above, these illustrations showcase women driving campaigns/ads/street signs, voting polls, car exhibits and accessories, and other various infographics that actually enable and empower women, as exemplified in the images in *Figure 39*.

Figure 39. Examples of car/driving-related images from the SA2V news corpora

These "infographics come in many forms; bar charts, pie charts, histograms, pictograms, statistical maps, process diagrams, experimental visualizations, or composites of any (or all) of the above . . . [and] are a powerful tool to represent and communicate complex information. Especially in online journalism they are increasingly used by journalists" (Zwinger & Zeiller, 2017, p. 1). We can also observe from Table 20 that these types of images are more popular in the current local SA2V news corpus (137 images – 19.3%) when compared to the UK2V corpus (28 images – 5.6%), in which there are actually no infographics, but rather other types of impersonalized images (i.e., *Spatialization* and *Instrumentalization*) that suggest supporting women driving, as illustrated in *Figure 40*.

Figure 40. Examples of car/driving-related images from the UK2V news corpora

This high frequency rate of infographic images in the SA2V is not surprising, and in fact a very positive finding, as it is only logical that such informative visuals would be provided to the local female driver who is understandably very invested in knowing more about the specifics of driving cars and related matters, may they be poll results, instructional posters, etc. Predictably, car agencies and car accessory makers also took advantage of the imminent boom of cars to be sold to women in SA to improve their businesses. Therefore, there was no logic, geographically, for the UK media to foreground such images, which is exactly the case as shown in Table 20.

Table 20 also provides further insight into the nature of these impersonalized images. *Instrumentalization* (images of cars, car simulators, etc.), *Utterance Automization* (polls, newspaper images, etc.), and *Spatialization* (clear images of SA, driving schools, parking lots, etc.) were clearly detected and calculated, but when it came to social actor *Abstraction* "a quality assigned to them by and in the representation" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 46), analysis

was not so straightforward. With regards to these photos in the UK2V, upon examining the images, it was found that all three photos depicted feminine attributes via the foregrounded roses (Table 20 above, 1st row) suggesting that women are gentle, beautiful, possibly fragile social actors.

As for *Abstractions* found in the SA2V, we find that out of the 61 images that signify attributes, 31 images suggest that Saudi women are increasingly being given more rights, thus becoming empowered as they are gaining more agency (*Figure 41*. below, column #1) and the remaining 30 *Abstractions* suggest that women are important, and thus cared/supported via encouraging statements, instructions, and advice on driving and what cars to buy (*Figure 41., column #2*).

| #1 SA2V ("Empowering" Abstractions) | 2# SA2V ("Supporting" Abstractions) |

Figure 41. Empowering and supporting *Abstractions* in the SA2V corpus

In addition, the popularity of these types of images in the SA2V can also be better understood by looking into the news values achieved which have deemed these photos to be newsworthy, thus, more frequently publishable. Obviously, *Proximity* (women in SA) and *Timeliness* (around the time the ban was lifted and nearing when women would drive), as explained above, are very important news values satisfied within the context of this study.

In addition, *Positivity* is also reflected in these photos as these images reflect illustrations of neutral-to-happy female drivers and the images include pleasant, attractive colours and non-cluttered advice and empowering statements, that are easy to understand for new drivers, as well as attractive looking cars and ads, as can be seen in (*Figures 39.*, *40.*, and *41.*). De Haan et al. (2017) argue that the utilization of infographics in the news has been on a rise in recent years and that their eye-tracking and survey research revealed that "news consumers do indeed read news visualizations . . . [and that they] are appreciated, but only if they are coherently integrated into a news story and thus fulfil a function that can be easily understood" (p. 1).

Very important to note here is that interpreting images that include social actor *Impersonalization* are subjective to a certain extent since what one person sees as not backgrounding a Saudi woman may be perceived just as easily as marginalization by another person (as exemplified by the seemingly impersonalized images in Table 20 above). Indeed, perceptions of images that do not have clear-cut analysis criteria will no doubt fluctuate from one viewer to another partly due to "who you are and the circumstances in which you are looking at an image" (Jones et al., 2020, p. 73), and the context (Hanitzsch, 2019).

And even when the analysis criteria are supposedly straightforward, visual recontextualizations may be interpreted differently by researchers. A case in point are images of Saudi women holding the steering wheel (*Figure 42.*). Whereas in this current study, Saudi women in such images were interpreted as *Transactive Agents* since the image indexes the act of driving as many of them were gazing towards the road, Albawardi and Jones (2021) argue that what "these actions really depict is a kind of 'pseudo' agency: none of the women are actually driving" (p. 37). Their findings may be due to the limited number of investigated images since many of the images in the current study (examples in *Figure 42.* below), in both the UK and SA news media, show women who are driving.
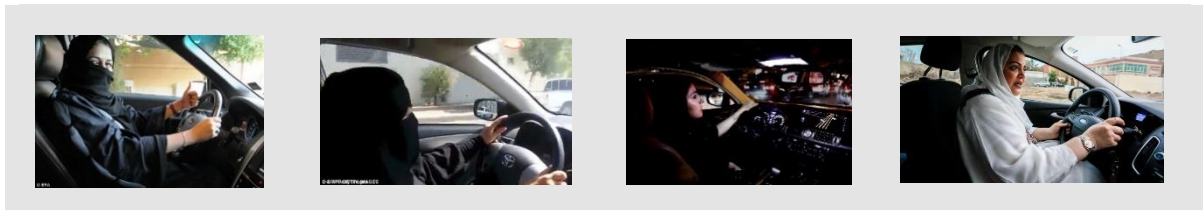
Figure 42. Saudi women at the steering wheel (which may be perceived as driving or not) in the UK2V

However, I am in complete agreement with Jones et al. (2020) who state that a "reading" of an image is incomplete if context is not fully taken into consideration when interpreting social actor representations in any visual corpora via various visual affordances. And so based on the general reading of these photos that "technically impersonalize" Saudi women (Table 20), it was decided that none of them would be included in the quantitative investigation of Saudi women backgrounding since they were not salient. Only 1 image emerged in the UK1V in which *Somatization* was detected whereby women were reduced to ovaries, and 6 images in the SA1V included *Abstractions* of Saudi women as careless drivers depicted as Western women putting on makeup while driving or as oppressed social actors, as exemplified in *Figure 43*.

Figure 43. Saudi women disempowerment via images of *Impersonalization* in the 2011-2013 UK and SA news corpora

Based on this, Saudi women backgrounding frequencies were more accurately defined by only looking at **B2**, **B3** and **B4** images (Table 16 above), and which yielded the following results: UK1V (31.6%), UK2V (29.2%), SA1V (61.2%), and SA2V (35.1%). By removing **B1** (non-backgrounding Impersonalization of Saudi women), the findings clearly show that Saudi women were most visually marginalized in the SA1V, followed by the SA2V, then UK2V, and the least in the UK1V – results all mirroring on-ground realities as discussed previously.

5.1.4 Overall Visual Representations of Saudi Women Agency

Table 21 below presents Chi-square findings that demonstrate whether there were any statistical differences in how often the past and more current UK and SA news media visually

portrayed Saudi women as effective, active agents of society or as passive patients by utilizing frequencies resulting from combining the findings of role allocation, functionalization, and power relations as detailed in the Research Methodology.

Table 21

Chi-square Comparisons for Overall Saudi Women Agency in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Inclusion Images (N=1710)	Visual Agency of Social Actor	X^2	Sig.
UK1V	114	78 (68.4%)	7.127	.008
UK2V	569	454 (79.8%)		
SA1V	80	31 (38.8%)	41.035	.000
SA2V	947	690 (72.9%)		
UK1V	114	78 (68.4%)	16.812	.000
SA1V	80	31 (38.8%)		
UK2V	569	454 (79.8%)	9.212	.002
SA2V	947	690 (72.9%)		

As can be observed, there is evidence of a significant shift of Saudi women agency over time in the more recent news media: UK news media (X^2 = 7.127, df = 1, p < .008), from 68.4% to 79.8%, and SA news media (X^2 = 41.035, df = 1, p < .000), from 38.8% to 72.9%, with the more pronounced visual change being from the past to the more current SA news corpora. However, the highest agency frequency overall was observed in the 2017-2019 UK2V visual news media (79.8%), statistically superseding Saudi women agency in the SA2V press (72.9%).

In brief, an overall quantitative and qualitative look at how the UK and SA news media visually represent Saudi women active agency and passivity via role allocation, functionalization, and power relations reveals the following:

1. Visual shifts over time: Saudi women who were visually activated via role allocation affordances (i.e., performing some dynamic action) as well as being functionalized in various roles increased in both the 2017-2019 UK2V and SA2V news media corpora when compared to the 2011-2013, especially with regards to *beneficializing* or enabling Saudi women agency. And though overall Saudi women were more frequently visually foregrounded, thus empowered, in all four UK and SA news corpora than they were backgrounded, there was no noticeable increase in Saudi women-viewer empowered relations over time in the UK and SA news media. However, there was a slight decrease in the UK2V, with the UK1V corpus having the highest foregrounding frequencies and the SA1V corpus having the lowest, in essence,

being the medium which visually backgrounded Saudi women most frequently. Possible reasons for this could be due to the Saudi media's censorship policies of not choosing to consistently foreground images of Saudi women while driving in protest, which was a rebellious prosecutable act in the past (Al-Otaibi, 2016; Al-Sharif, 2017).

2. Types of visual activation, functionalization, and power: Saudi women *activation* (i.e., driving, driving-related, working, and speaking /presenting) was more varied in both the SA1V and SA2V when compared to both the UK1V and UK2V which mostly focused on women driving and protesting. However, diversity in Saudi women *functionalization* increased in both the more current UK2V and SA2V corpora (i.e., employees, customers, supporters, learners, presenters, instructors, car racers, activists, and princesses).

This being said, however, the UK1V and UK2V corpora rarely published images of Saudi women as employee officials working in a professional environment, possibly restricting UK news consumers' perceptions of changing women's rights and professional active agency in SA. More specifically, the UK news media privileged images that showed women driving in protest, and the activists themselves, in the UK1V, essentially foregrounding representations of rebelliousness, and thus, the victimization of the remaining everyday Saudi women. And with regards to power relations, the manner in which Saudi women were foregrounded was similar to a certain extent in all four corpora (via shots exhibiting close/mid, eye-level, with indirect/back gazes due to driving and which collectively signifying equality), followed by empowered agency (via close/mid, low-to-high angle, direct gaze shots).
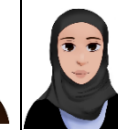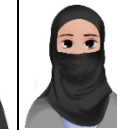
3. Visual backgrounding: Passive agency representations decreased in the 2013-2019 UK2V and SA2V news corpora, and significantly more so in the SA2V, and a closer qualitative analysis revealed the following Orientalist underpinnings: **(a)** emphasized Saudi women *dependency* via recurrent photos of Saudi women getting into or coming out of taxis in the UK1V and SA1V when supposedly these articles were meant to show how Saudi women were taking action towards their own freedom, **(b)** *helplessness* against backlash via visual saliency of car torching images in the UK2V, **(c)** *backgrounding* via the visual absence of powerful Shura members in the UK press, and **(d)** an almost complete visual *suppression* of activists in the SA news media. As for visual power relations, the photos rarely depicted Saudi women as social actors who lack agency via long, indirect/back gazes, high-to-low angled shots or Impersonalization, but there were a good number of images that excluded Saudi women, and most notably in the SA1V.

5.1.5 Cultural Categorization

Van Leeuwen (2008) states that cultural categorization facilitates a better understanding of how social actors are represented in any discourse, essentially in terms of *who* they are, connoting "the negative or positive values and associations attached to a particular sociocultural group" (p. 144). Additionally, Saudi women foregrounded in terms of the extent to which they are represented as "*individualized*" vs. "*collectivized*" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 38) social actors, in women-only groups or with men, is also discussed.

The literature on Saudi women representations has often placed much emphasis on perceptions surrounding Saudi women's modest dress in public (Elyas & Aljabri, 2020; Taher, 2019). And such studies have frequently concluded that these women are often portrayed as being oppressed in the Western media as a result of being "forced" to wear the veil, and claiming that the foreign media, in the process, is fortifying Orientalist stereotypes. However, as stated previously, since most of these studies did not conduct comparative research with the local Saudi news media, there is a possibility that previous findings perhaps could have been quite skewed.

All hijab types and what they represent in terms of conservativeness in the Saudi context are presented in *Figure 44*., however, the only categories that are considered in depth are women wearing (1) a veil/hijab, thus categorized as conservative or (2) women who are not, thus non-conservative. For most Western readers, these are typically the only two perceptions they have of Muslim women regardless of nationality. And since previous studies have repeatedly found that the UK media tends to focus on covered (i.e., conservative, thus victimized) women, using this un/covered dichotomy to distinguish which identities were foregrounded is fitting.

#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9
Hair uncovered with/out makeup	Neck showing with/out makeup "turban"	Hair showing with/out makeup	Hijab (i.e., hair fully covered) + makeup	Hijab without makeup	Hijab without makeup "chador" (Eastern region)	Hijab with "lathma" (i.e., mouth is covered)	Face almost fully veiled "niqab"	Face fully veiled "khimar"
Saudi Cultural Categorization								
Non-Hijabi	Less Conservative Hijabi			Conservative Hijabi		Very Conservative Hijabi		
Western Cultural Categorization								
Non-Conservative	Conservative							

Figure 44. Range of hijab varieties and what they connote (Sibai, 2021, adapted from expatwoman.com, 2018)

| | UK1V | UK2V | SA1V | SA2V |

Figure 45. Examples of Saudi women wearing veils/hijabs in the UK and SA corpora

To examine the various Saudi women identification representations within the context of this study, frequency percentages were calculated for all levels of hijab representations (Table 22), as described and illustrated in the Research Methodology section. As no previous studies to my knowledge have investigated Saudi women representations of veils and hijabs in such detail, this was important for (a) raising general cultural awareness that not all hijabis in actuality have homogenized practices when it comes to their headwear attire and its level of modesty, and (b) though these seemingly slight attire variations may not be very relevant in the UK context, investigating the differences multimodally within the Saudi media, past and present, is quite important as it gives a glimpse into the direction that Saudi female dress codes are moving towards and potential societal and religious implications.

Table 22

Frequency Percentages for Saudi Women Hijab Variations in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Inclusion Images (N=1358)	Not Conservative	Less Conservative	Conservative	Very Conservative	UK Cultural Categorization		Mixed	Other
						Not Conservative	Conservative		
UK1V	99	0 (0%)	11 (11.1%)	44 (44.4%)	42 (42.4%)	0 (0%)	97 (98%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
UK2V	500	47 (9.4%)	146 (29.2%)	75 (15%)	87 (17.4%)	47 (9.4%)	308 (61.6%)	89 (17.8%)	56 (11.2%)
SA1V	48	4 (8.3%)	2 (4.2%)	3 (6.3%)	26 (54.2%)	4 (8.3%)	35 (73%)	5 (10.3%)	8 (16.7%)
SA2V	711	13 (1.8%)	153 (21.6%)	99 (13.9%)	180 (25.3%)	13 (1.8%)	432 (60.8%)	103 (14.5%)	163 (22.9%)

The following is a discussion of (non-)conservative hijab types as perceived in the UK context and in relation to the four UK and SA corpora:

(1) Conservative Representations: As for the foregrounding of conservative Saudi women who are immediately identified by the veils and hijabs they wear (*Figure 44.*, illustrations #3 to #9 above), the findings show that though both past UK1V and SA1V news media quite frequently visually published these types of images (i.e., 98% and 73% respectively), there is a decrease in the number of such images more currently (UK2V 61.6%; SA2V 60.8%), indicating changing perceptions of being photographed in public without a veil/hijab. Though some researchers have mentioned similar shifting attitudes among the new generation of Saudi women (Bashatah, 2017; Dahlan, 2011), the predominant message of most of the research tends to emphasize "Orientalist" outcomes which is often associated with veiled women. Visually, the current study supports such previous findings in the saliency of veiled women that were foregrounded visually in the 2011-2013 news and in terms of *how* more conservative looking women are functionalized (Table 14 and Photos 8. and 9. above, pp. 115 and p. 144).

Considering Orientalist findings related to the assimilation (i.e., homogenization) of Saudi women which potentially could increase when they are depicted collectively, some differences were observed (*Figure 46*. below), especially in the 2017-2019 corpora. Though there are some similarities in how groups of veiled Saudi women were portrayed when it came to them, for example, being in car exhibitions, meetings, or getting into a taxi, etc., it was also observed, however, that the UK2V included collective images of veiled Saudi women shot from a distance not doing much or engaged in completely off-context, trivial actions like buying make-up. None of these images appeared in the SA2V, and which thus could point to some degree of Orientalist homogenization and 'othering' of Saudi women in the UK press for such images, as argued by Al-Ghadeer (2019), "provoke a throng of other associations, such as wealth, invisibility, leisure and mystery. These images compel the viewer to recall Orientalist pin-ups that have not faded away in the digital age but stand out" (p. 312).

Figure 46. Examples of Saudi women depicted off-context collectively in the UK2V

Given that veiled (*Figure 44.*, #7, #8, & #9) Saudi women have often been stereotyped as oppressed victims on the one hand, and/or violent and "out of control" on the other (Bahammam, 2018, p. 269), the more specific question that this section aimed to answer is, does the UK media foreground images of very conservative Saudi women in its media more often than the SA media, substantiating repeated Orientalist findings in previous literature on Saudi women visual representations? To answer this question, Chi-square tests to see to what extent each of the UK and SA news media foregrounded images of veiled Saudi women were conducted (Table 23).

Table 23

Chi-square Foregrounding Comparisons of Veiled Saudi Women in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Inclusion Images (N=1358)	Veiled Saudi Women	Other	X^2	Sig.
UK1V	99	42 (42.4%)	57 (57.6%)	30.624	.000
UK2V	500	87 (17.4%)	413 (82.6%)		
SA1V	48	26 (54.2%)	22 (45.8%)	18.926	.000
SA2V	711	180 (25.3%)	531 (74.7%)		
UK1V	99	42 (42.4%)	57 (57.6%)	1.793	.181
SA1V	48	26 (54.2%)	22 (45.8%)		
UK2V	500	87 (17.4%)	413 (82.6%)	10.704	.001
SA2V	711	180 (25.3%)	531 (74.7%)		

Two very clear patterns emerged with regards to visual depictions of Saudi women in both the UK and SA news media. For one, in both visual UK and SA news corpora, there is evidence of a significant decrease in the frequency of published images that included Saudi women wearing a veil, which was, and still is, a true reflection of the evolving attire of Saudi women in public, in SA nowadays: UK1V 42.5% vs. UK2V 17.4% ($X^2 = 30.624$, df = 1, p < .000); SA1V 54.2% vs. SA2V 25.3% ($X^2 = 18.926$, df = 1, p < .000).

And with regards to the question posed at the beginning of this section that asks whether the UK media foregrounded images of veiled Saudi women in its media more often than the local SA media supporting previous repeated Orientalist findings, looking at the results of Table 23, we can conclude that the UK media did not foreground images of very conservative Saudi women within the context of this study. On the contrary, the results indicate that the Saudi news corpora (SA1V 54.2%; SA2V 25.3%) published images of veiled social actors significantly more frequently than the UK corpora (UK1V 42.4%; UK2V 17.4%), in both past

and present datasets. This finding is very important since the context of the images was standardized – only those related to driving, which basically means that the UK news media had equal opportunity to include more veiled Saudi women within this context, but in fact chose not to. The only obvious discrepancy, as Table 22 reveals, is in overall depictions of conservative (i.e., veiled and/or wearing a headcover) Saudi women in the UK1V (98%) when compared to the SA1V (73%), but which both considerably decreased over time and reflect almost equal conservative representations (UK1V 61.6%, SA1V 60.8%) in the more recent news corpora. Fully aware that the results found here exclusively pertain to the context of the driving ban and its lifting, and only to the visual component of the multimodal analysis, the results are still very revealing, and hopefully future multimodal researchers will consider the importance of using large datasets within a comparative framework to be able to detect more subtle representative findings.

Seeing that the UK news media, in both past and more current corpora, did not excessively foreground veiled Saudi women when compared to the SA media is an encouraging initial finding as it is a well-known fact "the veil" within the British context, unfortunately, has strongly become associated with extremist behavior, and public ridicule, such as those found in the comments made by Boris Johnson comparing women who wear the veil to "letterboxes" and "bank robbers" (McDonald, 2020, p. 1). Therefore, what is equally important here is to examine what the veiled women were actually doing, or not, in the published articles, as shown in *Figure 47*.

News Value	UK1V (N=42)	UK2V (N=87)	SA1V (N=26)	SA2V (N=180)
Impact: Saudi women empowerment at work	0 (0%)	3 (3.4%)	1 (3.8%)	39 (21.7%)

Figure 47. Empowerment of veiled Saudi women in the UK and SA visual news corpora

We can see from *Figure 47*. above that the SA2V visual news corpus depicted veiled Saudi women as having an empowered presence by working in various fields (21.7%) more frequently than all the other corpora that ranged from 0% to 3.8%. This discrepancy in how often veiled Saudi women are portrayed as being productive members of society outside the home, especially more currently in the 2017-2019 corpora, is quite evident, and surprising, since the overall quantitative findings above showed that the UK published images of veiled Saudi women less frequently than the SA press did.

Apart from the differences discussed above, a notable difference in hijab representations between the corpora was not detected, during the same duration periods, except for one pair of images (Photos 8. & 9.), one from the UK2V and the other from SA2V, that were similar, yet different in several distinct ways, which exemplifies how social actors can visually be misrepresented.

Photo 8. UK2V image female driver   Photo 9. SA2V image of female driver

If we only look at the images, we find that in both, the male relatives are kissing the women's (fore)heads as they are saying goodbye to them before their first day of driving themselves to work. This could be construed from the SA2V image alone since we see a car, lab coat, and laptop shoulder bag and this photo is in an article on Saudi women starting to drive, but there is nothing in the UK2V image that would suggest such agency as in the right. Indeed, this was a poor, possibly ill-motivated, choice on the reporter's part for not choosing a photo with a car in the shot. No doubt, these are nuanced differences, but more people need to be mindful of photojournalism and the visual choices that are made, or not, in a news report.

(2) Non-Conservative Representations:

When examining in which corpora non-conservative Saudi women were foregrounded most frequently, we find that the highest was in the UK2V (9.4%), closely followed by SA1V (8.3%), and then less portrayed in the SA2V (1.8%) and non-existent in the UK1V (0%). However, after having conducted a more qualitative examination of all the images, especially in the SA1V, we find that the majority of unveiled, non-hijabi Saudi women in the 2011-2013 SA news corpus are *only* of well-known public figures, such as those who host TV programs and actresses, and who, as already mentioned, would have not minded being photographed (Bashatah, 2017). And if considered via DNVA, these images are newsworthy as they satisfy the news value of *Eliteness*.

However, an investigation of the UK news corpora in both timespans reveal a mix of non-conservative Saudi women including well-known public figures (*Figure 48.*), such as Manal Al-Sharif, and other typical everyday Saudi female citizens. An increase of non-veiled Saudi women in the SA2V was also observed. As such, we can conclude, that in the more present 2017-2019 UK and SA news corpora, it has become more acceptable for Saudi women to appear in the news media without their hair covered, but the lower (1.8%) in the SA2V as opposed to the UK2V (9.4%) still indicates that the local SA newspapers are more cautious when it comes to publishing these types of images which many Wahhabi followers are still very sensitive to.

Public Figure	Not a Public Figure	Public Figure	Not a Public Figure
SA1V	**UK2V**		**SA2V**

Figure 48. Examples of non-conservative Saudi women in the UK and SA corpora

Then again, Albawardi and Jones (2021), who looked at 142 images in August of 2018, state that the foregrounding of unveiled Saudi women in the UK press seemed to be motivated financially as "most of those chosen by content producers favour the hijab [over the niqab], which makes the face of the model visible, a representation that likely is more palatable to Western viewers . . . an 'ideologically prestructured world which is in harmony with consumerism'" (p. 38), and which would perhaps encourage a news reader to click and read more. In the UK context, and as revealed in both timespans (Table 23), in line with Albawardi and Jones (2021), non-veiled women in the current study also appear to be more frequently foregrounded which becomes clear when compared to identity representations portrayed in the local Saudi news media: (UK1V 57.6% vs. SA1V 45.8%) and (UK2V 82.6% vs. SA2V 74.7%). Though news agenda motives may not always be easy to identify, in any case, they do impact news consumers' perceptions and actions which is the ultimate concern.

On a more nuanced note, upon examining the results in Table 22, we find that around a quarter of the images in the 2017-2019 UK2V (29.2%) and SA2V (21.6%) corpora include images of women who have a head cover on, but either a good portion of their hair or neck is showing (i.e., "less conservative") and thus are technically, according to all Islamic sectors, Wahhabi or

otherwise, are not considered as hijabis (*Figure 49.* below). As we can clearly observe from the results, this type of hijab is similarly represented in both the more current UK and SA news media, both having increased in frequency when compared to the past (UK1V 11.1% to UK2V 29.2%; SA1V 4.2% to SA2V 21.6%), with the most obvious increase being in the local Saudi press. Again, these findings mirror to a large extent current day Saudi women headwear practices in the Saudi society, and which are evidently becoming more relaxed for some.

| UK1V | UK2V | SA1V | SA2V |
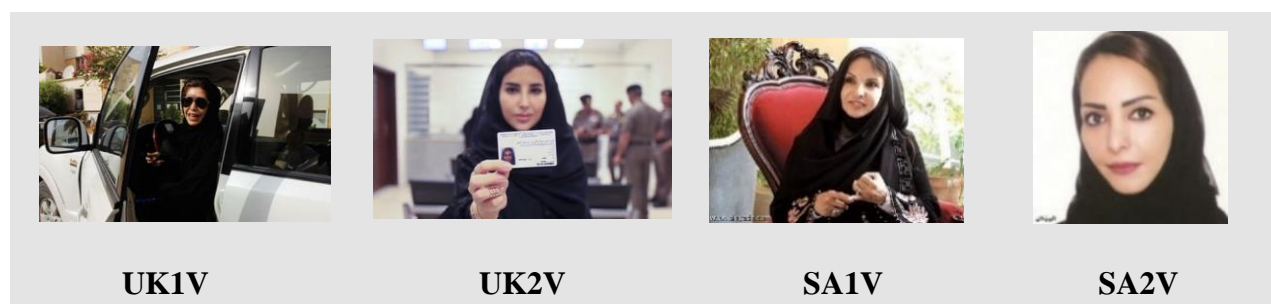
Figure 49. Examples of less conservative Saudi women in the UK and SA corpora

Furthermore, according to the findings in Table 22, we find that, again, the more current UK2V (15%) and SA2V (13.9%) news corpora visually depict Saudi women who wear a proper hijab (i.e., "conservative" by Muslim standards, *Figure 44.*) at almost the same frequency rate. A possible reason why these numbers are roughly half those previously mentioned under "less conservative" could be due to an issue already touched on previously. Following Saudi religious clerics' repeated pronouncements of covering the face being mandatory in Islam (Al-Munjid, n.d.; Ibn Baz, n.d.), and many Saudi women's firm belief in this creed and that there are no other options if they want to be technically hijabis, it could be that many of those who are not convinced of strictly adhering to covering the face will thus "skip" the moderate hijab version (*Figure 44.*), and completely rebel against any other form of hijab (Jewell, 2019) since many have been brought up to believe that there is only one type of Islamically-acceptable, veiled-face hijab.

Regardless of whether some believe that the "conservative" hijab is Islamically valid, anyone who has lived in Saudi Arabia for a few years will be quick to note how rapidly Saudi women, especially the younger generation, are adopting more relaxed attitudes towards covering up. And yet another reason for the low frequencies of proper hijabs in the corpora could simply be due to personal discretions of not wanting to appear on camera since they are true hijabis, practicing genuine Muslim behaviors of not only modesty in dress, but that of character.

| UK1V | UK2V | SA1V | SA2V |
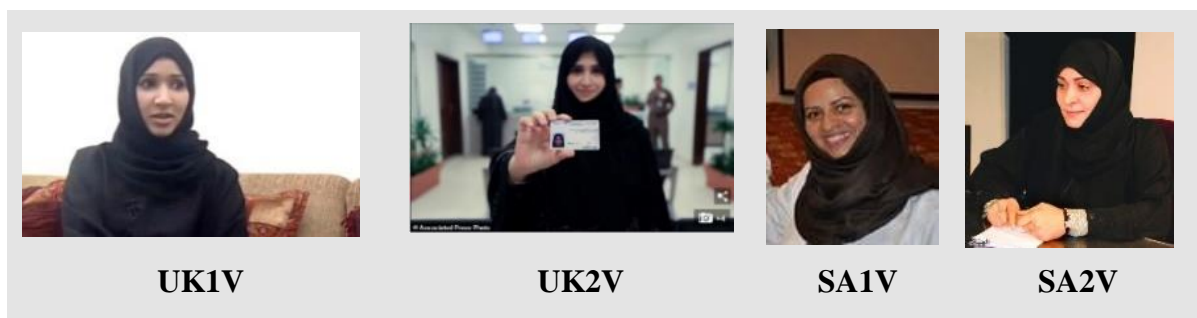
Figure 50. Examples of conservative Saudi women in the UK and SA

Moving on to representations of visual *Individualization* and *Collectivization*, considering that the context of this study is related to women driving which is typically an individualistic act as a woman may go to work, do chores, etc., it is expected that many of the images, especially in the 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora would exhibit individualistic representations of the social actor. To see to what extent this is the case, first, Table 24 below presents an analysis of Saudi women Individualized and Collectivized frequencies in both the UK and SA corpora.

Table 24

Chi-square Comparisons for Saudi Women Individualized and Collectivized in the UK and SA Corpora
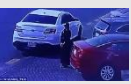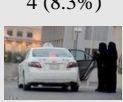
Corpora	Inclusion Images (N=1359)	Individualized	Collectivized	X^2	Sig.
UK1V	99	76 (76.8%)	23 (23.2%)	.333	.564
UK2V	500	370 (74%)	130 (26%)		
SA1V	48	37 (77.1%)	11 (22.9%)	.094	.759
SA2V	711	534 (75.1%)	177 (24.9%)		
UK1V	99	76 (76.8%)	23 (23.2%)	.190	.663
SA1V	48	37 (77.1%)	11 (22.9%)		
UK2V	500	370 (74%)	130 (26%)	190	.663
SA2V	711	534 (75.1%)	177 (24.9%)		

The findings in Table 24 show that: (1) In all UK and SA corpora, individualizing Saudi women occurred almost 3 times as much as representing women in groups (i.e., UK1V 76.8%, UK2V 74%, SA1V 77.1%, and SA2V 75.1%), and this was expected, as discussed before, due to the context of this study focusing on women driving which is often done solo, and (2) more interestingly, there is no evidence of significant statistical differences between all the UK and

149

SA corpora, across time and place, when it comes to how frequently the UK and SA media depict Saudi women as individuals or in groups.

Initially, these findings are informative, but since visual individualization often emphasizes a social actor's identity in an image (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2020), it would be of use to take another closer qualitative look at the photos to understand more fully how Saudi women were individualized or collectivized in both the UK and SA news media. To achieve this, some salient DNVA news values, as outlined in the Research Methodology section, were utilized to investigate the newsworthiness of Saudi women, both individually captured or in groups (Table 25).

Table 25

Newsworthiness of Individualization and Collectivization of Saudi Women in the UK and SA Visual News Corpora with Examples

News Values	UK1V (N=99)		UK2V (N=500)		SA1V (N=48)		SA2V (N=711)	
	Individual	Collective	Individual	Collective	Individual	Collective	Individual	Collective
Eliteness Driving Activists	41 (41.4%)	0	102 (20.4%)	4 (.8%)	0	0	2 (.2%)	0
Unexpectedness Active campaigning for driving	58 (58.6%)	3 (3%)	N/A	N/A	14 (29.1%)	1 (2.1%)	N/A	N/A
Negativity Upset or unhappy face, thief, burnt car	2 (2%)	0	13 (2.6%)	1 (.2%)	3 (6.3%)	0	2 (.3%)	0
Positivity Smiling, thumbs up or victory sign), clapping, etc.	☺ 31 (31.3%) ✌ 4 (4%) ✋ 2 (2%) 37 (**37.3%**)	0	☺ 180 (36%) 👍 9 (1.8%) ✌ 8 (1.6%) ✋ 4 (.8%) 201 (**40.2%**)	☺ 27 (5.4%) 👍 3 (.6%) ✌ 1 (.2%) 31 (**6.2%**)	☺ 8 (**16.7%**)	0	☺ 181 (25.5%) 👍 22 (3.1%) ✌ 1 (.1%) 204 (**28.7%**)	☺ 33 (4.64%) 👍 4 (.56%) ✋ 6 (.84%) 43 (**6%**)
Consonance Homogenization via Assimilation	N/A	19 (19.2%)	N/A	34 (6.8%)	N/A	4 (8.3%)	N/A	39 (5.5%)
Consonance Dependence on male relatives/drivers	6 (6.1%)	11 (11.1%)	6 (1.2%)	5 (1%)	2 (4.2%)	4 (8.3%)	4 (.6%)	7 (1%)

Some of the most frequently utilized news values when it comes to publishing Saudi women as individuals or in groups as observed in Table 25 were:

(1) Eliteness: For famous activists, individualization seems to be favoured, but were only found in the UK1V (41.4%) and UK2V (20.4%) news media for reasons that have already been discussed.

(2) Unexpectedness: Driving and campaigning, within the context of this study, was only considered as rebellious, thus highly unexpected and newsworthy, in the earlier 2011-2013 corpora. And with regards to how these Saudi women were depicted, we find that perhaps due to driving often being a solitary act, Saudi women in both the UK1V (58.6%) and SA1V (29.1%) were mostly individualized in these images.

(3) Negativity: Across all four corpora, there were very few images that presented Saudi women as being sad or upset in any way, but when these images did appear, the women were chiefly individualized.

(4) Positivity: As far as how Saudi women are represented as being happy (i.e., smiling or making hand gestures, such as the thumbs up or the victory sign), we find that again the overall tendency is to depict them individually (UK1V 37.3%, UK2V 40.2%, SA1V 16.7%, and SA2V 28.7%), however, there are quite a few positive images in the SA2V (6%) and UK2V (6.2%) in which Saudi women are photographed clearly joyful in group settings.

(5) Consonance: One other important matter to examine here was to what extent did the UK and SA news media depict Saudi women as homogenized groups who look, and act, similarly. This representation can accurately be measured via more specified types of Collectivization; namely Assimilation, because not every gathering of Saudi women should be perceived in terms of homogenization whereby Saudi women are often photographed in groups, mirroring collectivist society tendencies of "a very strong community" (Cultural Atlas, 2021) that highly values supporting each other as they see this as a sign of loyalty, often reciprocated among friends and family members.

Depictions of homogenization, as Table 25 shows, were most prominently found in the 2011-2013 UK (19.2%) and SA (8.2%) corpora via *Assimilation* of Saudi women. This is also the case with regards to depictions of Saudi women as being dependent on males to get around, which most frequently appeared among collectivized Saudi women in the UK1V (11.1%) and SA1V (8.3%), and which drastically decreased in in 2017-2019 UK (1%) and SA (1%) news corpora. These findings echo past research that found similar evidence that points to image

saliency Saudi women groups waiting for or getting into a taxi while the focus of the articles at that time was protesting for their right to drive (Bashatah, 2017).

Next, an examination of Saudi women's "relational identification [that] represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship, or work relations to each other, and it is realized by a closed set of nouns denoting such relations: "friend," "aunt," "colleague," etc." (van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42), within the context of this study, revealed very few photos in the corpora that exhibited certain relationships, such as two relatives or friends (Photo 10.). But even then, such images could be misleading as these two ladies may just be acquaintances (e.g., Aseel the car racer and a presenter or reporter) and not necessarily relatives or friends, as in the Saudi culture, kissing and hugging is not uncommon even among strangers who have just met.

Photo 10. Two Saudi women who could(not) be related

Visually, such roles cannot be accurately determined 100% and, thus, family relationships and statuses were only assessed textually (Section 5.2.4).

One final important point to investigate, as it relates to visual depictions of identity, is the extent to which Saudi women were represented in the UK and SA news media as social actors co-existing with men in the images. Though in many Saudi families strict segregation of the genders is still practiced, with the increased employment of females in the Saudi workforce in accordance with Vision 2030 (World Bank, 2021), Saudi women interacting with men has become much more commonplace.

As such, within the Saudi context of this study, visuals of such mixed gender interactions would thus be expected to appear more frequently in the 2017-2019 UK and SA news media corpora. Hence, in order to see whether this is truly the case or not in images where women are observed with men, Chi-square tests were conducted (Table 26 below).

Table 26

Chi-square Comparisons of Mixed vs. Women Only Representations in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Total Images (N=1358)	Mixed Genders	Women Only	X^2	Sig.
UK1V	99	9 (8.3%)	90 (91.7%)	.221	.638
UK2V	500	49 (9.8%)	451 (90.2%)		
SA1V	48	5 (10.4%)	43 (89.6%)	.038	.846
SA2V	711	68 (9.6%)	643 (90.4%)		
UK1V	99	9 (8.3%)	90 (91.7%)	.177	.674
SA1V	48	5 (10.4%)	43 (89.6%)		
UK2V	500	49 (9.8%)	451 (90.2%)	.019	.891
SA2V	711	68 (9.6%)	643 (90.4%)		

Before presenting the results, it is important to stress here that these findings are contextualized to Saudi women and issues related to driving, and thus, cannot be said to be representative of UK and SA news media recontextualizations in general. Having reiterated this, overall, we can discern two very clear visual publication patterns when it came to printing images of women and men together in the UK and SA corpora.

First, across all four corpora, women-only images dominate (UK1V 91.7%, UK2V 90.2%, SA1V 89.6%, and SA2V 90.4%). Secondly, there was no significant increase in images that show both genders together in the 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora: SA1V vs. SA2V (X^2 = .221, df = 1, p > .638) and UK1V vs. UK2V (X^2 = .038, df = 1, p > .846), and no significant differences as well were detected in how frequently Saudi women were portrayed as mixing publicly with males between past and current UK and SA news media (UK1V vs. SA1V: X^2 = .177, df = 1, p > .674) and (UK2V vs. SA2V: X^2 = ..019, df = 1, p > .891).

One reason for this overall stability in findings could be due to the fact that since issues related to driving cars is the focus of research, and since driving a car is often a solitary action (as evidenced in Table 26 above), the context of this study perhaps may have encouraged reporters to focus more on just photographing Saudi women.

However, another reason why women were not photographed more often with men could be a result of enduring reservations when it comes to how Saudi women would ideally want to present themselves publicly. Altuwayjri (2018) states that "even though social norms [in Saudi Arabia] around gender segregation are slowly loosening . . . self-revelation and excessive visibility for women is yet to be fully normalised" (p. 42).

Altuwayjri (2018) explains that when Saudi women take photos of themselves or allow others to photograph them to be published publicly online, they are still very vigilant of how they are

photographed and with whom, as they are "policed in terms of how much they reveal and how they behave" (p. 42) by their Islamic/Saudi families and society at large. The author calls this societal pressure put on Saudi women to be visible in a certain way as "the regulatory gaze" (p. 158), which I believe, may be one reason why the findings did not show any significant increase in Saudi women being more frequently portrayed interacting with men in the more current 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora.

5.2 Textual Representations

5.2.1 Agency via Role Allocation

To explore active and passive representations of Saudi women in the corpora under investigation, Saudi women representations were detected by searching for and collecting "woman" collocates pointing to:

(1) Transactive Agents:
Active, dynamic participation via verbs, examples:
UK2T Saudi *women* **take to** the roads after ban lifts
SA2T [ان *المرأة* السعودية **ستسهم** في تنمية الوطن]Saudi *women* will **contribute** to advancing their society]

Premodification, examples:
UK2T Outspoken Saudi *women* and the men who supported them had called for…
SA2T N/A "Arabic adjectives always follow the noun they modify" (languageguide.org)

Postmodification, examples:
UK2T The issue of *women* **driving** has long been a contentious one
SA2T [كونها/امرأة **عاملة** و اصبحت اكثر مسؤلية]as she's a *woman* **working** and has more responsibilities]

Possessivation, examples:
UK2T The economy will improve by increasing *women's* **participation** in the workforce
SA2T [زيادة **مشاركة** *المراة* في اماكن العمل] An increase in *women* **participation** in the workplace]

(2) Beneficialized Agents
Beneficialization via verbs, examples:
UK2T The kingdom has incrementally **granted** *women* more rights and visibility
SA2T [بريطانيا ترحب بقرار المملكة **تمكين** *المراة* من قيادة المركبة] The UK welcomes the Kingdom's decision to empower women by allowing them to drive a vehicle]

(3) Intransactive/Passive Patients
Subjected via verbs, examples:
UK1T Authorities have previously **detained** *women* for defying the rule
UK2T [**منع** *المراة* من القيادة تضييق عليها] **Preventing** *women* from driving restricts them]

Subjected via prepositional phrases with "against", examples:
UK2T … called for an end to other practices that discriminate **against** *women*
SA2T [… مما ولد العنف **ضد** *المراة*] … which generated violence **against** *women*]

All "women" collocates that indicated some type of (non-)action were grouped into the most salient role allocation patterns, a summary of which is presented in Table 27.

Table 27

Overall Saudi Women Role Allocation Frequencies and Percentages

Role Allocation Collocates (N=6239)	Activated	Beneficialized	Passivized
UK1T (N=553)	246 (44.5%)	40 (7.2%)	267 (48.3%)
UK2T (N=920)	388 (42.2%)	361 (39.2%)	171 (15.6%)
SA1T (N=1076)	495 (46%)	132 (12.3%)	449 (41.7%)
SA2T (N=3690)	2082 (56.4%)	1562 (42.3%)	46 (1.3%)

Next, each type of role allocation was examined: activation (Table 28, pp. 153), beneficialization (Table 29, pp. 160), and passivation (Table 30, pp. 163), the findings of which are presented and discussed in detail below:

5.2.1.1 Activation

Table 28

Frequency and LogDice Activation Collocates for Saudi Women

UK1T Transactive Agents (N=246, 44.5%)			UK2T Transactive Agents (N=388, 42.2%)					
Driving (N=159 – 64.6%)			**Driving (N=139 –35.7%)**					
drive	118	12.2	drive	75	12.2	take *to the road*	32	9.8
get *behind the wheel*	22	10.0	driving	22	12.2			
take *to the road*	19	9.7	drive	10	10.1			
Driving/Protesting-Related (N=68 – 27.7%)			**Driving/Protesting-Related (N=184 – 47.3%)**					
defy	19	9.7	able	6	11.7	celebrate	9	8.0
post	13	9.2	movement	11	9.7	apply	7	7.7
start	7	8.3	ability	9	9.4	celebrate	6	7.7
go	7	8.3	get	21	9.2	film	6	7.5
launch	6	8.1	progress	8	9.2	walk	6	7.5
face	6	8.1	mobility	8	9.2	pioneer	5	7.5
join	5	7.9	advocate	7	9.0	campaign	6	7.4
show	5	7.8	face	17	8.9	go	6	7.4
			causes	5	8.6	participate	5	7.2
			start	11	8.3	flee	5	7.2
			want	10	8.2	leave	5	7.2
						join	5	7.2
Speaking/Presenting (N=19 – 7.7%)			**Speaking/Presenting (N=17 – 4.3%)**					
Say	19	9.9	voice	7	9.0	say	10	7.7
Working Outside the House (N=0 – 0%)			**Working Outside the House (N=48 – 12.7%)**					
NA			study	9	9.4	empowerment	6	8.8
			participation	8	9.2	work	8	7.9
			employment	6	8.8	educate	6	7.7
						seek	5	7.5

SA1T Transactive Agents (N=495, 46%)			SA2T Transactive Agents (N=2082, 56.4%)					
Driving (N=387 – 78.2%)			**Driving (N=1231 – 59.1%)**					
قيادة driving	1	11.5	قيادة driving	698	11.0			
قدن drive	28	10.3	قيادة drive	326	9.9			
تقود drive	72	9.7	نركب rides	7	9.9			
تقود drive	64	9.5	يقدن drive	29	9.8			
قيادة driving	134	9.2	تقود drives	69	9.7			
القيادة driving	53	8.7	القيادة drives	49	8.8			
ركوب riding	5	8.2	تقود drives	39	8.6			
قادت drive	7	8.0	مقود behind the wheel	5	8.0			
سياقة driving	11	7.9	سياقة driving	9	7.2			
يقود drive	7	7.8						
تقد drive	5	7.2						
Working Outside the House (N=66 – 13.3%)			**Working Outside the House (N=581 – 27.9%)**					
الاعمال working	7	10.3	عاملة working	9	10.4	تسهم contributes	12	7.5
العاملة working	12	9.5	يعملن work	5	9.8	مشاركة participating	10	7.5
الرياضة exercise	5	8.8	العاملة working	38	9.6	قادرة able	9	7.5
تعمل work	9	8.3	العاملات working	8	9.5	دخول enters	9	7.4
مشاركة participate	12	7.4	تسهم contributes	9	8.4	توفر saves	7	7.4
التعليم education	9	7.4	العمل work	95	8.3	اثبتت proved	8	7.3
ممارسة exercises	12	7.3	تحمل bearing	6	8.3	تثبت proves	6	7.3
			دور role	61	8.0	تساعد helps	5	7.3
			اثبتت proved	11	8.0	تعمل works	9	7.2
			تشارك participates	6	7.9	يمكن(ها) enables	8	7.2
			تحقق achieves	7	7.8	تستطيع has the ability	6	7.2
			القيادية leading	61	7.6	المساهمة participating	6	7.2
			مشاركة participating	50	7.6	تمارس exercises	6	7.2
			حققت achieved	11	7.6	رغبة wants	5	7.2
			عمل work	50	7.5	اصبحت become	7	7.0
			دخول entering	34	7.5	تشارك she participates	7	7.0
Driving/Protesting-Related (N=42 – 8.5%)			**Driving/Protesting-Related (N=221 – 10.6%)**					
يمارس exercise	5	10.6	الراغبات want	29	10.3	تمارس to exercise	7	7.9
تطالب demand	7	8.6	يحملن hold	17	10.0	اقبالا turn out	6	7.9
تمارس exercise	7	8.3	حصلن got	7	10.0	تدفع pays	6	7.8
تخرج go	6	8.2	اقبال approach	5	9.9	يحول transforms	8	7.7
مطالبة demand	5	8.2	تمتلك owns	8	9.6	التدريبية training	7	7.6
ممارسة exercising	12	7.3	تحمل holds	12	8.6	استخدام use	10	7.6
			تدريبية training	8	8.6	تقضي eliminates	7	7.5
			الحاصلات holding	14	8.2	قادرة is able	9	7.5
			حق right	50	7.8	تشمل includes	5	7.2
						تستطيع is able	6	7.2
Speaking/Presenting (N=0 – 0%)			**Speaking/Presenting (N=49 – 2.4%)**					
NA			قالت she said	18	7.8			
			اضافت she added	12	7.3			
			اوضحت she clarified	5	7.3			
			اوضحت she clarified	7	7.0			
			اكدت she confirmed	7	7.0			

An overview of Table 28 reveals that, quantitatively, both the 2011-2013 UK1T and SA1T news media represented Saudi women quite similarly textually in terms of active agency (UK1T 44.5%; UK2T 42.2%; SA1T 46%) with only a notable frequency increase in the more current 2017-2019 SA press (56.4%). Going over these general quantitative findings is an initial good step as they do give some indication of shifts in agency representation but stating that the increase in Saudi women activation over time is absolutely a positive result cannot be made so hastily. In fact, the qualitative examination revealed underlying discrepancies in how the UK and SA news media activated Saudi women via salient patterns of role allocation.

To begin with, Saudi women were most frequently represented in terms of driving a car in three corpora: SA1T (78.2%), UK1T (64.6%), SA2T (59.1%), followed by carrying out acts related to driving and/or protesting against the driving ban (UK1T 27.7%, UK2T 47.3%, SA1T 8.5%, SA2T 10.6%), with a markedly higher frequency in the UK news media, especially in the UK2T (47.3%). And upon examining these actions, Table 28 shows that the UK1T media repeatedly reported on the various ways Saudi women were protesting against the driving ban, which not only continued, but also surprisingly increased in the UK2T at a time when Saudi women were not protesting anything as the driving ban had already been lifted.

First, looking at the UK1T, we find foregrounding of Saudi women driving in *defiance* (19, 9.7) of the ban, *starting* (7, 8.3) *or launching* (6, 8.1) a Facebook campaign, and *posting* (13, 9.2) videos of themselves on social media that *show* (5, 7.8) how they are *going* out (7, 8.3) and *joining* (5, 7.9) other women driving with the goal of getting the driving ban lifted. By comparison, the SA1T reveals only two similar collocates that point to Saudi women taking action in protests to get the ban lifted which are the words مطالبة [*demand*] (5, 8.2) and تطالب [*demands*] (7, 8.6) - a verbal, as opposed to a physical, action which when compared to the collocates in the UK1T, is a slightly milder form of trying to attain an important right.

The lack of collocates relating to public demonstrations is expected in the SA1T as "inciting people against the authorities" (Amnesty International UK, 2020, p. 1) is considered as disruptive behavior which is punishable by law (Saudi Press Agency, 2011). For this reason, the SA news agencies might have minimised representations of women as actively involved in protests. As such, one could argue here that the SA1T news corpus moderated Saudi women agency to a large degree when it came to being represented as a social actor capable of making a change – not an unusual practice as Saudi newspapers are heavily censored.

Al-Otaibi (2016), whose research focused on interviewing 13 editors of 6 Saudi online newspapers, stated that "publication on 'sensitive issues', such as security and cultural ones, may lead to blocks on the paper" (p. 182). In the UK, however, there was repeated reporting by the UK1T press on how Saudi women were acting out in *defiance* (19, 9.7), which is the 2nd highest frequency token after the lemma *drive*, and which a lemma search via the Concordance tool revealed 96 mentions in reference to the activists - Examples:

When Saudi activist Wajeha al-Huwaidar	**defied**	a ban on women drivers to get behind the wheel of a car in 2008, she was sure
e. </s><s> On 26 October a campaign to	**defy**	the ban will culminate in a protest drive, with plans for thousands of women to ta
Saudi Arabian women risk arrest as they	**defy**	ban on driving: Women in Saudi Arabia have been arrested and jailed for defying
nts." </s><s> Saudi woman arrested after	**defying**	driving ban: Saudi authorities detained a female activist who uploaded a video o
rif - posted on YouTube a video of herself	**defying**	the ban. </s><s> She was arrested, kept in jail for five days, to which a 10-day e
</s><s> Four women successfully drove,	**defying**	the ban, despite warnings from police officers and ultraconservatives in the Arab
a Jastaina, in her 30s, was found guilty of	**defying**	the ultra-conservative Muslim nation's ban on female motorists. </s><s> It is the

Building up this "defiant" tension between Saudi women and the government does not reflect what was happening on the ground. Though the act of defiance sends a message that Saudi women protesting against the ban are strong, capable women of fighting for their rights, for Saudi women, it was not about "defying" government officials and laws, and UK journalists were well aware of this. When examining the collocate *say* (15, 9.9) in the UK1T, it was explicitly stated that:

</s><s> On its Facebook page, the group **says** women joining the campaign should not challenge authorities

In effect, the activists who launched the driving campaign on Facebook told other women joining the campaign that they "should not challenge authorities" in an attempt to protect them from being arrested. Those women who went out and drove around in the June 2011 and October 2013 protests did so boldly, yet peacefully (Al-Sharif, 2017). Manal made sure that they "could not be called a 'protest,' I wanted women to drive by themselves, not in groups" (p. 189) - diplomatic sentiments none of which are foregrounded in the UK1T news corpus. This was very important to Manal since as soon as she started posting about the driving campaign on Facebook, the posts started receiving severe critiques accusing them of wanting to "destroy Saudi society . . . [and] family life." (p. 189) as well as condemning them for being "loose, sexually compromised . . . [and] betraying Islam" (Al-Sharif, 2017, pp. 189-190).

This begs the question of why, then, the UK1T frequently associated Saudi women who joined the driving campaign with governmental defiance while acknowledging, as the example above shows, that the demonstration was a peaceful request for the right to drive? Representing Saudi

women activists as "defiant" social actors in the UK media may have been perpetuated to stir up emotions, echoing previous misrepresentations highlighting how some Saudi women are unruly (Falah, 2005), but also simultaneously insinuating that the remaining majority of women are subjugated, "subservient" (Bashatah, 2017, p. 153) social actors who are in need of liberation (Albalawi, 2016; Alharbi, 2015; Dahlan, 2011; Mishra, 2007). Moreover, the UK press, in general, as found by Wasterlain (2020), often depicts feminists/female activists as potential extremist and radicals, and thus, foregrounding this perspective of Saudi women activists may also be due to this long-standing association. At the same time, depicting the driving campaign as a protest may "serve to delegitimise Western feminist demands: See how good you have it compared to those poor Saudi women!" (V. Koller, personal communication - comment in conference discussion, July, 2021).

Another rationale could simply be due to how certain actions are perceived differently in distinct cultures. So, whereas Saudi women going out asking for their right to drive was not technically considered a demonstration in SA as it was only a call for supporting women in their aim for their basic right to drive and mobility within society, any type of resistance according to people living in the UK seems to be perceived as a form of protesting. Al-Sharif (2017) states that while she was filming her first video of driving in SA on 17 June 2011, she "concentrated on speaking calmly and smiling continuously" (Al-Sharif, 2017, p. 190) making no effort to hide her face which she felt lent legitimacy to what she was doing, and she ended the video by saying "We are your sisters, your mothers, your daughters. We expect your *support*, and now we're giving you the chance to show it." (p. 190). Genuine support for driving, not an uproar, was the objective.

Further discrepancies were also detected in the UK2T as reporting on Saudi women gaining the right to drive could have been a chance to bring to the forefront how Saudi women are increasingly gaining more rights in SA society. Instead, Table 28 shows that the UK2T news continued to centre on how a number of *participating* (5, 7.2) Saudi women activists and campaigners were being mistreated and penalised and apprehended for *filming* (6, 7.5) themselves while driving before the ban was lifted , whose mobility was curbed, and who still *face* (17, 8.9) oppression, barriers, backlash, etc. resulting in some women *fleeing* (5, 7.2) or *leaving* (5, 7.2) their abusive environments, as exemplified in the following lines:

	The paper said the activists could potentially	**face**	the death penalty. `</s><s>` Saudi Arabia's King Salman issued a royal
	ing the Ritz Carlton: Saudi police penalised a woman	**filmed**	driving a car, a spokesman said Monday. `</s><s>` Authorities briefly de
	defend human rights activists since others have either	**fled**	or been detained. `</s><s>` HESSAH AL-SHEIKH A longtime women's
	know this is not the case with most women, and many	**leave**	Saudi Arabia only to hop into a car the first chance they get and speed
	`</s><s>` Among the detainees were three women who	**participated**	in the 1990 protest. `</s><s>` They have since been released, but other

Very few collocates in the UK2T in comparison pointed to the more current on-ground status of Saudi women at large who are enjoying more autonomy as they are *taking* (32, 9.8) to the road doing victory laps in their cars and taking on more jobs, *getting* (21, 9.2) a taste of the open road, *going* (10, 8.2) in and out of cars, *applying* (7, 7.7) for licences and driving lessons, and *walking* (6, 7.5) through car exhibits. This divergence becomes even more obvious when examining the driving-related activities in the SA2T, the majority of which mirror what was actually taking place regularly when the driving ban was lifted. Examples include قادرة [*capable*] (9, 7.5) Saudi women حصلن [*getting*] (7, 10.0), اقبالا, اقبال [*applying for*] (5, 9.9), (6, 7.9) or تحمل, يحملن [*have*] (17, 10.0), (12, 8.6) or تمتلك [*own*] (8, 9.6), driver licences, cars or are التدريبية [*training*] (7, 7.6) and استخدام [*using*] (10, 7.6) auto service centres.

Again, just as was found in the UK1T and SA1T, the manner in which Saudi women are depicted in the more current 2017-2019 UK and SA news media are very different. SA2T news media seems to have only foregrounded Saudi women as capable members of society going out and taking part in topic-related activities with no mention of past inequalities, whereas such perspectives are put forth repeatedly in the UK2T press, reminding UK news consumers of how poorly Saudi women are treated in their own country. In effect, the findings show a perpetuation of imbalanced representations by both the UK and SA media driven by their own goals and agendas.

Two other distinctive active role allocation patterns in the UK and SA corpora emerged:

(1) Saudi women were depicted as social actors who were ready to express their opinions via lemmas such as *say, add, clarify, confirm* in the UK1T (5.1%), UK2T (1.7%), and SA2T (2.7%), as demonstrated in the lines from the UK2T corpus below:

	an a day after the royal decree was issued, Saudi	**women**	**said**	the shock was still being absorbed across the
	`</s><s>` In a Jeddah coffee shop, two other Saudi	**women**	**said**	they too were excited at the change, but reluc
	rush to drive themselves. `</s><s>` In many cases,	**women**	**say**	they'll wait before rushing to drive to see how

Such activation was not detected in the SA1T, possibly maintaining agendas of social stability by silencing the activists and possibly conveying an implicit warning to any other Saudi woman thinking of joining them. However, in the more current SA2T, we find that not only were Saudi women repeatedly given the chance to comment in the news articles, but in most cases, these women were quoted using their names – unlike in the UK2T media where names appeared notably less, perhaps pointing to homogenisation of Saudi women (a detailed discussion of Saudi women *Nomination* is presented under *Functionalization*), and as illustrated in the following examples:

، تحقيق الحلم الذي طال انتظاره ه . <s/><s> و **قالت** **السيدة** دلال ك عكي و التي تعلمت القيادة في عمر الثامنة
قبل الوطن . <s/><s> من جانب ها **قالت**رئيسة لجنة **السيدات** ب غرفة الرياض ابتسام الباحوث ان المملكة تسير ة
Achieving the long-awaited dream </s><s> and businesswoman Dalal Kaaki who learned how to drive when she was 18 years old said
On the one hand, the head of the women's committee in the Riyadh Chamber Ibtisam Albahooth said that the Kingdom is moving

(2) Saudi women in the SA1T (13.3%) and SA2T (27.9%) are activated as working, productive members of society more frequently when compared to the UK1T (0%) and UK2T (12.7%), but general a rise of such representation is also visible over time in both the SA and UK news media. Examples demonstrating how Saudi women are depicted in the SA1T as *Transactive Agents* in ways not relating to driving are underlined in the concordance lines below, literally translated as: (1) [brain and nerve surgeon], (2) [sells in a private store in a public market], (3) [medical centre receptionist], (4) [cashier at malls], (5) [businesswomen, academics, and activists], (6) [Shura (Consultative Council) members], and (7) [working women]:

1 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ الم , التي لا تقود في ها المراة سيارة ها , و لكن ها **تعمل** في جراحة المخ و الاعصاب , و تعالج الخلل و تصل
2 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ عدم الشكوى او ذكر ذلك .. <s/><s> و لكن عند ما **تعمل** بائعة في سوق عام في محل خاص ب ها محترم ه
3 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ ف واضحكت الغير علي نا) حيث ان المراة عند ما **تعمل** في استقبال المراكز الطبية او المستوصفات او اله
4 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ جز المواعيد و الغائ ها الخ .. <s/><s> لكن عند ما **تعمل** محاسبة في الاسواق العامة المركزية تقوم قائمة ال
5 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ الحقوق الاهم , ف ان اربع عشرة سيدة من سيدات **الاعمال** و الاكاديميات و الحقوقيات قمن ب تقديم خطاب
6 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ و المجلس السابق محمد ال زلفة , ثلاث من نسوة **الشورى** المخمليات لم يسترخين انتشاء ب بريق المنصب
7 ☐ doc#0 ⓘ ، ه , نظرا ل تكلفة السائق الباهظة على دخل المراة **العاملة** , و هذه التكلفة يجب ان تاخذ ب عين الاعتبار اليو

Frequency discrepancies found among the UK and SA news media could be due to similar arguments discussed above in relation to comparable observations found in the UK and SA visual corpora, relating to either (1) restricting Saudi women to certain roles, here primarily being either an activist or a docile "Other" who is chiefly perceived as a victim, or (2) the UK

news media's focus on only women within the driving context. Regardless, the end result is that the UK news consumer gets little insight into the multi-faceted agency of Saudi woman in the Saudi society.

5.2.1.2 Beneficialization

Saudi women were beneficialized textually more saliently in the current 2017-2019 UK and SA news corpora, as presented in Table 29:

Table 29

Frequency and LogDice Beneficialization Collocates for Saudi Women

UK1T *Beneficialized Agent* (N=40, 7.2%)		
give	11	9.3
urge	10	9.2
grant	7	8.8
encourage	6	8.5
include	6	8.5

UK2T *Beneficialized Agent* (N=361, 39.2%)					
allow	234	12.6	get	8	8.0
give	21	9.4	encourage	7	7.9
include	16	9.0	let	7	7.9
grant	10	8.4	encourage	7	7.9
make	11	8.3	place	6	7.7
permit	8	8.1	expect	6	7.7
need	9	8.0	issue	6	7.6
			receive	5	7.2

SA1T *Beneficialized Agent* (N=132, 12.3%)		
تعليم educating	68	10.4
اصبحت become	11	8.5
تمكين enabling	17	8.2
اصبح become	9	8.1
منح grant	7	7.6
اعطاء give	6	7.4
تصبح become	7	7.3
اصبح become	7	7.1

SA2T *Beneficialized Agent* (N=1562, 42.3%)					
السماح allowing	479	10.6	تعيش lives	8	7.9
تشجع encouraged	5	10.5	تخدم serves	9	7.8
العناية taking care	6	10.4	تتمتع enjoys	7	7.8
موجهة geared towards	8	9.9	متنوعة varied	5	7.8
يسمح are allowed	37	9.7	اصبحت become	16	7.7
تتناسب suitable	5	9.4	يعزز enhances	13	7.7
تعليم are taught	164	9.3	يحول transforms	8	7.7
توظيف employed	24	9.3	التعليم offered education	9	7.6
تعيين appointed	7	9.3	تقدم provides	9	7.6
تمكين empowering	142	9.2	ايجابية positive *step*	7	7.6
تستهدف targeted	7	8.9	يمنح grants	5	7.6
اهتمام taken care of	5	8.9	يفتح will open	6	7.5
تعريف educate	10	8.7	متخصصة specialized for	6	7.5
تساعد will help	10	8.6	سمح allowed	12	7.4
مخصصة specialized for	8	8.5	صيانة safeguard	11	7.4
يمكن enables	30	8.4	صيانة preserving	7	7.4
تمكين empowering	19	8.4	توعوية awareness raising	6	7.4
امنة safe environment	9	8.4	حق right	51	7.3
تصبح she becomes	7	8.4	خدمة serving	30	7.3
تتمكن will be able	6	8.4	تحمي protect	7	7.3
جديدة new *step*	18	8.3	وظيفية offered a job	5	7.3
جاء came	17	8.3	تمثل represents	5	7.3
تخص specialized for	8	8.3	التعاقد contract	5	7.3
رعاية take care	6	8.3	دعم supporting	41	7.2
تدريب training	50	8.2	تعزيز enhancing	33	7.2
منح grant	19	8.2	مكنت enabled	8	7.2
الحاصلات acquired	14	8.2	منحت granted	6	7.2
امكان able	10	8.1	الامنية security	6	7.2
تسمح allows	9	8.1	الامنة safe	6	7.2
تعيش lives out	7	8.1	المناسبة suitable	5	7.2
الوظيفية offered employment	5	8.1	سمحت allowed	7	7.0
استقبال receive	24	8.0	تدعم supports	7	7.0
الاباحة permitting	11	7.9	الفرصة التعليمية offered educational opportunities	5	7.1
			تستحق deserves	5	7.0

One of the most obvious diachronic representation shifts in both the UK and SA news media, as clearly observed in *Figure 51.* below, is a change from Saudi women being depicted as being subjected to injustices in 2011-2013 – as discussed later in Section 5.2.3 (UK1T 7.2%; SA1T 12.3%), to being given more rights and freedoms in the 2017-2019 news media (UK2T 39.2%; SA2T 42.3%) within the context of this study. And this boost in Saudi women enablement is most prominently noticed in the SA2T.
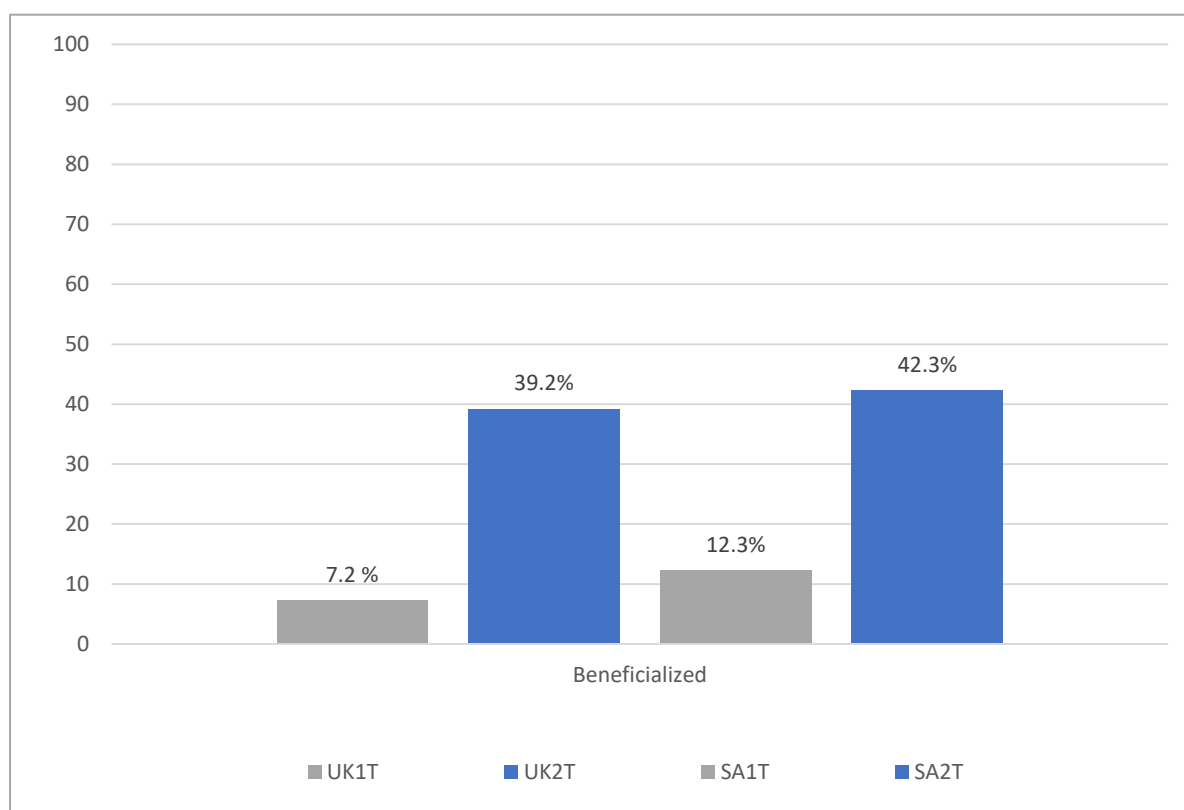
Figure 51. Saudi women beneficialized role allocation patterns

In both the UK2T and SA2T news media, we find that Saudi women were being ***allowed*** to drive (UK 234, 12.6; SA 479, 10.6), and other similar collocates relating to driving were detected in both corpora such as ***grant***, ***give***, ***permit***, ***let***, ***encourage***, and ***enable***. Other non-driving related collocates in the UK2T included women becoming more ***educated*** (6, 7.7) and ***placed*** (6, 7.7) "at the centre of a major transformation" (McKernan, 2018, p. 1). However, looking at Table 29, we find that the SA2T depicted Saudi women as being beneficialized in a variety of other ways such as being ***supported*** (41, 7.2), ***empowered*** (142, 9.2), and ***taken care of*** (11, 9.6) which could be interpreted as quite paternalistic, possibly implying that Saudi women were in need of help, which they did, when it came to learning how to drive and possible backlash that initial female drivers feared (McKernan, 2018).

In relation to learning how to drive, the SA2T foregrounded the encouragement of women by pointing to workshops and events that were varied and certified, and set up *targeting* (7, 8.9) women drivers and were *specialized for* (8, 8.3) those who wanted to learn how to drive, and women were *educated* (10, 8.7), *taught* (7, 8.9), *trained* (50, 8.2), and *welcomed* (24, 8) in car exhibits and at auto maintenance centres that *serve* (30, 7.37) their driving needs that are all within *suitable* (5, 9.4; 5, 7.2) and *safe* (6, 7.2) environments. In other professional arenas, being able to drive encouraged more women to go out and work, thus were increasingly *appointed* (7, 9.3) and *employed* (24, 9.3).

Indeed, Saudi women are reported in the SA2T as being given more rights and as encouraged to become productive members of society; the driving ban lift was reported as the start of a significant historical emancipating shift, and this in part is reflected by the 142 *empowered* collocates found in the SA2T (examples below), but which was notably downplayed in the UK2T (*empowerment* - 6, 8.8). So, it seems that in the UK, empowerment is represented as protesting, but in the SA press as an opportunity to participate more in society.

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، , و هو حق انساني و ليس رفاهية ". امر سام ب**تمكين** **المراة** من استخراج رخصة قيادة ل المركبات : صدر امر سام اليوم فيما يلي

رجالا و نساء , حيث يصب هذا القرار في دعم و **تمكين** **المراة** السعودية و منح ها فرصة اكبر ل المشاركة الفاعلة في تنمية المملكة

ت ذات ه من العلماء , و يعلم ان هذا القرار هو **تمكين**ل **المراة** في حقوق ها الشرعية , لافتا الى ان الامر السامي نص على امن و سا

and it is a person's right not a luxury. The royal decree of empowering women to issue driving licences: The royal decree was issued today

men and women, as this decree supports Saudi women and their empowerment, granting her a bigger opportunity to become an active participant in the Kingdom's development

scholars, and he is aware that this decree empowers women to receive their legal rights, pointing to that the royal decree stipulates the security

</div>

The general upsurge in Saudi women being represented as social actors who have benefited from government support in both 2017-2019 UK2T and SA2T news media is a very positive and welcome change in representation as it mirrors evolving societal rights and agency granted to Saudi women. This also aligns with the censorship and governmental agendas as they need to present the SA government in a positive light.

5.2.1.3 Passivation

Moving on to how Saudi women were passivized textually in the four UK and SA news corpora, two salient passivation patterns emerged. Both themes and related collocates are presented in Table 30 below:

Table 30

Frequency and LogDice Passive Collocates for Saudi Women

UK1T *Intransactive Agents* or *Passive Patients* (N=267, 48.3%)			**UK2T** *Intransactive Agents* or *Passive Patients* (N=171, 15.6%)		
Authoritative Subjugation (N=221, 82.8%)			**Authoritative Subjugation (N=106, 61.9%)**		
allow	75	12.0	require	19	9.3
ban	46	11.4	arrest	19	9.2
arrest	25	10.5	bar	15	9.0
stop	14	9.7	detain	13	8.7
bar	13	9.6	forbid	11	8.6
sentence	12	9.5	prohibit	7	7.9
forbid	11	9.4	sentence	6	7.7
deny	9	9.1	prevent	6	7.7
prohibit	8	9.0	warn	5	7.5
detain	8	8.9	hold	5	7.4
Social Subjugation (N=38, 14.2%)			**Social Subjugation (N=42, 24.6%)**		
against	13	9.2	repression	10	9.5
kill	7	8.8	fear	11	8.3
tell	7	8.7	remain	11	8.3
treat	6	8.5	keep	5	7.5
need	5	7.9	lack	5	7.2
Impersonalization (N=8, 3%)			**Impersonalization (N=23, 13.5%)**		
ovary	8	10.8	ovary	16	10.2
			brain	7	9.0

SA1T *Intransactive Agents* or *Passive Patients* (N=449, 41.7%)			**SA2T** *Intransactive Agents* or *Passive Patients* (N=46, 1.3%)		
Authoritative Subjugation (N=290, 64.6%)			**Authoritative Subjugation (N=6, 13%)**		
arrested القبض	5	9.2	detainment ايقاف	6	9.7
allowing السماح	108	9.0			
prohibit يمنع	24	9.0			
allow نسمح	6	9.0			
detained ضبط	6	9.0			
prohibiting منع	51	8.5			
prohibited منع	5	8.5			
allow يسمح	15	8.3			
prohibit تمنع	11	8.0			
forbid يحرم	7	7.9			
permit سمحت	6	7.4			
forbid تحرم	6	7.2			
agree يوافقون	5	7.2			
oppose يعارض	5	7.2			
forbidding تحرم	19	7.1			
allow سمح	6	7.1			
deprive حرمان	5	7.1			
Social Subjugation (N=134, 29.8%)			**Social Subjugation (N=40, 87%)**		
suffering معاناة	9	8.6	she faces تواجه	18	8.2
harassment التحرش	14	8.2	she suffers تعاني	5	8.2
opponents المعارضين	10	8.1	prohibits تمنع	8	8.0
against ضد	30	7.8	needs تحتاج	9	7.3
suffering معاناة	9	7.8			
needs تحتاج	6	7.8			
live تعيش	6	7.8			
live تعيش	5	7.6			
affect تؤثر	5	7.6			
needs تحتاج	7	7.4			
accept تقبل	7	7.4			
oppose يعارضون	5	7.2			
affect تؤثر	5	7.1			
remains تظل	5	7.1			
need حاجة	11	7.0			
Impersonalization (N=25, 5.6%)			**Impersonalization (N=0, 0%)**		
ovaries مبايض	12	9.4	NA		
ovaries مبايض	13	8.9			

An overview of Table 30 quickly reveals that there was a general decline in representing Saudi women as passive agents (UK1T 48.3% to UK2T 15.6% and SA1T 41.7% to SA2T 1.3%) which no doubt is an encouraging finding. There were also major shifts in types of passivation over time, and which are distinctly illustrated in *Figure 52*.
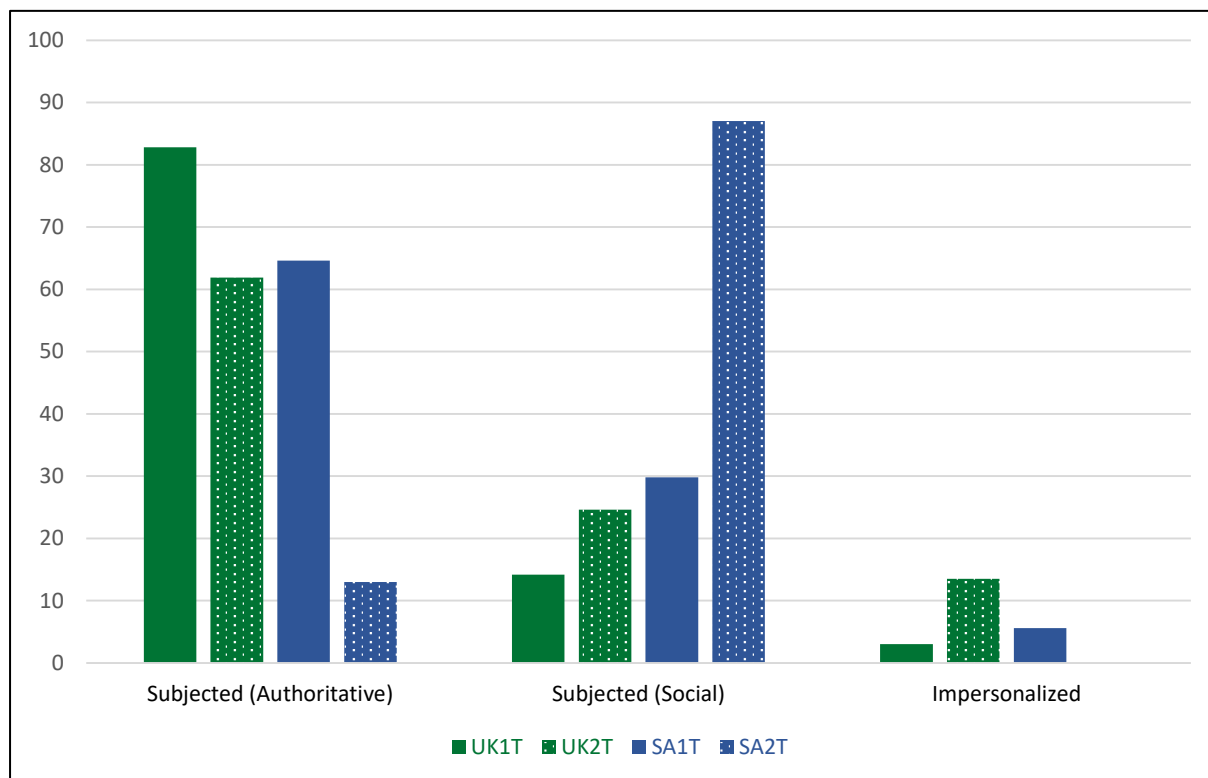
Figure 52. Saudi women passivation patterns

Figure 52. clearly shows that, in general, the frequency of Saudi women representations of being subjected to legal actions taken against them decreased considerably over time in the UK press (82.8% to 61.9%) and even more so SA news media (64.6% to 13%). In the following, the three manners in which Saudi women were passivized are discussed.

(1) Passivized Representations of Saudi Women via Authoritative Subjugation

An examination of the collocates reveals a high degree of similarity in the types of subjected collocates used in the UK1T, UK2T, and SA1T. The only exception is the SA2T corpus in which only one token referring to being ايقاف *detained* (6, 9.7) was detected. The almost complete absence of subjugating collocates associated with Saudi women shows that the more current SA new media's agenda is an attempt to focus more on present changes and future advancements rather than highlighting past challenges. Another reason, however, could be due to issues relating to censorship, as previously discussed, as "not to antagonize the authorities

when publishing news about what are regarded as 'sensitive' issues" (Al-Otaibi, 2016, p. 180), thus resulting in SA media obscuring this dimension.

As for the three other corpora (UK1T, UK2T, and SA1T), there were recurrent references to being **banned**, **barred**, **prohibited**, **denied**, and **forbidden** to drive. Not being **allowed** to drive is foregrounded most frequently in both the UK1T (75, 12.0) and SA1T (108, 9.0) news corpora. And collocates relating to activists being taken into custody are also salient in both the UK1T and SA1T corpora, possibly as a way to deter other women, and noticeably more in the present UK2T news media (61.9%) when compared to the more current SA2T news media (13%). Examples include Saudi women being **arrested**, **stopped**, and **detained**.

One final striking pattern that was observed in the UK1T (12, 9.5) and UK2T (6, 7.7), but not in the SA news media, was that of Saudi women activists foregrounded as being **sentenced** to 10 lashes.

Examples from the UK1T:

	woman	
ged or fined for flouting rules. \</s>\<s> In 2011 a	**woman**	was **sentenced** to ten lashes for driving, though
d their jobs. \</s>\<s> More than 20 years later, a	**woman**	was **sentenced** in 2011 to 10 lashes for driving,
t the height of the Arab Spring protests, a Saudi	**woman**	was **sentenced** to 10 lashes for driving, although

Examples from the UK2T:

	woman	
er to 10 lashes: A Saudi court has **sentenced** a	**woman**	to 10 lashes for challenging a ban on women dri
s>\<s> Just two days after the announcement, a	**woman**	was **sentenced** to 10 lashes for driving in public
iving a car without permission. \</s>\<s> A Saudi	**woman**	**sentenced** to be lashed 10 times for defying the
ups have claimed that a decision to **sentence** a	**woman**	to 10 lashes for driving her car was payback by t
r a court. \</s>\<s> Saudi king grants reprieve for	**woman**	**sentenced** to 10 lashes for driving: A Saudi won
to 10 lashings after King Abdullah intervenes: A	**WOMAN**	who was **sentenced** to 10 lashes with a whip for

Ever since corporal whipping in prisons was abolished in the UK in 1967 ([Britannica](), 2016), such public persecution, shaming, and executions have been considered as a practice of the past associated with the Middle ages or totalitarian regimes and underdeveloped legal systems – thus making this incident newsworthy for its *Negativity* and *Unexpectedness*, while simultaneously satisfying one of the most important news values as found by O'Neill and Harcup (2019) – that of supporting news organization agendas, possibly as a way to represent SA and its legal system as outdated. This is understandable as only until very recently public flogging in SA (as a form of punishment performed according to Wahhabi interpretations of

religious scripts) was abolished in April 2020 ([BBC](), 2020). Nonetheless, it is striking that such a single event involving one woman received so many mentions in the UK press.

To see the extent to which this event was mentioned in all the corpora without the limitations set on the searching criteria, a basic search of the lemma *lash* in English and all its corresponding forms in Arabic جلدة|جلد|الجلد|تجلد|يجلد|جلدت|استجلد [a lash|lash|the lash|she will be lashed|he will lash her|she was lashed|she will be lashed] was conducted using the Concordance tool, and which resulted in the following frequencies below:

UK1T	UK2T	SA1T	SA2T
simple lash ● 61	simple lash ● 12	simple جلدة|جلد|الجلد|تجلد|يجلد|جلدت|استجلد ● 7	simple جلدة|جلد|الجلد|يجلد|جلدت|استجلد ● 3
893.28 per million tokens ● 0.089%	76.83 per million tokens ● 0.0077%	36.77 per million tokens ● 0.0037%	8.62 per million tokens ● 0.00086%
		*Only **4** refer to actual lashings	*None refer to actual lashings
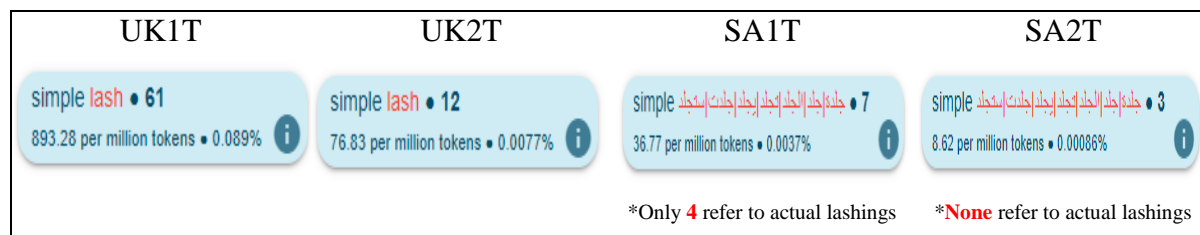
Logically, one would expect that such a local, solitary incident of one Saudi woman being sentenced to 10 lashes would have been broadcasted more frequently locally as a warning to other Saudi women, but this is apparently not the case. The obvious foregrounding of this news in the UK news media and a total backgrounding of it in the SA news again confirms how newsworthy shocking, negative news has its place in the UK press, and in a way, to represent SA as an archaic country using methods of punishment that have been banned in the UK. So, in effect, the UK is indirectly self-representing as the better, more civilized government and SA as worse with cruel obsolete practices of discipline. The findings also point to the extent the SA news media will go to avoid publishing any news that may trigger societal disorder.

(2) Passivized Representations of Saudi Women via Social Subjugation

As shown earlier in Table 30, representations of Saudi women as victims due to societal influences and prejudices increased considerably in the more current 2017-2019 SA2T news media from 29.8% to 87% (a sharp rise due to the drop in authoritative subjugation), but only slightly increased from 14.2% to 24.6% in the current UK2T corpora. The percentages here, however, could be misconstrued and so it is important to note that in terms of actual occurrences, there were only 46 passivation tokens in the SA2T as opposed to 400 in the SA1T.

Upon examination of the UK1T, we find that it focused on Saudi women being *treated* (6, 8.5) as "second-class citizens" and victimized in terms of repeating one incident where a woman was *killed* (7, 8.8) in an accident:

enger killed in a car crash. </s><s> The	**woman**	was **killed** when the four-wheel-drive vehicle she was travelling in o
ael province on Saturday. </s><s> "One	**woman**	was immediately **killed** and her companion who was driving the car
A police spokesman said that one of the	**women**	was **killed** instantly but the other had to go to hospital to be treated

168

However, the UK2T news media continued to present Saudi women as passive, victimized social actors who *fear* (11, 8.3) men:

Many Saudi	**women**	**fear**	they are easy prey for conservatives in a state where male guardians - typically their fathers, husba
ek, but many	**women**	**fear**	they are still easy prey for conservatives in a nation where male "guardians" have arbitrary authority
s> But many	**women**	**fear**	they are still vulnerable to sexist attitudes in a nation where male "guardians" -- their fathers, husba

Very troubling here is the sweeping accusation of all males exercising "arbitrary authority" which implies that Saudi women are under the utter, and illogical control of Saudi men. Though this may be true in some families, by no means does this reflect the reality for all Saudi families. In reality, the SA government bans all forms of discrimination against women consistent with those practiced internationally in addition to encouraging "an integrated relation between the two sexes" (Human Rights Commission, n.d.).

Marginalizing Saudi women is repeated in other ways in the UK2T as Saudi women *remain* (11, 8.3) "second-class citizens" and "despite the advancements made in recent years, Saudi women *remain* largely subject to the whims of men" who live in a country that has *kept* (5, 7.5) them "subjugated in the backseat and hindered" for decades. Additional representations of incompetence emerge in the UK2T by repeatedly reporting on how Saudi religious clerics believe that Saudi women *lack* (5, 7.2) "the intelligence to drive" which may possibly lead them to become more religiously uninhibited:

e cleric, who was quoted in a report by Saudi daily Sabq, said: "It is not their fault, but	**women**	**lack**	intellect do they not? </s><s> "Would you give a man with half an intellect a drivi
ardliners cited austere Islamic interpretations to justify the ban, with some maintaining	**women**	**lack**	the intelligence to drive and that allowing them to would promote promiscuity. </s
cited austere Islamic interpretations to justify the driving ban, with some asserting that	**women**	**lack**	the intelligence to drive and that lifting the prohibition would promote promiscuity.

Among the most recurring collocates that transpired in Table 30 are "discrimination [تمييز], laws", "cases, authorities", "abuses", and "reprisals" *against* Saudi women (UK1T 13, 9.2; SA1T 30, 7.8). And other ways Saudi women were socially subjugated in both the UK and SA news media is by continued depictions of them in *need* (UK1T 5, 7.9; SA1T 18, 7.2; SA2T 9, 7.3).

As for the SA1T and SA2T, the focus is more on the varied everyday challenges a woman *faces* (SA2T 18, 8.2) and how she *lives* (SA1T 11, 7.7), as well as the daily *sufferings* (SA1T 9, 7.8; SA2T 5, 8.2) she endures mainly in relation to transportation, one of which is

harassment (14, 8.16) of children and young ladies by male drivers. As such, one could argue that the SA news media seems more sensitive to the needs of women. Examples from SA1T:

، حيث ان ه من اكبر المعيقات التي كانت**تواجه** **المراة** عدم السماح ب القيادة . ><s><s/><s> د . ></د ئيث س يحل كثير من المعوقات التي**تواجهـ**ها **المراة** , خاصة في تحقيق سهولة الحركة و التنقل	one of the main obstacles that women faced is not being allowed to drive it will solve many of the obstacles that face women especially in achieving mobility and transportation
على مصاعب السائقين و ابتزاز هم الذي**تعيشـ**ه **المراة** العاملة ب شكل يومي , مشيرة الى ان السائق <و في هذا انكار ل الواقع الصعب الذي**تعيشـ**ه **المراة** في بلاد نا عند ما يتعلق الامر ب التنقل الامن	regarding driver-related difficulties and blackmail that working women live through on a daily basis this is denying the difficult life that women live in our country when it comes to safe transportation
، يسهم في تذليل الصعوبات التي كانت**تعاني**ها **المراة** في التنقل , مثمنة حرص القيادة الرشيدة في اجة ل مثل هذا القرار السامي الداعم , اذ **تعاني** **المراة** المطلقة و الارملة و الموظفة من صعوبات كث	which helps reduce transportation difficulties that women used to suffer from… need for such a royal supportive decree as divorced women, widows and employees suffer difficulties
للم ,,,, ب الاضافة ل مخاطر **التحرش**ب الاطفال و **النساء** و قد كشفت الكثير من الدراسات تحديدا الخلوة ب السائق , و**التحرش**ب الاطفال و **النساء** , و الهدر الاقتصادي ; ل يبقى الس	in addition to dangers of child and female harassment, and many studies have revealed specifically being alone with a driver, and harassing children and women, and economic waste

However, the current comparative findings above show that the Saudi media *also* focused on this issue, which indicates that the US and UK were, in fact, not stereotyping Saudi women via an Orientalist lens. The textual findings demonstrate that both local and Western media reported on Saudi women harassment by drivers because it was a real social issue that families suffered from on a regular basis.

Another important point to draw attention to here is that the reason why the numbers in this social subjugation category are not relatively high to begin with could be due to the fact that both UK and SA news journalists themselves often expressed, and by quoting others and via polls (*Figure 53.* below), how imperative driving is for women in SA, however, the way this is expressed in the UK and SA media is distinct.
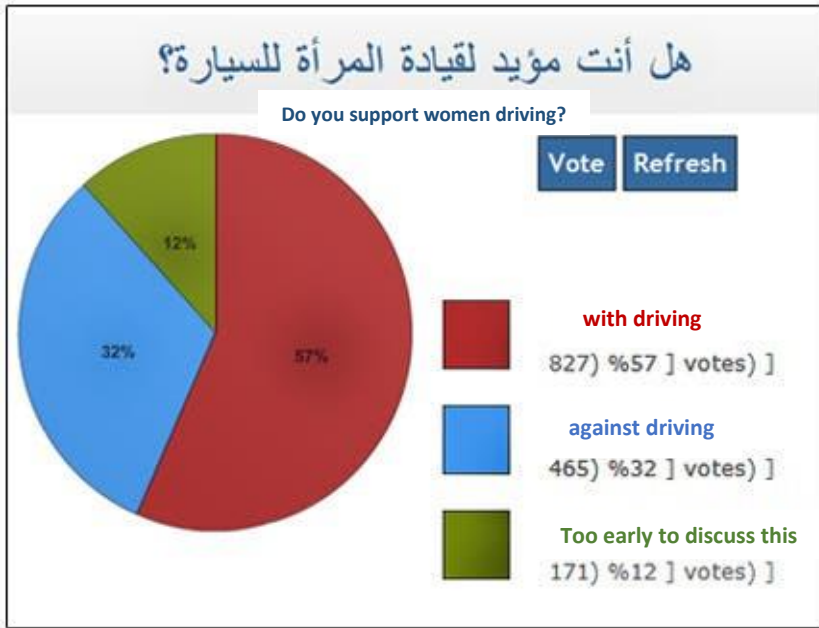
Figure 53. Support for/against women driving in SA in 2011 (Alguthami, 2011, p. 1)

Table 29 (section 5.2.2) reveals an explicit recurring *beneficialized* representation pattern of stating how important it has **become** (11, 8.5) for women to drive in the SA1T news corpus, as exemplified in the following concordances:

ان قضية قيادة **المراة** ل السيارة **اصبحت** اليوم قضية غير قابلة ل الا همال او التجاهل او التاجيل <s>		
صرت ارى ان قيادة **المراة** ل السيارة **اصبحت** ضرورة ل ان الاسر في زمن نا هذا تشتتت و الاقارب تفر		
the issue of women driving has become a matter which cannot be ignored or delayed		
I now see how women driving cars has become important since families and relatives in our time are becoming more distanced		

However, there were also many Saudis who disagreed, most notably (1) extremist Saudi religious clerics claiming that women's ovaries would be **affected** (SA1T 10, 7.8) and that this would lead to pregnancy and chastity complications. Examples:

ذهني بعد تصريح احد رجال الدين ب ان قيادة السيارة **تؤثر** في مبايض **المراة** , و تدفع ب حوض ها الى اعلى ما يسبب خلال		
افساد النساء , الهجمة التغريبية . <s></s> العلمية : **تؤثر** على مبايض **المراة** و قدرة ها الانجابية , تؤثر على غشاء البكارة ف		
after one religious cleric's pronouncement that women driving would affect women's ovaries as it would push her pelvis upwards which would cause complications		
corrupting women, western war: </s> <s> affecting women's ovaries and her ability to get pregnant, and affecting her virginity		

And (2) highly traditional families who are set in their Wahhabi beliefs that a woman's main purpose in life is to **remain** (5, 7.1) a submissive housewife. Examples below:

الظلم الواقع على النساء , س	**تظل**	المراة ناقصة حقوق و مسلوبة ارادة في نظر الكثير من الرجال . <s/>
فئات الجتمع التي تطالب ان	**تظل**	المراة ذلك الكائن المطيع الذي يلد و يربي و يؤدي واجباة ه المنزلية

oppression inflicted on women, and women will remain not having all her rights and with no willpower in the eyes of many men

some sectors of society that demand that women should remain a submissive creature that gives birth, raises children, and perform their domestic duties

But if we look at the UK1T, we find no salient patterns discussing the practical importance of women driving, rather the focus is more on showcasing female *repression* (10, 9.5), having repeated this exact same statement 10 times, in different UK newspapers:

> ending the world's last ban on female drivers, long seen as an emblem of **women's repression** in the deeply conservative Muslim kingdom.

(3) Backgrounding Representations of Saudi Women via Impersonalization

Impersonalization of Saudi women via *Somatization* was observed, as Table 30 illustrates, in the 2011-2013 UK1T news corpora by focusing on one part of a women's body, her *ovary* (8, 10.8) and which was also salient in the SA1T (*ovaries* - 12, 9.4; 13, 8.9). Examples from the UK1T and SA1T follow:

> resorted to the "kiddie lie"; driving harms **women's ovaries** . </s><s> He used his best authoritative parental voice,
>
> l studies show that driving a car harms a **woman's ovaries** . </s><s> Saudi Arabia's women hold day of action to cl

تصريح احد رجال الدين ب ان قيادة السيارة تؤثر في**مبايض المراة** , و تدفع ب حوض ها الى اعلى		
ساء , الهجمة التغريبية . <s/><s> العلمية : تؤثر عل**مبايض المراة** و قدرة ها الانجابية , تؤثر على .		

one religious cleric declared that driving a car would affect women's ovaries and would push her pelvis upwards

…Westernization </s><s> scientific: it affects women's ovaries and her ability to conceive

To a certain degree, the unprecedented and scientifically unproven declaration made by Sheikh Saleh Al-Lohaidan was understandably noteworthy in both the UK and SA news press, but for different reasons. To a UK news consumer, this news was shocking as such "ill-considered remarks embarrassed the kingdom" (Withnall, 2013, p. 1). However, in Saudi Arabia, though many regarded his beliefs as unfounded and extremist, Al-Lohaidan was nonetheless "one of the 21 members of the Saudi Senior Council of Scholars" (Withnall, 2013, p. 1) who had a substantial following and was in part responsible for advising the government. Being an Elite member of society at that time, religious edicts issued by him continued to carry some weight, and hence, his statements regarding fertility complications related to driving seemed to

reinforce the government's vision at that time of discouraging Saudi women from driving, and thus, was repeatedly revisited in the SA press.

The unexpected finding, however, surfaced from the 2017-2019 UK2T, whereby the UK press continued to report on Al-Lohaidan's past assertions, and in two instances misstated that such claims were made by several "clerics" (underlined in green in the examples below). What is also questionable is the omission that the Sheikh's damaging statement was made in 2013 in all but three articles (1 is underlined in red in the examples below, and 2 were mentioned earlier in the sentence), giving the false impression that the Kingdom still stood by this unfounded statement in 2017-2019 – a society which in reality had moved on from such Wahhabi based claims (i.e., SA2T Impersonalization 0%).

Further textual Impersonalization of Saudi women in the UK2T also came from women collocating with a shrinking brain or one that is too small to be able to drive efficiently (examples below). Once again, these are marginalizing discourses by Sheikh Saad Al-Hajiri that preceded the driving ban lift decree, and which would not be expected to be reported on repeatedly in the UK press after women had been given the right to drive.

Examples of *ovary* collocates (16, 10.2)

Examples of *brain* collocates (7, 9.0)

The last point that needed to be examined here was who was passivizing Saudi women, and possible reasons for this. This is pertinent since one would assume that Saudi women and their actions, mainly driving, and protesting in 2011-2013, would predominantly be foregrounded in the context of this study. Though impossible to reach a definitive answer since other social actors in the corpora can themselves be passivized, an examination of the 10 most frequently

mentioned non-female social actors was conducted by running a Wordlist tool search (Table 31 below) to gain better insight into which social actors were foregrounded in Saudi Arabia within the context of this research.

Table 31

Social Actor Frequencies in the UK1T, UK2T, SA1T, and SA2T Excluding Saudi Women

	UK1T		SA1T		UK2T		SA2T	
1	King (Abdullah)	169	society المجتمع	576	Prince (Mohamed)	349	police المرور	1057
2	Police	127	men الرجل	186	King (Salman)	287	societyالمجتمع	840
3	Men	101	male driver السائق	175	Men	269	Al-Basami البسامي	582
4	Authorities	86	council الشورى	162	Government	251	the public العامة	460
5	Government	74	policeالمرور	106	Authorities	133	سلمان Salman (King)	411
6	Council	57	cleric الشيخ	73	Family	133	محمد (Prince) Mohamed	299
7	Clerics	55	foreignerالاجنبي	71	Society	124	male driver السائق	259
8	Husband	51	family الاسرة	68	Guardian	96	men الرجل	244
9	Family	49	young men الشباب	64	Clerics	92	family الأسرة	233
10	Society	43	male doctor الدكتور	59	Father	79	cleric هيئة	213

Across all four corpora, there were roughly 6 types of prominent social actors: Royal/Government top-authorities, (2) the family/society, (3) the police, (4) religious clerics, (5) men in general, and (6) specific male figures like husbands, fathers, doctors, etc. If we only look at the first 3 ranking social actors in each corpus, bearing in mind the social-historical context of data collected, we find that the UK media seems to have chiefly focused on elite government officials, specifically King *Abdullah* in the UK1T and King *Salman* and Crown Prince *Mohamed* Bin Salman in the UK2T, as they were the ones who dominated news discourses, especially in the UK2T having issued a royal decree allowing women to start driving.

In effect, it could be argued that they were being foregrounded due to their newsworthiness at that time since they were depicted as prominent *Elites* who issued an *Unexpected*, *Novel* decree lifting the female driving ban, hence making this type of shocking news appealing to the UK press and its audience. The ***police*** and ***men*** were also frequently referred to in the UK1T which coincides with how frequently Saudi women were being subjected by means of being banned from driving and arrested (Table 31, 85.3%), as well as an emphasis on how restrictive male relatives were partly to blame for the lack of social acceptance of women driving (Table 31, 14.7%).

As for the SA1T, we find that there is complete avoidance of mentioning *Elite* royal government officials in relation to the conflicts at that time resulting from the driving ban and women taking action in attempt to get it lifted. Al-Otaibi (2016) states that "an element of self-censorship is going on here in order to safeguard the [news] site's future. Thus, it can be said that self-censorship is one of the options resorted to by [Saudi] editors and journalists in order to circumvent official censorship or blocking" (p. 181).

So instead, community complaints seem to be mostly targeted towards the ***society***, ***men*** and ***male drivers*** in the SA1T. Elite royal authorities do appear in the SA2T frequently, but what mainly dominates is the ***police***, and their spokesperson Traffic Director General Mohammed ***Al-Basami***, who are the main social actors facilitating the important transition of getting women to drive, ensuring their safety and the safety of others, as well as consolidating the government's goal of maintaining societal stability. The Saudi ***society's*** role and readiness for this change is also foregrounded.

5.2.2 Agency via Functionalization

The textual analysis of Saudi women functionalization in the past and more current UK and SA news media revealed twelve salient roles, within various fields, that Saudi women were most frequently depicted as occupying in relation to protesting the driving ban and later being allowed to drive: (1) a driver, (2) a driving trainer, (3) a driving trainee, (4) an activist, (5) royalty, (6) government/official, (7) financial/economic, (8) academic, (9) medical, (10) creative & media industry, (11) as a competitor, and (12) as an offender. A full list of these functionalization categories and their frequencies in each corpus is provided in Table 32 which is followed by a summary and discussion of the roles and frequencies in Table 33 (p. 176) below:

Table 32

Saudi Women Textual Functualization Frequencies

Token **Driver**	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
كسائقة	as a female driver	2	14	0	0
كسائقات	as female drivers	0	3	0	0
بسائقات	with female drivers	0	3	0	0
لسائقات	to female drivers	0	3	0	0
وسائقة	and a female driver	0	2	0	0
وسائقات	and female drivers	0	1	0	0
القيادات	the female drivers	0	1	0	0
لسائقة	to a female driver	0	1	0	0
بقائدات	with female drivers	0	1	0	0
كقائدة	as a female driver	1	3	0	0
كقائدات	as female drivers	0	2	0	0
القائدة	the female driver	0	5	0	0
القائدات	the female drivers	0	5	0	0
قائدات	female drivers	0	28	0	0
لقائدات	to female drivers	0	4	0	0
وقائدة	and a female driver	0	1	0	0
السائقات	the female drivers	16	84	0	0
السائقة	the female driver	8	28	0	0
سائقة	female/woman driver	13	22	17	11
سائقات	female/women drivers	3	19	87	173
(DRIVER) TOTAL		**43**	**230**	**104**	**184**

Token **Activist**	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
ناشطة	Activist	2	0	46	91
ناشطات	Activists	1	3	84	456
الناشطات	the activists	0	4	0	0
بناشطة	with an activist	1	0	0	0
الحقوقية	the rights activist	0	1	0	0
الحقوقيات	the rights activists	1	0	0	0
المعارضات	the female protesters	3	0	0	0
معترضة	female protester	1	0	4	0
رافضات	female protesters	1	0	8	7
المظاهرات	female campaigner(s)	1	0	91	87
يالمناديات	the female demonstrator(s)	1	0	1	0
المطالبات	the female demonstrator(s)	1	0	1	0
الداعيات	supportive women	1	0	0	0
المؤيدات	proactive females	1	2	0	0
النسويات	the feminists	1	1	4	7
N/A	female defender(s)	0	0	2	16
N/A	female hero(es)	0	0	3	2
N/A	Heroine	0	0	1	0
(ACTIVIST) TOTAL		**16**	**11**	**245**	**666**

Token **Royalty**	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
ملكة	Queen	7	8	1	0
ملكات	Queens	0	1	2	0
الملكات	the queens	0	1	0	0
الاميرة	the princess	5	22	0	0
اميرة	princess(es)	3	0	14	65
N/A	Highness	0	0	0	3
(ROYALTY) TOTAL		**15**	**32**	**17**	**68**

Token **Trainer**	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
المدربة	the female trainer/instructor	0	13	0	3
المدربات	the female trainers/instructors	2	28	2	13
مدربات	female trainers	0	32	0	0
الفاحصة	the female examiner	0	3	0	0
(TRAINER) TOTAL		**2**	**76**	**2**	**16**

Token **Trainee**	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
المتدربة	the female trainee	0	36	0	0
المتدربات	the female trainees	0	34	0	0
متدربات	female trainees	0	7	0	1
متدربة	female trainee	0	16	0	2
المدربتين	two female trainees	0	1	0	0
مبتدئات	female beginners	0	1	0	0
المبتدئة	the female beginner	0	2	0	0
المبتدئات	the female beginners	0	7	0	0
المتقدمات	the female applicants	0	32	0	6
(TRAINEE) TOTAL		**0**	**136**	**0**	**9**

Token **Gov/ Official**	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
الشوريات	the fem consultative members	5	5	0	2
شوريات	female consultative members	1	0	0	0
الدبلوماسيات	the female diplomats	1	0	0	0
السفيرة	the female ambassador	0	2	0	0
سفيرة	female ambassador	1	2	0	2
البرلمانيات	female parliamentarians	2	0	0	0
وزيرة	female minister	1	4	4	0
قاضيات	female judges	0	1	0	0
المحاميات	the female lawyers	0	1	0	0
محامية	female lawyer	1	4	1	0
القانونيات	the female lawyers	0	1	0	0
N/A	Lawmaker	0	0	1	0
نائبة	female deputy	1	5	2	1
شريطات / شرطيات	Policewomen	0	2	0	0
شرطية	Policewoman	0	1	0	0
ضابطات	Policewomen	0	2	0	0
N/A	civil servant	0	0	1	0
N/A	Servicewoman	0	0	1	0
العسكريات	the military women	0	2	0	0
المحققات	female detectives	0	5	0	0
المفتشات	the female inspectors	0	4	0	0
مفتشات	female inspector(s)	0	1	0	9
منتخبات	voted females	1	0	0	0
المرشحات	the female candidates	0	1	3	0
مرشحات	female candidates	0	1	0	2
N/A	female voter	0	0	1	0
مهندسات	female engineers	0	1	0	2
المهندسة	the female engineer	1	5	0	0
زميلة	(the) female colleague	13	8	2	0
زميلتي	my female colleague	1	0	0	0
زميلات	female colleagues	2	0	0	5
زميلاتي	my female colleagues	1	4	0	0
الزميلات	the female colleagues	2	2	0	0
الموظفات	the female employees	2	39	0	0
موظفات	female employees	2	14	0	2
الموظفة	the female employee	2	14	0	0
موظفة	female employee	7	24	0	1
موظفة-	female employee	0	1	0	0
العضوات	the female members	15	0	0	18
عضوات	female members	21	2	0	0
العضوتان	the two female members	1	0	0	0
عضواة	female member(s)	1	0	7	0
المنسوبات	the female staff	0	3	0	7
منسوبات	female staff	0	30	1	0
الاستشاريات	the female consultants	0	1	0	0
الاستشارية	the female consultant	0	1	8	3
مستشارات	female consultants	0	2	0	0
N/A	female councillor	0	0	1	0
N/A	female adviser	0	0	1	0
N/A	female analyst	0	0	0	3
المخصصات	female specialists	0	1	0	5
اخصائية /الاخصائية	(the) female specialist	4	9	0	1
الاخصائيات	the female specialists	0	1	0	0
المسؤولات	the female supervisors	1	2	0	0
المشرفة	the female supervisor	0	6	0	2
مشرفة	female supervisor	1	9	0	0
المراجعات	the female reviewers	1	7	0	0
مرشدة	female advisor	1	4	0	0
منسقات	female coordinator(s)	0	1	0	1
المنتسبات	female associates	0	1	0	0
N/A	female assistant(s)	0	0	1	7
اداريات / الاداريات	(the) female administrators	0	2	0	0
الخبيرة	the female experts	1	1	0	0
خبيرة	female expert	1	3	4	0
المشرفات	the female overseers	0	3	0	0
مشرفات	female overseers	0	1	0	0
(GOV/OFFICIAL) TOTAL		**111**	**300**	**41**	**79**

Token Financial	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
محاسبة	the female accountant	4	2	0	0
المستثمرات	the female investors	0	3	0	0
الاقتصاديات	the financial women	0	2	0	0
الكاشيرات	female cashiers	1	0	0	9
تاجرة	Businesswoman	1	0	0	6
مندوبات	female saleswoman	0	1	0	11
البائعة	the female vendor	0	1	0	0
بائعة	female vendor	4	2	0	0
كبائعة	as a female vendor	2	0	0	0
البائعات	the female vendors	1	0	0	0
بائعتين	two female vendors	0	1	0	0
المستهلكات	the female consumers	0	1	0	1
مالكة	female owner	1	2	0	0
N/A	Economist	0	0	2	1
(FINANCIAL) TOTAL		**14**	**15**	**2**	**28**

Token Academic	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
عميدة	female chancellor	1	15	0	0
وكيلات	female college heads	0	1	0	0
وكيلة	female college head	0	23	0	0
البروفيسورة	the female professor	0	11	2	34
محاضرات	female lecturer(s)	1	0	6	1
الاكاديميات	the female academics	5	6	0	0
اكاديمية	female academic	0	2	0	6
الاكاديمية	the female academic	0	5	0	0
اكاديميات	female academics	1	5	0	0
التربويات	the female educators	0	2	0	0
المديرة	the female principal	1	1	0	0
مديرة	female principal	5	39	0	0
الاستاذة	the female teacher	5	21	1	1
استاذات	female teachers	0	1	0	0
معلمة / المعلمة	(the) female teacher	9	15	0	0
معلمات	female teachers	0	4	0	0
المعلمات	the female teachers	22	17	0	0
المدرسات	the female teachers	2	1	0	0
مدرسات	female teachers	3	1	0	0
خريجة	female graduate	1	3	5	8
الخريجات	the female graduates	0	3	0	7
خريجات	female graduates	0	3	0	0
الطالبة	the female student	3	11	5	10
الطالبات	the female students	23	39	10	12
طالبات	female students	4	15	0	0
طالباتها	her female students	0	1	0	0
طالبة	female student	13	33	15	0
الجامعيات	the female university students	0	1	0	0
جامعيات	Fem university students	2	1	0	0
مبتعثة	fem scholarship student	0	7	0	0
المبتعثات	the fem scholarship students	0	7	0	0
مبتعثات	female scholarship students	0	4	0	0
المبتعثة	the female scholarship student	0	4	0	0
الباحثات	the female researchers	0	3	0	0
الباحثة	the female researcher	0	3	2	1
باحثة	female researcher	2	5	2	0
العالمة	the female scientist	1	1	2	0
عالمة	female scientist	1	1	0	0
العالمات	the female scientists	1	0	0	2
المترجمة	the female translator	0	2	0	0
المثقفات	the educated women	0	1	0	0
مثقفات	educated women	2	1	1	3
المتعلمات	the educated women	0	3	0	0
المثقفة	the educated woman	0	1	0	0
(ACADEMIC) TOTAL		**108**	**323**	**51**	**85**

Token Medical	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
المسعفات	the ER female doctors	0	1	0	0
مسعفات	ER female doctors	0	1	0	0
الدكتورة	the female doctor	38	123	1	4
دكتورة	(the) female doctor	5	1	0	0
دكتورات	female doctors	1	0	0	0
N/A	Dr	0	0	2	1
طبيبة	female physician	6	9	0	0
طبيبات	female physicians	2	0	0	0
الطبيبات	the female physician	0	6	0	0
الممرضة	the nurse	0	2	0	0
ممرضة	nurse(s)	3	0	0	5
N/A	Psychotherapist	0	0	3	4
(MEDICAL) TOTAL		**58**	**154**	**6**	**14**

Token Offender	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
المخالفات	the female offender	1	0	2	2
مخالفات	female offenders	0	1	0	0
السجينات	the female prisoners	1	1	4	1
المجرمة	the female criminal	0	1	0	0
N/A	female detainee	0	0	1	40
N/A	female traitor	0	0	0	43
المتهمة	female victim	3	0	2	10
(OFFENDER) TOTAL		**5**	**3**	**9**	**96**

Token Creative & Media	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
المخرجة	the female producer	5	0	0	0
مخرجة	female producer	0	1	0	0
منتجة افلام	female film producer	1	0	0	0
ممثلات	actresses	1	0	0	0
الممثلة	the actress	2	2	0	1
مغنية	(the) singer	2	1	0	4
المصورة	the female photographer	0	2	1	3
مراسلات	female correspondents	0	1	0	0
الاعلامية	the female presenter	14	48	0	4
اعلامية	female presenter	2	2	0	0
الاعلاميات	the female presenters	0	4	0	0
اعلاميات	female presenters	1	1	0	0
ـاعلامية-	female presenter	0	2	0	0
المتحدثات	Spokeswomen	1	4	0	0
المتحدثة	the spokeswoman	0	2	0	2
متحدثة	spokeswoman	0	3	0	0
المذيعة	the female announcer	1	3	0	0
مذيعة	female announcer	0	2	0	0
N/A	female reporter	0	0	5	0
N/A	female journalist	0	0	3	1
السنابيات	the female snapchatters	0	1	0	0
المغردات	the female tweeps	0	3	0	0
مغردة	female tweep	0	1	0	0
N/A	female blogger	0	0	10	6
المشهورات	the famous public figures	0	1	0	0
القدوات	the female role models	0	2	0	0
قدوات	female role model(s)	0	1	1	1
الطقطقات	the female drummers	0	4	0	0
معجبات	female fans	0	1	0	1
محررات	female editors	0	1	0	0
المحررة	the female editor	1	0	0	0
المكتشفات	female discoverers	1	0	0	0
المبتكرات	female innovators	1	1	0	0
المبدعات	the creative women	2	3	0	0
مفكرة	female thinker	1	0	0	0
الكاتبة	the female writer	13	17	5	3
كاتبة / كاتبات	female writer(s)	1	7	0	0
الشاعرات	the female poets	2	0	0	0
الشاعرة	the female poet	4	3	0	2
شاعرة	female poet	1	0	0	0
الفنانة / الفنانات	the female artist(s)	14	10	2	3
فنانات	female artists	0	2	0	0
فنانه	female artist	1	0	0	0
المصممة	the female designer	0	12	0	3
طباخة	female chef	1	0	0	1
المتابعات	the female followers	1	0	0	0
ضيفة	female guest	1	0	0	0
المسافرة	the female traveller	0	2	0	0
الزائرات	the female visitors	0	17	0	0
زائرات	female visitor(s)	0	3	0	1
وزائرات	and female visitors	0	1	0	0
لزائرات	to female visitors	0	1	0	0
راكبة	female passenger	1	0	4	3
الحاضرات	the female attendees	2	4	0	0
N/A	female athlete	0	0	2	3
فارسة	female equestrienne	1	2	0	0
(CREATIVE & MEDIA) TOTAL		**79**	**178**	**33**	**42**

Token Competitor	Translation	SA1T	SA2T	UK1T	UK2T
المتسابقات / متسابقة	(the) female competitors	0	4	1	0
لاعبات	female players	0	1	0	0
البطلة	the female champion	0	1	0	0
مقاتلات	female fighters	0	1	0	0
فائزة / الفائزة	(the) female winner	0	3	0	0
الفائزات	the female winners	0	1	0	0
رائدات / الرائدة	female pioneer(s)	0	6	0	8
قائدة	female leader	1	0	5	1
(COMPETITOR) TOTAL		**1**	**17**	**6**	**9**

Table 33

Overall Saudi Women Textual Functualization Frequencies and Percentages

Role/Occupation	UK1T (N=516)		UK2T (N=1296)		SA1T (N=452)		SA2T (N=1475)	
Driver	104	20.2%	184	14.2%	43	9.5%	230	15.6%
Driving trainer	2	.4%	16	1.2%	2	.4%	76	5.2%
Driving trainee	0	0%	9	.7%	0	0%	136	9.2%
Activist	245	47.5%	666	51.4%	16	3.5%	11	.7%
Royalty	17	3.3%	68	5.2%	15	3.3%	32	2.2%
Government/Official	41	7.9%	79	6.1%	111	24.6%	300	20.3%
Financial/Economic	2	.4%	28	2.2%	14	3.1%	15	1%
Academic	51	9.9%	85	6.6%	108	23.9%	323	21.9%
Medical	6	1.2%	14	1.1%	58	12.8%	154	10.4%
Creative & Media Industry	33	6.4%	42	3.2%	79	17.6%	178	12.1%
Competitor	6	1.2%	9	.7%	1	.2%	17	1.2%
Offender	9	1.6%	96	7.4%	5	1.1%	3	.2%
TOTAL	410	79.40%	1087	83.90%	407	90.10%	1033	70.00%

A general look at the ways that the UK and SA news corpora functionalized Saudi women reveals several differences. Upon examination of the SA corpora, it can be clearly observed that both past and more current SA news media most frequently depicted Saudi women as social actors in the professional sector outside the home, taking on a variety of important positions:

(1) Governmental and official roles (SA1T 24.6%, SA2T 20.3%) evidenced in Table 3, and textually functionalized most notably in Table 2 as عضوات [*members*] (39) and زميلات عمل [*colleagues*] (19) in the SA1T, with more of a variety of roles in the SA2T as موظفات [*employees*] (92), منسوبات [*staff*] (33), عاملات [*working women*] (23), مسؤلات/مشرفات [*supervisors*] (21), and متخصصات/خبيرات [*specialists/experts*] (15).

(2) Academic positions (SA1T 23.9%, SA2T 21.9%) which in the SA1T is reflected most prominently via استاذات [*teachers*] (41) and طالبات [*students*] (43). And in the SA2T, similar roles appear (i.e., استاذات [*teachers*] (50) and طالبات [*students*] (99)), but other higher-ranking educational roles also become salient such as مديرات [*principals*] (40), وكيلات [**college heads/chancellors**] (39), مبتعثات [*scholarship students*] (22), اكاديميات [*academics*] (16), باحثات[*researchers*] (9), and خريجات [*graduates*] (9).

(3) Saudi women portrayed in the medical field (SA1T 12.8%, SA2T 10.4%) and the creative and media industry (SA1T 17.6%, SA2T 12.1%) were also quite prominent.

The slight drop in percentages over time in the SA2T for all the above-mentioned roles was not surprising as there was a great increase in Saudi women being functionalized as متدربات/مدربات/سائقات [*drivers*, *driving trainers* and *trainees*] from 9.9% in the SA1T to 30% in

the SA2T, and this, no doubt, is due to the 2017-2019 timespan context. However, when we look at how Saudi women were functionalized in the UK press, both in the past and in the more current news media, we find that though Saudi women were **(a)** portrayed both holding a variety of governmental/official (UK1T 7.9%, UK2T 6.1%) and academic (UK1T 9.9%, UK2T 6.6%) positions, and **(b)** represented as *drivers*, *driving trainers* and *trainees* (UK1T 20.6%, UK2T 16.1%), it can clearly be seen that apart from this, they were foregrounded in roles very different than the ones depicted by the Saudi press:

(1) In almost half of the roles allocated to Saudi women in the corpora, the UK press chose to emphasize their role of being driving activists (UK1T 47.5%, UK2T 51.4%), which as discussed earlier under Saudi women agency, was expected in the UK1T but highly unexpected in the UK2T since lifting of the ban had taken place. Indeed, these findings suggest the prominence of portraying Saudi women struggles as if they live in a constant state of conflict and who have not witnessed any relevant gradual resolutions, which is not the case. The three most frequently utilized words were *activists* (UK1T *130*, UK2T *547*), *campaigners* (UK1T *91*, UK2T *87*), and *protestors* (UK1T *12*, UK2T *7*) almost none of which appear in the SA press. To illustrate, the following are just the first 4 concordance lines that appeared when searching the lemma *activist* and which demonstrate how these seemingly "empowering" roles in actuality allude to Saudi women victimization more than anything else, e.g., their struggles, imprisonment, beheadings, and detainments as shown in these examples from the UK2T:

(2) Further evidence of highlighting Saudi women as *victims* (10) in SA comes from them often being functionalized as offenders as they were frequently referred to as *traitors* (43) in the UK2T and were punished, and thus were also repeatedly portrayed as *detainees* (40) – Examples:

179

(3) And even when the UK press functionalized Saudi women in other roles, the majority of these women, yet again, seemed to be involved in tasks relating to activism whereas the Saudi press focused more on foregrounding the everyday Saudi women. A case in point are Saudi women who were functionalized as academic *professors* in the UK2T (33), and in Arabic الدكتوره SA2T (58) [non-medical *Dr* which is how most academics with a PhD are referred to in SA]. If we compare the following example concordances from the UK2T and SA2T corpora, we find that out of the 33 *professor* lemmas in the UK2T, 27 (82%) actually referred to names of famous Saudi activists such as Madawi AlRasheed, Aziza Al-Yousef and Eman AlNafjan:

remains in detention, as does Aziza al-Yousef, a retired professor at King Saud University in Riyadh. </s><s> Saudi Arabia issues first driving licences to

wing limited personal freedoms," the dissident and LSE professor Madawi al Rasheed predicted last year. </s><s> That shadow of silence has already fal

United Arab Emirates, and Eman Al Nafjan, a university professor and blogger who had been arrested for driving. </s><s> The move contrasts with the go

t or been forced into shelters. </s><s> Aziza Youssef, a professor at King Saud University and one of Saudi Arabia's most vocal women's rights activists,

</s><s> Several of the women detained this week were professors at state-run universities and are mothers or grandmothers. </s><s> The interior ministry

كل ه الكثيرة . <‫s‬/s> اما الكاتبة الصحفية و الاكاديمية **الدكتورة** امل الطعيمي ف كانت ترى دائما ان قيادة المرا ل ل السيارة لن تكون الا ب قرار

الوطن و المقيمين في ه . <‫s‬/s> فرص جديدة و تشير **الدكتورة** اماني الناجم المختصة ب طرق التدريس و المناهج ب ان قيادة المراة ل السيار

د تصدر من اخرين . <‫s‬/s> حق شرعي ل المراة ايدت **الدكتورة** ليلى البسام - استاذ في جامعة الاميرة نورة - القرار السامي الايجابي الذي اعتبرت

م . <‫s‬/s> هذا ما اكدة ه وكيل التعليم ل تعليم البنات **الدكتورة** هيا العواد , مشيرة الى ان هذا المشروع يعد مسؤولية وزارة التعليم تجاه منسوبا

، رئيس مركز نوف ل الاستشارات الادارية و الاستراتيجية **الدكتورة** نوف الغامدي ان القرار الملكي يساهم في الاصلاحات الاقتصادية التي تتبنا ها ا

many <s><s/> but **writer, journalist and academic Dr** Amal ATuaemi believes that women driving cars is a decision

our nation and its citizens <s><s/> new opportunities and **Dr** Amani Alnajm, who is **specialized in teaching and curricula methods**, states that women driving

coming from others <s><s/> a legitimate right for any women which **Dr** Layla Albassam supported, a **professor at Princess Noura University**, this positive, royal decree which

<s><s/> this is what the **Education Chancellor for Girls' Education**, **Dr** Haya Alawad, confirmed pointing out that this project is considered one of the Ministry of Education's responsibilities

Head of the Nouf Centre for Administrative and Strategic Consulting, **Dr** Nouf Alghamdi, stated that the royal decree contributes to the economic reforms

In the SA2T, however, Saudi women academics holding various (non)educational positions are observed in the examples above. So, since several specific names reappeared regularly in the UK news media corpora, it was decided that a more focused investigation of *nomination* was warranted. Table 34 below lists all the names detected and collected from both the UK and SA news corpora and Table 35 on the following page presents frequencies of the ten most frequently mentioned social actors in each of the four corpora. Important to note here is that since many Arabic feminine names are homonymic (e.g., سامية [Samia] which is also an

adjective [majestic/refined] and تهاني [Tahani] which also means [congratulations]), concordance lines were individually read in order to only include the names.

Table 34

All Saudi Women Nomination Frequencies in the UK and SA News Corpora

UK1T (N=248)	UK2T (N=542)	SA1T (N=245)		SA2T (N=658)	
Manal Al-Sharif (79), Shaima, Shaimaa, Sheima, Shayma Justaina (42), Maha Al-Qahtani (18), Wajeha, Wajiha Waheja Huwaider (17), Najla Al-Hariri (10), Eman Najfan (10), Princess Ameerah, Amira Al-Taweel (7), Samar Badawi (7), Mai, May Al-Suwayan (6), Madeeha, Madiha, Madeha Al-Ajroosh (6) ------ Tamador (3), Suad (3), Lubna (3), Latifa (3), Adelah (2), Hala (2), Fawzia (2), Haya (2), Muna (2), Abeer (1), Sulafa (1), Fawziah (1), Sarah (1), Mariam (1), Sara (1), Hanan (1), Basma (1), Rima (1), Bahia (1), Fatima (1), Noura (1), Bedoor (1), Loloah (1), Rasha (1), Reem (1), Thuraya (1), Mashaal (1), Maqbula (1), Amany (1), Aisha (1), Rajaa (1), Nassima (1), Dima (1)	Loujain, Lujain Al-Hathloul (57), Aziza Yousef (39), Eman, Iman Nafjan (36), Manal Al-Sharif (36), Princess Hayfa AlSaud (29), Samar AlMogren (15), Madeha, Madiha Al-Ajroosh (15), Aisha Al-Manae (13), Aseel AlHamad (13), Nouf Abdelaziz (11) ------ Mayaa (9), Sarah (8), Nora (8), Nourah (8), Samah (7), Hessah, Hasah A. (7), Rama (7), Reem F (7), Sonosi (6), Hala (6), Lulwa (5), Najlaa (5), Latifa (5), Hessah R. (5), Madawi (5), Salma (5), Fatima (4), Haifa (4), Noura (4), Sara (4), Amal (4), Walaa (4), Asma (4), Samira (4), Leila (4), Najah (4), Fayza (4), Dona (3), Walaa (3), Fawzia (3), Amina (3), Mariam (3), Ghada (3), Sharifa (3), Rema (3), Bayan (3), Sahar (3), Layla (3), Rania (3), Maram (2), Saja (2), Leen (2), Maysaa (2), Dalal (2), Dana (2), Ammal (2), Maha (2), Hafza (2), Marwa (2), Rasha (2), Suad (2), Leesa (2), Nour (2), Zeinab (2), Nassima (2), Fadya (2), Hatoon (2), Reem A (2), Reem W (2), Ghina (2), Sultana (2), Sabika (2), Kholood (2), Hessa (2), Samar B. (2), Tahani (2), Faiza (1), Wafa (1), Iman D. (1), Hana (1), Wajeha (1), Fizah (1), Mervat (1), Wad (1), Nawal (1), Zahra (1), Tamador (1) Abeer (1), Mabkhouta (1), Lamia (1), Ghania (1), Daliya (1), Reema (1), Majdooleen (1), Sana (1), Maysa (1), Maysoon (1), Joumana (1), Shaima (1), Ensaf (1), Amena (1), Abla (1), Basma (1), Fawziah (1), Joanna (1), Hatoun (1), Kawthar (1), Raghda (1), Hoda (1), Latifah (1), Shaimaa (1), Amira (1), Taghreed (1), Hiba (1), Najla (1), Nahed (1), Wajiha (1), Monera (1)	منال الشريف (72)، هيا المنيع (17)، سمر المقرن (13)، منى المشيط (10)، حياة سندي (10)، ثريا العريض (6)، عزيزة المنيع (6)، نجلاء الحريري , هيفاء المنصور (3)، ريم عبدالله (3) ------ نساء مختلفة أسمائهن: غادة (7)، فاطمة (6)، عائشة (6)، نورة (5)، هند (4)، فوزية (5)، بدرية (4)، سامية (4)، ايمان (3)، مي (3)، عبير (3)، عهود (3)، سلوى (3)، مشاعل (2)، حنان (2)، اميرة (2)، فاتن (2)، موزة (2)، ابرار (2)، دلال (2)، مريم (2)، روان (2)، هبة (1)، مديحة (1)، امل (1)، ريماس (1)، ليلى (1)، سماهر (1)، هدى (1)، حصة (1)، سهيلة (1)، نوف (1)، نوال (1)، سعاد (1)، نجاة (1)، نور (1)، جواهر (1)، وعد (1)، سناء (1)، عفاف (1)، خديجة (1)، حليمة (1)، لؤلؤة (1)، اميمة (1)، العنود (1)، دارين (1)، حنين (1)، هناء (1)، نهى (1)، مضاوي (1)، رحاب (1)	Manal AlSharif (72), Haya AlManae (17), Samar AlMogren (13), Mona AlMushayet (10), Hayat Sendi (10), Aisha AlManae (6), Thuraya AlOraid (6), Aziza AlMane (6), Najla Al-Hariri (4), Haifa AlMansour (3), Reem Abdullah (3) ------ A variety of women named: Ghada (7), Aisha (6), Fatima (6), Noura (5), Fawzia (5), Hind (4), Badriya (4), Samia (4), Iman (3), Mai (3), Abeer (3), Ohoud (3), Salwa (3), Mashael (2), Hanan (2), Amira (2), Faten (2), Moza (2), Abrar (2), Dalal (2), Maryam (2), Rawan (2), Madiha (1), Heba (1), Amal (1), Rimas (1), Laila (1), Samaher (1), Huda (1), Hessa (1), Nouf (1), Suhaila (1), Souad (1), Nawal (1), Noor (1), Najat (1), Wafa (1), Aljohara (1), Amal (1), Sanaa (1), Afaf (1), Khadija (1), Halima (1), Lulwa (1), Umaimah (1), Al-Anoud (1), Dareen (1), Haneen (1), Hana (1), Noha (1), Madawi (1), Rehab (1)	هدى العميل (18)، هيفاء الصباب (13)، هيا العواد (13)، نورهان بسام (13)، الأميرة عبير (12)، نورة القحطاني (11)، اسماء محمد (10)، هلا السمنان (10)، ريما سلطان (10)، سلمى السنيد (6) ------ نساء مختلفة أسمائهن: فاطمة (20)، سارة (20)، اسراء (16)، امال (15)، هدى (15)، عبير (13)، حنان (13)، منى (12)، ليلى (12)، هند (11)، عائشة (11)، منال (11)، مها (11)، سمر (10)، ايمان (10)، , جواهر (9)، اسيل (9)، سحر (9)، غادة (9)، وفاء (9)، ريم (8)، مشاعل (8)، سميرة (8)، تهاني (7)، دلال (7)، سامية (7)، تغريد (7)، نوف (7)، امجاد (6)، اماني (6)، فوزية (6)، سلوى (6)، ليان (5)، سمية (5)، رحاب (5)، سماهر (4)، هناء (4)، ثريا (4)، نور (4)، ابرار (4)، نهى (4)، مريم (4)، رانيا (4)، لينا (4)، فايزة (4)، نسرين (4)، الجوهرة (4)، تماضر (3)، منيرة (3)، رشا (3)، عهود (3)، شريفة (3)، اميمة (3)، كوثر (3)، علا (3)، فادية (3)، فاتن (3)، اميرة (3)، تالا (3)، مجدولين (3)، بدرية (3)، بيان (3)، ديمة (3)، سعاد (3)، نوال (3)، رجاء (3)، ابتهال (3)، ليسا (2)، هتون (2)، ميسون (2)، اشواق (2)، سهير (2)، زهراء (2)، سناء (2)، غزيل (2)، ميساء (2)، ناهد (2)، فدوى (2)، خديجة (2)، حنين (2)، مرام (2)، هديل (2)، نجاح (2)، غيداء (2)، نشوى (2)، سوسن (2)، صفاء (2)، تركية (2)، اريج (2)، حياة (2)، موزة (2)، رهف (2)، دارين (1)، رؤى (1)، شيخة (1)، الهنوف (1)، وعد (1)، هنادي (1)، مروة (1)، فتون (1)، اروى (1)، دانا (1)، روان (1)، لؤلؤة (1)، حصة (1)، زينب (1)، جابرية (1)، هويدا (1)، مي (1)، هبة (1)، ياسمين (1)، فهدة (1)، شدى (1)، نجاة (1)، شعاع (1)، الجازي (1)، شيماء (1)، سهيلة (1)، نجلاء (1)، امينة (1)، اشجان (1)، بثينة (1)، عفاف (1)، لبنى (1)، مناهل (1)، سماح (1)، سعدى (1)	Huda Alameel (18), Haifa Al-Sabab (13), Haya Al-Awaad (12), Nourhan Bassam (12), Princess Abeer (12), Noura AlQahtani (11), Asma Mohamed (10), Hala Al-Samnaan (10), Reema Sultan (7), Salma Al-Seneyd (6) ------ A variety of women named: Fatima (20), Sarah (20), Israa (16), Amaal (15), Huda (15), Abeer (13), Hanan (13), Amal (12), Mona (12), Laila (12), Hind (11), Aisha (11), Manal (11), Maha (11), Samar (10), Iman (10), Jawaher (9), Aseel (9), Sahar (9), Ghada (9), Wafa (9), Reem (8), Mashael (8), Samira (8), Tahani (7), Dalal (7), Samia (7), Taghreed (7), Nouf (7), Amjad (6), Amani (6), Fawzia (6), Salwa (6), Layan (5), Sumaya (5), Rehab (5), Samaher (4), Hana (4), Thuraya (4), Noor (4), Abrar (4), Maryam (4), Rania (4), Noha (4), Faiza (4), Nasreen (4), Lina (4), Al-Jawhara (4), Tamadur (3), Munira (3), Rasha (3), Ohoud (3), Sherifa (3), Umayma (3), Kawthar (3), Ola (3), Fadia (3), Faten (3), Amira (3), Tala (3), Majdouline (3), Badriya (3), Bayan (3), Deema (3), Souad (3), Nawal (3), Rajaa (3), Ibtihal (3), Lisa (2), Hutun (2), Maysoon (2), Ashwaq (2), Soheir (2), Zahraa (2), Sanaa (2), Ghazil (2), Maysa (2), Nahed (2), Fadwa (2), Khadija (2), Hanin (2), Maram (2), Hadeel (2), Najah (2), Ghaida (2), Nashwa (2), Sawsan (2), Safaa (2), Turkish (2), Areej (2), Hayat (2), Moza (2), Rahaf (2), Dareen (1), Rua (1), Sheikha (1), Al Hanouf (1), Waad (1), Hanadi (1), Marwa (1), Feton (1), Arwa (1), Dana (1), Rawan (1), Lulwa (1), Hessa (1), Zainab (1), Jabriya (1), Howayda (1), Mai (1), Heba (1), Yasmine (1), Fahda (1), Shada (1), Najat (1), Shuaa (1), Al Jazi (1), Shaima (1), Suhaila (1), Najla (1), Amina (1), Ashjan (1), Buthaina (1), Afaf (1), Lubna (1), Manahil (1), Samah (1), Saada (1)

Table 35

Top Ten Most Frequent Saudi Women Nomination Frequencies and Percentages

UK1T (N=248)			UK2T (N=542)			SA1T (N=245)			SA2T (N=658)		
Manal Al-Sharif *Activist*	79	**31.9%**	Loujain Al-Hathloul *Activist*	57	**10.5%**	Manal Al-Sharif *Activist*	72	**29.4%**	Huda Al-Ameel *University Chancellor*	18	**2.7%**
Shaima Jastaina *Activist*	42	**16.9%**	Aziza Al-Yousef *Activist*	39	**7.2%**	Haya Al-Manae *Shura Member*	17	**6.9%**	Haifa Al-Sabab *CEO & Executive Leadership Advisor*	13	**2%**
Maha Al-Qahtani *Activist*	18	**7.4%**	Manal Al-Sharif *Activist*	36	**6.6%**	Samar Almogren *Writer*	13	**5.3%**	Haya Al-Awaad *Head of Girls' Education*	12	**1.8%**
Wajeha Al-Huwaider *Activist*	17	**6.9%**	Eman Al-Nafjan *Activist*	36	**6.6%**	Mona AlMusheyt *Shura Member*	10	**4.2%**	Noorhaan Bassam *Her car was torched*	12	**1.8%**
Najla Al-Hariri *Activist*	10	**4%**	Princess Hayfa *Artist*	29	**5.4%**	Hayat Sendi *Shura Member*	10	**4.2%**	Princess Abeer *Girls Committee Chairperson*	12	**1.8%**
Eman Al-Nafjan *Activist*	10	**4%**	Samar Almogren *Writer*	15	**2.8%**	Thuraya AlOraid *Shura Member*	6	**2.4%**	Noura Al-Qahtani *Lawyer + University Professor*	11	**1.7%**
Princess Ameerah Al-Taweel *Philanthropist & CEO*	7	**2.8%**	Madeha Al-Ajroosh *Activist*	15	**2.8%**	Aziza Al-Manae *University Professor*	6	**2.4%**	Asma Mohamed *Journalist + Activist*	10	**1.6%**
Samar Badawi *Activist*	7	**2.8%**	Aisha Al-Manae *Activist*	13	**2.4%**	Najla Al-Hariri *Activist*	4	**1.6%**	Hala Al-Samnaan *Consultant*	10	**1.6%**
May Al-Suwayan *Activist*	6	**2.4%**	Aseel AlHamad *Car Racer*	13	**2.4%**	Haifa Almansour *Movie Director*	3	**1.2%**	Princess Reema *Deputy Chair of General Authority for Sports*	7	**1%**
Madeha Al-Ajroosh *Activist*	6	**2.4%**	Nouf Abdelaziz *Activist*	11	**2%**	Reem Abdullah *Everyday, "conservative" woman*	3	**1.2%**	Salma Al-Seneyd *IT Program Manager*	6	**.9%**
TOTAL	202	**81.5%**	*TOTAL*	264	**48.7%**	*TOTAL*	144	**58.8%**	*TOTAL*	111	**16.9%**
Other names	46	**18.5%**	Other names	278	**51.3%**	Other names	101	**41.2%**	Other names	547	**83.1%**

Several nomination patterns emerge from Table 35 further clarifying which Saudi women were most frequently functionalized occupying particular roles:

UK1T and UK2T:

(1) Obvious prominence of activists' names in the UK1T (81.5%), with Manal's being the highest at 31.9%. The following are examples of how ***Manal*** was functionalized in 10 "random sample" concordances, and which were representative of the rest of the concordance lines:

copy her. </s><s>	**Manal**	al-Sherif and a group of other women started a Facebook page called "Teach me how to drive so I can protect myself",
dane scene where	**Manal**	al-Sharif, 32, is seen chatting to a female friend as she drives around the eastern city of Khobar. </s><s> But the image
esterday. </s><s>	**Manal**	al-Sharif, a 32-year-old IT expert, was arrested on Sunday and accused of "violating public order". </s><s> She started
rday one of them -	**Manal**	al-Sharif - posted on YouTube a video of herself defying the ban. </s><s> She was arrested, kept in jail for five days, to
called "We Are All	**Manal**	al-Sharif"which has 19,000 people signed up. </s><s> The justification for not letting women drive is given as "Islamic
s><s> On May 22,	**Manal**	Alsharif, who posted a YouTube video of her driving in the streets of Khobar, was arrested. </s><s> She was later relea
h of the campaign,	**Manal**	al- Sharif, a 32-year-old computer security consultant, was arrested and detained for 10 days after posting on
t to drive. </s><s>	**Manal**	al-Sherif said today that she and other activists are urging judicial authorities to launch proceedings based on
ith those. </s><s>	**Manal**	al-Sharif: 'They just messed with the wrong woman': She is the Saudi woman who became a symbol of female emancip
a to drive. </s><s>	**Manal**	al-Sharif was arrested for her pains and spent nine days in jail on suspicion of a crime called "incitement to public

As can be observed, the UK1T reported on both on how Manal Al-Sharif was a powerful woman seeking change (underlined in green), but also how she was victimized by being arrested for going against the driving ban (underlined in red). Together, both depictions create a generally well-rounded representation of the activists' on-ground experiences and how they were being treated by the officials. The only questionable point here is an obvious discrepancy in the number of days that Manal spent in prison, as the 4th line reports "five days" and the 10th line states "nine days", both concordances from *The Independent*. Discrepancies such as these, though alarming, the fact of the matter is that they are inevitable, but it only reaffirms that news consumers need to be vigilant when reading the news.

(2) Another Saudi woman whose name also exhibited an exceptionally high percentage when compared to the other names in the UK1T (Table 35) is that of activist Shaima Jastaina, and who was sentenced to 10 lashes for defying the driving ban:

a court sentenced Shaima	**Jastaina**	to 10 lashes for her participation in the 17 June Women2Drive campaign, when a handful of wom
efying driving ban: Shaima	**Jastaina**	sentenced to 10 lashes after being found guilty of driving without permission. </s><s> A Saudi w
/s><s> The driver, Shaima	**Jastaina**	, who is in her 30s, was found guilty of driving without permission, activist Samar Badawi said. </
t was not possible to reach	**Jastaina**	, but Badawi, in touch with Jastaina's family, said she had appealed against the verdict. </s><s>
, but Badawi, in touch with	**Jastaina's**	family, said she had appealed against the verdict. </s><s> Saudi Arabia is the only country in the
by King Abdullah: Shaima	**Jastaina**	was sentenced to be lashed 10 times after being found guilty of driving a car without permission.

As discussed before under Saudi women passivation, though this lashing verdict was very

unjust, it did not take place, and the UK press's foregrounding of this one victimized woman may give the impression that such physical victimization of women at that time was much more commonplace than it truly was, which again, does not reflect the reality.

(3) As for the UK2T, we find that there are fewer names of activists than in the UK1T, but still almost half of them are (48.7%), with the exception of Hayfa and Aseel, whose newsworthiness has already been discussed at length. Regarding most salient nomination patterns, we find that Loujain was most prominently named (10.5%) in the more recent UK news corpora. Indeed, Loujain was a very famous human rights activist who was repeatedly jailed for defying the driving ban and for campaigning to end Saudi's male guardianship system (Amnesty International, 2018).

Possible reasons for focusing on Loujain, as already touched on previously, may be due to the UK news media's agenda to increasingly report on Saudi women victimization as part of the UK's political agenda emphasizing Saudi government injustices, and which clearly started in the 2017-2019 corpora and is only escalating. To see whether this was an on-going movement, a quick review of *all* the headlines published on Saudi women in 2020 in the UK broadsheets and tabloids (i.e., 55 headlines total from the same newspaper sources used in this study) revealed that about 67% of these articles reported on the jailing of Loujain. This was an unexpected revelation as one would think, or perchance hope, that with the real-life improvements that Saudi women are experiencing in SA, a more representative depiction of Saudi women would have emerged.

SA1T and SA2T

(1) Manal's name was mentioned almost five times more than any other named woman (29.4%) in the SA1T, and with a very similar frequency rate to that found in the UK1T (31.9%). However, a "random sample" of concordances reveal how differently she was functionalized in the local Saudi press when compared to the depictions presented in the UK1T (translation below):

Left context	Keyword	Right context
الشريف ل قيادة ها سيارة في مدينة الخبر . <s/><s> استغل بعض	منال	جدلا حول قيادة المراة ل السيارة , و تحديدا عقب ايقاف المواطنة
الشريف في هذه القضية و تجربة ها المعروفة قبل اشهر و التي انته	منال	خالد الشاعر القضية من جوانب ها المختلفة و عرضا راي الناشطة
الشريف على اليوتيوب , قالت ان ها تعرضت ل تحرش من سائق ه	منال	او من ادغال افريقيا . <s/><s> و في تسجيل مصور ل السعودية
قادت سيارة ها الخاصة في شوارع الخبر ب شكل انيق , و هي تعلق	منال	خول ها في صراع مع سائق ها حول الوجهة و التكلفة . <s/><s> و
... <s/><s> تقود سيارة ها في شوارع الخبر >> و المقطع الثاني يحم	منال	ضمون و يختلفان في المعنى !! <s/><s> ف الاول يحمل اسم <<
>> هكذا تطلق على نفس ها و ب المناسبة تبدو اكثر تعليما من ام ع	منال	و محرك ها . <s/><s> اما << المقطع الاول >> ف تخرج في ه <<
>> ل قيادة السيارة ل قضاء حاجاة ها و ان ه نفد صبر ها و يجب ان	منال	رى تقوم << ب تصوير ها >> << ل تبادلان الحديث حول احتياج <<
, ف لا تزال تعتبر ذات << مطالب جديدة >> لم يقبل او يتقبل المج	منال	ياقة >> و لا احد ينكر قيادة ها ل السيارة في الشارع . <s/><s> اما
حكاية ام علي !! <s/><s> ام تستبق الزمن ب وضع العربة قبل الحص	منال	و ب كل تاكيد لا يقر ه النظام تبعا ل ذلك !! <s/><s> ف هل تفهم
الشريف , و رغم اعتراضى على التوقيت مع الاحداث السياسية الراه	منال	<s/><s> حتى مع الاحداث الاخيرة و خبر القبض على سائقة الخبر

1 a controversy about women driving a car, specifically after the citizen Manal Al-Sharif was stopped for driving a car in the city of Al-Khobar </s><s>

2 Khaled Al-Shaer, the case from its various aspects, and presented the opinions of the activist Manal Al-Sharif in this case and her well-known experience months ago

3 </s><s> and in a video recording for Saudi Manal Al-Sharif on YouTube, she said that she was harassed by a driver

4 her entry into a conflict with her driver about the destination and the cost. Manal drove her own car in the streets of Al-Khobar in an elegant manner, and she commented

5 the content and they differ in the meaning!!</s><s>The first one bears the name Manal </s><s>She is driving a car in the streets of Khobar >> and the second

6 as for <<the first scene >> in which Manal appears in, this is how she calls herself, and by the way she seems more educated than

7 another woman is << taking a video of her >> to talk about Manal's need to drive a car to meet her needs, and that her patience has run out and she must

8 and no one denies that she drove the car on the street.</s><s>As for Manal, she is still considered to have <<new demands>> he did not accept

9 certainly, the system does not approve it accordingly!!</s><s> So does Manal understand Umm Ali's story!!</s><s>Or is she rushing putting the car before the crate?

10 s><s> Even with the recent events and the news of the arrest of the Khobar driver, Manal Al-Sharif, and despite my objection to the timing with the current political events

Here we see how the Saudi press focused more on Manal's opinions and everyday ordeals (underlined in green) but even more so on impressions of Manal and her attempt to drive (underlined in red). Overall, the discourses surrounding Manal in both the UK1T and SA1T are quite different, and clearly mirror and serve each countries' ideologies and agendas. As previously observed under *Exclusion*, the most frequent social actor, apart from women, in the Saudi corpora was the "society" which ranked #1 in the SA1T and #2 in the SA2T. As such, it becomes evident that the Saudi media regularly included societal opinions that seemed to also, in some cases, blatantly and conveniently reinforce the government's' stance against women driving (lines 9 and 10 above), and even when Manal was supported, it was done so indirectly in the form of presenting her attempt out of a dire need to drive and due to foreign male driver harassment (lines 3, 4, and 7 above).

(2) A larger variety of Saudi women functionalization was observed in the SA1T when compared to the UK1T (i.e., Shura member, writer, university professor, movie director, and a conservative everyday Saudi woman) which is no doubt more representative of the large array of everyday Saudi women functionalization in the Saudi society. Additionally, what was pleasantly surprising is that the more current SA2T not only portrayed Saudi women in an even larger variety of roles (Table 35, p. 180), but the overall frequency of these roles was quite low (16.9% as opposed to UK1T 81.5%, UK2T 48.7%, SA1T 58.8%) which basically means that there was no functionalization dominance in the SA2T news media (ranging from a low 2.7%

to .9% as the top 10 listed above, Table 35). This further implies that the majority of other Saudi women named in the SA2T (83.1%) perhaps better represent a larger functionalization of Saudi women than that found in the more limited UK2T (51.3%).

5.2.3 Overall Textual Representations of Saudi Women Agency

1. Activation shifts over time: Textual activation and functionalization of Saudi women was overall prominent in all four UK and SA corpora. Saudi women activation frequency remained stable to a certain extent in the 2017-2019 UK press (UK1T 44.5%; UK2T 42.2%) but increased in the SA news media (from 46% in the SA1T to 56.4% in the SA2T). However, textual beneficialization of Saudi women who are gaining agency and becoming more empowered significantly increased over time in both the UK and SA news media: from 7.2% in the UK1T to 39.2% in the UK2T and from 12.3% in the SA1T to 42.3% in the SA2T. As for textual functionalization of Saudi women, it was found that the SA1T functionalized Saudi women most frequently (90.1%), followed by the UK2T (83.9%), then the UK1T (79.4%), and finally the SA2T (70%).

2. Types of activation and functionalization: Saudi women activation in the UK and SA news media was found to revolve around 4 distinct role allocation themes by which Saudi women are depicted as (a) driving, which dominated in all four corpora, (b), participants in a driving-related actions, (c) working members in society, which increased in diversity over time and (d) speaking, being interviewed, or presenting. As to how they were functionalized, Saudi women were found taking on various roles in society, and it can be claimed that the strongest textual role was that of Saudi women drivers, and those related to driving in all four UK and SA corpora, followed by an array of professional roles (e.g., academics, government employees and officials, etc.,). As for the UK news media, Saudi women were mainly functionalized as activists both in the past and more current corpora. Though activism can be powerful, the manner in which the activists were portrayed often suggested Orientalist undertones, as the next point will outline.

3. Backgrounding: Overall, three main textual passive representation patterns were detected in both UK and SA news corpora, more specifically, Saudi women as (a) a subjected social actor due to legal actions taken against her, (b) a subjected social actor resulting from long-standing societal discriminatory practices against women, and (c) a disempowered social actor via depictions of impersonalization. Authoritative *subjugation* of Saudi women dominated in the UK1T (82.8%), SA1T (64.6%), and UK2T (61.9%), but which greatly decreased in the

more current SA2T news media (13%). Additionally, Orientalist and marginalized discursive undertones in the UK1T, UK2T, and SA1T press were evident in the representations of Saudi women agency via role allocation and functionalization (Table 36 below).

Table 36

Salient Orientalist and Marginalized Saudi Women Representations

UK News Media	Radical	UK1T	protests defiantly
	Victim	UK1T	domestic abuses resulting in fleeing and leaving
	Victim	UK1T	(a) treated as a 2nd-class citizen, (b) repressed due to past injustices
	Victim	UK1T	being killed in an accident
	Victim	UK1T/UK2T	being sentenced to 10 lashes
	Victim	UK1T/UK2T	*activist* often collocated with suffering, fear, and detainment
	Victim	UK2T	exaggeration of activists being labelled as *traitors* as this incident was mentioned 43 times, but only truly occurred once in one Saudi newspaper
	Victim	UK2T	repeated and increased foregrounding of Loujain being jailed though the driving ban was lifted
	Submissive	UK1T	fertility would be affected so women should not drive
	Submissive	UK2T	(a) remains a 2nd-class citizen, (b) fears male relatives
	Incompetent	UK2T	women lack intelligence, then become promiscuous
	Assimilated	UK2T	focus more on Saudi women academics as activists rather than as actual professors in educational institutes thus limiting the range of depictions of Saudi women roles in society
	Assimilated	UK2T	women were less quoted using their names in the UK2T media when compared to the SA2T
	Inactive	UK1T/UK2T	absence of non-domestic activities and work Saudi women are capable of (e.g., no visual functionalization of Saudi women as members of the Shura in the UK1V)
SA News Media	Silenced	SA1T	no patterns pointing to women saying anything
	Submissive	SA1T	(a) protesting via demanding only, (b) remains a submissive housewife
	Victim	SA1T	male driver harassment and other social restrictions
	Object	SA1T	should not drive as to not affect her ovaries and pregnancy

5.2.4 Cultural Categorization

Though the focus of the data is on issues surrounding driving in Saudi Arabia, thus not a context where one would expect people's attire to be discussed, what Saudi women wore seemed to be an issue that surfaced repeatedly in the UK media, with a strong logDice score of 8.36 in the UK1V and 7.2 in the UK2V. Concordances demonstrate that Saudi women were represented in terms of:

(a) What they **wear** (7/8.36) in the UK1T which is the restricting "all-encompassing" abaya [cloak] that renders them "oppressed submissive women", "hiding" from the world in fear of driving since it may "encourage" them not to wear niqabs.

arf and the all-encompassing black abaya that	**women**	must **wear** in public, Ms Sherif extolled the virtues of driving for women
gated in the West of an oppressed, submissive	**woman**	**wearing** a full Burqa - and possibly also this in the light of the Saudi na
French president Sarkozy's campaign against	**women**	**wearing** coverings hiding their faces." </s><s> Abdullah appointed the
e door for sexual harassment and encourages	**women**	to not **wear** the niqab under the pretext that they cannot see the road

(b) What they **wear** (5/7.2) in the UK2T which often (un)knowingly encourages homogenization by spreading inaccuracies surrounding what the different types of hijabs [coverings] are, such as "the face-covering niqabs" (see example below). A UK non-Muslim reader would most likely imagine this to be a full-face veil since "face-covering" modifies the niqab, but in reality, a niqab shows a good portion of a woman's eyes and sometimes forehead. Then again, some journalists reported on seeing a abaya that was "hung open" and another reported that "rules over the colour and decoration worn [on abayas] have been relaxed", when in reality, there were never any rules that pertain to what colour public attire should or should not be.

s><s> Full length abayas - a long coat worn over other clothes - must be **worn** by all	**women**	in public, although rules over the colour and decoration worn have been relaxed. it is
inst a black background, in a nod to the face-covering niqabs that are **worn** by many	**women**	in the ultra-conservative country. </s><s> The caption read: "Welcome to the driver's
to her hips in frizzy waves over her cream abaya (a long, baggy coat **worn** by Saudi	**women**	), which hung open. </s><s> Her glasses were wire-rimmed circles. </s><s> Rama h
her travelling abroad or receiving certain types of medical treatment. </s><s> Every	**woman**	**wears** the abaya, many wear a niqab, and the overwhelming majority -- bar a few ret

Spreading such misperceptions could be purposefully encouraged by the UK media to satisfy news agenda goals, or quite possibly just due to sheer lack of accurate information on what Saudi women can (not) wear publicly. In any case, including this type of information clearly serves off-topic agenda ideologies since all the examples above show that what Saudi women wore was not being discussed in relation to how it would affect their driving abilities, as is the case in the SA1T – Examples below:

The difference is that no salient pattern of being represented in terms of their abaya or face coverings were detected in the SA1T or SA2T, and when the hijab was referred to, as can be seen from the examples above, it was to discuss practical matters of driving while wearing the hijab without insinuating how Saudi women are restricted by wearing it.

To better understand how frequently the UK and SA media actually referred to the various types of hijab-related clothing in the identification of Saudi women, all attire tokens were collected, the results of which are as follows (Table 37), and a summary is also provided in Table 38 below:

Table 37

Saudi Women Attire Tokens and Frequencies in the UK and SA Corpora

Token	Translation	UK1T (N=41)	UK2T (N=148)	SA1T (N=72)	SA2T (N=42)
محجبة	hijabi	0	0	1	1
متحجبات	hijabis	0	0	1	0
حجاب	hijab	1	2	10	1
الحجاب	the hijab	0	0	17	2
N/A	headscarf	9	21	0	0
العباية	the abaya	0	0	1	0
عباية	abaya	7	41	0	0
N/A	long coat	0	3	0	0
N/A	robe	0	27	0	0
N/A	cloak	1	4	0	0
نقاب	veil (eyes show)	3	6	1	0
منقبة	veiled woman (eyes show)	0	0	0	1
المنقبة	the veiled woman (eyes show)	0	0	0	2
المنقبات	the veiled women (eyes show)	0	0	0	1
منقبات	veiled women (eyes show)	4	2	1	0
النقاب	the veil (eyes show)	0	0	3	1
اللثام	the veil (eyes show)	0	0	1	0
ملثمة	veiled (eyes show)	0	0	0	2
نقاب	(the) niqab	4	26	4	2
برقع	burqa	1	1	1	0
البرقع	the burqa	0	0	1	0
N/A	face-covering(s) / hiding face	1	3	0	0
غطاء (الوجه/الرأس)	head/face covering	0	0	1	0
ستر	covered	5	0	1	0
الاحتشام	modestly dressed	0	1	0	1
الحشمة	modestly dressed	0	0	2	6
محتشمة	modestly dressed	0	0	3	2
المحتشمة	modestly dressed	0	0	1	2
محترمة	respectable (including attire)	0	0	1	1

المحترمة	respectable (including attire)	0	0	0	2
التزام	conservative (including attire)	0	0	5	1
الالتزام	conservative (including attire)	0	0	1	5
ملتزمة	conservative (including attire)	1	0	1	2
الملتزمة	conservative (including attire)	0	0	2	3
محافظة	conservative (including attire)	0	0	0	2
المحافظة	conservative (including attire)	0	0	2	0
N/A	strict dress code	4	10	0	0
وجه المرأة محرم	uncovered woman's face is a sin	0	0	1	0
كشف وجه المرأة	uncovered woman's face	0	0	5	1
كاشفة	uncovered / revealing	0	1	2	1
عورة (هي أو وجهها)	uncovered	0	0	2	0

Table 38

Saudi Women Attire Summary in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	Conservative						Unconser-vative	TOTAL (ATTIRE)
	face covering, veil, niqab, burqa	strict dress code, covered	hijab, hijabis	headscarf	abaya, robe, cloak	TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	uncovered	
UK1T (N=59,975)	13	10	1	9	8	41 (.07%)	0	41 (.07%)
UK2T (N=136,620)	38	11	2	21	75	147 (.11%)	1	148 (.11%)
SA1T (N=175,079)	13	19	29	0	1	62 (.04%)	10	72 (.04%)
SA2T (N=320,464)	9	27	4	0	0	40 (.01%)	2	42 (.01%)

One of the most prominent observations that can be made here is that the more current UK2T news reports seemed to focus the most on Saudi women's conservative attire in general (.11%), which is unexpected and questionable since the emphasis of the collected articles is on issues relating to protesting and driving. What is equally disconcerting is that while a discussion of what Saudi women wore and why decreased in the 2017-2019 Saudi news media (.04% to .01%), in the UK press there was an increase (.07% to .11%), mostly focusing on the *abaya* (75), followed by the *face covering* and its types the *niqab*, *veil,* and *burqa* (37), *headscarf* (21), and finally strict *dress code* (12). A closer look at the concordances that include these attire-related tokens in both the UK1T and UK2T reveal the following:

(1) 7 out of 8 times that the *abaya* was mentioned in the UK1T pointed to a foregrounding of forced conservatism – Examples:

190

In the UK2T, however, some changes in depictions towards the *abaya*, and perhaps the women wearing them, were observed as **a.** evolving (lines 1, 2, & 3), **b.** fashionable (4, 5 & 6), and **c.** highly conservative (lines 7,8, & 9) – Examples:

a quiet revolution in women's rights through business and sports, specifically hi-tech **abayas** that allow women to exercise in public areas. \</s>\<s> Cheerful
exist comments on social media over women driving. \</s>\<s> "Look at how women's **abayas** have evolved -- different styles and colours -- despite strong res
ance to women's exercise. \</s>\<s> She said she knows of three companies making **abayas** for running and two more that have robes designed for cycling.
ise public spaces without male chaperones, often work in mixed gender environments and wear glittery **abayas** in shades of grey and blue as v
nd a good portion of their free time. \</s>\<s> Shops are now staffed by female cashiers selling colourful **abayas** , rather than just the black hue
Haifa's eyes were thick with eyeliner. \</s>\<s> Her friends all had sequins subtly embroidered into their **abayas** . \</s>\<s> For a few days, in Riy
provided they wear a long robe known as an **abaya** -- without being stopped by the religious police. \</s>\<s> They might sound small and inadequate, but f
hair and face, swamping her body in a black **abaya** to avoid the wrath of the religious police. \</s>\<s> The cinemas closed. \</s>\<s> The music stopped. \</:
i women are expected to wear the long, dark **abaya** robe and a headscarf. \</s>\<s> Dress is monitored by religious police and women have been detained

(2) Similar results surfaced for *headscarf*. The UK1T only mentioned it in reference to conservative Saudi women having to wear them (lines 1 and 2), but in the UK2T, the discourse surrounding the *headscarf* was more varied as in addition to only depicting it as a modest piece of clothing, it was also referred to as a fashionable article of dress (lines 3 and 4) reflecting possible changing attitudes towards those wearing it – Examples:

They are also bound by law to wear long robes and a **headscarf** and require the consent of a male guardian for most legal actions.
are expected to wear the long, dark abaya robe and a **headscarf** . \</s>\<s> Dress is monitored by religious police and women have
ed in an elegant flowing white ensemble and matching **headscarf** as she posed in the driver's seat of a convertible in the desert out
Arabia's inaugural March 2017 issue in an embellished **headscarf** . \</s>\<s> Social media users Photoshop Saudi princess' Vogue c

(3) Whereas the *face covering, niqab*, *veil* and *burqa* in the UK1T are mentioned within a context of being obligatory attire for Saudi women, which on-ground is not the reality (lines 1, 2, and 3), in the UK2T, though the majority of concordances did exhibit similar attitudes, there were a few concordances suggesting that wearing these types of face coverings has become more relaxed – Examples:

As well as a ban on driving, Saudi Arabia are also obliged to wear a **veil** in public, and cannot travel unless accompanied by th
ars in a rare challenge to the kingdom's Islamic laws. \</s>\<s> Faces **veiled** in accordance with Islamic law, more than a dozen wo
al Riyadh. \</s>\<s> One clip shows a woman driving in the traditional **veil** with only her eyes showing but as the footage shows
here women can put safety ahead of official dress codes, and swap their **veil** and abaya for leathers and helmet. \</s>\<s> Getting
The kingdom's dress code requires women to wear an abaya (cloak) and **veil** , though the latter is selectively enforced. \</s>\<s> In
abayas in public. \</s>\<s> Most also cover their hair and face with a black **veil** , though exceptions are made for visiting dignitaries.

The UK2T for the most part depicts the ***niqab*** in the same way (lines 1, 2, and 3), but there were 3 lines (4, 5, and 6) that stood out for highlighting how frivolous (i.e., laughing, giggling, and cackling) Saudi women can be, and which by no means related to the context of driving – Examples:

(4) No changes towards Saudi women's depiction of their ***dress code*** were observed over time in the UK2T (lines 1,2, and 3) when compared to the UK1T (lines 4, 5, and 6) as in both corpora perceptions of how authoritarian Saudi women attire is was the focal point – Examples:

In general, we can clearly see that the UK press foregrounded Saudi women in terms of what they wear (i.e., various public clothing articles) and which oftentimes was really not about a particular piece of clothing, but rather what it collocated with. And from what has been discussed, one can state that, overall, the discourse on how Saudi women were identified textually in the UK press is that of being obligated to wear the abaya, veil, niqab, etc. but that over time, these stringent laws became more lenient.

However, when we look at the Saudi press, both past and more current, we find that the reports rarely alluded to these specific pieces of clothing as the discourse of dressing modestly is more religiously rooted in the local news media. To demonstrate, we find that ***hijab*** (which literally translates to "barrier" and encompasses all modest attire that covers the head and body including headscarves, veils, abayas, and so on) is the most frequently mentioned word in the SA1T (29), and which directly collocates with religious beliefs and societal concerns in half of the concordances – Examples below:

192

، في سوق عام في محل خاص ب ها محترم مرتدية **حجاب** ها الشرعي ف هنا تبدا الاعتراضات و التحدث عن مساوئ الاختلاط

ن الامساك ب مقود سيارة ها , في ظل التزام ها ب **حجاب** ها الشرعي و التزام ها التام ب الذوق العام فيما يتعلق ب مظهر ها

علن دائما في حياة هن اليومية و اخريات التزمن ب **حجاب** هن الاسلامي و لم يبد ان احدا كان يدعو الى ما يثير الشغب او التج

a public market in a respectable private place, wearing her Islamic hijab. This is where oppositions begin and talk about the disadvantages of mixing occur

holding the steering wheel of her car, in light of her commitment to her Islamic hijab and her complete commitment to public expectations with regard to her appearance

always in their daily lives and others adhered to their Islamic hijab, and it did not appear that anyone was calling for what would provoke riots

And Saudi women ***uncovering*** this hijab - a strong fear tied to potentially driving - was also most frequently mentioned in the SA1T (10), but which almost diminished in the SA2 (2), and was nearly non-existent in both UK1T/UK2T news corpora since religious dilemmas such as these were most probably not considered as newsworthy to the everyday UK news reader, and which is in line with O'Neill and Harcup (2019) whose list of most frequently foregrounded news values in the UK press did not include items pointing to people's attire – SA1T Examples:

لن تستطيع المراة القيادة مع ه , و ان كان مع **كشف** الوجه ف تلك مصيبة , ل ان الكثير من الاسر في بلاد نا - و الحمد ل اله

:د نا - و الحمد ل اله - محافظ ه و لا ترضى ب **كشف** الوجه , و ان كان مع لبس النقاب ف هذا قد يطبق في البداية ثم ينزع به

s> و لكن الحكومة تصرفت ك ما تصرفت في **كشف** وجه المراة .. <s/><s> ف قد تركة ه ل المجتمع ل يقرر ذلك , دون امر ه

a woman will not be able to drive with him and if she uncovers her face, that will be catastrophic, because many families in our country, praise be to Allah…

praise be to God - he is a governor and you do not accept uncovering the face, and if you wear the niqab, you may remove it over time

But the government acted as it did in matters concerning women uncovering their face..</s><s>It was left to society to decide that

And on the flipside, the concept of a conservatively dressed Saudi women who is محتشمة [covered well], محترمة [respectably dressed], ملتزمة [conservatively dressed] (Table 37 above) is what is emphasized in the local Saudi press, and especially in the SA2T (27), which could be interpreted as the media, under government guidance, is reassuring people that allowing women to drive will not affect her conservative, modest appearance and nature as to keep Wahhabi backlash to a minimum – Examples:

بنات الوطن في التنمية دون ان يتنافى ذلك مع **الالتزام** الشرعي و الاخلاقي . <s/><s> و ذكر الوزير العواد ان القيادة الكريم

ركبات , و ان يظل ديدن و عهد الفتاة السعودية **الالتزام** الخلقي و الديني ل تاكيد جدارة المراة السعودية في التمتع ب هذا ا

الحياء , و قدوات ل كل نساء الارض ب الدين و **الالتزام** و الحياء . <s/><s> و س يبقى مجتمع نا السعودي ب اخلاق ه العر

ة او طائرة و غير هما , و س يبقين دوما رموزا ل **الحشمة** و الحياء , و قدوات ل كل نساء الارض ب الدين و الالتزام و الحياء .

هذا البلد يقدن السيارات خارج البلد ملتزمين ب **الحشمة** و مراعين ل الاداب العامة , و هن محل الثقة و الاحترام . <s/><s>

لسعوديات قادرات على تحقيق احلامهن , اذ ان **الحشمة** و الحجاب << لم و لن يكن عائقا امام الابداع و النجاح >>. 5 تهم امَ

the daughters of the homeland are in development without contradicting Islamic and moral appearance, and Minister Al-Awwad mentioned that the dignified leadership

vehicles, and that the vows and covenants [including appearance] of the Saudi girl remain the moral and religious obligation that confirms the Saudi woman's worthiness to enjoy this

modesty, and they are role models for all the women of the earth in terms of religion, commitment and modest [appearance].</s><s>And our Saudi society will remain with its morals

or a plane or something else, and they will always remain symbols of modest appearance and modesty, and role models for all women on earth in terms of religion, commitment and modesty.

in this country, they drive cars outside the country, observing modest dress and public morals, and they are trusted and respected.</s><s>

Saudi women are able to realize their dreams, as modest dress and the hijab << have not and will not be an obstacle to creativity and success >> 5 counts

Constraints in multimodally investigating Saudi women cultural identification emerged twice:

Turning to an investigation of Saudi women's relational identification, the following findings emerged:

Table 39

Saudi Women Relational Identification

Roles	(grand) mother	(house) wife	(grand) daughter	sister	divorced	widowed	*TOTAL*
UK1T (N=59,975)	44 (.08%)	34 (.05%)	15 (.02%)	6 (.01%)	6 (.01%)	2 (0%)	**107 (.17%)**
UK2T (N=136,620)	68 (.04%)	45 (.03%)	54 (.03%)	19 (.01%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	**186 (.13%)**
SA1T (N=175,079)	15 (0%)	60 (.04%)	12 (0%)	41 (.03%)	17 (1%)	13 (0%)	**158 (.08%)**
SA2T (N=320,464)	25 (.01%)	79 (.03%)	15 (0%)	41 (.02%)	24 (0%)	18 (0%)	**202 (.06%)**

Overall, Saudi women were scarcely functionalized as a family member in all four news corpora, and which mirrors the almost non-existing images of women that have, as discussed earlier, clearly defined visual family relations. One can claim here that though such relations do exist multimodally in the news corpora to some extent, within the context of this research, relational representations were not a focal point in any of the UK and SA news media, and in fact slightly decreased in the more current news media corpora, from .17% to .13% in the UK press and from .08% to .06% in the Saudi news media.

Moving on to what extent Saudi women were represented as *Individualized* or *Collectivized* social actors, whereas visually investigating these cultural features was relatively a straightforward process which could be applied on all images as previously demonstrated, limitations surfaced when evaluating textual individualization and collectivization, and this was mainly due to English-Arabic linguistic differences.

For one, if we look once again at the frequency percentages of the singular and plural social actor (Table 40 below), we find that though singular/plural forms and frequencies of the lemma "woman" are clear in the UK1T and UK2T, in Arabic, the word المرأة [the woman] (the most frequently used form to refer to women in this research, SA1T (N=2292) and SA2T (N=4028)), is technically singular but depending on its context, المرأة [the woman] can frequently take on a

plural meaning. And, hence, such meaning duality makes it unfeasible to accurately calculate Arabic singular and plural forms.

Table 40

Frequency of Social Actor Words in the UK and SA Corpora

Corpora	امرأة / woman	فتاة أو بنت / girl	سيدة / lady	TOTAL
UK1 **(N=59,975)**	women (1149), woman (229), women's (124), woman's (15)	N/A	N/A	**1517** **(2.2% of corpus)**
UK2 **(N=136,620)**	women (2450), women's (399), woman (197), woman's (51)	N/A	N/A	**3097** **(2% of corpus)**
SA1 **(N=175,079)**	المرأة [the woman] (2292) النساء [the women] (458) امرأة [woman] (136) نساء [women] (110) نسائ [women] (29) النسوة [the women] (18) كامرأة [as a woman] (8) نسوة [women] (6) كنساء [as women] (1) **Total: 3058**	البنات [the girls] (37) الفتاة [the girl] (33) فتاة [girl] (23) الفتيات [the girls] (13) بنات [girls] (13) بنت [girl] (9) البنت [the girl] (8) فتيات [the girls] (4) **Total: 140**	سيدة [lady] (30) السيدة [the lady] (26) السيدات [the ladies] (24) سيدات [ladies] (20) **Total: 100**	**3298** **(1.7% of corpus)**
SA2 **(N=320,464)**	المرأة [the woman] (4028) النساء [the women] (961) امرأة [woman] (140) نساء [women] (140) نسائ [women] (11) كنساء [as women] (10) النسوة [the women] (4) كامرأة [as a woman] (2) **Total: 5296**	الفتيات [the girls] (63) بنت [girl] (62) البنات [the girls] (57) بنات [girls] (41) الفتاة [the girl] (33) فتاة [girl] (28) فتيات [the girls] (15) البنت [the girl] (6) **Total: 305**	السيدات [the ladies] (311) سيدة [lady] (86) سيدات [ladies] (63) السيدة [the lady] (31) **Total: 491**	**6092** **(1.8% of corpus)**

Additionally, with cross-linguistic textual analyses, we need to be cognizant of the fact that there are many morphological differences between English and Arabic which may play a big part in how frequently, or not, the singularity or plurality of words are discernable via corpus tools, especially in large-scale datasets. To clarify, we first need to keep in mind that the style of Modern Standard Arabic texts (MSA), such as those of news articles, strongly resemble the classical scriptures of the Quran (Aljazeera, 2008). So, in Arabic, lexically "male" terms, such as المسلمين [the Muslims] actually refers to both Muslim males and females, though in the Quran there is also the exclusive female form that ends with the plural اﺕ /æt/ المسلمات [Muslim women].

Furthermore, historically, it was mainly the men who went out into the world and played active roles outside the home in the Middle East, and for this reason, professions and roles were chiefly labelled using male terminology (Alsharaa, 2020). Hence, distinguishing singular female functionalized social actors would also not be possible via corpus tools alone. For instance, the word عضو [member] appeared many times in all four UK and SA corpora, especially in the SA1T and SA2T whereby Saudi women increasingly becoming Shura members was foregrounded, but because عضو [member] refers to both a singular male and a singular female member, detecting these singular forms would also be a complicated matter.

195

As to how frequently Saudi women were textually identified in the company of men, we find that overall, the UK and SA news press did not focus to a large extent on this aspect of cultural categorization (Table 41).

Table 41

Saudi Women and Men Gender Mixing and Segregation Frequencies in the UK and SA Corpora

Token	Translation	UK1T (N=59,975)	UK2T (N=136,620)	SA1T (N=175,079)	SA2T (N=320,464)
اختلاط (ال)	(the) mix/mixing genders	20	8	9	18
الفصل بين الجنسين	segregated/ segregation	0	1	0	5

However, a closer look at the concordances did reveal slight differences in how the UK and SA reported on women and men mixing (Table 42 below):

Table 42

Saudi Women and Men Segregation Collocates in the UK and SA Corpora

UK1T	UK2T
1 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 <s> Nor are they allowed to **mix** freely with men. </s><s> T	1 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 </s><s> Complex rules on the **mixing** of genders in work and social
2 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 g. </s><s> He denounced " **mixing** of the sexes" and "the tea	2 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 don't want men and women to **mix** in the workplace, and they dor
3 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 uwaysh, publicly attacked " **mixing** with women on the basis c	3 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 walking the streets, much less **mixing** in close quarters with males. <
4 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ucture to ensure no gender **mixing** takes effect. </s><s> Yet,	4 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 id women are not supposed to **mix** , meaning that they are separa
5 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 situations that lead to them **mixing** with and meeting men. </s	5 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 s on social media, irked by the **mixing** of genders on national day, de
6 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 will encourage the sexes to **mix** freely and threaten public	6 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 men and women cannot freely **mix** . </s><s> Earlier this month, S
7 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 iat driving will allow greater **mixing** of genders. </s><s> Saud	7 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 the culture here still shuns the **mixing** of unrelated men and women.

SA1T	SA2T
1 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 و ركيزة هما الاولى هي معضلة **الاختلاط** . </s><s/> تزاول في القرى و	1 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 قراد المجتمع يرددون كلمة << **الاختلاط** >> ب صورة ظريفة جدا , عند
2 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 راضات و التحدث عن مساوئ **الاختلاط** و مساوئ بيع المراة ل الرجل	2 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 لي ها بعض الوظائف ب حجة **الاختلاط** او << المراة ليس ل ها الا البي
3 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ب العلمي ف اخذ يكرس حرمة **الاختلاط** حتى يسنح ل ه الخروج الامن	3 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 مكاتب تنسيق تجنب النساء **الاختلاط** ب العاملين بورش السيارات
4 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 المراة ل قيادة السيارة مخافة **الاختلاط** المحرم مع الرجال و في نفس	4 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ين ها ب سبب اما الازدحام او **الاختلاط** ب العاملين ب تلك الورش و
5 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 الحساسية الكبيرة من موضوع **الاختلاط** . </s><s/> لا يمكن ان تقود اا	5 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ح سيارة هن , دون الحاجة الى **الاختلاط** ب الرجال , و هذا الامر يحتم .
6 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ة الرجال , ف تكون معرضة ل **الاختلاط** المسبب ل الفتنة). هنا ايضا	6 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ي ? </s><s/> ام ان ه نوع من **الاختلاط** , و س تعملون على فصل في
7 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 او يعرض المراة ل الخطر او ل **الاختلاط** ف يمكن ان يكون المنع بناء ء	7 ☐ ⓘ doc#0 ر</s><s/> الخ . </s><s/> شماعة **الاختلاط** , و عدم ف هم معنى المحرم و
And their main dilemma is mixing <s><s/> practiced in vallies	society keeps repeating the word <<mixing>> in a very funny way
they accept and speak of the disadvantages of mixing and selling	some jobs under the pretext of gender mixing and that women should stay in the home
confirms the prohibition of mixing so that allows him to go out	coordinating offices that help women avoid mixing with male employees in car service stations
in driving there is a fear of sinful mixing with men and at the same	the reason either being traffic or mixing with employees in car service stations
very sensitive about the issue of gender mixing <s><s/> she can't drive	in their cars without having to mix with other men and this situation requires (in reference to the car service station)
men, so she may be faced with gender mixing that leads to corruption	or it's a type of mixing, and you will try to segregate (in reference to the car service station)
may put women at risk or in mixed gender situations so refusing may be based on	<s><s/> under the pretext of gender mixing and their misunderstanding of what is sinful

These examples, which make up the majority of concordances where Saudi women were represented as mixing with men, illustrate that there was not much change over time in the UK press as in both UK1T and UK2T, the chief focus was on how driving will *encourage* the mixing of sexes and that this is *not allowed* in the Saudi society. However, if we look at the examples in the Saudi press, we find that there is a great diachronic shift in perception. While discourses of *fear* and *sin* dominated in the SA1T, *sarcastically calling out* those who still perceive driving as problematic/sinful (underlined in red) and establishing women-only car maintenance shops (underlined in green) were the salient themes in the SA2T. In effect, (**a**) undermining backward comments on how women and men driving together on the streets would lead to immoral acts as well as (**b**) preparing for them female-only car service stations, both reflect how SA supported women driving both mentally and logistically in the SA2T – discourses that greatly differ from those in the UK2T.

5.3 Linking Visual and Textual Representations

This section aims to better understand how Saudi women were multimodally constructed and made newsworthy in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media in relation to the female driving ban and protests in Saudi Arabia and to what extent, if any, Orientalist representations could be detected. To do this, both visual representation analyses (5.1.1) and textual representation analyses (5.1.2) are compared, as proposed in the CAMDA Framework, with the aim of discovering to what degree the visual and textual representation findings converge and/or diverge, giving a more comprehensive picture of how the UK and Saudi media depicted Saudi women agency and cultural identification. This approach will also help to assess the benefits of a multimodal analysis to study representations of social actors in the media; in other words, what we can learn from a multimodal analysis that standalone textual or visual analyses cannot tell.

First, a quantitative comparison of overall multimodal representations of activation and passivation was conducted by calculating textual/visual representation averages for each of the four corpora (Table 43 below) to get an initial general sense of Saudi women agency in the UK and SA media (Note: Functionalization findings were not included as functionalized Saudi women were also all found to be Transactive Agents, and therefore including those results would have been repetitive). Subsequently, a summary (Table 44 below) and a more qualitative

in-depth discussion of multimodal agency and cultural categorization findings and newsworthiness is presented.

Table 43

Frequency Percentages for Overall Multimodal Agency of Saudi Women in the UK and SA Corpora

Multimodal Corpus	Overall Active Agency and Empowerment				Overall Passivation & Disempowerment			
	Visual Agency Via Role Allocation (Activation & Beneficial-ization) and Power Relations	Textual Active (Activation & Beneficial-ization) Agency	Multimodal Active Agency		Visual Passivity Via Role Allocation (i.e., Passivation) and Power Relations	Textual Passivity	Multimodal Passivity	
Frequency Shifts Over Time								
UK1	67.7%	51.7%	59.7%	↗	32.3%	48.3%	40.3%	↘
UK2	81.4%	81.4%	81.4%		18.6%	18.6%	18.6%	
SA1	56.3%	58.3%	57.3%	↗	43.8%	41.7%	42.7%	↘
SA2	84.5%	98.7%	91.6%		15.5%	1.3%	8.4%	
UK vs. SA Corpora								
UK1	67.7%	51.7%	**59.7%**		32.3%	48.3%	**40.3%**	
SA1	56.3%	58.3%	57.3%		43.8%	41.7%	42.7%	
UK2	81.4%	81.4%	81.4%		18.6%	18.6%	**18.6%**	
SA2	84.5%	98.7%	**91.6%**		15.5%	1.3%	8.4%	

Table 43 shows high quantitative convergence when it comes to how frequently Saudi women were multimodally activated and passivized in both, past and more current, UK and SA news media within the context of this study. More specifically, we can see that there were obvious shifts in multimodal representations of Saudi women as active social actors in both the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK (from 59.7% to 81.4%) and even more obviously so in the SA (57.3% to 91.6%) news corpora. These findings, thus, entail that Saudi women were passivized less across the board in the more current UK and SA news media, most notably in the SA2 (8.4%).

Table 44

Summary of Saudi Women Multimodal Agency Representations in the UK and SA News

Representations	Multimodal Representations		Shifts Over Time	
	UK1 vs. SA1	UK2 vs. SA2	UK1 vs. UK2	SA1 vs. SA2
Activated and Functionalized as a Driver	visually and textually dominant in both (but less in SA1V)	dominant textually in both, less visually	(no shift)	(no shift)
Activated Doing a Driving-Related Action	visually and textually evident in both (but less in SA1T + almost non-evident visually)	evident in both (much less in SA2T)	Orientalism in both (no shift)	Marginalized (minimal shift)
Activated as a Working, Productive	visually and textually evident in both (but less in UK1T/UK1V)	evident in both (less in UK2T/UK2V)	Orientalism - decreased over time	Marginalized, but decreased over time
Functionalized in other professions	visually and textually evident in both (but less varied in UK1T/UK1V)	evident in both (less variety in UK2T/UK2V)	Orientalism - increased over time	Marginalized, but decreased over time
Activated as Speaking	almost non-evident in SA1T/SA1V/UK1V (but evident in UK1T)	evident in both	Orientalism in both (no shift)	Marginalized, but decreased over time
Beneficialized	slightly evident in both (less in UK1T)	dominant in both	Beneficialization increased over time	Beneficialization increased over time
Passivized - Subjected by Authorities	visually and textually dominant in both	evident in the UK2T, almost non-evident in SA2T	Orientalism (no shift)	Marginalized, but decreased over time
Passivized - Subjected by Society	visually and textually evident in both	evident in both textually (much less in SA2T)	Orientalism - decreased over time	Marginalized, but decreased over time
Passivized – Exclusion	visually and textually evident in both (but more in SA2V)	evident in both	Orientalism - decreased over time	Marginalization, but decreased over time
Passivized – Impersonalized by Somatization	visually and textually evident in both	evident in only UK2	Orientalism - increased over time	Marginalization decreased over time

General Findings:

(1) Overall, it can be observed that in the UK press, Orientalist representations associated with Saudi women often persisted and even increased in several cases, whereas in the SA press, marginalization of Saudi women was less reflected in the more current 2017-2019 corpus. A summary of all Orientalist findings and shifts is provided in the next chapter.

(2) SA News Media: Positive shifts over time in Saudi women representations were multimodally evident in five areas: (a) increased activation in terms of working and

contributing to society with women being functionalized in a larger variety of ways, (b) growing tendency of reporting opinions, of course within limits of what is allowed by Saudi newspaper agencies, (c) a significant increase in beneficialization due to evolving rights granted to women, (d) a notable decrease of authoritative subjugation passivation, and (e) a slight decrease in social subjugation passivation over time, in addition to a complete absence of impersonalization in the SA2.

(3) UK News Media: Positive shifts over time in Saudi women representations were multimodally evident in three areas: (a) an increase in Saudi women represented as active agents who work and are productive outside the home in a variety of ways, (b) a substantial increase as a beneficialized social actor due to more rights granted to women, and (c) a considerable overall decrease in passivation due to subjugation, but an exceptional increase in textual impersonalization.

5.3.1 Multimodal Activation of Saudi Women as Drivers

Saudi women were predominantly represented multimodally as Transactive agents who were frequently functionalized as drivers in all four UK and SA news corpora, and which was an expected finding given the nature of the context specified in this research. Quantitatively, both visual and textual modes highlight this type of ***activation***, which was most prominent in the UK1 (UK1V 60% & UK1T 64.6% = **UK1 62.3%**) followed by the SA2 (SA2V 35.4% & SA2T 78.2% = **SA2 56.8%**), then the SA1 (SA1V 30.1% & SA1T 59.1% = **SA1 44.6%**), and finally the UK2 (UK2V 45.4% & UK2T 35.7% = **UK2 40.6%**).

Similarly, Saudi women were also most frequently ***functionalized*** as drivers in both past and more current UK and SA corpora. Out of the four corpora, it was observed from Table 43 that the UK1 corpus multimodally had the highest average percentage of women drivers (UK1V 60% & UK1T 20.2% = **UK1 40.1%**) followed by the UK2 (UK2V 43.6% & UK2T 14.2% = **UK2 28.9%**), then the SA2 (SA2V 35.2% & SA2T 15.6% = **SA2 25.4%**), and finally the SA1 (SA1V 37.5% & SA1T 9.5% = **SA1 23.5%**).

The lower functionalization results in the Saudi news media are not surprising in light of the Saudi press's limitations on what could, or not, be published during the very highly controversial driving campaigns between 2011-2013. And perhaps this was mirroring to a large extent SA's political and religious resistant agenda towards women driving at that time. And in the SA2 and UK2, the lower percentages (25.4% and 28.9% respectively) was most likely due to an increase in other related driving roles found in the corpora (e.g., functionalization of

driving instructors and trainees). The main notable outcome here is the highest multimodal portrayal of Saudi women as **drivers** actively **driving** in the UK1 corpora (activated 62.3%; functionalized 40.1%), and which could be due to their newsworthiness as women protested by taking to the roads and driving - a highly unprecedented and controversial incident that the 2011-2013 UK press chose to foreground.

Moving on to the 2017-2019 UK and SA news articles, Saudi women agency quantitatively increased overall visually and textually in both the UK and SA news contexts. And one of the most robust multimodal shifts that was observed in both was a larger scope of agency which is more representative of the increasing opportunities that Saudi women are securing in real life. Worth noting here is that though increasing representations of agency were detected in both the UK2 and SA2 press, the upsurge was particularly striking in the SA2 which multimodally increased from 57.3% in the SA1 to 91.6% in the SA2.

In addition to the broader range of Transactive agent representations over time, visually, an additional layer was communicated in terms of other affordances: (a) what feelings via facial features seem to be reflected while driving and (b) other types of exhibited gestures, such as the victory sign or giving a thumbs up, which were not textually salient. Considering that some women were most probably afraid to drive in 2011-2013, but allowed to do so post-2018, one would expect that the photographed women in the UK2V/SA2V would more frequently be shot smiling or gesturing in ways that show their joy in having gained the right to drive (Table 45). This is what the findings did confirm indicating a clear shift in *Positivity* (UK press 22% to 61.3%; SA press 0% to 50.2%) as the driving ban being lifted was a very long-awaited change.

Table 45
Frequencies and Examples of Positive Visual Emotions and Gestures while Driving

Visual Positivity		UK1V (N=59)		UK2V (N=199)		SA1V (N=16)		SA2V (N=215)	
Smiling		9	**15.3%**	105	**52.8%**	0	**0%**	84	**39.1%**
Thumbs up		0	**0%**	9	**4.5%**	0	**0%**	23	**10.6%**

Victory sign		4	**6.7%**	8	**4%**	0	**0%**	1	**.5%**
Total		13	**22%**	122	**61.3%**	0	**0%**	108	**50.2%**

Important to note here is that publishing positive images, in general, has been found to elicit "a higher level of emotion than negative or neutral images" (Keib et al., 2016, p. 1) which encourages viewers to share the content, and knowing this very well, news editors and journalists often include positive images "ensuring that their content is designed for optimal audience engagement," (p. 22) ultimately leading to broader dissemination of these evolving visual representations.

Another significant development in the studied representations was that of Saudi women *Beneficialization* which multimodally increased in both the UK and SA news media. However, though in both the 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora Saudi women were depicted as being enabled and encouraged to start driving, an extra level of support was detected both visually, and especially textually, in only the SA2 context, and which may have been influenced by the *Proximity* of the social event. Textually, numerous collocates of support and concern emerged in the form of discourses relating to the establishment of driving schools that were ***suitable***, ***safe***, and ***specialized for*** women to learn, so they were ***welcomed***, ***educated***, ***taught***, ***trained***, ***encouraged***, and ***enabled***. And visually, such backing came from the plethora of driving-related infographics that were included the SA2V.

5.3.2 Multimodal Activation of Saudi Women in Driving/Protesting-Related Actions

Another way Saudi women were represented was as Transactive social agents performing some type of activity related to driving. So, in the 2011-2013 timespan, one would expect to see and read about Saudi #Women2Drive campaign endeavours which may include, for example, multimodal depictions of how the demonstrations were organized, what women did while driving, etc. And in the 2017-2019 duration, the expectation was to see Saudi women preparing to drive, getting drivers' licences, visiting car exhibitions, training to drive, and so on.

The reality of media reporting, however, was quite different in some instances. First, visually, apart from women driving, there was almost no evidence of any type of protesting in both UK1V and SA1V news corpora, with the exception of only five images in the UK1V (*Figure 54*. 1 image that shows two women holding up signs that say "they scared us with religious

clerics? We drove over them" and "driving over you is coming your way" and 4 images of Manal Al-Sharif gesturing the victory sign).

Figure 54. Saudi women explicitly protesting the driving ban in the UK1V

This is expected as being caught on camera *defiantly* driving let alone campaigning to get the ban lifted would have been risky considering likely punishment for those who were documented and identified as having gone against country regulations (Al-Sharif, 2017). More specifically, relatively lower frequencies of Saudi women protesting the driving ban both visually (SA1V 0%) and textually (SA1T 8.5%) could be pinpointed when compared to the UK1's multimodal depictions of Saudi women demonstrating (UK1T 27.7%; UK1V 60.6%).

As it seems, whereas women's participation in protests was minimized by SA1 news outlets curbing notions that depict Saudi women as social actors capable of effecting change, the UK1 press seemed to foreground Saudi female activists. Normally, protesting females are seen as a positive phenomenon, but of course, protest also means that there are things that need to be changed including rights, which then of course also means that certain sections of society are oppressed, and this might point to some Orientalist underpinnings of the majority of everyday Saudi women. Worth noting here, however, is that the multimodal findings present a more balanced representation. So, though Saudi women's *defiance* was foregrounded textually in the UK1T press, the reality is that the majority of images in the UK1V only show women in cars driving peacefully, nothing like the images of weapons and wars that are often conjured up in the mind when hearing the word *defiance* (and which are the majority of photos that appear in a simple Google Image search). Images provoke quick emotional responses and so not having such "defiant" visuals no doubt downplays representations of the Saudi women as volatile extremists going out to defy the government.

However, having compared images in both the UK and SA news media, the current research reveals that both did not foreground representations that openly show Saudi women campaigning since Saudi women most likely did not allow such photos to be taken. Bashatah

(2017) acknowledges this as well by stating that "although both pictures show a woman wearing a niqab, this may also be an attempt to conceal their identity since some protesters have faced arrest and detention in the past" (p. 152). So, one can argue then that both the UK and SA news media almost equally portrayed Saudi women visually as a *cautious* social actor careful not to be detained by authorities, but this representation in the SA news media was even more prominent as it was textually affirmed by only depicting women as "demanding" change – a more understated form of demonstration which clearly reflects SA policies at that time of not portraying any specificities of the #Women2Drive campaign so not to communicate any type of encouragement for participation..

Additionally, saliency of Saudi women activists was supported by two additional visual affordance patterns that almost functioned like a collocation and thus supported representations of activism in the UK press: (a) though Manal Al-Sharif's name was mentioned almost equally frequently in both the UK1T (31.9%) and SA1T (29.4%) news media, there were 25 (25.3%) images of her in the UK1V, but none in the SA1V, and (b) while several images of women gesturing the victory sign or thumbs up during driving in protest were published in the UK1 (22%), as shown in Table 45, again, none appeared in the SA1V.

Bashatah (2017) also questioned the lack of explicit visual activism in the majority of images that the UK press released stating that nothing in the photographs "indicates a link to the actual campaign against the driving ban" (p. 151), and that the focus is more on Orientalizing images of women driving with a veil. However, the current comparative study revealed that there was also almost complete absence of actual indicators of campaigning, such as the victory gesture, in the SA press as well. And this may be due to news journalists' own apprehensions, or news organization constraints, of publishing these types of images which may have suggested that the activists' protests were what caused change to occur. Women feeling and being portrayed as victorious, as already discussed, was not a message that was backed in the Saudi media (Saudi Press Agency, 2011).

Nomination results in Table 15 (visual) and Table 35 (textual) gave further insight into which activists were multimodally being foregrounded. The findings revealed that ***Manal Al-Sharif*** was multimodally most salient in the UK1 at **28.7%** (i.e., UK1V 25.6% & UK1T 31.9%) and ***Loujain Al-Hathloul*** in the UK2 at **8.6%** (i.e., UK2V 6.6% & UK2T 10.5%). These Saudi activists, and others, have already been extensively discussed, but there were four interesting outcomes that surfaced when assessing the findings multimodally:

(a) The findings revealed that ***Manal Al-Sharif*** was also foregrounded most frequently in the SA1T (29.4%), however visually, there was a complete absence (SA1V 0%). Having no images of Manal in the local Saudi press may be interpreted as news agencies being careful when considering the woman at that time who was seen as controversial. True, there was no way to turn a blind eye to reporting on what she was doing as it became a hugely debated topic both locally on various social media platforms, especially Twitter and Facebook, as well as internationally in the news. But publishing images of her in SA newspapers could potentially stir up news readers' emotionally (Keib, et al., 2017).

In fact, looking at the range of images in the UK1V for instance, we find that in all of them, Manal is either smiling, looking directly at the camera, gesturing the victory sign, shot from a high-to-low angle that often connotes power, or there is a combination of all of these. So since the Saudi government was taking firm action against all those who were caught driving during the 2011 #Woman2Drive campaign, and whose leading organizer was Manal, the Saudi press chose not to show her as an empowering role model which may have given other women the impression that she was to be looked up to and emulated. Endorsing such a message, as previously explained, did not serve political agendas at the time, and thus images of Manal and other activists were most probably excluded locally for this reason.

(b) Some findings, especially within the UK2 corpora, pointed to resilient saliency of victimization, and most notably so via a frequent multimodal highlight of previously imprisoned activist Lujain Al-Hathloul in the 2017-2019 timespan, and who, as it seems, was considered in the Western media as "an emblem of the struggle for women's rights in Saudi Arabia" (npr.org, 2021). This finding was much unexpected as the articles' main focus were on women being given the right to drive. And so rather than focus on the strides that the majority of Saudi women have seen in enabling their empowerment, the imprisonment and injustices inflicted on one activist is what seemed to take precedence, especially as reflected in the textual analysis.

Having already seen the UK2's focus and reaction to then imprisoned Lujain Al-Hathloul though no images of her being detained or in jail surfaced, one can only imagine the uproar that would have most likely occurred had actual images of her being imprisoned emerged both in the UK2V and SA2V, and which would undoubtedly have further hurt and pushed back Saudi-Western political relations. Without a doubt, in this case, more tempered multimodal representations of victimization served Saudi agendas.

(c) Saudi activist Shaima Jastaina, who was sentenced to 10 lashings as clarified previously, was mentioned 42 times in the UK1T and was thus textually prominent, however visually, no photos were taken of her. Possible reasons for this could be due to Shaima being "afraid" (see line 4 below) and most probably wanted to avoid being photographed as to not be publicly recognized in the future. Indeed, there was a lot of discretion around her case and some people did not want to be publicly linked to her (highlighted in green) – Examples:

bout their own fate. </s><s> "I was very worried when I read about	**Shaima**	," said one woman who spoke under the condition of anonymity. </s><s> "Whe
di Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, tweeted: "Thank God, the lashing of [	**Shaima**	] is cancelled. </s><s> Thanks to our beloved king. </s><s> I am sure all Saud
esist any kind of change. </s><s> We want the King to hear about	**Shaima's**	case," said a women's rights activist in Jeddah, who did not wish to be named
The elderly monarch promptly overturned the sentence." </s> <s>	**Shaima**	was afraid to publicise her case, but we hoped that by doing this the King wou
ase, and at least three other women face trial for driving. </s><s> "	**Shaima**	is frightened and very confused," said a friend and fellow activist in Jedda. </s

Even more surprising is that there was no mention of Shaima, neither visually nor textually, in the 2011-2013 Saudi press. The complete absence of her story can only be seen as a way to lessen possible societal commotion regarding the injustices enacted on her.

Another type of absence was observed in the UK1T. Though Shaima's verdict was overturned, in the 42 concordances that Shaima's name appeared, there were only three instances where the cancelling of the sentence was reported (2 of which are underlined above in red). As such, it can be claimed that Shaima was (non-)functionalized very differently in both 2011-2013 UK and SA news media serving beliefs and agendas that each government aimed to maintain – for SA it was, and will always be, maintaining social stability and harmony (Saudi Vision 2030, 2021), and for the UK, it is just another way the media excluded certain facts in order to further portray the Saudi woman as a victim living in a merciless, and backward kingdom.

(d) Further victimization, this time of a group of activists, emerged via the functionalization of Saudi women as *victims* (10) and offenders as they were frequently referred to as *traitors* (43) in the UK2T and were punished, and thus were also repeatedly portrayed as *detainees* (40). The UK2T chose to repeatedly foreground how Saudi women were being perceived in the local Saudi press as "traitors" (Photo 11. below) due to their driving and human rights campaigns. However, by using citation marks which serve as a distancing strategy, the UK press seemed to be disassociating itself from describing the women as traitors, as exemplified in the concordances below:

Photographs of some of the women were put on the front page of serious newspapers and they were called "	**traitors**	", with suggestions that they had
media outlets have splashed some of the women's photos online and in newspapers, accusing them of being	**traitors**	and of belonging to a 'spy cell'.
sity. </s><s> State-backed newspapers have published front-page pictures of some of the activists, the word "	**traitor**	" stamped across them in red. <

Photo 11. *Al-Jazirah's* portrayal of Saudi women activists as traitors

The reality, however, is that the only Saudi newspaper that published this image was *Al-Jazirah*. Out of the 43 concordances in the UK corpora that functionalized Saudi women as traitors within a seemingly widespread news phenomenon in local SA newspapers, only 1 concordance line from *The Independent* was actually accurate in stating that this photo appeared only in *Al-Jazirah* newspaper:

account said "history spits in the face of the country's **traitors** ". </s><s> The state-linked Al-Jazirah newspaper published on its front page a photo of Ms Hathloul and Ms Yousef under a headline describing them as citizens who betrayed the nation. </s><s>

Textually, there was practically more opportunity for a Saudi woman to be depicted as a strong social actor capable of acting towards changing her fate. While the UK1T did portray this, by associating the word "defiant" with Saudi women, Orientalist perceptions of volatility may be linked with these women, and as previously discussed, such recontextualizations were not accurate on-ground as Saudi women were encouraged not to drive around in groups and not to challenge authorities, and were only keen on showing the world that they were ready to be given this right.

However, news agency agendas being the priority, UK1T journalists most likely believed that representing Saudi women as anti-government radicals would be newsworthy as

sensationalized, *Unexpected* news is what often attracts news consumers and sells (Jones et al., 2020; O'Neill & Harcup, 2019). What is even more inauspicious is that, on first glance, if a UK news reader looks at the 2017-2019 news articles, the majority of these images would display joyful Saudi women enjoying their new right to drive, but textually, the UK2T's chief discourse is of descriptions of driving activists, what they did and later penalties endured as a consequence, adding to that more victimized depictions of being domestically abused resulting in Saudi women "fleeing" their country.

The fear is that these representations, which no doubt are true for a small minority of Saudi women, will forever be ingrained in news readers' minds as representative no matter how much a country and its people change, thus potentially impacting impressions and decisions made when it comes to Saudi women. Here one can conclude that Saudi women representations are multimodally divergent as positive role allocation and functionalization visuals are not supported textually.

5.3.3 Multimodal Activation of Saudi Women as Working and Productive Members of Society

Since this research focuses on issues relating to Saudi women driving, it is no wonder that representations of Saudi women assigned to roles relating to driving in the data would be the ones most salient. However, allowing women to drive in the Saudi context was only one of the granted rights, albeit a recurring long-overdue one, but still it was only one right. So, in essence, reporting on other imparted rights and growing liberties would have been fitting to give the news consumer a more comprehensive overview of changing Saudi women rights, autonomy, working conditions, and participation of women in the labour market. The findings, however, did not reflect such patterns in the 2011-2013 UK (Table 46) which show an absence of women involved in professional activities outside the domestic sphere.

Table 46

Multimodal Representations of Saudi Women as Participating Social Actors in the Labour Market

UK1T	UK1V	UK2T	UK2V	SA1T	SA1V	SA2T	SA2V
0 (0%)	0 (0%)	48 (7.1%)	9 (1.8%)	90 (17.3%)	6 (12.5%)	676 (30.3%)	36 (5.1%)
0 (0%)		**29 (4.5%)**		**48 (14.9%)**		**356 (17.7%)**	

Overall, the results indicate some multimodal divergence in the UK2, SA1, and SA2 news corpora in that Saudi women were portrayed in roles outside the home textually (UK2T 7.1%, SA1T 17.3%, and SA2T 30.3%) more frequently than they were visually (UK2V 1.8%, SA1V 12.5%, and SA2V 5.1%). And these results point to more textual reinforcement of representations regarding how newsworthy it was for the SA and UK media to portray Saudi women as social actors who were often able to achieve other goals in life. The only exception was found in the 2011-2013 UK news media in which there were no multimodal depictions of Saudi women engaged in a variety of social roles.

As discussed earlier, depicting women as productive members of society understandably cannot be central as the data of this study is context-bound to issues of driving, but the relatively low numbers in the UK news media leaves room for thought as to why UK journalists avoided or overlooked discussing Saudi women's achievements or agency status in other arenas. It should be noted here that although journalists are ultimately limited by news organization agendas resulting in less freedom to report their own opinions, they do have some "operational autonomy" (Wright et al., 2020, p. 607) over what exact images and words are chosen, as found by the authors who interviewed 52 journalists in China, the US, UK, and Qatar.

A slight upsurge in both the UK (0% to 4.5) and SA (14.9% to 17.7%) press was observed (Table 46) seemingly echoing Saudi women increased visibility in the workforce to a large extent, as part of "enacting new reforms toward improving on its [SA] record of female empowerment and gender equality" ([World Bank](), 2020, p. 1). These findings are truly promising as not only was there an increase in representations of Saudi women as effective contributors to society, equally important however, are the evolving role allocation patterns which were illustrated previously in Table 14.

Visually, both the Saudi and UK press focused on presenting images of Saudi women as *achievers* (UK2V 27, 5,4%; SA 33, 4.6%), *customers* (UK2V 18, 3.6%; SA 27, 3.8%), *supporters* (UK2V 16, 3.2; SA2V 18, 2.5%), *learners* (UK2V 8, 1.6%; SA2V 18, 2.5%), and *car racers* (UK2V 14, 2.8%; SA2V 12, 1.7%). Textually, however, the focus was more on roles pertaining to occupations within the *government/official* sectors (UK1T 7.9%, UK2T 6.1%, SA1T 24.6%, SA2T 20.3%) *academia* (UK1T 9.9%, UK2T 6.6%, SA1T 23.9%, SA2T 21.9%), *medical fields* (SA1T 12.8%, SA2T 10.4%), and *creative & media industries* (SA1T 17.6%, SA2T 12.1%) – all of which have lower percentages or were non-salient in the UK press, both in the past and more currently.

One reason for this discrepancy in what were more salient functionalization patterns both visually and textually could be due to practical logistics. So, if we look at the visual roles, we can see that whereas all of them take place in public or in areas shared freely by both men and women (Table 47 below), the depicted textual roles are practiced in either chiefly women-only spaces (**government/official** and **academic** establishments), areas that would require special permission in SA (Alarabiya.net, 2016) to take photos in (**medical professionals** in hospitals), and as for Saudi women functionalized in the creative and media industries, there was a big variety (i.e., around 23 such as **producers**, **bloggers**, **presenters**, **artists**, **tweeps**, etc.) that visually, due to news article space limitations, it would not have been feasible to publish examples of all of them or even enough for a distinct visual **creative and media** functionalization category to emerge.

Table 47

Examples of Saudi Women Functionalized in Public

| Corpora	*achievers*	*customers*	*supporters*	*learners*	*car racers*
UK2V					
SA2V					

Additionally, due to some issues being more sensitive than others, especially in a conservative, Islamic country such as Saudi Arabia, when some topics cannot be reported on visually, the textual mode then can reveal certain ideologies that could have otherwise not been detected. For instance, in the SA1T, some views relating to Saudi women's social priorities were observed, most notably many Wahhabi enthusiasts' belief that women need to *remain* only as

housewives. Textually, the importance of a Saudi woman's role as a wife and mother was foregrounded, ultimately trying to discourage her to think about driving or fighting for this change. Visually, however, these depictions were not evident, thus neutralizing representations of the stereotypical Saudi women at home to some degree.

Overall, it can be claimed that the number of ways that Saudi women were functionalized visually in both the UK and SA news corpora was only a fraction of the various types of functionalization that were uncovered textually. As such, it could be argued that relying on images alone is not enough to give a full picture of the variety of roles that social actors could be involved in. According to Albawardi and Jones (2021), even more restrictive than the representations of Saudi women in image banks are the ones that are adopted and circulated by newspapers, advertisers, and other content creators,

5.3.4 Multimodal Activation of Saudi Women as Speakers

Visually, the data pointed to Saudi women being depicted as social actors who were able to present speeches, give directions, discuss matters in meetings, and be interviewed, most prominently in the UK2V and SA2V, as some of these images from the SA2V illustrate (*Figure 55.*):
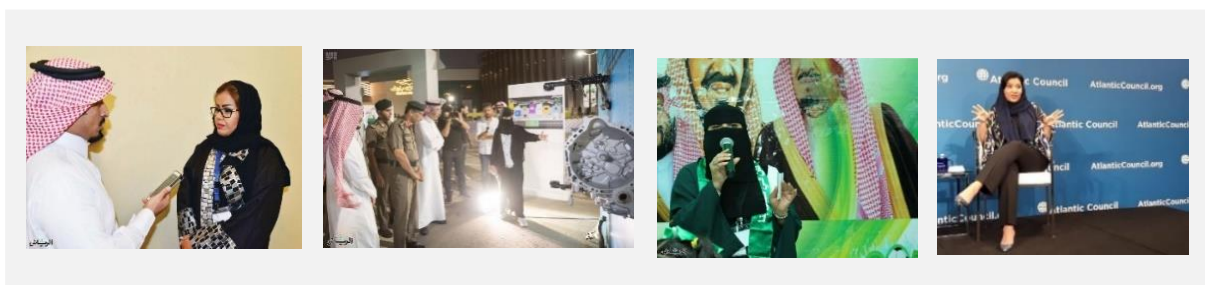
Figure 55. Saudi women speakers from the SA2V corpus

However, in the UK1V, Saudi women, and more specifically the activists, were very careful (Al-Sharif, 2017) as what they had to say went against top-authority agendas and so capturing an image of them speaking out was a risk which they most probably avoided. And this may partly explain the absence of Saudi women voicing their opinions on camera, as these examples from the UK1T clarify:

Saudi women voices are also textually absent in the SA1T corpus, further reinforcing depictions of marginalization by silencing Saudi women during the 2011-2013 driving ban

controversy. Not caring for such an agenda, Saudi women reporting their opinions were evident in the UK1T, as can be seen in these examples:

a woman in Mecca, who called herself Fatima, who **said** a	**woman**	can't even give birth without being accompanied by a male guardian
ing ban campaigner Manal al-Sharif **says** unnamed desert	**woman**	was victim in fatal Jeddah crash. </s><s> The woman reported killed
ny men are supporting us," said Hariri. </s><s> "I can't **say**	**women**	are afraid, but of course they are worried - worried equally about the
of threatened sanctions. </s><s> She said: "The law **says**	**women**	can drive but the system does not give you a licence. </s><s> "Wher

How factual and representative these reported opinions are, however, is a concern. For instance, if we look at the first line above, we find that some woman "who called herself Fatima" says that women in SA "can't even give birth without being accompanied by a male guardian," which is problematic since there was no regulation in SA that stipulated this. And when such quotes by Saudi women themselves are reported, the information then typically takes on more credibility since it is seemingly coming from a local speaking on behalf all Saudi women, and any non-Saudi would be inclined to believe what was said.

As for the multimodal 2017-2019 UK and SA news depictions of Saudi women speaking up, we find that quantitatively, there is not much difference, but what types of issues voiced by Saudi women in the two news demographics were quite distinct. If we examine UK2 multimodal findings we find that:

(a) Saudi women activists were both visually and textually foregrounded speaking and reporting on past injustices rather than presenting (and in the process marginalizing) what other Saudi women have to say about their current everyday living conditions and status. Examples from the UK2V/UK2T (*Figure 56.*):

Figure 56. Multimodal foregrounding of Saudi activists in the 2017-2019 UK news

(b) Saudi women depictions expressing their apprehensions about driving. Examples (below):

two other Saudi	**women**	**said** they too were excited at the change, but reluctant to embrace it themselves.
e." </s><s> One	**woman**	**said** she worried men would not treat women drivers with respect. </s><s> "It's ju
<s> Some Saudi	**women**	**say** they will struggle to convince husbands and fathers to allow them to even ob
a. </s><s> Many	**women**	**say** they are staying off the streets, testing reactions in a society torn between co

In general, by activists and everyday women's admissions, the general tone of speakers in the UK news media was one of victimization, as out of the 10 *say* collocates in the UK2T, only one woman expressed some excitement or "shock" at having gained the right to drive:

Less than a day after the royal decree was issued, Saudi **women** **said** the shock was still being absorbed across the kingdom, v

By comparison, if we look at multimodal representations of Saudi women speakers in the 2017-2019 SA news media, we find that visually, there was a large array of Saudi women speakers (as exemplified in *Figure 55.* above), and textually, out of the 19 قالت [*said*] collocates, 11 statements were made by Saudi businesswomen and the remaining 8 were expressed by everyday Saudi women - Examples:

| اذن الله . </s><s> في مصلحة المراة و **قالت** **سيدة** الاعمال صفاء الغالبي ان القرار تاريخي و يضاف ل رصي |
| ا و اتفقت مع ها نادية الدوجان و **قالت** : وجود **المراة** السعودية ب الشارع ليس غريبا او مستغربا , ف ب منت |
| , معظم الاسر ب المملكة , و **قالت** ان الكثير من **السيدات** ب المملكة يقمن ب قضاء بعض احتياجة هن اليومية |
| Allah willing </s> <s> in the best interest of women and businesswoman Safaa' Alghalbi said that the decree was a historical one adding |
| agreeing with her is Nadia Aldojan and she said: women being in public is not surprising or strange |
| most families in the Kingdom, and she said that many women in the Kingdom take care of their own daily needs |

Saudi women in the SA2V were mainly depicted as social actors joyful and grateful for having been granted this life-changing right, and which also corresponds to SA political agendas.

5.3.5 Multimodal Passivation of Saudi Women

Saudi women were passivized almost equally frequently in the UK and SA press, however, a significant positive shift over time was observed as Saudi women in both more current SA and UK news media were represented as beneficialized social actors. Qualitative multimodal findings uncovered that not only were famous activists backgrounded in the 2011-2013 Saudi news media, but *Elite* royal government officials in relation to the driving ban conflicts were also avoided, as uncovered in the *Exclusion* results.

In their place, the society, and especially everyday Saudi men, were both textually and visually foregrounded. And the images of men in the corpus reflected confidence and amicability, as visual analyses of Positivity, Gaze, and Distance revealed. In most of the images, these men were looking directly at the viewer and smiling in short/mid-shot images, as if in a way

requesting to be acknowledged and accepted, and which consolidates their promoted role in women's lives within the male guardianship structure at that time.

However, an examination of the UK1 news corpora reveals very different attitudes when it comes to depictions of Saudi Elites. Both textually and visually, it was observed that Royal Elite members were frequently reported on, specifically King Abdullah in the UK1 and King Salman and Crown Prince Mohamed Bin Salman in the UK2. This was not unexpected as they played pivotal roles in both reinforcing the driving ban and thereafter overturning it, in addition to keeping good political relationships with SA due to the strategic importance of SA to the UK's external relations and economy. Further, these visual findings interestingly are almost in complete parallel to the textual *Exclusion* analysis results in (Table 31, p. 172).

In fact, it can be claimed that, overall, the Elite, both males and females, were multimodally foregrounded in the UK news corpora more frequently than in the SA press. And when female Saudi Elite figures were foregrounded in the SA press, it was of those who possessed dynamic, active agency, such as the female Shura (i.e., parliament) members and Princess Reema as opposed to Princess Hayfa who was highlighted modelling in the UK2 press and whose appearance in *Vouge* magazine in support of women driving was rather controversial as discussed earlier.

In examining multimodal representations of passivized Saudi women, a different approach than the one used for interpreting activation was adopted owning to a couple of reasons. For one, textual and visual passivized representation patterns need to be explored separately due to the existence of salient visual, but not textual, affordances of Saudi women captured standing or sitting with no background, doing nothing, thus in effect indexing no agency. Textually, there is no equivalent for such depictions as social actors in a text cannot but be surrounded by a co-text indicating some type of agency, be it active or passive.

Secondly, and more importantly, whereas textual authoritative/social subjugation and *Impersonalization* were detected and explored (Table 30 above), visually, no images in the four UK and SA corpora depicted oppressive acts, for instance, women being stopped on the street while driving, being detained by authorities, being forbidden to go out by male relatives or religious clerics, etc., and very few exhibited disempowerment via Distance/Gaze combinations and impersonalized *Somatization*. The only exceptions were images of torched cars due to backlash after the driving ban was lifted (discussed above) and from the SA1T in

the form of cartoons (*Figure 57*.) whereby Saudi women were represented as victimized social actors via depictions of subjugation.

Figure 57. Saudi women socially subjected in the SA1V

This does not mean that no other images existed that point to passive subjugated representations of Saudi women, but where textual passivation is examined via the frequency and strength of collocates associated with the social actor, here being Saudi women, visually, there were constraints as taking compromising photos of people and posting them online without their consent is considered a cybercrime. According to Article 3 of the 2007 Anti-Cyber Crime Law, a photographer may be imprisoned up to one year and/or fined up to 500,000 Saudi Riyals (£100,000) if s/he posts sensitive images without permission. Given these very strict legal restrictions in the Saudi context, the absence of such visual documentation becomes clearer.

Below are four examples that clarify who was chiefly multimodally foregrounded when Saudi women were passivized:

(1) Authority suppression in the SA1V news corpus (where only one image was found of the Vice-Minister of Interior Affairs, Photo 12.) could be an attempt to minimize news reports "being politically disputative, [and] instead draws readers' attention to the main topic [female driving ban and the protests] and not the individuals behind it [i.e., government officials]" (Rashidi & Ghaedsharafi, 2015, p. 5).

Photo 12. The only image of a Saudi royal in the SA1V corpus

Rugh (2007) explains that the SA news media is among what is categorized as a "loyalist press" (p. 6). The six countries included in the loyalist media group; namely, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, the United Emirates, and Palestine, have political environments that do "not encourage dissent to be expressed against the government . . . [and] that all media refrain from criticizing the most important policies of the government . . . [and] prohibit media criticism of the head of state or the military, or of religion" (p. 6).

To get around this, SA1T Saudi journalists repeatedly, yet very vaguely, reported on other activities that *are agreed to* (5/7.16) "in our society", with an emphasis on society to underline contradictions, while knowing very well that the public has no real power:

1. Only in our society do they agree to women flying an airplane, but not to driving
2. In our society they agree to women being an equestrian and striding horses, but not to driving
3. In our society you find them agreeing to women becoming a member of NASA, but not to driving
4. In our society they agree to women attaining leading international cultural positions, but not driving
5. Only in our society do they agree to women participating in sports and the Olympics, but not to driving a car

Under such restrictions, the absence of royal Saudi figures in the SA1V/SA1T corpora when female driving protests were taking place becomes more comprehensible, further proving the politically contentious nature of the demonstrations at that time and who was being represented as the source of it.

(2) When looking at the SA2V, the prior lack of Saudi royal members is replaced by a strong visual presence, but in addition to that, foregrounding images of the Saudi police (*Figure 58.*), was also apparent in the SA1V (76.9%) and SA2V (50.4%), and who ranked particularly high textually as found in Table 31, strongly pointing to their active authoritative role in society.
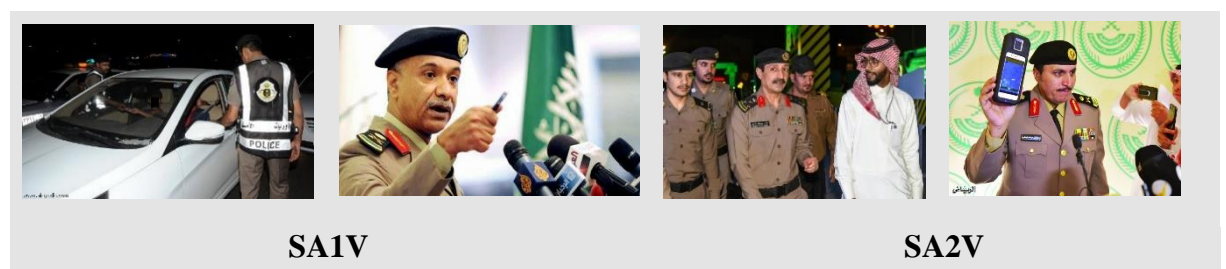

SA1V　　　　　　　　　　**SA2V**

Figure 58. Examples of images that include the Saudi police

(3) One striking pattern that emerged was a group of photos of one Saudi sheikh, Saad al-Hijri, in the UK2V corpus. Almost the same image (Photo 13.) was published seven times (14.3%) in various British tabloids (2 in *The Daily Mail*, 2 in *The Sun*, & 3 times in *The Mirror*).

Photo 13. Recurrent images of Sheikh Saad al-Hijri in the UK2V corpora

This is not to say that the SA2V did not include images of sheikhs; on the contrary, they did quite frequently (24.8%) and such photos were in fact anticipated since proof of Saudi sheikhs' concurrence with the King's decree was awaited so as to leave no room for devout Wahhabis to oppose this new emancipating female reform and cause commotion. But one very noticeable difference is that a wide array of different clerics were portrayed in the SA2V corpus while in the UK2V, there was only that one image of Saad al-Hijri that was repeatedly published in the media. An interesting question to ask is this: Why was this particular sheikh's image recurrently circulated in the UK2V media? And why did the tabloids focus in on this one sheikh who was the only one who declared, in a religious sermon, that the brains of women who go shopping shrink to quarter the size of a man's brain (Bell & Shaikhouni, 2017)?

Undoubtedly, this is an absurd, *Unexpected* announcement, thus making it newsworthy, as including repeated multimodal sensationalist discourses of only him has high potential for catching news consumers' attention - one tactic for which tabloids are known for (Wasserman, 2019). This makes it seem as if he embodies the opinion of the majority of sheikhs in SA which is not the case (Khomami, 2017). And when this image is combined with frequent textual impersonalized collocates relating to women perceived as vessels of fertility via collocates of *ovary* or associate Saudi women with "*lack* of intelligence" because of their shrinking *brains* while driving, uncivilized stereotypes of Saudi society controlled by clerics are undoubtedly reinforced.

The reality is that religious clerics have long been strongly associated with Islamic radicalism and terrorism, as "the conflation between the two happened over nearly a decade of extensive coverage of the preachers by the tabloids" (Altikriti & Al-Mahadin, 2015, p. 624). But what many people around the world, including in the UK, do not realize is that most Muslims view ultra-conservative Wahhabi clerics "d.m.n.sibai@pgr.reading.ac.uk, suspicion and consider

them a great embarrassment to Muslims and Islam" (p. 625). In this sense, the representations are reductionist, continuously portraying Muslims as one weak homogenous group (Baker et al., 2013), ultimately have a damaging, disempowering effect on Saudi women's representations in both the SA, but even more so, in the UK media.

(4) One final elite group that will be discussed are celebrities. The most frequent images that excluded Saudi women in the UK1V corpus (8 out of 15 images: *The Daily Mail* (5), *The Independent* (1), *The Telegraph* (1), and *The Mirror* (1) were those of a satirical music video of an adapted rendition of Bob Marley's "No Woman, No Cry" titled "No Woman, No Drive". These photos were so frequently published in the news articles in the UK1V (72.7%) corpus, as opposed to the SA1V corpus where none appeared, made further examination of these images necessary.

The photos included a Saudi comedian, named Hisham Fageeh, who supported women driving and mocked the religious clerics who declared that driving would damage their ovaries. Fageeh's video (*Figure 59.* below) became a viral sensation on all local social media, receiving "over 7 million views" (Reilly, 2013, p. 1) within the first few days of its release on 26 October 2013 – the same day Saudi women went out and drove in protest to lift the driving ban.

Figure 59. Images from the Fageeh's video clip "No Woman, No Drive" in the UK1V

A possible rationale for the absence of these images in the SA1V corpus may be due to reasons previously discussed regarding press restrictions present in the "loyalist" media policies which strongly discourage criticism of religion and government regulations (Rugh, 2007). And though the SA1T includes allusions to driving *affecting* women's ovaries, as already discussed, it does so matter-of-factly in all the concordances, with the exception of one exhibiting mocking:

قد صرح ب ان قيادة المراة ل السيارة **تؤثر** في << مبايض **المراة** >>. ضحكن هازئات ب التهويل .

He declared that women driving would << affect women's ovaries >> the women laughed mockingly at such an exaggeration

As for the images in the UK1V corpus, a qualitative examination of the newsworthiness of these images reveals that *Consonance* was achieved since Fageeh represents a typically, recognizable Saudi man wearing the traditional headwear "uqal" and long white garment "thobe". The title "No Woman, No Drive" is easily associated by a large number of people with Marley's song as he sung it in English including English and Arabic subtitles, so that a maximum number of people can hear or watch it.

Adding to this, Fageeh states at the beginning of his introduction that he uses no musical instruments which may not make any difference to a non-Muslim UK viewer, but highly conservative Wahhabi Muslims believe that listening to musical instruments is a sin, so by not using such instruments, the singer comedian has extended the scope of viewers, achieving optimal *Superlativeness*. Other news values included are *Timeliness* as it is a timely song in relation to the social event of women protesting against the driving ban and *Unexpectedness* since there is a drawing of ovaries in the photos which would be highly unusual in any music video, let alone a Saudi one. And last but not least, the whole concept of this song was very novel as no Arab, even to this current day, has created an alternate rendition of a very well-known English song.

Visually, these images may not be very informative at first glance (though the one with ovaries is quite objectifying in its own right), several of these images have the "play" option, and once people hear the lyrics, which many may not recognize as satirical, the receiver will be presented with numerous Orientalizing Saudi women stereotypes, such as taking the "backseat", independent mobility "only inside the house", and habitual cooking, possibly reinforcing previous stereotypes of Middle Eastern women (Al-Saud, 2012; Karimullah, 2020).

5.3.6 Multimodal Saudi Women Cultural Categorization

An evaluation of how Saudi women were culturally identified multimodally in the UK and SA news corpora while protesting the driving ban and later driving revealed several findings:

(1) In all past and more current UK and SA corpora, Saudi women attire had a strong multimodal presence as visually, no woman without at least a abaya on was published, and textually, the lemma *wear* strongly collocated with women, as already discussed. One, though, can claim that what Saudi women were wearing was much more visually pronounced than textually as most of the images shot of Saudi women were in public, and the majority of women in Saudi Arabia still prefer wearing the abaya as "many girls still wear them for religious purposes and out of respect for their traditions and culture" (Francis, 2019).

(2) However, this visual salience of Saudi women wearing abayas and headcovers in the news may have been perceived as something that women were *forced* to do, especially textually in the UK press, as this was directly stated or implied repeatedly in the UK2T - Examples:

Whereas the reality was very different, and women did, in fact, have the freedom to go out without a abaya and/or headscarf. So, for instance, the two following photos (*Figure 60.*) were found in *The Daily Mail* (Jewell, 2019):

Figure 60. Saudi women freely walking around in SA without a abaya and headscarf

What is peculiar, however, is that no other UK newspaper (with the exception of one article from *The Sun*) published these images. As discussed earlier, when it came to how negatively SA treats women, major broadsheets and tabloids seemed to be quick to report on such incidences, yet not one UK broadsheet reported on how King Salman indicated that rules regarding wearing the abaya would be relaxed – in essence, backgrounding Saudi women cultural categorization changes.

(3) Past literature on Saudi women physical representations have often concluded that the Western media seem to frequently publish images that point to the assimilation of Saudi women when it comes to their public attire, and most notably so with regards to the veil (Bashatah, 2017). However, in comparing large datasets of visuals, it was found that there were a variety of hijab types connoting different levels of conservatism and that there were public attire shifts

over time, as confirmed by Begag and Habibi (2021) who state that "there has been a visible increase in the number of Saudi women who have switched from the niqab to the hijab. Many women in Saudi Arabia, particularly in cosmopolitan regions such as Riyadh and Jeddah, choose not to veil at all" (p. 1).

More specifically, Saudi women cultural categorization in terms of attire was more visually genericised (i.e., nuanced) in terms of the types of hijabs and abayas that Saudi women most frequently wore in public during the 2017-2019 timespan. However, textually, and more specifically via a qualitative analysis of concordances, it was found that several cultural and religious implications and shifts relating to what Saudi women wore surfaced, such as those of the evolving abaya which encouraged women to do more sports, the more relaxed attitudes that began in 2019 towards wearing, or not, the abaya, dismissing unfounded traditional beliefs of not allowing women to drive due to them potentially being corrupted if allowed to mix with men on the streets, just to name a few.

(4) One of the most important visual findings was that the Saudi press published images of very conservative social actors in veils significantly more frequently than the UK corpora, in both past and present datasets. However, textually in the UK press, the findings revealed that discourses pertaining to how strict dress codes were *enforced* were more prominently featured in both the past and more current UK press, with an increased focus over time which is troubling because the reality, which the visual findings reflect, is what is closer to on-ground practices. For one, since mid-2018 "there have also been some marginal reforms in restrictions on women's dress codes and gender segregation in public spaces" (Begag & Habibi, 2021, p. 1). And secondly, the visuals in the corpora include images of women without veils and whose hair is also uncovered at times.

And regarding less conservative and uncovered Saudi women, multimodally this could not be evaluated accurately. While visually there were clear categories for women who were identified as veiled, conservative women, other hijab types with subtle distinctions were non-existent textually. The only other type of identification that was multimodally detected, apart from the very conservative, was that of being كاشفة [uncovered] hair/face, but comparing them would yield unsound results as well as being uncovered visually entailed that the woman's hair was completely exposed, but textually, being uncovered referred to both uncovered hair and/or face.

(5) As far as how frequently Saudi women were identified in women-only groups as opposed to being represented within a mixed-gender setting, we find that multimodally, in all UK and

SA corpora, quantitatively, the mixing of women and men was not observed as a frequent occurrence, and this could be due to the nature of the context in which Saudi women were the focal point. However, a qualitative examination of the concordances did suggest the UK press's stagnant stance on the legal and social prohibition of genders mixing, while the SA discourses reflected actual shifts in practices and attitudes when it came to women and men mixing within the same public vicinity. Also, worth noting here is though the mixing of genders did not increase multimodally within the context of this research, what women were doing in the company of men was much more varied, increasingly taking on roles that were more male-oriented in the past, such as sales personnel in car showrooms, presenters in exhibitions, etc. in the 2017-2019 corpora.

(6) Constraints in multimodally investigating Saudi women cultural identification emerged twice, as discussed in depth previously: (a) visually, relational categorization analysis could not be conducted, and (b) textually, representations of collectivization and individualization could not be accurately discerned. However, having the opportunity to look into even a single mode is one of the reasons why multimodal analysis is invaluable as it provides the chance to retrieve findings that otherwise would not have emerged had only one communicative mode been considered (discussed in detail later in section 6.2, p. 233).

Obtaining such multimodal findings has hopefully demonstrated a more accurate representation of how Saudi women differ with regards to their cultural identity. More awareness needs to be exercised as to not completely accept what is only written or only visually portrayed. By bringing together both discourse modes, one can have a better understanding of how Saudi women, or potentially any social actors, are portrayed in the media as well as the ideologies and agendas that are reinforced or downplayed through the combination of modes, as the next chapter will summarize.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

This chapter presents the major findings of this study summarizing how Saudi women were multimodally represented and found newsworthy in the UK and SA news media within the context of the pre-/post- driving ban lift. More specifically, and guided by the research questions below, it provides answers as to:

RQ1: How are Saudi women multimodally represented in the 2011-2013 and 2017-2019 UK and SA news media in relation to the female driving ban and protests in Saudi Arabia?

RQ1a: And how are Saudi women made newsworthy in and through these representations?

RQ2: To what extent can we detect, if any, shifts in Orientalist representations over time?

RQ3: How do the images and texts work together (or not) to reinforce the representations of minoritized groups such as the Saudi women in the context of significant societal conflicts and changes?

Two main dimensions that answer the research questions are reviewed: Section 6.1 presents key findings and section 6.2 assesses the CA-MDA framework. More specifically, section 6.1.1 examines salient representation findings of Saudi women agency and newsworthiness, as well as cultural categorization representations, and section 6.1.2 summarizes Orientalist depictions that were uncovered in this study and whether there were any shifts over time. Next, section 6.2 provides an assessment of the CA-MDA framework that was developed as a workable and manageable approach to study representation. And finally, section 6.3 describes the limitations of the CA-MDA approach in general and in relation to the context of the current study, section 6.4 proposes potential avenues for future research, and section 6.5 offers some final thoughts.

6.1 Summary of Research Findings

6.1.1 Saudi Women Agency and Cultural Categorization Representations, and their Newsworthiness

Overall, quantitatively, the multimodal findings revealed a clear shift in Saudi women agency over time (i.e., pre-/post-driving ban lift) in both the UK news media from 59.7% to 81.4% and in the SA news from 57.3% to 91.6% (Table 43), with a more discernible increase between the SA1 and SA2 news corpora. More specifically, it was found that Saudi women agency increased most evidently in the rising numbers of Saudi women being represented as dynamic agents getting behind the wheel as drivers or preparing to drive. Additionally, there was an increase in career-oriented representations as the 2017-2019 UK and SA datasets showed that

more and more Saudi women were undertaking a variety of roles and occupations in the professional arena and contributing to society in an array of academic, economic, political, governmental, and medical fields.

These findings echo those of Dahlan (2011) who also found that over the timespan of her 2001-2009 study on Saudi women in the Canadian news media, "multilayered change" (p. 118) in depictions of agency also emerged. They are also in line with Baker and McEnery (2019) who found a small yet significant positive shift in how Muslim women were depicted in terms of activation when compared to the findings of one of their former studies (Baker et al., 2013). Important to note here, still, is that though the UK press presented Saudi women as more productive in more recent news, it did so much more subtlety and infrequently, potentially marginalizing ways in which Saudi women are being empowered in SA. Perhaps this constricted representation, however, is due to the perception of Saudi women agency through the lens of Western feminism and female agency.

As the notion of Western feminism is very much based on the idea of protest going back to suffragist movement (Delap, 2021), this may explain why the Western media see as newsworthy and almost 'celebrate' protest as a sign of fighting for rights. This might explain why protests received a wide coverage in the UK media, while other matters, such as Saudi women's local employment opportunities, women leaders (e.g., the Shura), and related concerns, were not given nearly as much attention. This backgrounding of Saudi women as leading social actors, however, could also be due to broader tendencies of undermining elite women leaders regardless of nationality, including Western female politicians, in the UK press (Tischner et al., 2019).

This related to another pattern found – that of Saudi women agency all too often seemed overshadowed by notions of activist victimization by authorities and their male relatives, and which in essence implies that this is the norm whereas in reality "such cases represent the status of a minority of women" (Elyas et al., 2020, p. 19). Saudi society is essentially portrayed as moving very slowly, maybe too slowly by Western standards, towards the norms of 'good/liberated' Western democracies.

Further proof of the UK news media's somewhat narrower insights of Saudi women agency is the overwhelming multimodal foregrounding of activism as evidenced in the highly frequently published images and textual nominalization of some Saudi women functionalized as activists, such as Manal Al-Sharif, and their acts of defiance of protesting the driving ban. Such fixated

representation, which may be linked to Western perception of feminism and social justice (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012), also appeared to heavily collocate with Saudi females practicing other professions, such as *Professors* and *Doctors*, who upon a closer investigation also seemed to be foregrounded as participating in activism-related events. Conversely, the Saudi press placed a greater focus on highlighting these accomplished women's professional status away from activist discourses. As discussed previously, such emphasis on protesting was an expected outcome in the 2011-2013 timespan since the driving ban was fully enforced, but saliency of this type of agency in the more current 2017-2019 UK corpus is what was unanticipated.

Undoubtedly, activism does point to Saudi women empowerment, but these activists made up only a very small number of the Saudi women population whose convictions and agency were underrepresented in the UK press, very similar to what others have found in the Western news media (Bashatah, 2017; Karimullah, 2020). On the other hand, the SA1 and SA2 markedly backgrounded activist social actors both visually and textually due to factors relating to news organization agendas in keeping with government discourses of prohibiting driving (Thorsen & Sreedharan, 2019) and possibly due to journalists' self-censorship (Schröter & Taylor, 2018) to avoid backlash for supporting these women who were going against societal norms.

Saudi women agency was also reflected via a significant increase in Saudi women being beneficialized in the 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora. Chulov (2017) states that "Saudi Arabia's crown prince, Mohammed bin Salman, has vowed to return the country to 'moderate Islam' and asked for global support to transform the hardline kingdom into an open society that empowers citizens" (p. 1), and which the author believes was one of the chief reasons for Saudi women's evolving rights in SA. Topal (2019) claims that the Kingdom recontextualized these transformations as تمكين المرأة [women's empowerment], which has become one of the most frequently used phrases in all media platforms. In fact, a quick search in the current corpora shows the great foregrounding of this stance as تمكين المرأة [empowering women] was mentioned 260 times in the SA2T when compared to 26 times in the SA1T, however in the UK corpora, the lemma empower was only mentioned twice in the UK1T and 8 times in the UK2T.

As such, Saudi women beneficialization in this study was a projected finding as it mirrored more recent on-ground legislative amendments issued by the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs that have greatly empowered women by granting them more rights and freedom, the first major change being permitting them to drive. Saudi women were beneficialized as

enthusiastically preparing to drive and taking advantage of all the support and facilitations presented by the government, as well as portraying Saudi women working in an array of fields, which aligns with the goals of Vision 2030.

Further evidence of Saudi women empowerment surfaced via visual observations in the current study's corpora as (1) 'social actor vs. news viewer' power relations were quite high (88.6% and above, *Figure 35*.) in all the UK and SA press as eye-level camera angle indicating social actor-news viewer equality was the dominant power relation representation, (2) the low-to-high angle depicting an empowered Saudi woman in the more current UK2V/SA2V was more frequently utilized than in the past, and (3) an increased shift of Saudi women gazing confidently directly at the camera symbolically "demanding" acknowledgment from the viewer was observed.

Moreover, it was noticed that the shift in overall Saudi women active agency representations in both the UK and SA news media was also complemented by an increase of images that showed these women smiling and gesturing the victory sign while driving, working, speaking, etc., both individualistically and collectively in (non)-mixed fe/male groups. An investigation of such affordances provided an added level of understanding indicating a clear shift in representations of attitude, here being *Positivity*, which rendered such images of Saudi women particularly newsworthy. Positive news values were also reflected in *Abstractions* of Saudi women who were presented as illustrations of neutral-to-happy female drivers in infographics that included supportive textual components as well.

Proximity and *Timeliness* were other news values that were frequently associated with the Saudi women in the UK and SA news media. This was mirrored by the high frequency of images that functionalized women as drivers, which was anticipated as the newness of Saudi women driving for the first time in SA in the earlier 2011-2013 corpora and them being able to drive in the later 2017-2019 period were two very important and exciting junctures in Saudi women's evolving rights. Images of *Spatialization* and *Instrumentalization* (e.g., car exhibits and car ads) and infographics were also heavily foregrounded in the SA2 press as they were of direct relevance to Saudi women who were amidst considering what car to purchase and preparing to drive. Within the UK context, however, these concerns were not so crucial, and thus such images were not seen as newsworthy enough to be highlighted in the UK2 press.

An examination of the remaining ways in which Saudi women were made newsworthy reveals further discrepancies:

(1) When it comes to the type of *Impact* that was emphasized, we find that multimodally, the UK1 press presented Saudi women as defiant social actors, often mentioned by name, and who turned to the streets and drove in hopes of getting the driving ban overturned. And though the SA1 also showed images of some women driving, textually, the discourse was much more restrained, emphasising divergent ideas for and against this movement, and thus textual impact of Saudi women was absent for the most part in the SA1 news corpora.

(2) Which *Elite* figures were highlighted in the UK and SA news articles were also quite distinct. The findings in the UK2 news corpora showed that Saudi female royals, such as Princess Hayfa who was repeatedly shown modelling in support of the driving ban being lifted, was also newsworthy due to the *Unexpected* nature of some of the images in which her head was cropped off and in its place were famous activists' faces. In the SA media, however, Saudi women who exhibited more relatable agency in the professional arena were the ones who were most often multimodally stressed in the SA1 and SA2 press, such as Shura members, whose names were repeatedly mentioned, race car drivers Aseel AlHamad and Reem Alaboud, as well as Princess Reema AlSaud who has held high-ranking professional and political positions in both the SA and the US since 2017. Other affordances which lent to the prominence of these Elites in both the UK and SA press is that distance/gaze findings showed that in almost all these images, the Elite female figures were central and captured individually in close to mid, direct gaze shots making their presence even more pronounced.

(3) The *Negative* news values that were foregrounded in relation to Saudi women also appeared to be different in the UK and SA press. Textually, though, the findings demonstrated that whereas the UK news media focused more on how Saudi activists and feminists in general were being negatively treated primarily by the SA government, and therefore feeling the need to flee their country, the SA media tended to draw more attention to the everyday woman's struggles relating to limitations set by male relatives and to the endured consequences of having foreign drivers. Visually, however, for reasons relating to photojournalistic censorship (Al-Otaibi, 2016) and dissemination of controversial images, as already discussed, there were very few images that actually showed any Saudi woman as being sad, afraid, or subjected in any way, but when such images did appear, facial sadness or subjugation were pronounced as these women were individualized in the images.

Important to note before moving on is that though Saudi women were activated in the majority of the UK and SA corpora, they were also multimodally passivized to a certain extent via

depictions of being an Intransactive agent or passive patient, or even visually excluded altogether. The findings of this study, in fact, revealed a shift over time in overall multimodal representations of backgrounding and disempowering Saudi women in the UK news media (from 40.3% to 18.6%) and in the SA press (from 42.% to 8.4%). Textually, Saudi women were passivized almost equally frequently in both UK1T and SA1T news media, with authoritative subjugation being dominant in 2011-2013 UK and SA news articles, followed by representations of societal subjugation.

And visually, Saudi women, within the context of this research, were most prominently backgrounded via affordances of back or indirect gazes and long-shot distance photos. *Impersonalization* within the context of this research did not point to backgrounding Saudi women as the majority of these images were infographics and other visuals of *Spatialization* (e.g., parking lots and driving schools) and *Instrumentalization* (e.g., types of cars and car simulators) which demonstrated more beneficialized representation as Saudi women were being enabled to become active drivers.

Saudi women were also multimodally backgrounded via *Exclusion*. In their place Elite male Saudi royals in the UK press were most repeatedly published and the police and Saudi men in the SA news. AlQunayir's (2019) CDA of how Saudi Arabia was portrayed in 2013-2015 news articles in both the [Arabic BBC] and the translated and trans-edited English [BBC Monitoring Middle East] also showed evidence of lexically underscoring "elite" public male figure as active agents more frequently than Saudi women.

As for cultural categorization representations of Saudi women in the current study, it was found that when it came to their most prominent physical features, that of their public attire since most of the images were captured in the streets of SA, there was a notable multimodal decrease over time in the frequency of Saudi women representations who are, in general, considered to be conservative looking to Westerns (i.e., wearing a veil/headcover) in the UK (from 98.01% to 61.2%) and in the SA (from 73% to 60.8), and also those wearing specifically a veil in both the UK (from 21.3% to 8.7%) and SA (from 26.1% to 12.7%) news corpora. Such findings mirror the changing attire of Saudi women in public in SA nowadays, and we can therefore conclude that the UK media did not excessively foreground *veiled* Saudi women within the context of this study. However, a more qualitative investigation of whether veiled Saudi women were represented as activated social actors (not including those driving) revealed that the SA2 surpassed all the other corpora in highlighting veiled Saudi women as Transactive agents.

Another notable cultural shift relates to unconservative Saudi women attire, especially those not wearing a headscarf. It was found that Elite public figures were the ones who were most unconservatively dressed in the past UK1V and SA1V press, but now it has become more acceptable for any woman to go out in public without a headscarf on, and which was depicted more frequently in the UK2 press. Further shifts in relaxed representations of attire come from the "less-conservative" images of hijabis who were less modestly covered by showing some of their hair, and the findings of which showed rising numbers in both the UK and SA press.

Including more diverse Saudi women attire representations over time in the media is important since this demonstrates that wearing a headcover is not just one thing, as a particular way it is worn can signal more liberal attitudes as well as various regional affiliations and commitment to the local culture. The reality is that there is a wide spectrum of Muslim and Saudi women headwear practices and associations, but often due to Westerners' simplified views and/or lack of understanding, Saudi women with headcovers are typically homogenized into one group associated with ultra conservative attitudes, which can be stigmatising. This, in fact, is unjust as other women in the world such as nuns, Italian women going into a church, or an Indian lady entering a temple, also wear some form of headcover, but by the same token, they are not stereotypically perceived in the media as backward victims *forced* to cover as is sometimes the case with Saudi or other Muslim women.

Textually, several cultural and religious implications and shifts relating to what Saudi women wore were discovered most prominently in SA2T corpus. More specifically, representations of more relaxed attitudes towards the changing styles of abayas, including those which encouraged women to participate in more sports were foregrounded in the 2017-2019 SA corpus. And there was special emphasis on how driving a car and what women wore should not be a concern when it comes to fears that some extremists had about men and women co-existing in the streets while driving. Frequency of women and men depicted as mixing were multimodally similar across both the UK and SA news contexts and unchanging over time, and which seems to show that apprehensions over the increase of gender mixing was unwarranted as it was not something that the media were foregrounding or encouraging.

Concordance findings also uncovered several salient Orientalist depictions in the UK press when it comes to what Saudi women wore, and especially in the more current 2017-2019 UK corpus – findings in line with Bashatah (2017) who also claimed that the Western media typically portrays Muslim women based on the "Western ideology of Orientalism" (p. 228)

and which is deep-rooted in British news reporting. The author adds that Saudi women protesting the driving ban were regularly represented in a way that leads readers to conclude that due to SA's strict culture and authoritarian regime, Saudi women were helpless victims. These findings and other Orientalizing ones are presented in more detail in the next section.

6.1.2 Orientalist Representations

Evidence of Orientalist biases associated with Saudi women in the UK news media, as well as depictions of marginalization of Saudi women, primarily in the 2011-2013 SA news media, were observed upon examination of both Saudi women agency and cultural categorization (Table 48).

Table 48

Summary of the Most Frequently Foregrounded Orientalist Depictions of Saudi Women in the UK and SA Corpora

UK News Media			SA News Media		
Orientalism	**'11-'13**	**'17-'19**	**Marginalization**	**'11-'13**	**'17-'19**
Victimized (sentenced)	UK1T/UK1V	UK2T/UK2V	**Victimized** (harassment)	SA1T/SA1V	---
Victimized (Loujain jailed)	---	UK2T /UK2V			
Victimized (flee, leave, treated, repression, forced to wear the veil	UK1T	UK2T			
Victimized (raped)	UK1V	---			
Victimized (car torched)	---	UK2V			
Victimized (feared)	---	UK2T			
Marginalized (work absence), especially when veiled	UK1T/UK1V	UK2T/UK2V	**Marginalized** (silenced)	SA1T/SA1V	---
Marginalized (Shura member absence)	UK1T/UK1V	---			
Radical (activists are traitors)	---	UK2T/ UK2V			
Radical (activists are defiant)	UK1T/UK1V	---			
Impersonalized (ovary, brain)	UK1T/UK1V	UK2T	**Impersonalized** (ovary)	SA1T	---
Incompetent (lack intelligence, shrinking brain)	---	UK2T /UK2V			
Submissive (housemaker, remains 2-class)	UK1T/UK1V	UK2V	**Submissive** (society)	SA1T/SA1V	SA2T/SA2V
Conservative (strict dress codes and mixing)	---	UK2T	**Submissive** (remain 2-class)	SA1T	---
Dependent (on taxis)	UK1T/UK1V	---		SA1T/ SA1V	---

Homogenized (collectively shot from a distance)	---	UK2V	Dependent (on male relatives)
Frivolous (standing at a make-up stand, giggling and cackling)	UK1T	UK2V	

As can be discerned from the table above, among the most prominent multimodal representations are those in which Saudi women were found depicted in both visual and textual modes. Based on this, the most salient would be that of the UK news media's portrayal of Saudi women as *victims* either as being sentenced or punished by authorities. And this pattern was evident in both the past and more current corpora, with a particular multimodal focus on how badly activist Lujain Al-Hathloul was being *victimized* in the UK2 corpora. Other ways Saudi women were perceived via an Orientalist lens in the UK press was by publishing reports that solely focused on how Saudi sheikhs *impersonalized* Saudi women by constructing them as vessels for reproduction. They also undermined women's *intelligence* by repeatedly presenting the same sheikh associating shrinking brains with driving to go shopping. Further Orientalising depictions were detected in the UK1 in representations that focused on Saudi women as volatile social actors *defiantly* driving out in protest, and in the UK2 in foregrounding SA news labelling the same women as *traitors*.

In his multimodal study of Muslim women, Falah (2005) also found depictions of them being portrayed as both victims on the one hand and strong, politically active social actors on the other. The author observed that the news was representing these women as "passive victims of religious extremism and dictatorship" (p. 312) but also as "politically active and to be involved in political causes" (p. 312). The author, however, expressed his worry regarding politically surged representations, and which was discussed earlier as a concern in this study regarding surrounding the collocate *defiant*. Falah explains that such representations do debunk perceptions of Muslim women as isolated passive individuals, and provide the West a new perspective on these women as political social actors with a voice. Conversely, however, the images of politically active Muslim women and the language that accompanies them may reinforce stereotypes about Muslims as being politically frustrated and "prone to extremism and fanaticism" (Falah, 2005, p. 313). However, due to the UK press' tendency of similarly portraying even Western female activists as radicals (Wasterlain, 2020), one could argue that such representations are possibly more of an amplification of how UK news journalists have traditionally depicted female activists.

There was also evidence of *marginalizing* Saudi women's on-ground existence as working members of society in both the UK1 and UK2. And two other prominent multimodal Orientalist representations were those of Saudi women being portrayed in the UK1 as being *dependent* on taxis, as well as being *submissive* second-class citizens who are controlled to a large extent by men in general, but more so by close male relatives. Such findings are along the same lines with what other researchers have found such as Dahlan (2011) and Alharbi (2015) who also argued that Saudi women were often portrayed as silent submissive victims whose rights needed to be defended and saved.

But there is a very important point to make here before continuing. As Table 48 shows, not only did submissive representations emerge from the UK1, but that Saudi women were also portrayed as submissive social actors in the SA1 which points to the saliency of this particular depiction. Within the Saudi culture, till very recently when the male guardianship was fundamentally relaxed in "August 2019, women in Saudi Arabia were universally treated as legal minors, requiring a male relative's permission for a range of critical decisions, such as working, obtaining family records, and applying for a passport" (Equality Now, 2019, p. 1) and there were work opportunity inequalities with "discrimination based on gender, disability or age" (BBC.com, 2019, p. 1). Against this background, it becomes clear that SA media was mirroring and reinforcing such male-controlled ideologies in the 2011-2013 timespan.

Since August 2019, which "marked a major turning point in Saudi women's rights" (Equality Now, 2019, p. 1), life has been changing very quickly for Saudi women in Saudi Arabia. But even before then, and as reflected in the findings in Table 48, a number of Orientalist underpinnings in the representations were uncovered in both the UK and SA news media. Whereas in the SA press, one can quickly observe that the majority of ways that Saudi women were marginalized in the 2012-2013 multimodal corpus did not surface in the 2017-2019 corpus, in the UK press, the shifts were not as frequent.

Though the UK2 corpus reduced the representations of Saudi women as victims and being submissive 2nd class citizens and dependant on taxis and male relatives, some representations remained the same: (a) victimization via the various types of backlash by both the government (e.g., foregrounding Lujain's imprisonment, activists as traitors, enforced severe dress codes including the veil), (b) victimization via society (e.g., male relatives torching 1 woman's car, being in fear of male relatives, and not trusted enough to drive due to a lack of intelligence),

and (c) depictions of assimilated passiveness in term of collectively being visually shot from a distance doing nothing, and as being frivolous in general which may suggest 'otherness'.

As such, the findings have showed that there have been a few positive shifts when it comes to the representations of Saudi women in the UK press. Also in her research, Bashatah (2017) found that reporters continue to use Orientalist narratives to frame their news, and this has a noticeable impact on how Saudi women are represented. And this was most visually notable in the UK tabloids as discussed previously in relation to the religious clerics and car torching, all pointing to their interest in further advancing negative stereotypes of victimization that are "ideologically motivated . . . rather than transparent reflections of reality" (Harvey & Brookes, 2018, p. 13).

Essentially, almost all the findings on how the UK and SA media find Saudi women newsworthy point to how far news agencies will go to promote certain ideologies. For the UK press, that would mainly be of SA being as an antiquated country with disciplining procedures that keeps its citizens in check. And though great strides have taken place in rectifying numerous old regulations, the image of SA treating its women unfairly still prevails above all else. This goes together with the other representations that when negative, they tend to be then interpreted as positive self-representations; namely, SA as uncivilised, outdated which indirectly implies that the UK is advanced, modern, and better (Wodak, 2015). As for the SA press, in general terms, avoiding reporting news that could potentially cause any societal unrest, as well as depictions of emancipated, more empowered Saudi women who are in line with the Kingdom's Vision 2030 and a reconstruction of its progressive image, are what seem to be mostly foregrounded by Saudi journalism whose agenda encourages the frequent publication of positive news involving SA (Alnajrani et al., 2018).

The SA press does not deny shortcomings and need for more improvements, but repeatedly highlighting discourses of challenges and injustices in the 2017-2019 UK news is troubling as the prevalence of victimization in news reports seems one-dimensional, undermining real on-ground developments and in the process amplifying the differences between East and West. These findings are in line with Elyas and Aljabri (2020) whose study of Saudi women representations in relation to Saudi's male guardianship system found that Western newspapers often criticize and question Saudi Arabia's evolving legislative modifications rather than encouraging new, life-changing reforms. Unfortunately, consistently representing Saudi women through an Orientalist lens no doubt impacts readers, solidifying old stereotypes, and

potentially resulting in further discriminatory practices both on personal and broader international planes.

6.2 Assessment of CAMDA Framework

Though there have been a good number of studies on Saudi women representations, as discussed earlier in detail, the majority of all past research only examined textual representations with the exceptions of Abid and Al-Khazraji (2017), Bashatah (2017), and Taher (2019). And of these multimodal studies, most only looked at small data samples (Abid & Al-Khazraji, 2017; Taher, 2019), in only one geographical context: Abid and Al-Khazraji (2017) in the US press and Bashatah (2017) in the UK press, and none examined whether there were any shifts in representation that occurred over time though having noted that such an endeavour is vital for understanding the history of feminism and the construction of change.

As such, the current study utilized a multimodal framework that was developed as a workable and manageable approach to study media representations of a particular female social actor. This method accounts for limited attention to visual representations in past CDA research as well as small and large sample text analyses resolving "the gap between highly-detailed, contextualised analyses of small samples of multimodal texts on the one hand, with highly-aggregate, decontextualised big data approaches…on the other" (O'Halloran et al., 2019, p. 454). Indeed, devising a workable multimodal framework that facilitates the analysis of large textual and visual corpora and the key relations between the textual and the visual is what this study aimed to achieve.

Hence, this research can be considered as a methodological case study to test the adopted CAMDA approach for an analysis of large multimodal datasets, both qualitatively and quantitatively, via corpus-assisted methods. By combining both visual and textual modes, one of the chief aims was (a) to see which visual and textual findings converge, and hence in the process, may potentially *strengthen* the impact of certain representations, and (b) to find out how the visual and textual findings diverge, often each mode contributing additional layers of meaning, and which collectively may point to more *balanced* attitudes towards the results thus avoiding over- or under-interpretations of just textual or just visual representations. Below are examples from the findings that demonstrate how the current approach provided more representative and nuanced representations suggesting a more accurate representation of the social actor in question.

Convergence of the Multimodal Findings in the UK and SA News Corpora:

Firstly, in considering representations of overall social actor agency (via Role Allocation, Functionalization, and Power Relations) in the 2017-2019 corpora, *visually* both UK and SA reports portrayed Saudi women almost equally frequently as active social agents (UK2V 81.4%; SA2V 84.5%), but it was only *textually* that there was a clear difference (UK2T 81.4%; SA2T 98.7%), and which served to give a more impartial multimodal representation of Saudi women when both textual and visual modes were combined (SA2 91.6%) – a result which neither underrepresents Saudi women agency when compared to the UK2 (81.4%), nor is overblown in significance had only the SA2T (98.7%) been considered.

Furthermore, due to very strict regulations on the types of photos that can be taken and of whom in SA as "taking pictures or recording videos without permission is not permitted" (GOV.UK, 2021), to a large extent, many of the images in the UK and SA corpora were quite similar in general. So based on this, discovering how the news media in different contexts depicted Saudi women via these images only most likely would have not yielded a full picture. An example in point was the 2011-2013 UK press whereby the UK1V (67.7%) visually presented Saudi women as transactive agents more frequently than it did textually in the UK1T (51.7%), but when combined, the result was a more balanced multimodal representation of Saudi women as transactive agents (59.7%) indicative of the more in-depth textual and visual qualitative analysis.

Section 5.3 in Chapter 5 also included several other cases that demonstrate how taking into consideration the two communicative modes of discourse were worth the effort for obtaining more representative findings. Here, however, only a few of those examples will be restated to illustrate how some of the converging multimodal findings offered some of the most salient representations:

- Overall subdued Saudi women *agency* in the 2011-2013 SA press reflecting a religious and political agenda opposing Saudi women driving. But agency representations, including more varied functionalization, did increase multimodally in both the 2017-2019 UK and SA corpora.

- Marginalization of the everyday Saudi women in the SA corpora as there was virtually no multimodal foregrounding of (a) roles allocated to *protesting* (b) Saudi women functionalized as activists, especially when compared to the UK press' representations.

- Passivation of Saudi women in the 2011-2013 SA corpora via the Elite who were multimodally foregrounded in the UK press, but backgrounded in the SA press as a way to distance royal government officials from the driving ban conflicts. And so, alternatively, men and the society were given prominence in the SA press consolidating their status at that time.

- Cultural categorization revealed multimodal shifts in depictions of Saudi women attire in both the UK and SA press with more relaxed attitudes in the more current 2017-2019 corpora as reflected in the various types of hijabs, and abaya/headscarf colours and styles.

In general, it could be concluded that local media representations of Saudi women did mirror both social and political agendas to a large degree. Though a number of Orientalist underpinnings in the representations of Saudi women were uncovered in the 2011-2013 corpora reflecting a male-dominated society, one can clearly observe that such multimodal marginalization did not surface as extensively in the 2017-2019 corpus. The findings, indeed, demonstrated a significant shift in how Saudi women were being foregrounded as becoming more empowered social actors in everyday life – a shift which aligns with Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030 of increasing women's participation in the workforce. However, the one representation that remained multimodally absent in the more recent news media was that of Saudi women depicted as protestors or activists, again aligning with the local political agenda, that of stability.

Divergence of the Multimodal Findings in the UK and SA News Corpora

While analysing the UK and SA visual data first, and then the textual, it was observed in some cases that interpreting each mode alone only presented part of a bigger picture, thus in essence, discounting the robustness of some representations. And in other cases, the visual and textual findings reflected different representation outcomes, and so combining them gave a more comprehensive understanding of the representations under investigation.

In general, it was found that in some instances, images offered a broader range of representations, as in the case of the various types of hijabs and positive attitudes that were depicted visually, as well as the saliency of the victory sign in the UK press, but that were not textually evident. As such, representations of more relaxed attitudes and the prominence of *Positivity* as a news value would not have been possible to fully detect if only texts were studied. And, conversely, there were also examples (Section 5.3, Chapter 5) that demonstrated how investigating texts only would have not provided representations that are more balanced. For instance, the absence of images of activists being jailed minimised the textual prominence

given to the depictions of victimization disseminated in the UK press. Another example would be of Saudi women who were textually, but not visually, foregrounded as mothers and wives in the SA press.

Based on the examples discussed above and various others in Chapter 5, it can be claimed that a multimodal investigation utilizing the CAMDA framework proposed in this study was worth conducting. For one, detecting instances of where analysis of both text and visual representations converge seems to reflect new developments in SA – and sometimes added visual affordances of representations and newsworthiness that were impossible to investigate textually, like positivity, social actor gazes and distances, lent further interpretive insights, increasing the reliability of the results. This is especially relevant in the current study since there was no subjective choosing of visuals, rather all the images that appeared with the analysed texts were investigated. Though this is a rare occurrence in multimodal research, the framework in this study facilitated the analysis of such comprehensive datasets.

Though time consuming, the analysis procedures adopted in this multimodal approach are not beyond the capabilities of any researcher as they require no special technological know-how, but at the same time, complex enough to accommodate for both diachronic and cross-linguistic comparisons. However, having said this, utilizing the framework did not come without its challenges, and these will be discussed along with other limitations in the next section.

6.3 Research Limitations

In utilizing a corpus-assisted multimodal discourse analysis that is both (1) cross-linguistic involving languages with two very different writing and grammatical systems and (2) across two timespans, several limitations were detected in investigating Saudi women representations and newsworthiness. The first limitation was that due to specifying two historical contexts, I only focused on articles relating directly to the 2011-2013 protests on the driving ban and its lifting and aftermath in 2017-2019. And though in searching for these articles, not much more was published on Saudi women, especially in the UK context, still caution must be taken in interpretations. Findings might not be fully representative of the UK and SA media stance in their construction of Saudi women in those two timespans, and therefore cannot be generalized. Also, future research can look more systematically at the differences between UK news tabloids and broadsheets as they exhibit different readerships, circulation, and sensationalized vs. more serious, formal content.

Despite the fact that all of the images that were published with each news article were analysed both quantitatively via frequency counts and Chi-square statistics, the only textual representations that were investigated were those that strongly collocated with Saudi women, in addition to concordances that demonstrate the representation saliency, and DNVA and Wordlist analyses were only utilized when needed to provide supplementary interpretations. To put it another way, had the entire texts been analysed using all the listed methods, further outcomes may have emerged as the totality of images were studied but only sections of texts that had a particular cut off point in terms of frequency for collocation were examined. Additionally, in conducting a large-scale corpus-assisted analysis, direct vs. reported speech was not taken into consideration, and therefore, potentially an added level of interpretation was overlooked.

However, it was decided that the approach taken in this research was justified as one of the main aims of assessing the feasibility of the CAMDA framework devised in this research was to see the extent to which this approach could be applied to considerably larger datasets – in essence, an examination of the dominant textual patterns when it comes to the representations of Saudi women and this is what corpus tools can do best. The alternative would be to read all the texts and use CDA, but then utilizing such an approach may be prone to subjective biases such as primacy and confirmation bias.

Because of the complexity of the Arabic language and the limitation of corpus tools in automatically detecting (pro)noun gendered distinctions, this undoubtedly did impose certain restrictions on how thoroughly the corpus tools could be used to analyse the Arabic corpora. Further, though two people coded the images in this research, it is important to point out that both of us are Arabs and we both wear the "conservative" type of hijab. This being said, had the coding been done by a more or less conservative Saudi women, data interpretations may have been different. This type of subjectivity cannot be avoided, but it is important to disclose one's stance. And since both coders to a certain extent fall roughly in the middle of the attire spectrum, and family and friends were regularly included in discussions about the physical representations of Saudi women, it is hoped that the findings provided in this research are well-rounded as they are a by-product of a wide-ranging background knowledge.

6.4 Suggestions for Future Research

Since the corpora that are used in this study are representative of Saudi women in the news media within the particular social context of evolving rights in SA, future researchers can make

use of this study's findings or even extensive textual/visual corpora in any other work, linguistic or otherwise, on issues concerning Saudi women in the news. And as I have multimodally investigated the first major right of female agency in SA in the news media, that of driving, other scholars can choose to look into other significant developments, as it is truly an exciting time for Saudi women worthy of exploration and documentation. And of particular interest would be to see if any shifts in representation have occurred since August 2019 when several transformative laws concerning women's rights were issued (hrw.org, 2019).

It is also recommended that future researchers approach studies on Muslim and Saudi women by utilizing an adapted approach. In doing so, the aim would be to capture more accurately Saudi/Muslim women perspectives and representations that are in accordance with Islamic law (Offenhauer, 2005; Tschirhart, 2014) as "Western models of feminism should not be used for considering Western views or studies of Muslim women in general, or the issues of Saudi women in particular" (Mustafa & Troudi, 2019, p. 137).

Based on having a clear awareness of this, this study utilized an adapted version of van Leeuwen's (2008) social networks in which some categories, such as *Beneficialization*, were reconfigured to gain deeper local insights into how Saudi women are being empowered since adopting a one-glove-fits-all analytical toolkit would possibly exclude more nuanced representations included in the data. Having said this, as I am a Saudi and thus considered as having a Saudi "insider's" perspective, it would be interesting to see the findings of a non-Arab or non-Saudi researcher comparing the same social actor or event in two geographical contexts using similar analysis techniques.

Throughout this research, both cross-linguistic and diachronic comparative elements proved their importance as an analytical approach since they revealed embedded constructions that may have otherwise not been considered significant. Of utmost importance going forward is to conduct MCDA research in two geographical contexts which, to this day, is rarely done. And since only visual *Exclusion* analysis was conducted in this research (due the Saudi women specifically being the investigated social actor), future MDCA research can cross-linguistically examine *Exclusion* multimodally within a research context that is broader, for instance an examination of gender representation in one social event that is neither focused on women nor men.

Furthermore, since strict censorship was at play in the SA corpora, both textually, and especially visually, and due to the limitations of public photography in Saudi Arabia, it would

be enlightening to see how the proposed CAMCDA works if used to investigate social actor representations in different contexts and possibly other socially relevant topics, such as those relating to health and illnesses, food, climate change, animal rights, and so on, and more importantly, in corpora under minimal or no censorship.

It is hoped that this current research serves as an initial attempt to inspire future researchers to tackle more large-scale multimodal datasets utilizing the proposed CAMDA framework, as well as setting the groundwork for others to develop and improve their own multimodal approaches as "such studies collectively attest the value of a multimodal critical perspective for elucidating the power of discourse – across a wide variety of text types and on all levels of semiosis" (Harvey & Brookes, 2018, p. 3).

6.5 Final Thoughts and Reflections

Media representations rarely depict reality as they are driven by local and international agendas and power relations, news values, as well as expectations of readers that altogether might invite and reinforce more stereotypical representations, potentially amplifying the detrimental effects of *us* vs. *them*. Hence, realizing the severity of such effects, when it comes to what the news media broadcast, Baker et al. (2012) strongly call for modifications to the Editor's Code of Practice and argue that newspapers need to take more control over editorial practices. One way CDA researchers can contribute is by sending their findings and concerns to the Editor's Code Committee at https://www.ipso.co.uk/complain/ . If researchers regularly provide evidence of minority group misrepresentations in the media, then perhaps, over time, these claims might raise some awareness and make a difference, even if in a small way.

Baker (2013) also suggests making cognizant efforts within organizations to promote gender equality that would be reflected in print media, as well as journalists' mindful efforts of resorting to neutral terms such as *representative* instead of *chairman/spokesman*. Others propose exposing and reporting female inferiority and/or absence in newspapers (Lirola, 2016), in addition to questioning biased discourses and making such discriminations "visible and problematized among policymakers, practitioners and actors on all levels of the industry" (Fältholm & Norberg, 2017, p. 359). Bashatah (2017) states that there needs to be more awareness among all journals "about issues of representation . . . where there are differences of culture and religion between reporters and those about whom they are reporting" (p. 230).

And on a more individual level, what will greatly help reduce the absorption of circulating misconceptions regarding Muslim women, as put forth by Mustafa-Awad and Kirner-Ludwig (2017), is incorporating CDA philosophy and media awareness into university students' curricula in hopes that the future generation becomes better equipped at distinguishing what reflects more truly the situation on the ground as opposed to what may be fabricated or exaggerated in the media. This could, in the long term, contribute "to the construction of more fair-minded, unbiased and prosperous collective experiences in contemporary society" (Bezerra, 2020, p. 25). Such views are also shared by Samaie and Malmir (2017) who believe that educational systems need to give the new generation practical tools to reflect critically on their own, detecting not only the social problems in news media but also recognizing the positive, with the end goal of "denaturalizing the ideologies and changing the society for [sic] better" (p. 1363).

Such initiatives have already been introduced by the Multimodal Analysis Lab as Tan et al. (2012) *Multimodal Analysis Image* teacher and student textbooks guide students on how to better comprehend advertisements, movie posters, news reports, and infographics by developing "a critical understanding and appreciation of how visual and verbal elements work together to create an impact and achieve their respective purposes" (p. 1). Having been a university lecturer myself, I personally whole-heartedly believe in the power of empirically-based knowledge, as critical discussions with college students can make a difference, inspiring them to be more vocal or even take on some kind of "socially-acceptable" action advancing Saudi women empowerment, both locally and on an international scale.

In relation to Saudi women more specifically, according to Dunham (2013), part of the problem resides in the Western media not having "given enough attention to the positive changes women are experiencing in Saudi Arabia - but have given attention to the lack of opportunities they have" (p. 7). Indeed, this is problematic to this day. In conducting a review of the 55 headlines published on Saudi women in 2020 in all major UK broadsheets and tabloids, I found that about 67% of these articles predominantly report on the jailing of human rights activist, Loujain Al-Hathloul, and the remaining were of women who felt the need to escape SA to find more freedom in expressing themselves, insinuating that this is the case of all Saudi women since the press only foregrounded such discourses.

There was only one exception; namely, an article from *The Daily Mail* that showed Saudi women as active social actors in society, but who were, once again, demoted with the word

"rare" in the headline: "Saudi Arabia appoints 10 women in senior roles in holy mosques in a *rare* move to boost female employment in the Islamic kingdom" (Feehan, 2020). In only being exposed to these representations, Westerners, and here more specifically UK news consumers, may not realize the notable strides that Saudi women have made in Saudi Arabia, and which are observed in the Saudi news media.

Jalabi (2021) states that "women now make up 33% of Saudi's labour force – nearly double what it was five years ago. Across age brackets and education levels, they are taking up jobs previously restricted to Saudi men and migrant workers in restaurants, supermarkets, accounting and graphic design firms" (p. 1). Saudi women have also been very recently seen to be taking on more critical positions (*Figure 61*. below) which is encouraging as this points to the Saudi's government support of such advancements. Of course, SA still has some way to go on various fronts including women's rights, but it is important to note that substantial reforms have happened. Such shifts do require time and it seems that the government is now supporting this kind of development.

First soldier graduates (Nihal, 2021)   First royal guard (Arab News, 2020)

First commercial pilot (Nadeem, 2019)   First to join NASA (Joseph, 2021)   First Hajj and Umra guards (Benmansour, 2021)
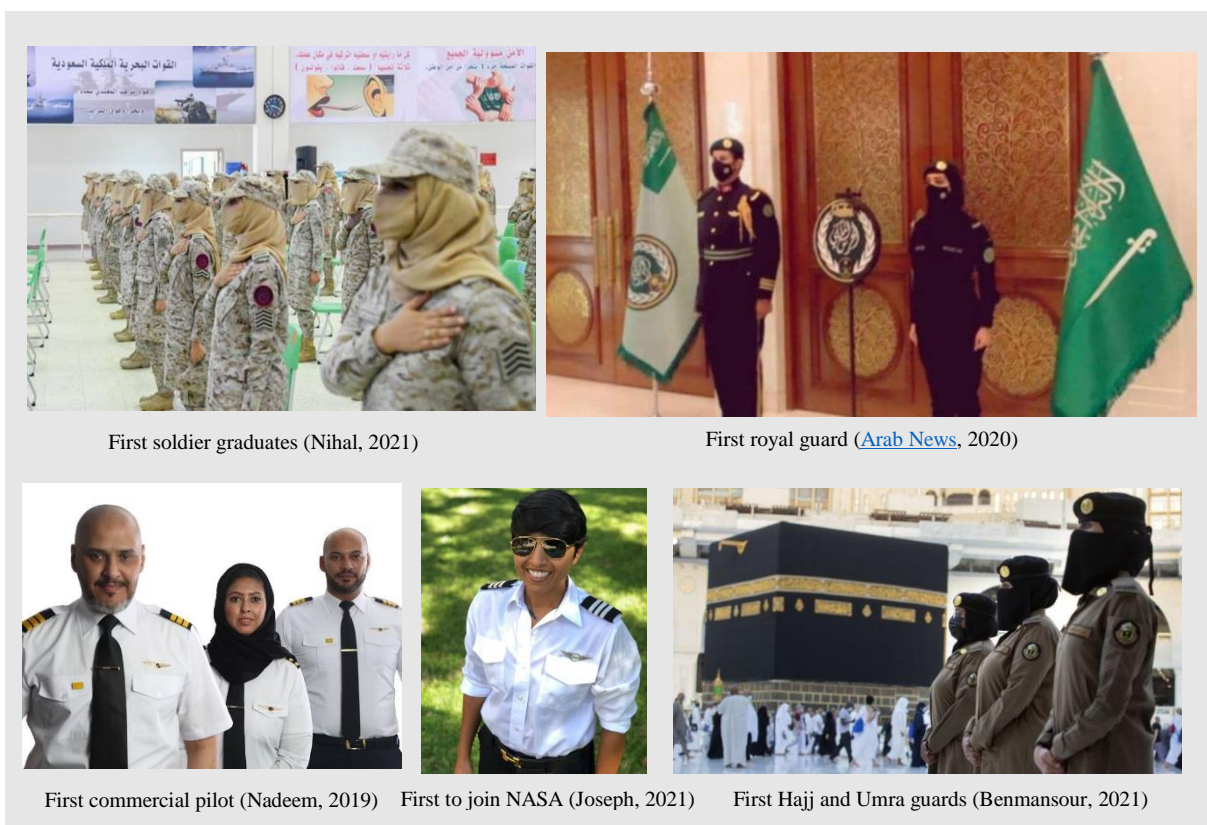
Figure 61. Examples of increasingly more varied Saudi women agency and empowerment

The head of the Human Rights Commission in Saudi Arabia, Dr. Awwad Al Awwad, states that more than 90 human rights reforms have been enacted in Saudi Arabia since 2019, with

30 of them directly connected to women's and family rights (Salama, 2021), including numerous "advances for women on civil status issues . . . [and] changes to the Labor Law" (Human Rights Watch, 2019).

Because of MCDA studies like this, it is hoped that in time, news consumers become even more critical when it comes to biases in both news reports and accompanying images, and to refrain from readily judging people and acting irrationally on what they see, aiding in contesting damaging latent Orientalist stereotypes which we all know stubbornly linger in the media to this day (Elyas & Aljabri, 2020; Karimullah, 2020). In the end, raising awareness and prompting potential change is what most researchers strive to achieve when conducting such thought-provoking MCDA studies.

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Appendix 1: UK and SA News Article Headlines and Links

Link to complete Appendix files: PhD Thesis Appendix - Dina Sibai - (site123.me)
Password to access website: phdappendix

Sample – 2011-2013 UK1 News Articles

#	Articles	UK 2011-2013 Headlines (*The Independent*) / May 1, 2011 – Nov. 1, 2013
1	*The Independent* 22 May 2011	Saudi woman held by police – for driving https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-woman-held-by-police-ndash-for-driving-2287650.html
2	*The Independent* 23 May 2011	Saudi woman arrested after defying driving ban https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-woman-arrested-after-defying-driving-ban-2287817.html
3	*The Independent* 27 May 2011	No release for Saudi woman driver https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/no-release-for-saudi-woman-driver-2289611.html
4	*The Independent* 29 May 2011	David Randall: Miffed over free speech? Try being a woman driver in Saudi Arabia https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/david-randall-miffed-over-free-speech-try-being-a-woman-driver-in-saudi-arabia-2290338.html
5	*The Independent* 18 Jun 2011	Saudi women take to the road in show of defiance https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-women-take-to-the-road-in-show-of-defiance-2299301.html
6	*The Independent* 18 Jun 2011	Mai Yamani: End of women's driving ban could lead to bigger changes https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/mai-yamani-end-of-womens-driving-ban-could-lead-to-bigger-changes-2299302.html
7	*The Independent* 30 Jun 2011	Five Saudi women are seized for driving https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/five-saudi-women-are-seized-for-driving-2304509.html
8	*The Independent* 1 Jul 2011	The revolution that is women at the wheel https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/columnists/john-walsh/john-walsh-the-revolution-that-is-women-at-the-wheel-2305061.html
9	*The Independent* 28 Sep 2011	Saudi court sentences woman driver to 10 lashes https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-court-sentences-woman-driver-to-10-lashes-2362053.html
10	*The Independent* 30 Sep 2011	Saudi woman driver spared 10 lashes after King intervenes https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-woman-driver-spared-10-lashes-after-king-intervenes-2363197.html
11	*The Independent* Jan 25 2012	Saudi woman who defied driving ban involved in fatal car crash https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-woman-who-defied-driving-ban-involved-in-fatal-car-crash-6294153.html
12	*The Independent* 5 Feb 2012	Saudi women in drive ban legal bid https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/saudi-women-in-drive-ban-legal-bid-6483456.html

Sample – 2011-2013 SA1 News Articles

#	Articles	SA 2011-2013 Headlines (*AlRiyadh*) / May 1, 2011 – Nov. 1, 2013
1	*AlRiyadh* May 19, 2011	فتاة تنقذ شقيقها من الموت بقيادة سيارته في بقيق http://www.alriyadh.com/633862
2	*AlRiyadh* May 23, 2011	الدوريات تلقي القبض على امرأة تقود سيارتها بالرس http://www.alriyadh.com/635121
3	*AlRiyadh* May 26, 2011	نائب وزير الداخلية: عدم السماح بقيادة المرأة للسيارة لازال قائما http://www.alriyadh.com/636008
4	*AlRiyadh* May 28, 2011	المفهوم الاجتماعي للمرأة http://www.alriyadh.com/636467
5	*AlRiyadh* May 29, 2011	أسبوع المرأة الأكثر سخونة! http://www.alriyadh.com/636637
6	*AlRiyadh* Jun 3, 2011	قضية قيادة المرأة للسيارة http://www.alriyadh.com/638188
7	*AlRiyadh* Jun 3, 2011	سيدة تضطر لقيادة سيارتها 150كم بعد طردها من زوجها http://www.alriyadh.com/638073
8	*AlRiyadh* Jun 6, 2011	قيادة المرأة للسيارة أين تكمن القضية: في السيارة أم في المجتمع أم في التنمية...؟ http://www.alriyadh.com/638997
9	*AlRiyadh* Jun 7, 2011	وسيبقى الحديث عن قيادة المرأة موضة إلى أن تتحقق http://www.alriyadh.com/639276
10	*AlRiyadh* Jun 9, 2011	قيادة المرأة .. جناية المتطرفين http://www.alriyadh.com/639953
11	*AlRiyadh* June 10, 2011	موضوع قيادة المرأة للسيارة يحدده رأي الأغلبية http://www.alriyadh.com/640214
12	*AlRiyadh* June 10, 2011	إقضيتان للمرأة حُسمت واحدة وأخرى تنتظر http://www.alriyadh.com/640212

# Appendix 2: UK and SA Textual Corpora

Link to complete Appendix files: [PhD Thesis Appendix - Dina Sibai - (site123.me)](#)
Password to access website: **phdappendix**

Appendix 3: UK and SA Visual Corpora and Analysis

Link to complete Appendix files: [PhD Thesis Appendix - Dina Sibai - (site123.me)](https://...)
**Password to access website: phdappendix**

Sample – 2011-2013 UK1V News Corpus

	Images	Links	News	(1) Agency ROLE ALL	Imper (exclusion)	Quan SPSS	FUNC	Quan SPSS	Angle	Dist	Gaze	POVR code	POVR	Quan SPSS	Total AGENCY	(2) Cultural Identification INDV	Qual Relat	Quan. SPSS	Qual. Phys	Quan SPSS	DNVA
1		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2005078/Saudi-woman-defy-driving-ban-post-Facebook-Twitter-YouTube.html	Tab-Dai	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	Manal activist	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	ELIT-ACTV PSTV-SMIL
2		https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/saudiarabia/3062350/Saudi-woman-launch-legal-fight-against-driving-ban.html	Bro-Tel	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	Manal activist	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	ELIT-ACTV
3		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2266503/Saudi-police-stop-woman-driving-car-clad-taken-husband-ill-drive.html	Tab-Dai	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	Manal activist	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	ELIT-ACTV
4		https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/saudi-woman-held-by-police-adach-for-driving-2287650.html	Bro-Ind	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	Manal activist	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	ELIT-ACTV PSTV-SMIL
5		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2031280/Female-driver-defied-Saudi-motoring-ban-dies-fatal-accident.html	Tab-Dai	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	Manal activist	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	ELIT-ACTV
6		https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/woman-is-arrested-for-challenging-saudi-ban-on-driving-ml6qn0zctqq6	Bro-Tim	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	Manal activist	0	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	ELIT-ACTV
7		https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2005078/Saudi-woman-defy-driving-ban-post-Facebook-Twitter-YouTube.html	Tab-Dai	ACTV (driving)	PERS	1	driver	1	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	COLL ASSM	RELA	1	VERY	1	UNXP-DRIV IMPC-DRIV TIME PRXM

Sample – 2011-2013 SA1V News Corpus

	IMAGES	LINKS	NEWS	(1) Agency ROLE ALL	impr (exclusion)	Quan SPSS	FUNC	Quan SPSS	Angle	Dist	Gaze	POVR Code	POVR	Quan SPSS	Total AGENCY	(2) Cultural Identification INDV	Qual (Relation)	Quan SPSS	Qual (Physical)	Quan SPSS	DNVA
1		http://www.alriyadh.com/822650	N-Riy	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	NA	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	NOTH	0	POST-SMIL
2		http://www.alriyadh.com/822650	N-Riy	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	NA	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	NOTH	0	POST-SMIL
3		http://www.alriyadh.com/852518	N-Riy	ACTV (driving)	PERS	1	driver	1	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	VERY	1	UNXP-DRIV IMPC-DRIV TIME PRXM
4		http://www.al-jazirah.com/2012/20131025/fr1.htm	N-Alj	ACTV (driving)	PERS	1	driver	1	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	VERY	1	UNXP-DRIV IMPC-DRIV TIME PRXM
5		http://www.al-jazirah.com/2012/20131103/fr1.htm	N-Alj	ACTV (driving)	PERS	1	driver	1	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	VERY	1	UNXP-DRIV IMPC-DRIV TIME PRXM
6		http://www.alriyadh.com/874358	N-Riy	ACTV (driving)	PERS	1	driver	1	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	VERY	1	UNXP-DRIV IMPC-DRIV TIME PRXM
7		http://www.alriyadh.com/852518	N-Riy	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	NA	0	EYEL	CLOS	DIRE	F1	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	POST-SMIL
8		http://www.alriyadh.com/874358	N-Riy	PASS PTNT	PERS	0	NA	0	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	CONS	0	POST-SMIL
9		http://www.al-jazirah.com/2012/20131029/fz27.htm	N-Alj	ACTV (driving)	PERS	1	driver	1	EYEL	CLOS	INDR	F2	FORE	1	1	INDV	NREL	0	VERY	1	UNXP-DRIV IMPC-DRIV TIME PRXM