Representations of Saudi Women in BBC News Discourse: A Corpusassisted Critical Intersectional Study

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Abstract

Using a critical intersectional approach the study explores the complexity of Saudi gender identity in BBC news discourse. An intersectional approach is used to analyse representations of different (sub)categories of Saudi women and then compares them to other included interacting categories of Saudi men to critically highlight inequalities in representation.

To conduct the analysis, a specialised corpus was created, and a mixed method approach to analyse language was designed. All BBC news reports on Saudi women published within the period 2008–18 were collected from the BBC website. It includes 178 articles comprising approximately 79,927 tokens. This timeframe was selected as it includes important events and decisions that caused changes in the social and political gender roles and positions in Saudi society during that period. To analyse the language of the corpus and extracted texts, analytical tools from corpus linguistics and a social actors approach to intersectionality are combined in the analysis.

Exhaustive analysis of the data produced interesting results which are argued to be an original contribution to knowledge. It is found that, besides the main dimensions of gender and nationality, which are predicted from search terms referring to Saudi Women, Islam emerged as a central dimension of Saudi intersectional identity. In addition, while a micro-linguistic analysis reveals a neutral and/or positive discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2001, pp. 65–66) for Islam when it occurs separately, the intersectional investigation exposes a negative discourse prosody when it intersects with nationality. In terms of gender categories and sub-categories, besides the general category of Saudi women, seven unequally represented sub-categories of men and women are proposed and explored. Intersectional representations of social categories involve a mix of selected social features and linguistic features. These, in turn, create inequalities between these subcategories in discourse with different hierarchical positions within the represented social structure. The general category of Saudi women is represented as covered, dominated and oppressed by the dominant intersectional matrix of Islam, patriarchy and nationality. The female activists subcategory is located in discourse in a higher position compared to female political figures, who are marginalised and passivated in the data; the female trendsetters are also positioned higher than other female subcategories. Another key finding is that hegemonic relationships, both internally amongst male subcategories and externally between men and women, are created in the co-text. For instance, male clerics who are represented as dominating and politically powerful in a specific context are represented as dominated and oppressed by the royal males subcategory in another context.

As well as the theoretically-informed empirical findings noted above, the theoretical and methodological design applied to explore Saudi women's identity can also be considered an original contribution. The analysis and results prove the success of the theoretical and methodological framework designed to investigate and interpret the complexity of Saudi gender representations in the context of the Other, that of BBC news discourse. The study therefore demonstrates the value of intersectionality as a theory and a method of analysis in the field of language and discourse studies.

Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated, and the thesis has not been edited by a third party beyond what is permitted by Cardiff University's Policy on the Use of Third Party Editors by Research Degree Students. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. The views expressed are my own.

Zainah Alshahrani...

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Abbreviations

SW: Saudi women
CDA: Critical discourse analysis
FCDA: Feminist critical discourse analysis
CL: Corpus linguistics
SAA: Social Actors Approach
SWC: Saudi women corpus, composed of articles collected from the BBC
art.: journal article
USAS: Semantic Analysis System

Glossing Conventions

Italics –indicates keywords. Captions are italicised ' ' – indicates original words and/or examples extracted from the data " " indicates words quoted from the works cited CAPS – topic/theme. Search terms for collecting and generating data +Main category *Italics* and **bold-** the unnumbered sections

Preface

At an early stage on my study journey, contrasting views in relation to the components of 'Saudi women' in BBC news emerged. I have often wondered whether the focus should be on gender or nationality when exploring the portrayals of women in the examined discourse. While trying to understand this issue and doing more reading through articles collected published between 2008 and 2018, the headline of a news report produced in 2016 and posted as a trend through different channels of the BBC website attracted my attention: The 'Rosa Parks' of Saudi Arabia – BBC News. I was also inspired by the leading paragraph: 'Nawal al-Hawsawi is outspoken, black, a qualified pilot and married to an American white man – everything her critics say a Saudi woman shouldn't be' (BBC 2016).

Throughout the report, the woman is illustratively described in aspects of her gender, nationality, religion, race and occupation to depict an image for an oppressed Saudi woman within a specific context. If those features are claimed (by the journalist) not to be characteristic of a Saudi woman, then what features are ascribed to Saudi women in BBC discourse to construct a specific identity? The language of this article and other similar articles (about different groups and individuals of women) gave me a preliminary impression that women's representation in discourse could include an amalgamation of aspects going beyond just gender or nationality. Thus, I found myself facing a problematic discursive issue which is a complex context of the 'Other' (i.e. BBC news reports). I thought that if I selected one or two aspects to focus on more in the analysis, there might be a kind of research subjectivity and the image would not be as clear as it would be had I conducted a panoramic investigation. Therefore, I came to know that using an intersectional approach would be required to explore the representation of Saudi women from different angles, based on what is stated in such texts.

1. 1CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

In this thesis I investigate the representations of Saudi women (SW) in BBC news discourse using a corpus-assisted critical intersectional approach. The present chapter provides a brief background for the study, starting by explaining the social context of women in Saudi Arabia in section 1.2. Then, I provide a rationale for the study in section 1.3, where I discuss the original contribution to research on language, discourse and gender. This is followed by section 1.4 which presents the aims and objectives of the study attempts. In section 1.5, the content and structure of the study are outlined, the research questions are stated and how they are addressed in the analytical chapters is briefly explained.

1.2. Background

To have a fuller meaning of BBC reports on SW, the context of the produced texts should be considered. This is achieved by providing a historical sociocultural and political account of what the situation of women looked like in the past and how it has changed as required. Providing an explanation of the context will display the 'environment'/ background for the actors involved and the language use surrounding them, thus helping in the process of text interpretation within this sociocultural context (Van Dijk, 2005; Van Dijk, 2009). In the following sections, I conduct a brief discussion to describe the Saudi national identity, and then I discuss women's social and political status and development since the establishment of the Saudi state.

1.2.1. Saudi Arabia's identity

A brief historiographical background of the Saudi state is relevant here as it helps to provide a context for the social structure of the social actors involved in the study. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a Middle Eastern country spread over a huge land area of about 850,000 square miles, encompassing around 80 per cent of the Arabian Peninsula. The population of the country is

approximately 30 million and includes different religious sects and ethnic groups that form "various communities that have developed at different stages, thus enriching the Kingdom's cultural diversity" (Thompson, 2015, p.21). Al-Rasheed distinguishes the country from other countries on the Arabian Peninsula as having "cities that were the most ethnically diverse and cosmopolitan in Arabia" (p.9). Besides the tribal theodiversity amongst its original citizens, the ethnic diversity in the state is attributed to Muslims' earliest immigrations from different parts of the globe for religious and trading purposes (Al Munajjed, 1997; Al-Rasheed, 2013). Since the nineteenth century, Mecca and Al-Medina (two holy cities located in the current Saudi state) have been destinations for Muslims from all over the world, who found their termini to practice their religious and commercial activities. They also found these cities to be refuges during times of anticolonial movements that were active in other Islamic and Arabic states (Al-Rasheed, 2013).

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a country where there has been no anticolonial struggle or secular nationalist movement as it is one of the very few Islamic countries that has not gone through Western colonisation. Hence, it is characterised as keeping traditional cultural, social and political attitudes. This feature resulted in making Saudi Arabia "a state dominated by strict adherence to a religious Islamic and political system controlled by a monarchy" (Salamah, 2016, p.6). In this way, Saudi Arabia is different from other Arab countries, which experienced religious, political or cultural upheaval during Western colonisation. The anticolonial movements and secular nationalism within other Arab countries contributed to defining gender relations and improved women's positions and rights, as opposed to the case within the noncolonised Saudi state, where religious nationalism¹ is the framework that defined women's role in society. Therefore, to understand gender issues in a Muslim society, Kandiyoti (1991) claims that analysing the status of women must be based on an examination of contemporary political developments and historical and cultural transformations (see section 1.2.2).

Saudi Arabia went through different stages that ended in establishing the contemporary Saudi State in 1932 (Altoaimy, 2017). The successful formation of the state was dependent on the House of Al-Saud, accompanied and supported by an Islamic reforming movement known as

¹ Religious nationalism refers to the relationship between nationality and particular religious beliefs. The relationship can be separated into two aspects: the politics of religion and the influence of religion on politics.

Wahhabism. This Islamic movement was launched by Mohammed bin Abd-Alwahhab in central Arabia in the 1940s (Nevo, 2006), aiming to unify and purify the society and return it to what have been argued to be authentic Islamic principles. As a result, its national identity intermingled with a religious identity to form a unified nation that combines fragmented ethnic, regional and tribal identities.

The 1980s and '90s witnessed the emergence of Sahwa, meaning Islamic Awakening, that is fundamental in the history of Saudi Arabia (Al Khedir, 2010). It can be defined as an awakening movement which revealed a solid relationship with political power (Al Samadani, 2013) and aimed to reinforce an Islamic Saudi identity. This movement was characterised by imposing strict rules on the society, with more restrictions on women to the extent that women were deprived of some of the rights determined by Islam, such as those of social mobility and practising some social and political activities. However, the society's rapid modernisation and openness to other cultures resulted in the emergence of opposing movements resisting such constraints. Gradually, the strictness started to loosen, and the situation changed in response to demographic pressures (Echague and Bruke, 2009) when the late king, Adullah bin Abdulaziz, ascended to the throne (2005–2015). His reign involved many social changes within the society, with a focus on reforming the status of women. Reforming decrees have been pursued in the reign of the current king, Salman bin Abdulaziz, which lists women's status at the top of its political agenda.

Having discussed the complex nature of the sociocultural context, I now conduct a discussion on how this is related to women's position in the society in the past and how it has developed over time. I start with a brief section on women's status in the early times of Islam.

1.2.2. Women's position in religion and society

1.2.2.1. Women and Islam

Islam has two main resources, from which Muslims get their Islamic principles: Qur'an and Sunnah (the Prophet Muhammad's sayings). In these two sources, Islam condemns human distinctions due to race, sex, nationality, colour, tribe, or caste (El-Nimr, 1996). Allah says: O You people! We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. (Qur'an, AlHujurat, 13)

And the Prophet Muhammad said:

(O people, verily your Lord is One and your father is one. Verily there is no superiority of an Arab over a non-Arab, or a non-Arab over an Arab, or of a red person over a black person or of a black person over a red person except in terms of taqwa. Have I conveyed the message? (Al-Albani, 6, 199)

'Taqwa' in the previous verse means accomplishing good deeds and avoiding bad ones. In terms of men and women, there is no evidence from the Quran or the Prophet Muhammad's sayings supporting practices or doctrines referring to women as inferior or unequal to men in their political, social, educational or economic rights (El-Nimr, 1996; AlMunajjed,1997). On the contrary, the two Islamic sources determined women's rights which they lacked before Islam, when they used to suffer degradation and subjugation (El-Nimr, 1996). In the verses of the Quran and in the Prophet's sayings, women and men are mentioned equally and given equal rights:

The believing men and the believing women are (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another: they enjoy doing what is right and forbid the doing of what is wrong. (Qur'an, Tawbah, 71)

Whoever works with righteousness, man or woman, and has faith, verily to him will we give a new life, a life that is good and pure, and we will bestow on such their reward according to the best of their actions. (Qur'an, Al Nahl, 97)

Women's social rights are determined in Islam by giving them their full rights, (including but not limited to) rights in heritage, marriage and divorce, and in keeping their maiden names after marriage to be used when undertaking any economic transactions (AlMunajjed, 1997).

Men and women have their own economic rights and can equally manage their property and wealth and earn money. Women are given the right to inherit from their fathers, husbands and sons:

From what is left by parents and those nearest related there is a share for men and a share for women, whether the property be small or large, a determinate share. (Qur'an, Al-Nisaa, 7)

Education is mandatory in Islam, as mentioned in different verses of the Quran, and is the equal duty of men and women. Both are also encouraged to seek knowledge in sayings of the Prophet when he glorifies education. His wife, 'Aisha, was well-educated in medicine, Arab poetry, and theology. His daughter, Fatima, was a knowledgeable woman who gathered the Prophet's companions of men and women to give them lectures on moral principles (Kahhala, 1984, p.108, as cited in AlMunajjed, 1997). Also, women used to participate in serious discussions with the prophet and other leaders of Islam (ibid.). Even the Prophet Muhammad admitted the wisdom of Aisha, 'Learn half of your religion from the headed one', referring to Aisha, the Prophet's wife (Yamani, 1969, p.264).

The Quran gives all women the right to work outside their homes in different fields like agriculture, commerce and industry to earn money. It declares:

For men shall have of what they earn, and women shall have of what they earn. (Qur'an, Al-Nisaa, 32)

In the early days of Islam, women contributed to welfare work, and they worked as secretaries to the Caliphs and taught their children music, literature, poetry and calligraphy (Al Jahiz, pp. 166-167, as cited in AlMunajjed, 1997). Furthermore, a woman has the right to work and earn money with the great example being Khadija, the Prophet Muhammad's wife, who earned money from running her own business and had great wealth in Mecca.

In terms of the political situation, women had rights in political positions as leaders with governmental duties. A good example of this is 'Aisha, the Prophet's wife, who took leading positions after the death of her husband; and Arwa bint Ahmad who became the Queen of

Yemen for forty years. Other examples are the three Queens of Damascus, Aleppo and Egypt who reigned during the 12th and 13th centuries (1100-1250 AD) (Salahuddin, 1989).

After this brief background to women's rights in Islam, it is important to differentiate between the teachings and rules of Islam as manifested in the Quran and Sunnah and between customs and social rules that are conceived as parts of Islam due to the literal interpretation of verses of the Quran and the Prophet's sayings. This will be further illustrated in the following review of the historical background of women's social position.

1.2.2.2. Women and society

SW are recognised in international media as a "homogenous group, equally affected, or constrained, by the challenges facing them in contemporary Saudi Arabia" (Thompson, 2015, p. 18). However, the facts are more complex than that, with women representing contradictory images of a diverse range of groups, each having its own characteristics and interests in different aspects of life (e.g. socio-economic, regional, tribal or religious) (Al-Rasheed, 2013; Thompson, 2015).

As mentioned earlier in section 1.2.1, gender roles and women's status were originally affected by the historical socio-cultural and political factors in the country. Examples of these factors are the social tribal attitudes and literal interpretations of Islamic teachings that became a systemic constitution for the society. Consequently, women's limited participation in public life is attributed to sociopolitical attitudes rather than genuine Islamic principles. Other factors that affect women's position are the quality and quantity of education and job chances offered to them in the country, as well as the political conditions (Albihiji, 2021). More precisely, women's social participation is restricted by limiting the fields of education and employment to what the society sees as more suitable for women (Thompson, 2015, p.21), as will be explained in the following two subsections.

However, women's position in different social fields has gone through different stages throughout the reigns of different Saudi kings, reaching the height of their achievements during the reign of the late king, Abdullah bin AbdulAziz (2005–15), and the current king, Salman bin AbdulAziz (2015–), who took serious steps towards gender equality in education and

employment, as well as social and political roles (Alhazmi and Nylan, 2015, Rashad and Kalin, 2019).

Education

Throughout the stages of the young kingdom, education and work in Saudi Arabia are fields where women have seen the greatest improvement (Almunajjed, 1997; Al-Rasheed, 2013). After the discovery of oil in the country in 1935, the first state schools for boys were established, while girls were restricted to homes and had no chances to gain knowledge. In the 1950s, there was an increase in the demand for girls' education launched by a group of young, middle-class, educated Saudi men (Almunajjed, 1997). In 1964, the first school for girls opened in Riyadh, accompanied by resistance and opposition to females' education by conservative religious male scholars and illiterate people in the country (Al-Rasheed, 2000). The first university for women was founded in Riyadh in 1979. About a decade later, in 1990, the number of female students represented 47% of total undergraduate enrolment in universities in the country. Later, an increase in the number of female students applying for higher education, for master's and doctorate degrees, was witnessed (Hamdan, 2005). In 2009, King Abdullah's University of Science and Technology opened and offered equal chances for Saudi men and women while facing social resistance as it offered so-called mixed education for students including Saudi nationals who comprised about 20% of total students (Doumato, 2010). After that and up to the present day, men and women have had equal chances for education in terms of curricula, school activities and education sponsorship (Saudi Ministry of Education).

Employment and business

Before the oil boom in the 1960s, women used to play important roles in the economics of a Bedouin family by weaving carpets and tents, besides making women's clothing and producing dairy products (Khayat, 2006). However, after oil production began in the 1960s and '70s, women lost their traditional sources of income as imported foreign goods replaced their products (ibid.). During that period, women lagged behind in the labour market and were replaced by male manpower. Gradually, and controlled by sociocultural customs and the ideological doctrine of women's domestic role, women's work was permitted but prelimited by educating them to work in "acceptable jobs", such as teaching and working in healthcare as doctors or nurses (Alkhhaled and Berglund, 2018, p.887). Facing these obstacles and limited chances of work, a group of SW thrived and played a large role in the field of business by

making their own money by managing bookshops, clothing boutiques, coffee shops and galleries. These societal groupings of Saudi businesswomen contributed to the creation of a business class or "dependent bourgeoisie" (Hertog, 2005, p.109), which in turn created a form of unbalanced social positions for SW.

The late king, Abdullah bin Abdulaziz (2005–15), and the current king, Salman bin Abdulaziz, have contributed to improving women's economic situation by offering them new job opportunities within the public sphere, which used to be very limited. Recently, the government has taken major steps and made reforms regarding the workforce, encouraging nationals to have equal chances for employment, which has resulted in an increased number of national women entering the labour market (Ministry of Human Resources and Social Development, 2017). Henceforth, SW have shown their determination to pursue careers and employment in both the public and private sectors (Elamin and Omair 2010, Varshney, Deepanjana, 2019).

1.2.2.3. Women and politics

The increased female participation in public life and the improvements to and reform of women's status in education and the workforce resulted in highly qualified women ready to hold higher positions in the country (Thompson, 2015). In the past, political positions were restricted to men, with only males over 30 years of age being eligible for positions in the council, while women were excluded (Karolak and Guta, 2020). This situation changed in 2011, thanks to King Abdullah's declaration of women's involvement in the political council and voting in municipal elections (Bashraheel and Muhammed, 2013). In 2013, a historic event was announced when King Abdullah appointed 30 women to the consultative council, thus allowing the engagement of SW in the process of decision-making. Very recently, women have been involved in the country's foreign affairs and international relations by nominating female ambassadors to represent the country in different international countries, including the USA, Norway, Sweden and Iceland (Sidi and Robertson, 2019; Arab News, 2020; Asharq Al-awsat, 2021).

In brief, SW's social and political positions have developed over time, culminating in the full involvement of women in society as part of the Deputy Crown's suggested Vision 2030² as an initiation of the country's socioeconomic and political change.

1.2.3. SW in the media

Local and international media have traced the changing status of SW. However, media coverage and representation of the woman question³ may be subject to biased discourse, whether national or international (Karolak and Guta, 2020). It is claimed that local media have tended to highlight the positive side of women's achievements in Arab countries (Mishra, 2007; Karolak and Guta, 2020), while Western media usually present SW as submissive victims (Elias and Aljabri, 2020; Karolak and Guta, 2020). Away from ideological practices, the general negative representations of SW in Western media may occur because of overgeneralisations or lack of knowledge regarding sociocultural values; or as the production of what Bednarek and Caple (2014) call "negativity", which is a news value or method of news-writing strategies to address the receiving audience (p.136). Negative news is characterised by negative implications and it reports on, for example, conflicts or tragedies involving outgroup members and using photos or a language style to emphasise the news value of such negative reports (Caple and Bednarek, 2015; Harcup and O'Neil, 2017). Negative representations in news play an important role in the reproduction of subordination of women in media, which arguably contributes to discrimination in the real context (Hodkinson, 2017).

When reporting on Saudi social life, Western media seldom cover establishments that have witnessed positive change or faced that cynicism. In the Western media context, the systemic political and sociocultural control over some aspects of Saudi social life has been widely criticised by addressing gender issues in the country (Elias and Aljabri, 2020; Elias et al., 2021). In this regard, topics that are associated with SW are those related to gender and inequality

² For information about Vision 2030 see: <u>Homepage: The Progress & Achievements of Saudi Arabia – Vision</u> 2030

³ This term has its roots in socialist feminism. See 'The Woman Question', transcribed by Sally Ryan for Marxisitst org. 2000, at: <u>http://www.marxist.org/archeive/eleanor-marx/works/womanq.htm</u>

between men and women, exemplified in practices like the ban on women driving, the guardianship system, gender segregation and women's hijab or body covering.

When covering the topic of SW, the ban on women driving is the first and most expected disputable issue in national and international media headlines; indeed, it has become symbolic of women's situation in Saudi Arabia (Almaghlouth, 2017). Considerable numbers of articles were published annually, reporting on the ban on women driving and dominating other crucial issues related to women. The ban was only lifted in 2018, when King Salman announced a decree lifting the ban on women driving and permitting them to apply for driving licences (BBC News, 23 June 2018; Rashad and Kalin, 2019). This event attracted international media outlets' attention and was described in media reports as a historical event for women in Saudi Arabia.

Another issue that has received the attention of Western media is the system of guardianship. This system is a traditional social practice that requires women to get the permission of a male relative to practise some activities like travelling, getting married or managing a business. Using a discursive strategy of victimization (Tahir, 2013), SW are usually negatively represented as being victimised by the guardianship system and needing to be rescued. Cases of guardianship system victims are repeatedly reported to stimulate the reader's empathy and show dissatisfaction with this system and the situation of women's inferiority to men (Elias and Aljabri, 2020). Gradually, the guardianship system was loosened, and it was lifted in 2019 via a decree which was framed negatively in Western media which claimed that it was not for gender equality but as a reaction to international pressures and criticisms as found in three examples of authentic Western media resources (ibid.).

Other gender issues that are different form the Other's viewpoint and values and are frequently reported on are body covering and gender segregation. Although these are rooted in the sociocultural customs and values of Saudi society, these two practices of covering all the body for women and gender segregation in some professional places have faced criticism and been framed negatively in the language of Western media (Almunajjed, 2006).

BBC News context

The BBC, the British Broadcasting Corporation, is an organisation responsible for gathering and broadcasting news about social and political affairs and events. These reports are broadcast

through different channels, including video, radio and printed reports, the latter with an online version. Traditional printed news is different from the version broadcast online. The genre of traditional/printed news includes different categories with different linguistic features: hard news (current events, policy, crime, accidents within the last 24 hours); special news topics (business news, science, sport which are broadcast in separate sections); soft news (editorials or opinions, which are not restricted by language style, number of words or format); and the last category is the one which includes headlines, sub-headlines and captions (Bell, 1991). These print categories are still somewhat relevant in 21st century media. The present study includes reports from the online versions of printed types mentioned above. This version of news, as opposed to print, is characterised by being posted under time-pressure constraints as news editors have the privilege to post a story as it breaks, which may result in less checking and lower quality of journalistic reporting (Scott, 2005, p.95). However, the content can be modified at any time, resulting in updated similar copies adding new developments or corrections (Garrison, 2005, pp. 15-16). BBC news online is freely accessible, and this has contributed to the emergence of wider and multiple audiences of different ages (McNair, 2009, p.142). In addition, it includes audio and video reports of news and current events, and it allows reader interaction via writing comments. Presented with these features, it is claimed that online news is replacing newspapers and contributes to increasing the number of readers of news (Lin et al., 2005, p.250). However, an online news item's value is judged and constrained by certain criteria.

News values

News values or conventions indicate the 'criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore judge the 'newsworthiness' of events' (Richardson, 2007, p.91). A news article is worth publishing if, according to Harcup and O'Neill (2001), it is characterised by certain features. It should include information about celebrities, elites and entertainment. It should also report on bad, good or surprising news. In addition, it can show impact and influence, relevance to another important report or simply serve the news organisation's agenda (p.279). Satisfying one or two of these conventions is enough for a news text to be published. As mentioned, these reports can be on local issues with which the author is familiar, or international reporting on other international issues.

Othering in news

The notion of Othering can be defined as a process that "serves to mark and name those thought to be different from oneself" (Weis, 1995, p.18). In language, it is a technique that discursively marginalises or constructs the other's identity in discourse via a combination of social and linguistic aspects that are selected and mixed to present a stereotypical representation of the Other's identity (Hunt and Jaworska, 2019). Thus, it can be said that different strategies of 'Othering' underlie racist, nationalist, and sexist attitudes (ibid.).

Besides the sociocultural dimensions claimed to have an impact on the portrayals of Saudi women in the media (see section 1.2.), the practice of 'Othering' is another interlocking dimension that contributes to recognising identity construction in discourse. Related to what was mentioned above, that 'negativity' is one of the conventions for a newsworthy article, a 'negative Other' representation is a strategy used by a writer to present a report worth reading (Elias and Aljabri, 2020). This negative discursive practice is noticed in some Western media organisations when reporting on Saudi issues (ibid.), including BBC reports which present women as a key Saudi issue linked to implicit and explicit misrepresentations (Al-Hejin, 2007). Another example of Othering a specific group in media language discourse is the long-term Othering of Islam by certain media sources in Western countries, which is evident in broadsheets, including both international and local production, as it includes information and news on British Muslims (J. Richardson, 2004, p.113) and Muslim women in the UK (Al-Hejin, 2015). This does not mean that strategies of Othering are only based on negative representations (Coupland, 2010), but I focus on this strategy because it is more closely associated with Muslim/ Arab/ Saudi women's representation in the media, as discussed above and found in the results of previous similar studies, e.g. Mishra (2007), Al-Hejin (2015), Elias and Aljabri (2020) and Elias et al. (2021).

1.3. Rationale of the study: Why intersectionality in discourse, and why

SW?

There are various rationales for conducting this study. First, although there is a huge body of research on the topic of women's representations in media and discourse, most of these studies target the gender aspect of women's representation as the focus of investigation and neglect other identity dimensions (see sections 2.2.2. and 2.3). This gap stimulated my interest to

explore other interlocking dimensions based on the view that gender is a single dimension of a complex identity (McCall, 2005). Exploring this multidimensional entity will contribute to recognising the whole image and consequently to interpretations of the discursive portrayal of a specific group or different groups of women. Secondly, the theory of intersectionality has received increasing interest in different disciplines of research to explore women's (and other genders') real experiences and representations in different contexts. However, employing intersectionality to explore women's identity in discourse by conducting analysis on the micro-linguistic level of text has seldom been investigated (see section 2.4.3). This fact motivated me to conduct this study and explore women's identity in discourse from different angles as manipulated in language and text.

Thirdly, the topic of SW is a suitable case for this study for several reasons. One reason is that this topic has been always a controversial complex topic that has received attention from local and international media outlets. Different issues related to SW have received journalists' interest, which has resulted in producing considerable amounts of accessible data. Furthermore, previous studies on SW in different research disciplines, including language, did not address women's complex identities. Rather, these studies focused on one aspect of the subject and overlooked others. Another reason is, as the expression 'Saudi women' suggests, this subject includes two interacting aspects that require investigation: gender and nationality. Also, a close reading and preliminary analysis of some articles showed that, besides these two as composed of other social aspects and forming changing groups that interact with each other and with other social groups. This presents a rich subject for investigating the complexity and diversity of women's intersectional identity construction in discourse. Therefore, adopting intersectional theory to conduct a critical analysis of media discourse reporting on SW will make a genuine and valuable contribution to studies on gendered representations. Besides the originality of the theoretical design of the study, the critical nature of intersectionality suggests interpretations of the linguistic and discursive practices that surround the representations of Saudi women. This does not mean that I claim that intersectionality has not been approached in discourse analysis, as there are a few language and gender researchers who have adopted an intersectional perspective (Levon, 2015, p.296). Rather, this study contributes via its full engagement with and strategic incorporation of intersectionality in the field of discourse analysis.

1.4. Aims and objectives

The main aim of the thesis is to explore the representations of SW in BBC news discourse using an inter-categorical intersectional theory and methodology to analyse discourse. This approach requires investigating women's representations in relation to other interacting representations presented in the discourse examined, or in other words comparing them to highlight discrimination in language. To explore these representations, a specialised corpus was built of articles reporting on SW. These articles are generated from the BBC website according to specific criteria (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Therefore, the objectives of this research are:

- 1- To recognize the complex identity of SW in BBC news discourse and how it is constructed in relation to Saudi men's identity.
- 2- To examine how an intersectional perspective contributes to exploring the complexity of representations in a specific discursive context.
- 3- To examine how an intersectional method to examine representations contributes to revealing different language strategies and discursive practices used to construct representations in text. Combining selected aspects of intersectionality with those selected from the Social Actors Approach forms a unique synergic method to analyse representations of social actors in discourse (see Chapter Three).
- 4- To expose relationships between intersectionality in discourse and unequal or biased representations of social actors/categories, if there are any.

1.5. Research questions, content and structure of the thesis

Considering the aims and objectives of the study, the thesis will attempt to answer the main question: How are Saudi women's intersectional identities represented in in BBC news discourse?

This question will be unpacked into the following four sub-questions. All of which will help to answer the main question:

- 1- How is the Saudi social system discursively constructed and linked to 'Saudi women' in BBC news discourse?
- 2- How is the identity of Saudi women represented in BBC news discourse?
- 3- What other intersectional gender subcategories are exemplified in the data?
- 4- How are female and male subcategories positioned in the social structure?

The thesis comprises nine chapters including the introduction and conclusion. After an introduction to the thesis and outlining the research questions and aims of the study in this chapter, Chapter Two reviews relevant studies in different research disciplines. It includes reviewing studies on intersectionality, identity, feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA), corpus linguistics (CL) and a few studies on intersectionality and language. Since this study is mainly qualitative, studies in corpus linguistics are reviewed when they are relevant to gender and discourse or media representations of social actors. Chapter Three outlines the data and methodology. It illustrates the data selection and collection and also the stages of building the corpus and the difficulties faced. In addition, the mixed-method approach to analyse this complex system and subjects is presented in this chapter. The analysis is conducted in four chapters, starting with a corpus analysis of the data presented in Chapter Four. This chapter takes some initial steps to address the four research questions. It forms the basis for the intersectional analysis as, through corpus analysis, references to social systems, social categories and subcategories are identified and categorised, preparing them for a more detailed analysis conducted in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Five addresses RQs 1and 2. It conducts a detailed qualitative analysis of representations of the Saudi system and SW's general identity in BBC news discourse. It includes a collocational analysis of both systems and the general gender group. Chapters Six and Seven address RQs 3 and 4. They analyse the representations of individual subcategories of Saudi men (in Chapter Six) and women (in Chapter Seven), and how these representations are related to evaluating and positioning them in discourse. Many randomly selected extracts that involve language referring to individual men and women are analysed qualitatively in these two chapters. Chapter Eight presents a summary of findings, and a discussion and critical interpretation of the results of the analysis chapters, and how these findings relate to the macro-structural context. This is followed by the Conclusion, which will present concluding remarks for the thesis, a summary of the main contributions, a discussion of the limitations of the study, and ends with a list of recommendations for further studies.

2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical background for the present study by discussing literature related to its interdisciplinary focus. Therefore, it is divided into three main parts. The first part is devoted to media representations, the second reviews language, gender and feminist studies, and the third part presents intersectionality and language. After this introduction, section 2.2 briefly reviews the general theoretical background to media representations of difference. This section illustrates how each culture and gender are represented in different media channels. Then, the intersecting representation of gender and culture will be discussed by reviewing the background on the case of Muslim women's media representations, as it is the example most relevant to the study. Language, gender and feminist linguistic studies are presented in section 2.3. It illustrates how studies of language reflect gender discrimination, either through language performance or through gender-biased representations in discourse. This is important as a means of demonstrating how feminist studies (see section 2.3.2) started by criticizing early gender studies and then became interested in language and gender. This section also provides information about studies that have used a combination of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (CL) to conduct gender and feminist studies. Furthermore, it explains the value of the synergy of mixing these two analytical tools to reveal social practices of gender inequality represented in discourse. In section 2.4, a detailed review of intersectionality as a feminist theory and as an analytical tool is conducted. This section starts by defining intersectionality and then reviews how this theory has developed through different stages. Then, the different approaches to intersectionality as an analytical tool are discussed. In subsections 2.4.4 and 2.4.5, intersectionality in language and CDA are discussed by reviewing some previous studies that adopted an intersectional perspective. In section 2.5, there is a summary of what is reviewed in this chapter and how the present study contributes to this field.

2.2. Media representations

Media, the plural of medium, is understood as the tools or means through which a sender's message can be communicated to its recipients. Undoubtedly, media play a crucial role that affects social and cultural views in the environment in which we live. While there are arguments

between views of media as a shaper of and/or a mirror of society, media's effect can be conceived within a circular process, where media content feeds into and is fed by the "makeup and character"⁴ of a specific society (Hodkinson, 2017, p.5). This binary feature makes media representations a very rich and important source for research and should be considered in order to better understand the world in which we live and to realise the relationship between social issues and mediatised representations.

Media content is composed of selective representations that are manufactured by media users and hence differ from assumed real life (ibid.). According to Lasswell (1948), media can be understood as being composed of five aspects which explain the process of mediatization or the role of the media: sender, message, medium, recipient and effect. These aspects, therefore, should be considered when conducting a media-based study. However, since the focus of the present study is not on media per se, I will only focus on media representations; the thing that is relevant to my discourse study on gender intersectional representation by the BBC. In language and discourse, media representations are seen to be constructed through selections of language strategies, topics, opinions and events and also the prioritisation of some issues over others at a specific time and place. They have their effect on the structure of society and may contribute to producing and reproducing social inequalities (van Dijk, 2009). News language is an example of this media construal and is assumed to represent the real world through different media channels. While TV news content, for example, is required to be, in all its forms, accurate and impartial, bias is expected in newspapers and in particular online news sites (see section 1.2.3 for more information about news context). In the following subsections, media representations of differences of culture and gender will be explained.

2.2.1. Media culture representations

The notion of difference and social divisions has become widely represented from a cultural perspective more than based on essential biological differences, such as the colour of one's skin (Hodkinson, 2017). Therefore, culturalism, which is the negative or stereotypical representation of an individual or group in terms of their culture, is considered to be a new form of racism (Barker, 1981). In this sense, identities in media become relational, which means that some

⁴ The features, values and beliefs that are shared by groups that belong to a specific culture, place or society.

aspects of the national 'us' are different from one or more of those of the 'other race' (Woodward, 1997). Besides the exclusion of ethnic groups by representing them as the Other, which is different from and typically lesser than the self (ibid.), representing such difference in media occurs in different ways according to Hodkinson (2017, pp. 224-228).

One way of depicting such difference is through underrepresentation. This refers to the space specified for other ethnic groups in a specific national media channel. For example, in US media, it was found that people of specific ethnic groups such as Blacks, Latino and Asians were severely underrepresented (GLAAD, 2015). Another way of representing difference is through stereotypical representation, which links and limits generalised identities to specific groups. Some ethnic groups like Blacks are stereotypically characterised by violence, criminality and trouble, while other groups like South Asians are associated with themes such as religious conservatism and arranged marriages, while their women are depicted as quiet, passive and subordinated victims (227).

Representation can render a group negative following a specific event or series of events, such as the image of Islam and Muslims after the events of 9/11, and other incidents in Madrid and London. These events were followed by repeated negative depictions of Islam and Muslims within frames of terror and deadly violence over the last two decades. These negative and stereotypical representations play an important role in the reproduction of subordination in society. For example, prejudiced and generalised expectations of Asian, African and South American groups in Europe contribute to discrimination in that social context (228).

However, since stereotypical and/or negative representations are destructive, there is a tendency to motivate and encourage positive representations of ethnic groups in media. This can be achieved by glossing positive features and/or reversing the stereotypical images (Hall, 1997), e.g. the strength, rebelliousness and assertiveness of black people over whites instead of highlighting cruelty and violence.

2.2.2. Media gender representations

Just as is the case with cultural and ethnic groups, media representations have their effect on the perceptions of gender groups, something that has consequences for their social life. Although women have been considered within media content, they used to be represented as inferior to

and dependent upon men; and their roles have been represented as different from and subordinate to those of their male counterparts. Lead roles have been rarely allocated to women in the media as opposed to them frequently being represented as playing trivial roles, as sex objects or within advertisements for commercial reasons, or as symbols of beauty and attractiveness (Fowler, 1991). In addition to these trivialised and subjugated roles, women used to be underrepresented and marginalised in specific types of media. For example, Williams et al. (2009) found in their study on gender in video games that 85 per cent of characters were males whereas only 15 per cent were females. In news media, it has been found that women form only 24 per cent of the people represented within news overall (Global Media Monitoring Project, 2015). They are also underrepresented within decision-making themes and lead roles in media outlets (Lachover, 2012).

Male representations, in contrast, are characterised by their physical ability and masculine features displayed in media. Their images are overshadowed by the construction of active and powerful identities, goal-oriented and competitive, who occupy leading positions of authority, power and responsibility. Since the 1980s, media representations and discursive themes including men have put emphasis on toughness in movies, drama series and even videogames which display both physical toughness or position them in powerful and active roles (Hodkinson, 2017). Gendered representations which include allocating gendered roles in the media are still found in recent media productions. In a recent study on representations of masculinity and femininity in media, Smith (2021) found that women are represented as "space invaders" in the masculine field of politics, as communicated by the media coverage of male and female candidates for party leadership in the UK (p.19). This, in turn, reproduces the masculine norm of political leaders. However, men's representations are affected by the changes in masculinity that are occurring in real life. For example, media representations in some channels have adopted the so-called 'new men' who agree with gender equality and balancing domestic responsibilities with social and political roles (Hodkinson, 2017).

Compared to the wide range of femininity and masculinity representations and the debates around their images in the media, there is a tendency to exclude non-heterosexual types of identity in the media. It is claimed by Butler (1990) that the focus on femininity and masculinity and the marginalisation of other sexual orientations play a basic role in heterosexual hegemony. This claim is supported by Gross's argument that same-sex identities are either rendered
invisible in the media or, when they appear, 'they do so in order to play a supportive role for the natural order' (1995, p.63). For example, lesbian identities are constructed as unhappy characters or dysfunctional (Arthurs, 2004), or they end up reverting to heterosexual normality (Mortiz, 2004). Gay men, in contrast, are seen more frequently in the media than lesbians and other sexual minorities, and are often featured as white, middle-class, neutralized and friendly (Arthurs, 2004). Though they are positioned positively as friendly and unthreatening in narratives; for example, their roles are either constructed as secondary or as supporters of a heterosexual orientation or binary gender schemes (Hodkinson, 2017).

2.2.3. When culture intersects with gender in the media

In this part, I talk about Islamic culture and gender as an example of Western media representations of cultural gender and/or gendered culture in order to limit the scope of the broad field of media representations and because these two factors are particularly relevant to the study.

In Western societies, particularly in Europe, religious culture, especially Islam, has been involved in media debates (Cesari, 2004). In some countries like Germany, France and the Netherlands, ethnic and racial groups of migrant and Muslim minorities are constructed through stereotypes about our/their men and our/their women, and sometimes our/their homosexuals (Scott, 2007; Roodsaz and ven den Brandt, 2017). This intersection of culture or religious culture and gender in the media creates an image of femininity, masculinity and homosexuality that differs from and is more complicated than what has been presented above.

Similar to what was explained earlier about media representations of different cultures as a new form of racism (2.2.1), people are also confronted with another kind of racism, a double burden based on both gender and culture; there is, for instance, a specific construction of "men and women" who are primarily assigned to a constructed orient (Said, 1979). According to Said (1979), this "oriental Other" is a result of discursive strategies which work as a tool for differentiation and characterisation within Western society. Hence, within the culture and gender composition there is the 'Other' ideology that may intermingle in the portrayal of a specific identity.

The Middle East is recognised as a symbol of social and political gender diversity (Salhi, 2008). Men in some Eastern countries, mainly the Arab Middle East, are perceived and represented in international media as having roles of domination or hegemony, superiority and responsibility, compared to women who are represented as second-class citizens with domestic roles allocated to them (Debbagh, 2012). Middle Eastern men are featured by cruelty and are seen as tough figures who oppose gender equality and the emancipation of women (Salhi, 2008). Within the last two decades, Muslim men's image has become more complicated as references to them are repeatedly associated with the semantic themes of terrorism and violence as a reaction to attacks committed by members belonging to the ISIS extremist group.

Muslim women, by contrast, have received more media coverage compared to men but with negative representations being displayed for women (Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery, 2013). A prevailing image of Muslim women in media is representing them as a non-emancipated group who are submissive, covered, silenced and victimised by their patriarchal and/or religious cultures, as exemplified in women from Iran, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia (Myra Macdonald, 2006; Lila Abu-Lughod, 2013; Sadar, 2014). Western mass media frequently present negative imagery of Muslim Arab women. For example, Shaheen, who analysed the representation of Arab women in Hollywood films, found that, in more than 50 films, Arab women "are humiliated, demonized and eroticized", while in about 16 other ones, they are featured as enslaved and muted (2001, p.13). The replication of these representations naturalises negative images as well as passive roles, which in turn perpetuates gender and culture discrimination and hegemonic discourse instead of rejecting it.

In a study on representations of Muslim women in the British online and printed press, racist attitudes in the media discourse examined towards veiled Muslim women were explored (Sadar, 2014). Sadar identified four dominant prototypes for this group, being portrayed 'as abnormal and alien others; as voiceless victims of patriarchal oppression; as symbols of terrorist regimes; and as folk devils who are threatening British identity and morality' (67–68). As opposed to what has been explained above about the representations of Muslim women as submissive and victimised, for other women, another type for this group, a symbol of violence, aggression and threat, was identified in this study. This image is inserted when their representations are linked to radical/ extreme concepts of Islam (Lila Abu-Lughod, 2013; Sadar, 2014). The negative image of veiled Muslim women as 'a dangerous threat' is usually related to the expectation that this

veil and body covering is hiding a male terrorist (Sadar, 2014). One of the main findings of this study agreed with what was found in Alhejin's study on Muslim women's representations in BBC news (2012, 2015). The two studies confirmed that the veil and headscarf are perceived in the media as constraints imposed on this minority by their religious culture; and that their right and choice in wearing them are neglected.

One of the subcategories of Muslim women that has received interest in international media is that of Saudi women. The image generally conveyed of Saudi women does not deviate much from that characterising the general category of Muslim women. They are represented as weak and submissive (Mishra, 2007), oppressed by their male guardians (Elias and Ajaberi, 2020; Ellias et al., 2020) and not permitted by law to drive (Almaghlouth, 2017; Elias et al., 2020). In a few other studies, there is a kind of Western media positive attitude towards a female Saudi subcategory sampled by their firstness in accomplishing a social role or activity in their country (Kaufer and Al-Malki, 2009). However, this study and other studies on Saudi women only shed light on one side of gender representation, which does not present a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of the image presented in the discourse examined.

The above review shows how the differences in culture and gender may work as important factors that affect identity portrayals in the media. In the following section I review some studies in the field of language and gender, focusing on feminist studies that have contributed to exploring gender representations in media discourse.

2.3. Language, gender and feminist studies

Language and discourse play an important role in identity construction and representation, as they provide us with the means and tools to (de)construct and reshape identities. In other words, language has constitutive power in representing social realities and groups through a variety of linguistic strategies (Davies & Harré 1990, p.46). In the following section, I explain the relation between language and gender and their relation to feminism, and then move on to review critical discourse studies that have investigated the relation between media language and gender construction.

2.3.1. Language and gender

Arguably the seminal specifically gender-oriented research on the relationship between language and gender can be traced back to Lakoff's (1975) Language and Women's Place. Her work introduces aspects of class, power and gender to sociolinguistics and made gender and language a major debate in different social disciplines including linguistics (White, 1998). This, and other relevant studies, which focused on exploring women's talk and comparing it to men's confirm that, when using language, women differ from men in a number of aspects, including grammar, stress, pitch and intonation (Trudgill, 1972; Coleman, 1971; McConnel-Ginet, 1978). In addition, the asymmetry of the honorific titles Mrs and Miss, in contrast to Mr, and the use of terms to address men and women differently, not only reflect societal imbalances but also "actively create and sustain inequality" (Talbot 2010, p. 15). From this, the relationship between language and gender emerges, as language clarifies vague experiences in real life and imposes boundaries, divisions and limits on reality, thus creating social discrimination on gender grounds (Talbot, 2010).

Early studies which analysed gender, such as those conducted by Labov (1972), Trudgill (1974) and Spender (1980), appear to be contrastive in nature, comparing men's language and representations with those of women and, accordingly, making generalizations about their language and represented images. In some of these studies, applying language and gender frameworks of deficit and dominance and difference, for example, presents women as being disadvantaged and inferior to men in their language use (Cameron, 1992, p.43).

More studies on language and gender were conducted to prove contrastive linguistic use in men's and women's performances or in the representations of men and women, and how 'men' and 'women' differ in terms of frequency (more mentions for men) in spoken and written language (Biber et al., 1999; Romani, 2001), and in sexist linguistic practices, such as those found in grammatically gendered language, e.g. the generic use of the masculine form (Ezeifeka and Osakwe 2013; Damanhouri, 2013). Thus, men and women are placed in opposition to one another, thereby creating restrictions and emphasizing differences, and as a consequence genderbiased overgeneralizations were made (Eckert and McConnel-Ginet, 1992). The findings of such studies were challenged and criticised by feminists because, in these language and gender

studies, gender was approached as a solution not as a problem that needs negotiation and explanation (Cameron, 1992, p.43).

In discourse, gender inequality is examined in different institutional types of discourse, such as political discourse, educational discourse and media discourse (see section 2.2.2), whether in written form, or by applying gender performativity to an individual's speech (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1980). Language use and selectivity within any of these contexts may reflect and construct the social reality of discrimination, and this might be the aim and role of sociolinguistic studies that explain this view (Holmes, 1992). Such social practice, i.e., discursive discrimination, can also be explored and interpreted using discourse analytical tools, e.g. CDA which seeks to reveal the social reality underpinning discursive practices (Wodak, 2001; Jäger and Maier, 2009). The CDA approach plays a crucial role in uncovering the social practices, gender discrimination and power relations reflected in discourse. It resists such practices, aiming to bring about language reform and, consequently, stimulate social change. Here, the importance of studying language and gender as a part of feminist and women's studies appears to be based on the effective role of language in shaping women's experience. More details of this are explained below.

2.3.2. Importance of language and gender for feminist studies

The fields of language and gender and language and women are closely related but are not the same, as argued by Carver (1996), who reveals that gender is not synonymous with women. Feminism has a closer connection with women's studies than with gender and language (Talbot, 2010). However, studying language and gender is also important for feminists, as feminism is mainly related to a form of politics that aims to change the unequal relations between men and women and is also dedicated to stopping or reducing the reproduction of such systematic relations. Since discrimination in language and discourse contributes to maintaining intellectual conventions that result in gender discrimination in practice (Fowler, 1991, p.105), feminist studies have come to challenge and resist such linguistic and discursive discrimination. In other words, since studies on language and gender encompass the relationship between the two differing stances, i.e. "language-as-mirror and language-as-productive" (Talbot 2010, p.15), the role of feminist linguists is to tackle the produced and reflected reality of discrimination between the sexes, which assumes that women are inferior to men. So, feminists' interest in language and

gender relates to the complex role of language, in addition to other social practices, which contributes to creating, reflecting and maintaining gender discrimination in society (ibid.). Here, the contribution of feminists appears to have brought about a change in language which does not only involve making social changes, but also involves agents' awareness-raising (Wodak, 2004). That is to say, raising the consciousness of the public to the gender-discrimination problem through the critical analysis of discourse may contribute to language reform; this is the main area of interest for feminist linguists.

The next section reviews critical feminist linguistic works that have been conducted to explore the position, images and roles of women in society as reflected in discourse. Besides explaining the relationship between feminist studies and language and CDA, reviewing these critical discourse studies also explores stereotypical attitudes towards and views of women as stated in discourse.

2.3.3. Discourse and CDA

In language studies, the general meaning of discourse refers to social communication by speech and writing patterns as well as language use. From a Foucauldian perspective, discourse is a means of social communication that constitute people's shared knowledge of meaning, truth, power and social practices and relations (Foucault, 1972). In other words, discourse is a powerful instrument which represents forms of subjectivity, power relations and social practices "as a form of knowledge, as the things people say about social practice(s)" (cited in Wodak, 2001, p. 9). Thus, discourse is a form of power that plays a role in reproducing and transforming power relations, along many different dimensions such as culture, class, gender, and age, and legitimising them; moreover, it forms the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true or false (Pitsoe and Letseka, 2013).

CDA is interested in studying these social phenomena as represented in discourse within different disciplines. More precisely, it is an interdisciplinary discourse approach which explores how language reflects the social issues caused by injustice, abuse, social change, and power. It is thus mainly interested not only in identifying and analysing social problems as represented in discourse, but also it aims at causing a social change by 'enlightening and emancipating' society (Wodak and Myer, 2009, pp.6-7). CDA takes a view that is informed by individuals' political

theories, and asserts that identities, attitudes or different ways of looking at the world are shaped through language and that it is the analysis of such language that enables us to uncover ideologies and challenge different/ gendered representations (Mills and Mullany, 2011). Language analysis has an active role as a tool to reject unequal social relations and practices and, accordingly, can lead to social reform of language. In this way, it is safe to say that language is shaped by society and is also responsible for shaping social practices by normalizing inequality (Levon, 2015). Normalizing biased roles through language has a considerable influence on shaping our attitudes towards injustice, and the way in which we look at others and deal with them in discriminatory ways. In any social field of study like discourse, gender or feminist studies, unbalanced practices can be identified and interpreted through different approaches of critical analysis.

Following Foucault (1972), Fairclough views discourse as having a dialectical relationship with systems of knowledge and belief, social identities and social relationships (Fairclough, 1992: 64). In other words, discourse is constituted by and constituting society. Fairclough's CDA approach (1992, 1995, 2003) is a text-oriented form of discourse analysis. It endeavours to combine the Foucauldian theory, which does not provide a methodology for text analysis, with Michael Halliday's functional grammar and Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis which is included in the micro-sociological, interpretative tradition (Fairclough, 1992, p.72). Drawing on these traditions, his model is a three-dimensional model. The first dimension is the text that analyzes the language whether spoken or written, grammar, clause combination, lexical selection and even visual images. The second dimension is the discursive practice which involves the processes of production and interpretation of the produced text within a specific context, and the third aspect is the sociocultural practice which deal with the context on a situational or a social level. Fairclough employs exhaustive text analysis to get insights into how language processes work in specific texts. The discursive practice is a link between the text and the social practice and is important in the process of interpretation. The analysis of the sociocultural practice dimension explains how the discursive practices affect or are affected by the social practices on a much wider level of context. However, this approach has been criticized for missing a cognitive link between text and society that could be found in Van Dijk's approach.

Van Dijk' Socio Cognitive Approach considers human cognition as a crucial link between text and society, the point which was overlooked by CDA and has been criticized for that (Chilton, 2005, pp.22-23). For Van Dijk, there should be a mental dimension, in discourse analysis, to illustrate the complex link between society and discourse and which integrates the mental processes involved in text production and comprehension. He suggests the 'context model' to address such complexity and refers to the participant's mental representation of the speech situation rather than the situation itself (2001: 109). These mental representations should be of local features, e.g., place and participants; and global features, e.g., political context.

Concepts that Van Dijk draws on in the context models are *schemata* or scripts and *social* representations. The former concept is defined as "abstract mental representations of events and people, which are formed through experience, stored in long-term memory and provide the basis for our expectations. They "provide a sense of control over the vast amount of sensory information one is exposed to" (Augoustinos et al., 2006: 67-68). An example for it is stereotypes which refer to the negative mental representation of a social group based on their appearance and behavior. The other concept, 'social representations', is also a mental representation but it differs from schemata in that the representations are shared by members of a social group and are more likely to be changed through communication and interaction (Augoustinos et al., 2006, p. 38). According to van Dijk (2001, p.114), social representation can take three forms: knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. Another CDA approach is the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), strongly associated with Ruth Wodak (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). This approach to discourse is related to history matters and tries to link fields of action (Girnth, 1996), genre, discourses and texts emphasizing the importance of tracing the sources of a particular discourse and how it (re) manifests itself across different genres and media (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Meyer 2009). The DHA analyses discourse at three main levels: (1) the text and its linguistic features; "the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts, genres and discourses"; (2) the social situation, (location and participants); and (4) the history of the discursive events and their topics (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001 p. 41). DHA also includes different discursive strategies which are as defined as "a more or less accurate and a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, 44). It defines different discursive strategies used to achieve political, social or linguistic aims such as the referential and predicational strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Many of the discursive referential strategies (e.g., nouns used to refer to agents) and predicational strategies (features assigned to agents) mentioned in the DHA are adopted from the work of van Leeuwen on the sociosemantic representation of social actors (1996). Van Leeuwen suggests a

detailed social network for analysing representations of social actors in discourse (1996, pp.65-66). This critical discourse approach is specifically adopted in the present study as it is more appropriate than the other approaches in addressing the research question, which is about the representations of SW the main social actors in discourse. It provides the study with tools for the critical textual analysis of the sociosemantic representations which allow identifying who is included and excluded, how the included actors are identified and categorised and how roles are allocated to them, the strategies that cannot be provided by a single critical approach. Additionally, this approach allows grammatical categorisation of social actors' roles as passive or active, which is effective in exploring the represented social relations amongst actors and in this way contributes to answering the second and fourth research questions (see section 3.3.2.3 for more detail about this approach and how it is used in the analysis).

Feminist CDA

The word feminist, meaning women's emancipation, is integrated into different social aspects, including language and discourse (Ramazanglu, 1989). Based on the aim of attaining equality, feminists' relationship with language and gender was first given a major motivation by the Liberal Feminism School during the second wave of the Women's Movement in the late 1960s and early '70s. This initially took the form of exploring the linguistic obstacles to women's full participation in the public sphere (Gibbon, 1999; Sunderland, 2006). Since then, and during the 1980s, much of the research into gender and language can be characterized as broadly feminist. An example is Miller and Swift's (1980) involvement in reforming certain aspects of inequalities in grammatical usage, such as the generic masculine pronoun, and the use of language that trivializes women, e.g. sexist naming practices such as the use of titles and surnames.

Given the importance of studying language and gender as a part of feminist studies, as explained above, feminist linguists have looked at the relationship between language and gender in ways that entail involvement with feminist political aims that focus on the dynamics of particular communities where gender is legislated (Litosseliti, 2006, pp. 63-64). More precisely, they share the main assumption of linking unequal linguistic practices to gender discrimination within a specific community that shares the same ways of talking, attitudes, beliefs and power relations/ practices (ideologies). Feminist linguists' interest lies, therefore, in uncovering and resisting behaviours in which language, as a social practice, is used to reflect and create gender inequalities in society. Additionally, they seek to change the unequal relationship between men

and women, in which women are considered inferior to men, and to question what is acceptable and natural in society in terms of vocabulary, syntax and discursive patterns (ibid.).

FCDA is a critical feminist approach that draws on CDA for feminist purposes and is "driven by developments in critical feminist theory" (Lazar, 2014, p. 182). The two approaches of discourse have the same political position and "a motivation for analysis, in that they wish to bring about change" (Mills 2008, p. 32). Although still in its relatively early stages, the critical dimension has been added to the field of discourse analysis to negotiate/ investigate gender and feminism discourse (Lazar, 2005). Therefore, the role of feminist linguistics might be, but not limited to, conducting critical analyses of the ways in which inequality is practised/ enforced and reproduced through language. For the sake of the study at hand, it is crucial to review these efforts and feminist critical studies here, as a combination of intersectional CDA and other linguistic approaches is adopted in an attempt to explore the social practices of gender inequality and dominance in the examined discourse. Michelle Lazar's (2005) edited collection (Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis) was the first to explicitly bring together the achievements of the feminist critical approach. Lazar describes the feminist CDA perspective as being interdisciplinary because it provides (critical) discourse studies with an angle that is informed by feminist studies. In addition, "it suggests the usefulness of language and discourse studies for the investigation of feminist issues in gender and women's studies" (2006, p.142). As is generally known, CDA aims to show the non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination (Fairclough 2001, p.229), including gender relations that can, accordingly, be examined in any given culture in terms of dominance and inequality. This view is confirmed by Wodak (1997), who points out that many of the proposals and basic assumptions of feminist linguistics relate to and overlap with principles of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (p. 3). These include subjective notions of the researcher, the shared perceptions of gender relations and recognition of the links between dominance, power and masculinity, and between femininity and powerlessness (Cameron, 2005).

Critical analysis renders transparent the hidden agenda of discourse and reveals the complexity and elusiveness of the strategies used to produce, sustain, resist or challenge gendered traditions and dominant power relations that might be found in different contexts (Lazar, 2006; Litosseliti, 2006). Lazar (2005) argues that critical feminist studies highlight the role of ideology or what is described as "representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interests of maintaining unequal power relations and dominance" (Lazar 2005, p.6). In this way, feminist critical discourse analysis questions this type of ideological effect and, consequently, makes the audience aware of reflected inequalities, thereby enabling change to take place in the power relations between men and women.

Various (F)CDA methods have been used in different gender studies to demonstrate the value of CDA as a means of conducting a critical analysis of gender-biased discourse in different institutions (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1980). However, here, more space will be given to reviewing gender studies on media discourse, as this is more relevant to the present study. Examples of critical feminist and gender studies include Koller (2004), who works on metaphorical gender representations in business media discourse, and Lazar's (2006, 2009) and Sunderland's (2012) feminist critical analyses of advertising discourse. In a study by Lazar (2007) on media advertising discourse, she brings CDA and feminist studies together, outlining a feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) approach with the aim of presenting a clear understanding of the complicated workings of ideology and power in the discourse underpinning hierarchically gendered social structures. She begins her article with a theoretical discussion about the rationale for using FCDA and lists several principles for feminist discourse praxis. She illustrates these principles by analysing a sample of data from an advertising context. She conducts a multi-modal analysis of choices of language and images using linguistic-based frameworks, specifically systematic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1994; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996) and speech-act theory (Searle, 1969), as well as some aspects of semiology (Williamson, 1978). In her analysis, she only focuses on the aspect of how feminine (hetero)sexuality is construed as women's power. Although the main theme of the article relates to women's traditional role as sex objects, the analysis reveals how such stereotypical views of women have changed within a post-feminism scenario, in which women have come to play a different and more active role as subjects. This represents a shift towards presenting women as sexually autonomous. Hence, by using a critical perspective, she shows how power relations and gender roles have changed.

Another study by Iyer (2009) investigated the representation of women's powerful roles as entrepreneurial identities. She chose to focus on a single category of Indian women belonging to the field of entrepreneurship. Using an FCDA approach, Iyer analyses discourses of 'patriarchy' and 'femininity' in print media texts about female entrepreneurs to explore the innovative roles that exist for Indian women in the field of business. She draws on the work of Foucault (1991), Fairclough (1992) and van Dijk (2001) to analyse macrostructures of the selected discourse. At the micro level, she analyses grammatical features that use modality and lexical semantics (synonymy and metonymy) to reveal textual features that reflect unclear ideologies. She concludes that contradictory discourses of patriarchy and femininity are conveyed through the texts analysed. Indian female entrepreneurs are portrayed as taking on both stereotypical and modern roles, passive and proactive, and as both dependent and independent. She shows how the use of CDA is crucial in a feminist linguistic study in order to demonstrate how sociocultural practices in her society can be viewed through discourse.

Lachover (2012), in her study 'Just Being a Woman Isn't Enough Anymore', discusses the television coverage of women during the 2008 Israeli elections. The study used the analytical tool of media frames to determine if recent social and political changes in Israeli women's status were reflected in local television news programmes. The findings revealed that there was only meagre coverage of women, and that women have been underrepresented in local politics in Israel. This reflects the sociopolitical reality that female politicians are still very much a minority in this society (453). The analysis in the study explores the patriarchal power structures that subordinate women to men, and reveals that there is "a forum for genuine feminist discourse" (455). Lachover's findings demonstrate the difference between discursive representations and what is going on in reality, caused by factors such as the personal features of journalists, like gender and age, as well as certain professional and organizational variables.

These studies and other similar studies signify the value of integrating the critical dimension into feminist linguistic studies and its applicability to a feminist approach to discourse analysis for the sake of investigating gender inequality. Unlike the present study which applies a quantitative and qualitative mixed-methods approach, these studies are limited in terms of presenting interpretations and generalisations based on the qualitative analysis of a limited number of texts. This, in turn, increases the researcher's subjectivity (Stubbs,1994). Therefore, the following section presents some studies that show the value of combining CL with FCDA to study larger bodies of language.

2.3.4. Mixing CDA and CL in gender and feminism studies

Different studies apply methods to investigate gender in language and discourse – this includes mixing quantitative methods with qualitative methods, such as interviews (Pichler, 2008, 2009), focus groups (Benwell, 2005) and ethnography (Gal, 1979; Mullany, 2007; Pichler, 2008, 2009), or using a multimethod approach that combines two or more approaches (Baxter, 2003). Other studies, on the other hand, show the value of using CL within a mixed-method approach to explore gender, such as mixing CL and sociolinguistics (Romaine, 2001; Sigley and Holmes, 2002; Murphy, 2010) and using corpora to explore gendered language change (Biber and Burges, 2001; Rey 2001), or mixing CL and discourse analysis (Baker, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2014).

In his research on gender, Baker has demonstrated the significance of employing CL in research on language and gender and has shown how this method enhances that field of study by employing different corpus methods, such as collocations, word frequencies and concordance lines. Those methods facilitate uncovering the bias in the use of some gendered terms (2008a). Such corpus methods are able to identify and demystify common categories, patterns and discursive practices of gendered representations and biased language usage (Baker, 2014). Corpus methods of collocation and concordance analysis also help in directing analysts to representative texts in order to carry out qualitative analyses on gender. Other studies have shown an increased interest in mixing CDA and CL in this field of research. An example is Morrish and Sauntson's (2007) study on gender, in which they used a mixed-methodological CDA and CL approach to analyse keywords, word frequencies and collocations (see section 3.3.2.2 for information about CL methods) in a written corpus of lesbian erotica. They show the importance of mixing these two methods to uncover subtle themes, semantic themes and hidden ideologies surrounding this gender group in the co-text.

In Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery's (2013) large study on the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British press, one part is dedicated to exploring the representation of Muslim women; this was conducted via a corpus-based analysis. They demonstrate the value of using collocates and keywords to show how Muslim women are represented, and finding out that the nodal theme of the 'veil' is the main feature characterizing Muslim women. Using keywords, interestingly, one significant finding of the study was that references to women are more

numerous than those to men in association with Islam, as words indexing women were the fourth most common collocate (pre-modifier) of Muslim in the entire Islam corpus, while 'men' came in ninth place. This finding, in turn, has an inference of discrimination between men and women as there was more negative coverage of women symbolised in negative images and prejudiced reports related to their appearance.

Other relevant research is that by Al-Hejin (2012, 2015), who conducted his studies to see how Muslim women are represented in BBC News output, combining various theories from CDA with corpus methodologies to carry out the analysis. The studies comprise all articles mentioning Muslim women in BBC news from 2001 to 2007 in two specially built corpora: BBC News Corpora and Arab News⁵ Corpora. The analysis of the keywords and collocates associated with Muslim women (veil and hijab) contributes to uncovering subtle biased language motivated by some journalistic ideologies. It is concluded that the judgements about Muslim women are aggressive and based on journalists' subjective evaluations of Muslim women according to their physical appearance. This study is theoretically and methodologically different from the present one, where intersectional representation is not considered. It is focusing on quantifying the representations of women rather than the process of constructing these representations. According to the different aims and focus of Al-Hejin's and the present study, the findings are different. Muslim women are represented as 'covered' and linked to the theme of HIJAB (Al-Hejin, 2012, 2015), which is only one of the multidimensions of SW identity found in BBC news discourse.

Before concluding this part, it is worth mentioning here that the aforementioned studies focus on one aspect of the mediatised social issue. In these studies, gender is addressed as a single aspect that is responsible for creating discrimination within a given context, while other social aspects that simultaneously affect representation are not given the same consideration. Therefore, at the intersection of gender and other aspects like race and womanhood/ femininity as an absolute and/or a marginalised concept should be questioned. The concept of intersectionality seems to offer a good answer to this question. It contributes to questioning

⁵ Arab News is an English language daily newspaper published in Saudi Arabia, and it has its online version, which is the source of Al-Hejin's Arab News Corpora

inequality social practices by focusing on overlapping social categories that, more or less, affect people's representations and real-life experiences. This will be illustrated in detail in the following section.

2.4. Intersectionality

Before talking about intersectionality as a theory and an analytical tool to analyse identity representations, I will provide a brief explanation of the development of theorising and analysing identity in previous research.

Question of identity

An open and broad definition of identity is the social positioning of the self and the Other (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), and it is simply defined by Blommaert as "who and what you are" (2005, p. 203). Within this implication, the concept refers to features, beliefs and attitudes that distinguish individuals or groups from one another. These complex aspects are made salient and activated under particular circumstances within the flow of social life and interaction (Coupland, 2009, p.855), hence constructing and communicating a subject's identity positively or negatively. To be precise, identities are not pre-given but are culturally rooted (Werbner, 2013). They are constructed through negotiation and communication, both directly in interaction (performance) or discursively through various forms of media (Howard, 2000), such as writings or speeches in which identities are recontextualised.

The process of identity construction in relation to others can be conceptualized as identification, which includes two types of identification processes: relational identification and categorical identification. The first means constructing identity in relation to others, while the other indicates the process of identity construction as a member of a particular category, such as race, ethnicity, language or nationality (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). However, as Blommaert (2005, p.205) argues, to be accurately established, identities must be recognized by others. Here we need to shift to another important notion, which is Othering and its relation to identity formation and recognition. Postcolonial thought recognised Othering within the sense that the alien Other is different from the normal self and may be discriminated against or positioned lower in the hierarchy (Said, 1978; Dervin, 2015). This thought originated from the traditional philosophy of Hegel (1841), which indicates that there can be no self without the Other. The Othering tradition

was then used to theorise hierarchical relationships based on gender, positioning women as the inferior Other (Beauvoir, 1949). In research on discrimination, the concept of Othering has been used to highlight and investigate the unequal and hierarchical practices or representations of people on several axes going beyond racism and sexism to classism, ageism and gender categorisations (Spivak, 1985; Jensen, 2011).

There is indeed an increasingly growing body of research on identity in different research fields. Much of the earlier work on identity emphasized single dimensions of social identities. For example, Phinny (1990) counts more than 70 studies on ethnic identities applying different theoretical frameworks, like social identity. Most of these studies assume that individuals belong to a single racial or ethnic category characterized by negative social stereotypes and discrimination (Howard, 2000). Other examples of studies conducted on one central dimension of identity resemble, but are not limited to, those on sexuality, class, gender and age identities (Frable, 1997; Shockey, 1998). Analyses that focused on one central dimension led to calls for another analytical stage aiming to examine how such identities interact. Consequently, ethnographic and qualitative studies were conducted to see how two subordinated identities act on each other, like sexual and ethnic identities explored by Takagi (1994) and Rust (1996), and class and gender identities in the work of Beckwith (1998). More recently, the majority of researchers agree on the multiplicity of identity (Davies & Harré, 1990; Meyer, 1998, as cited in Versluys 2007, p.91), arguing that it cannot exist as an isolated entity. Rather, it can constitute in-groupness or out-groupness where each individual can take different positions and or combine different identities (Duszak, 2002, as in Versluys, p.91).

In brief, though some insights have been given to multiple identities, analysing and imagining such multiplicity is still unclear and needs further research. One way that may help to give a better understanding of multiple identities is to apply a multidimensional analysis within an intersectional approach. Intersectionality is one of the recent sociopolitical theories that criticize one-dimensional focus studies and find that impossible when studying identity, thus stressing the integrated nature of identities as the main principle of its approach (Crenshaw, 1998). Nevertheless, I think employing an intersectional approach to identity depends on the field, aims and questions of the study, because not all identity studies aim to examine a social problem or biased representations in discourse by conducting an intersectional critical analysis. In the

following two sections, I review the development of intersectionality as a theory and analytical tool.

2.4.1. Intersectionality as a theory

The intersection of race and gender goes back to Black feminist history in the 19th and 20th centuries (Taylor, 1998), e.g. Sojourner Truth (1797–1883), Maria Stewart (1830s), Frances Harber (1825–1911) and Frances Beal (1968). As a concept, intersectionality is a metaphorical term that was first articulated by Crenshaw (1989) to frame/ theorize the double-sided identity of black women and to illustrate how race and gender interact to construct inequality as experienced by black men and women within the legal system. When she noticed that the experience of black women in cases did not match those brought by white women or black men, Crenshaw concluded that as a result of the simultaneous intersecting nature of being perceived by others as subjects who are both raced (Black) and gendered (women), black women are extremely marginalized within the legal context, and the ascribed identities of black and women make their experience structurally and "qualitatively different than that of white women and of Black men" (Crenshaw, 1991, p.1245).

While Crenshaw's earliest theorized understanding of intersectionality focused on only two categories, race and gender, Collins (1990) broadened the concept to include other aspects like sexuality, class and nationality into the critical analytical tool of the matrix of domination.⁶ This claim indicates that focusing on a single dimension of identity or on a gender/ race binary scheme is not enough to understand the social experience or representations of a specific subject. In other words, for a better understanding of the subject under examination, the assumption of complexity/ multi-dimensions of a social issue should be examined.

More recently, intersectionality has expanded from just a concept within politics and feminist studies to be incorporated into other fields of research as an all-encompassing theory (Carbin and Sara, 2013), resulting in the claim that it is the most important feminist theoretical contribution to other social sciences (McCall, 2005, p.1771). Though it was first used to examine

⁶ Patricia Collins was the first person to introduce this term in her work *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment,* to analyse and explain issues of oppression, like those of race, gender and class, and how they affect and shape subjects' identities.

the experience of black American women and disadvantaged positions of women of colour (e.g. Crenshaw 1989, 1991) in the field of politics and feminism, others such as Yuval-Davis (2006) found it applicable to any other advantaged or disadvantaged group of people, thus expanding the arena of intersectionality to a key analytical tool employed in other fields of research.

Intersectionality has been considered a theory (Yuval-Davis, 2006), a framework (Hancock, 2007; McCall, 2005) or politics (Crenshaw, 1998, 1991). As a theory, from Nash's point of view, it is not clear whether "intersectionality is a theory of marginalized subjectivity or a generalized theory of identity" (2008, p.10). This ambiguity stems from the fact that feminist scholars recognize intersectionality in two ways: some of them consider that intersectionality refers to all subjects' positions, whereas others only focus on marginalized groups' particular positions. The latter's theoretical recognition of intersectionality came from black feminist's trials showing the limitations of analysing gender and race solely as separate categories to understand the experience of disadvantaged minorities (Hooks, 1981; Davis, 1983; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; McCall, 2005). Therefore, the only defined opponent of intersectionality in this discourse is the type of feminist who believes that only gender is relevant for a feminist analysis (Carbin and Edenheim, 2013), as this will give an incomplete image of the experience of those marginalized groups.

As an analytical tool, the main frameworks and approaches to intersectionality, as well as its features and benefits as a method of analysis, are illustrated in the next section.

2.4.2. Intersectionality as an analytical tool

Intersectional analysis or using intersectionality as an analytical tool aims to apply a strategic approach to explore multiple identities, exposing different types of discrimination and disadvantage as well as advantages that occur as a consequence of combining identities. To analyse identity, Crenshaw (1991) classifies the analytical frameworks of intersectionality into three loose types: structural, political and representational. Structural intersectionality looks at the location of an individual woman at the intersection of social categories and illustrates how such intersecting patterns affect her real social experience in different ways (ibid., p.1245). The political approach shows how both feminist movements and anti-racist politics have contributed to the increased marginalization of ethicised women. Finally, representational intersectionality

embodies the cultural construction of ethnicised women and popular hegemonic representations that ignore the grounds of multiple identity and social location (ibid.). These representations are exemplified by semiotic strategies and produce or reproduce images of women of colour and women in other marginalized locations by drawing on sexist and racist narrative tropes. This positioning has a consequent effect on identity formation and consequently social experience within an institution (p.1283). The BBC news reports on SW under investigation are an example of the representational analytical type, and the analysis chapters of those texts will highlight to what extent identity is negatively or positively represented in these reports.

As an analytical tool, intersectionality is distinguished by four main beneficial features: simultaneity, complexity, irreducibility and inclusivity (Carastathis, 2014). Concerning the first trait, intersectionality scholars see that the analytical categories work simultaneously and are equally salient in constructing practices and lived experiences. In this way, social groups and individuals are not defined by the single category of gender, for example, but rather their identities result from a complex interaction between different categories that work together in identity formation. Secondly, social structures' complexity is accounted for in intersectionality. In this way, social relationships between multiple groups in society are seen to be complex, multiple and intersected (McCall, 2005). More detail on the complexity aspect is given in section 2.4.2.2. Irreducibility is the third feature of the analytical tool. Social categories cannot be reduced to a single category. Rather, multiple social axes interact constitutively to produce the experience of being oppressed or privileged (Yuval-Davis, 2006). For example, an upper-class man cannot be understood only in terms of gender, while a working-class woman of colour cannot be identified purely in terms of class. Thus, attempting to reduce blackness/ colourness, womanhood and working-classness will result in fragmenting a dynamic multidimensional identity. Hancock argues that intersectional approaches are "inclusive and incisive" and foster "deep political solidarity" (2007, p.183). Finally, intersectionality as a theoretical paradigm "can act as a corrective against the white solipsism, heteronormativity, elitism, and ableism of dominant power and hegemonic feminist theory by making social locations and experiences visible that are occluded in essentialist and exclusionary constructions of the category 'women' (Carastathis, 2014, p.309). This analytic benefit relates to Crenshaw's analysis of political intersectionality (as aforementioned), which seeks to reveal how transformative sociopolitical movements have reproduced deeply entrenched perceptions and representational exclusions during political practice.

Having conceptualized intersectionality and its analytical features and benefits, the most common approaches of intersectionality as an analytical tool are illustrated in the following section.

2.4.2.1. The systemic and constructionist approaches

Different theoretical approaches have been introduced by intersectionality scholars, drawing on different perspectives. Prins (2006) identifies two major approaches to intersectionality – systemic and constructionist. The former is typically followed by US scholars, whereas the latter is associated more with UK academics. Both approaches have an anti-essentialist perspective on identity, but they do not shift to the anti-categorical perspective (see below) of radical deconstructionism (McCall, 2005). Prins (2006) suggests three main differences between the two approaches when performing intersectional analysis:

1- Whilst the systemic approach examines the influence of the system on shaping identities, the constructionist approach focuses on the interactional nature and dynamics of social identity. In other words, the systemic approach assumes that identity is shaped by systems of marginalization and domination (e.g. racism, patriarchy). In this sense, individuals are seen as passive bearers of the meaning of social categories and consequently more or less privileged. From a constructionist perspective, on the other hand, identity is a product of articulation which involves an ongoing struggle against hegemony. More precisely, this approach involves the process of becoming a subject where the individual shows the impact of dominating systems by being a source of his/her acts and thinking.

2- Another difference is in the way of understanding power. The constructionist approach conceives the notion of power not as a property, but as dynamic relations which are always shifting and marked by points of resistance and conflict. The systemic approach, though. focuses on the effect of systems (e.g. gender or race) on individuals (i.e. creating divisions amongst them), but this does not mean that the perspective of agency is not considered. On the contrary, the critical analysis conducted by scholars of this approach is meant to empower marginalized groups and activate their social role. Nevertheless, systemic intersectionality primarily aims to reveal the one-sided nature of power of social representations, e.g. the detrimental symbolic and material consequences for those groups situated at the crossroads of different identities.

3- Third, within the systemic approach, identity is perceived as a process of naming and categorization. Individuals' identities are shaped by some characteristics that are attributed to them by the dominant structure. Identity within the constructionist approach, on the other hand, is not perceived as a matter of naming but as a matter of narration. Therefore, individuals contribute to constructing their identities, as clarified by their actions and words.

Therefore, systems and subjects are two central components that should be recognised and analysed when exploring real experiences or representations within the systemic approach, which is followed in this study (see section 3.3.2.1). This is a main facet that distinguishes the systemic approach from the constructionist approach, the latter being focusing on how a group or an individual are active in constructing and positioning themselves as intersectional.

Systems

According to the systemic approach, systems are social aspects or features (e.g. class and race) that intersect to affect social groups' experiences and create differences amongst them (Prins, 2006), e.g. working-class black men. Within the general theoretical framework of intersectionality, when social systems are historically determined as sources of power exercised over all bodies (e.g. classism or racism), those systems are conceptualised as oppression, which is organized through a matrix of domination (McCall, 2005). This concept refers to the social paradigm that explains issues of unequal positions caused by interconnected systems. These imposed positionings of bodies result in structural, disciplinary, interpersonal and hegemonic power relations (Collins, 1990, p.276, 2000).

Subjects

From a systemic intersectional perspective, being a subject means being located in a more or less privileged social position as a result of the interaction amongst systems of domination and marginalization. These positions shape one's experience and, in this sense, individuals are recognised as being passive carriers of the meaning of social categories (Prins, 2006, p.280).

2.4.2.2. Complexity as an approach to intersectionality

For McCall (2005), intersectional research can be carried out according via an approach based on the complexity of social categories and power relations. This approach is categorized into three categories consistent with different stances on complexity that correspond to different ways on managing complexity. They are outlined as follows:

- 1- Anti-categorical complexity, according to McCall, rejects and deconstructs social categories such as race and gender by criticizing and taking a stance against the boundary-making of social categories, which is problematized as it strengthens the power regimes/systems that scholars want to undermine and overturn (2005). For those who acknowledge anti-categorical complexity, social life is too complex and full of multiple determinations of both structures and subjects to construct static or fixed social categories.
- 2- Intra-categorical complexity, on the other hand, acknowledges the static relationships that categories construct, yet it is critical of the use of social categories. It focuses on singular "particular social groups at neglected points of intersection" of multiple social categories (McCall, 2005, p. 1774). In the investigation, it focuses on one dimension; thus, for instance, instead of focusing on men and women, white and Black, east and west, scholars of this complexity approach might only investigate Black eastern women.
- 3- The inter-categorical approach is like the intra-categorical approach in assuming existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality amongst social groups/ categories (David and Corona, 2016). The difference between this approach and the intra-categorical approach is that it explores complex relationships among social groups, rather than focusing on a single dimension of social groups or categories, as in the intracategorical approach.

The present study explores the social categories and subcategories involved in the compiled texts following an inter-categorical approach (section 3.3.2.1). This approach is adopted because investigating the discursive and the linguistic features surrounding each (sub)category and comparing them allows the exploration of practices of discrimination between them, which in turn raises awareness of the social problem of discrimination. In this approach, as well as the other two approaches to complexity, the central focus revolves around social divisions which have a dominant role in locating individuals or groups in the hierarchy of a social structure in a social context. At this point, an important question needs to be answered: When doing intersectional analysis, which social categories should be incorporated in the analysis? An answer to this question is suggested in the next section.

Social categories

People who belong to a certain category, such as age, sex or ability, are seen as sharing some similar features, which tend to be naturalized as elements of one's identity (Cohen, 1988; Davis, 2006). This categorization may have an impact on classifying people into privileged or disadvantaged groups. The three major social categories that were agreed on by earlier feminist theorists are: gender, race and class. Yet, the domain of the social categories was later broadened to include other social categories (see above section 2.4.1.). Yuval-Davis (2006) refers to social categories as social divisions that are about macro-axes of power which at the same time include real people. She claims that social divisions:

[...] exist in the ways people experience subjectively their daily lives in terms of inclusion and exclusion, discrimination and disadvantage, specific aspirations and specific identities. Importantly, this includes not only what they think about themselves and their communities but also their attitudes and prejudices towards others. Finally, they also exist at the level of representation, being expressed in images and symbols, texts and ideologies, including those to do with legislation. (p.198)

This refers to the fact that social divisions occur on different levels, distinguishing between the real/ material and representational/ symbolic levels of formed identities; how individuals and groups signify themselves and how they are represented by others; the traits of their identities that they show, and the traits ascribed to them. The representational level, which is the focus of this study, agrees with Crenshaw's representational intersectional type discussed in section 2.4.2, which refers to language, images and symbols used to refer to groups of people. Although the representational level of social categories is the focus of the present study, it will be related to the wider context (discourse as a social practice), since the construction of social categories is a "product of human creative freedom and autonomy" occurring under social conditions and expressed through different means of meaning-making (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.203). In the study at hand, intersectional social categories and subcategories will be identified and compared to see how language is used to create social divisions amongst them.

Having discussed intersectionality as a theory and its different analytical approaches, its relation to language and discourse, (F)CDA, and the few gender studies that adopted an intersectional perspective will be reviewed below.

2.4.3. Intersectionality in language and discourse

The relationship between identity and produced linguistic practices has been examined earlier in sociolinguistic studies. More recently, several studies have demonstrated how different linguistic practices or features are produced by an individual as a result of the interaction between two or more social variables, such as his/her age and gender; the produced linguistic features change according to the different contexts as well as the change in the interacting variables (Eckert, 1989; Bucholtz, 2011; Levon, 2014). Although it is agreed by language researchers that identity should be approached from different perspectives, such as age, class or gender, research needs to conduct more practical analysis to better understand its multiplicity.

The notion of intersectionality has been increasingly adopted in linguistic studies to understand the complexity of social representations in discourse. Examples are works by Levon (2009, 2010, 2012, 2014), Baker and Levon (2016), Lehtonen (2017) and Hunt and Jaworska, (2019). In a book edited by Levon and Mendes (2016), a collection of studies employing various aspects of intersectionality to investigate how identity is positioned, perceived and performed by groups of people with different origins is presented. However, while there is a growing body of language studies adopting the notion of intersectionality, this is still partial. There is no full engagement with intersectionality as a theoretical and analytical approach to research language and discourse, which will show the importance of integrating its principles in analysing the data and interpreting the results. David and Corona (2016) claim that "in language and identity research, intersectionality has been practised in something of a default manner, seldom if ever is it discussed as a methodological option or in theoretical terms by researchers" (pp. 507-508). In the field of discourse analysis, Baker and Levon (2016) used an intersectional perspective in their study on masculinity representations in the British press. For the analysis, a large corpus (44.1 million words) was built. A corpus-based and qualitative analysis was conducted to see how masculine categories are raced and classed and positioned in relation to one another in the British press. The study findings confirm the value of adopting an intersectional perspective when exploring the discourse on masculinity.

Another investigation of masculine identity was performed by Hunt and Jaworska (2019) who adopted an intersectional perspective to study media representations of the South African athlete Oscar Pistorius as a successful Olympian in 2012, and as the murderer of his girlfriend in 2013. They combined methods from corpus linguistics and CDA to study sets of corpora including articles collected from press articles published in British and South African newspapers. They found that identity is represented differently in the two media contexts. Different aspects of identity are foregrounded and backgrounded to produce changing and sometimes conflicting identities for Oscar Pistorius. Methodologically, the study shows the value of collocational analysis to explore patterns of intersectionality in identity representations in mediatised language.

Unlike Baker and Levon's (2016) and Hunt and Jaworska's (2019) studies, the present study focuses on women's intersectional representations compared to those of men, which will shed more light on gender discrimination in discourse. In addition, the present study's methodological design is different. It puts more focus on intersectional analysis by using different methods and approaches of intersectionality, CL and van Leeuwen's social actors approach, which results in more involvement of intersectionality as tool to analyse discourse.

2.4.4. Intersectionality and (F)CDA

As feminist theories, both FCDA and intersectionality are women-oriented social issues with some shared features that make it possible to integrate them in a feminist discourse study. Both have political agendas which target unequal power relations and dominance within societies (Lazar, 2005; Crenshaw, 1991). While social experiences and hegemonic practices are the main arena of studies of intersectionality, that is also explored by CDA through conducting critical analyses of the ways in which such social practices are conveyed, enacted and confirmed by texts (Van Dijk, 1993). As is generally known, CDA aims to demystify non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination (Fairclough 1989), including gender relations that can, accordingly, be examined in any given culture. Although FCDA is a discursive approach, intersectionality is also concerned with hegemonic discursive representations of women as manifested in culturally unfair perceptions whereby the resulting construction of their identity has a direct impact on their daily experience (Crenshaw, 1991, p.

1245). Consequently, cultural ideologies inserted into discourse are particularly important for both approaches. Another important similarity is in their critical analysis. Both approaches aim engage in multilevel analytical deconstruction (social and representational) of the biased social practices. These analytical levels should be examined through a critical analytical lens that relates representations to the real-life experiences of marginalised groups and points further to the need for sociopolitical reform and bringing about change (McCall, 2005; Lazar 2005; Werbner, 2013). That deconstructive critique occurs beneath the surface of daily life and reveals hidden intersections of social differences, including gender.

Considering these objectives shared by FCDA and intersectionality, it is safe to say that the "theoretical eclecticism" of FCDA makes it possible to combine intersectionality theories that underlie both individuals' multiple identities and the inequality between men and women with feminist linguistics (Lazar, 2007, p.183). This combination enables going beyond investigating gendered practices to critically analyse other features related to other social categories, such as race, religion and culture, and how those are used in the process of women's identity construction and perception. Put another way, this combination may help to investigate the relation between language and identity from different angles and at different levels of analysis, going from micro-textual analysis through to the wider social context, thus relating representations to realities. This is achieved by focusing our analysis on the social, historical and linguistic aspects and the relationships amongst them. As spelled out by Levon, "once we have broadened our focus in this way will we be able to say that we have fully integrated intersectionality theory in language, gender, and sexuality research" (2015, p.303). Thus, the integrated approach to language study offers a useful vehicle for both the expression and examination of hegemonic social practices embedded in text. The present study presents a framework to combine intersectionality as a central theoretical and methodological approach within the analysis to contribute to deconstructing and consequently understanding the complex representations of SW in BBC news discourse as a social context. The theory and its main aspects will be intertwined within the methodological analysis to first identify systems and social categories in discourse and analyse their representations, and then, accordingly, discuss the results and provide interpretations.

2.5. Summary

This chapter has presented the theoretical background and reviewed literature on media representations, gender and language and intersectionality. It started by discussing media representations of difference, which are created by differences in culture and gender. This part shows how different representations are mediatised⁷ by culture or gender, or both, resulting in different images for different groups of people. It exemplifies media representations of the general category of Muslim women and the subcategory of Saudi women. The second part of this chapter reviews language and gender and their relationship to feminist studies. It has explained that the beginning of feminist linguistics involved critiquing and studying gender studies, as distinct from women's studies. In addition, this chapter reviews the value of integrating CDA and CL in gender and language studies. Finally, it reviews stages of the notion of intersectionality as a feminist theory and a methodology, presenting the different intersectional approaches and features of intersectionality as an analytical tool. This section ended by reviewing studies that explored intersectionality in language and the few discourse studies which have adopted an intersectional perspective to analyse identity representations in media discourse.

The present study on Saudi women representations challenges the notion of theorising women in discourse as a gender identity; it suggests that women's identity is a complex entity composed of gender and other social aspects represented by language, as will be explored in the analysis. In addition, this group will be compared to some other interacting social actors amongst Saudi men. This positions the study as a unique contribution to research on Saudi women and Muslim women representations in the media, thus different from those studies that focus on gender identity for Saudi women, such as Thompson (2015) and Ellias and Aljabiri (2020). Following an intersectional perspective to approach women's identity as a complex entity predicts findings that will differ from what has been concluded as a result of analysing large corpora on Muslim Women which link Muslim women to hijab (e.g. Al-Hejin, 2015). Methodologically, the present study is different from previous studies in terms of design. It is different from previous studies that include an intersectional perspective on discourse such as those by Baker and Levon (2016)

⁷ Mediatisation refers to the media's construal or framing of events, actions and people displayed on different media channels.

and Hunt and Jaworska (2019), in that it is a thoroughly intersectionality-based study: in contrast, these other studies briefly mention intersectionality but do not thoroughly engage with it. Specifically, my theoretical analytical approach to intersectionality is combined with discourse analysis to compare different representations of men and women. In addition, the findings will be different. In the present study, it is found that different intersectional representations are constructed by linguistic and discursive strategies and intersectional practices which result in variable representations of different categories of men and women. In this way, an internal and external hegemonic discourse is reproduced and naturalised in the discourse examined. Chapter Three illustrates the theoretical and methodological design followed in the study. It also explains the procedure for activating the framework to conduct a critical intersectional discourse analysis.

3. CHAPTER THREE: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Chapter Three is devoted to explaining the data and methodological design for the present study. Therefore, it is divided into two main parts. The first part illustrates the data selection, collection, corpus creation and corpus management. The second part explains the methodological design of the study and how it is employed to analyse the data. The methodology is designed to answer the following main research question outlined in the Introduction, and repeated here:

How are Saudi women's intersectional identities represented in in BBC news discourse? This question will be unpacked into the following four sub-questions. All of which will help to answer the main question:

- 1- How is the Saudi social system discursively constructed and linked to 'Saudi women' in BBC news discourse?
- 2- How is the identity of Saudi women represented in BBC news discourse?
- 3- What other intersectional gender subcategories are exemplified in the data?
- 4- How are female and male subcategories positioned in the social structure?

3.2. Data

3.2.1. Data source selection

The data comprise articles composed of 79,927 words. These articles are written texts taken from the BBC website and are reporting on SW. The BBC website was selected as a resource for the data because it is an international news channel which claims to be impartial, unbiased, truthful and accurate (BBC Editorial Guidelines, 2021). Additionally, it is characterised by the high profile of its local and international readership as a result of its free accessibility via the internet. Another important reason for selecting this resource is that, being one of the readers of BBC website news, I have found that there is an abundance of reporting on Saudi issues with women as a key issue, which is the main interest of my linguistic research. It is found that

reports on SW are produced at an average of two articles per month within the identified tenyear period. A primary reading of a number of articles exposes some features of explicit sarcasm recognised through language and images, the issue that motivated my interest to discover more about the topic. The articles collected from the website are those produced within a decade (2008–18). This period is particularly interesting because it witnessed many decisions to reform women's status and involve them in the society for more social and political roles, events that have received interest from the global news channels including the BBC news organisation (Elias et al., 2020). In addition, collecting articles from a long time period published in different years will provide a larger data set, something that should contribute to achieving authenticity and representativeness in the linguistic analysis findings.

3.2.2. Data collection

Difficulties faced

The main issues related to collecting data that should be mentioned here are:

- The collection of articles from the BBC website did not occur automatically, as what can be generated automatically from Nexis are translated versions of original Arabic articles, and this is not the aim of the study. Therefore, the data set was built via a manual cutand-paste method.
- On the BBC website, articles are not in chronological order, and this is problematic as the sequence of years is important to explore the data. Consequently, the articles were ordered chronologically, based on their attached dates of production.
- As opposed to articles that can be collected from Nexis, the search terms hits within each article, i.e. those referring to SW, which are important for selecting the text, are not highlighted. For this, all articles that include a minimum number of search terms in any part of the text are included.
- Additional information within BBC articles, e.g. irrelevant links, readers' comments and advertisements, was also found. This difficulty was solved by cleaning the texts individually of all extra information of no significance to the analysis. In addition, repetitive texts were spotted and removed.

Criteria for selecting and collecting data

The standardized criteria for selecting written texts from the news resource can be summarized in three main points: (1) the text should include SAUDI and FEMALE or any string of terms that refers to SW occurring together in any part of the text, e.g. SAUDI FEMALE, SAUDI WOMAN and WOMEN FROM SAUDI (ARABIA); (2) the text should be published between 2008 and 2018; (3) due to the space and time limit, only written texts are collected; audio and video texts/reports, images and readers' comments are excluded.

Generating Data

An automated search was conducted for the semantic categories SAUDI and FEMALE using the mentioned above search strings within the URL domain news.bbc.co.uk, where all BBC News Web texts are found. The automated search was limited to articles produced between 2008 and 2018 and was stopped when the location of the search terms was no longer in the text. This produced 178 articles amounting to 79,927 tokens. Information that is irrelevant to the topic, such as links on the page and readers' comments, has been filtered out. Additionally, duplicated texts have been detected and deleted as well.

3.2.3. Data sampling

Building corpora and sampling

A specialised corpus represents a specific type of language text defined and specified by the researcher (Hunston, 2002) who builds the corpus to address the research question. One of the reasons for setting up a small specialised corpus is to investigate the context, participants and social events in order to interpret the relation between language and context by combining quantitative and qualitative methods (Handford, 2010; O'Keeffe, 2007, 2010); and this is the main reason for building the corpus of the present study (see 1.3 and 1.4).

Constructing and designing the specialised corpus as well as the size of the corpus is primarily determined by the research question (O'Keeffe, 2010). In this study, the first step of building a specialised corpus has been achieved by having clearly articulated the research question about the representations of SW in BBC news. In other words, to examine women's portrayals within news discourse, a specialised corpus was built to address this question. The corpus is built of

texts from BBC news discourse reporting on SW and uploaded to the corpus tools for corpus analysis. Information about the selected corpus tools is given later in this chapter.

Data selection for in-depth qualitative analysis

For the sake of the present study, the corpus results will be supported by a qualitative discourse analysis (Baker, 2006). The data for qualitative analysis are selected concordance lines and extracted texts. These concordance lines and extracts should include references to the basic pinpointed systems, e.g. nationality or religion, and subjects, i.e. general and individual actors comprising men and women, as the node in the concordance lines or the core term in the extracted statement. In addition, selected texts should be extracted from different time points and on different topics, e.g. driving and guardianship or any other social event or incident. The identification of topics, systems, and subjects will be achieved via the corpus analysis conducted in Chapter Four, which provides a corpus quantitative analysis and prepares the data for conducting qualitative analysis in the next three chapters.

3.3. Data Analysis

In the following sections, the methodology designed to conduct the corpus and qualitative analysis will include an illustration of the approaches decided upon, and the analytical tools and procedure followed to employ them in the analysis.

Sample study leading to methodology decision

To examine the applicability of the proposed methods of analysis, I conducted a sample study. To carry out this pilot study, 50 articles amounting to 34,843 tokens were collected from BBC news website. They were selected from three different years (2008, 2013, 2017) to stand for the ten-year period. This selection was made by searching for terms like (SAUDI WOM*N, SAUDI FEMALE(S), SAUDI GIRL(S)). To facilitate the corpus analysis, I uploaded the text files into Sketch Engine corpus tool.

I started the analysis by conducting a quantitative analysis employing corpus linguistic techniques, e.g. keywords, frequency, collocates and concordances (see section 3.3.2.2). This analysis seemed to be successful in exposing the main semantic themes where women are involved. The analysis of collocates and keywords provides some information about the

cultural, religious and social contexts of women and Saudi society. There was a high frequency for words related to practices of guardianship, superiority and Islamic laws.

Based on the final results of the corpus analysis, I found that SW's identity is shaped by aspects other than gender. The resulting representation was a dominant image for Saudi women in BBC news discourse linked to multi-layered dimensions that are related to culture, gender and religion. These results could lead to a FCDA question asking why this discursive practice and what underpinning ideologies and stereotypical images can be found behind such linguistic features and behaviours (Lazar, 2007). To do this, the involvement of women in the texts and what roles and level of agency are ascribed to them could be found by first sketching females' gendered terms, and second by examining concordance lines which include gendered terms searched for like SAUDI wom*n, girl(s) and female(s)) and pronouns indexing them, like they, she and her. The analysis shows that women are mostly positioned as patients with passive roles within the processes examined (see Fig. 3-1).

L	-	2 Stand	Lon comon		ngn oonox
1		$(i) \ {\rm doc} {\rm \#0} \ {\rm n}$ favour of lifting this ban if society accepts	it. 2- UN call for	Saudi women's	rights) 1 February 2008 The UN says Saudi women face ret 🚡
2		(i) doc#0 all for Saudi women's rights) 1 February 20	08 The UN says	Saudi women	face restrictions. > Women in Saudi Arabia should be
3		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 y a tribal one where new ideas took time to	be accepted. 4-	Saudi women	make video protest 11 March 2008 Saudi women's rights ac 👕
4		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 :epted. 4- Saudi women make video protes	t 11 March 2008	Saudi women's	rights activists have posted on the web a video of a woman $\begin{tabular}{c} \begin{tabular}{c} \end{tabular}$
5		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 t King Abdullah thought a day would eventu	ally come when	Saudi women	were allowed to drive.
6		$(i) \ \text{doc#0} \ \text{er}$ women to invest in similar hotels across	the kingdom. 5-	Saudi women	'kept in childhood' 21 April 2008 Women cannot make even
7		$(i) \ \text{doc#0 lot}$ make even simple decisions on children	, the report says	Saudi women	are being kept in perpetual childhood so male relatives can $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \hline \begin{tabular}{l} \end{tabular}$
8		i) doc#0 า group has said.	ased group says	Saudi women	have to obtain permission from male relatives to work, trave $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \end{tabular}$
9		$({\rm i})$ doc#0 on in Saudi Arabia, draws on more than 100) interviews with	Saudi women	. <s> Farida Deif, women's rights researcher for the Mic $\begin{tabular}{c} \begin{tabular}{c} \end{tabular}$</s>
10		$({\rm i})$ doc#0 earcher for the Middle East at Human Righ	ts Watch, said: "	Saudi women	won't make any progress until the government ends the abu $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \end{tabular}$
11		$(\ensuremath{\stackrel{\scriptstyle{\scriptstyle{\scriptstyle{\circ}}}}}$ doc#0 \ensuremath{m} these misguided policies. -/s>	report says that	Saudi women	are denied the legal right to make even trivial decisions for 1 $\begin{tabular}{c} \begin{tabular}{c} \end{tabular}$
12		$(\ensuremath{\stackrel{\scriptstyle\frown}{\scriptstyle}}$ doc#0 n the child's father. 	Watch says that	Saudi women	are prevented from accessing government agencies that ha $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \end{tabular}$
13		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 or Women's actions at puberty," said Ms De	eif. <s></s> "For	Saudi women	, reaching adulthood brings no rights, only responsibilities. ${\mbox{<}}$
14		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 dulthood brings no rights, only responsibilit	ies. " 6-	Saudi women	vie for Olympic rights 13 June 2008 Eight years after the Sy $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \end{tabular}$
15		$(\begin{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \be$	ents we will see	Saudi women	compete and soon.
16]	i) doc#0 changing.	ani was the first	Saudi woman	to be appointed as a top sports administrator, at the Equest $\begin{tabular}{c} \begin{tabular}{c} \end{tabular}$
17		(i) doc#0 men in the future.	ay therefore see	Saudi women	Olympians for the first time.
18		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{i}})$ doc#0 $\ensuremath{\mathbf{i}}$ Kingdom may not be allowed to enter an a	all-male team. 7-	Saudi women	want right to drive 9 July 2008 Saudi Arabia is the only cour $\begin{tabular}{lllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$
19		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 ə Wajeha al-Huwaider spear-headed the ca	mpaign to allow	Saudi women	to drive, Fawzia al-Oyouni runs an influential women's right: 👕
20		$(\ensuremath{\mathbf{j}})$ doc#0 ilence the two women for two activists' histo	ory of fighting for	Saudi women's	rights.

Figure 3-1: SW's passive roles as explored in the sample study/Sketch Engine

The concordance analysis was then supplemented by a drill-down qualitative analysis of three full articles mainly reporting on women at three points in time. Aspects of van Leeuwen's (2008) detailed network of social-actor representations were applied to the data to analyse social actors subject to the study (see section 3.3.2.3 and Fig. 3.3). In addition, certain discursive strategies suggested by the discourse-historical approach were detected in the texts, e.g. referential predicational strategies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), such as 'the conservative clerics' and 'women are prohibited'; where conservativeness is ascribed to clerics whereas oppression is indirectly ascribed to women. The two approaches of corpus and discourse analysis seemed to be suitable for the study as they could both provide a relevant analytical design. This design allows examining the socio-semantic and lexico-structural dimensions in addition to considering the wider social and historical dimension that is of importance for language analysis and providing justifiable interpretations for the categorization and representation of social actors.

3.3.1. Levels of analysing representations

Most critical discourse analysts, following Fairclough (1992), examine discourse on three levels: textual, discursive and contextual. The analysis within the present study will be performed on these levels because of their importance for investigating complex representations. This multi-layered analysis of intersectional representations is a part of the original contribution of this study and will be illustrated in the following three subsections.

3.3.1.1. Textual analysis

This refers to describing and analysing the language of texts. Language features such as lexical, semantic and grammatical features will be investigated. These will first be approached using corpus tools. Corpus analysis allows examining the word frequencies and lexical items, semantic categories and grammatical structures that characterise the data. In addition, analysing keywords and clusters will help in identifying references to main systems and intersectional representations as will be illustrated in 4.4. and 4.5. Secondly, aspects of the van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actors Approach (SAA) which include tools for analysing representations are applicable to textual analysis. For example, grammatical features will be investigated using the SAA's method of role allocation, which is based on the theory of transitivity; the lexis used to

refer to social actors will be identified by looking at nomination strategies, like formal or informal forms; and semantic features will be approached by categorising the actors represented according to the semantic functions and categories ascribed to them by adjectives or nouns (see section 4.5.2.).

3.3.1.2. Discursive analysis

This investigates the processes of production and interpretation of texts (Fairclough, 1992). It is the link between text production and how this is perceived or conveyed to the audience. It describes discursive features or strategies and practices at the discursive level. Discursive strategies can be defined as intentional/planned techniques to present groups or individuals negatively or positively and which are 'adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001 p.44; Richardson and Colombo, 2014). As will be explained below in 3.3.2.3. and 3.4., SAA is a text-focused method. Therefore, the inclusion of intersectionality allows us to explore the discursive level, and to link textual production to the context. So, based on the intersectional analysis of representations, interpretations of language will be presented. At this level, social actors are looked at as the subjects or bearers of meaning, who are classified negatively or positively, as privileged or disadvantaged, and represented as powerless or powerful using different discursive strategies.

3.3.1.3. Social context

This level refers to the circumstances in which a discursive practice is happening or in other words to a description of the background and social context surrounding the text. In the present study, in Chapter One, the background to the SW sociocultural, political and historical context is provided in the introduction. In addition, a description of the context of the discourse examined is presented by providing the background for media representations and BBC news discourse. In Chapter Eight, the results of the discourse analysis will be interpreted and explained in relation to the wider context. The production and interpretation of texts will then be related to the social context along with an explanation of the potential social effects resulting from the discursive practices.

In the present study, however, the analysis is not conducted in stages. Rather, the investigation is iterative, moving between the textual and discursive analysis in all the analytical chapters while the relationship between the levels is focused on in the discussion chapter.

3.3.2. Approaches and tools

In this section, the analytical framework including the approaches, theoretical concepts and tools used to analyse the data will be described, while the procedure for applying them to the data will be illustrated separately in section 3.5. A mixed-method approach is followed, where three approaches from different disciplines are combined to analyse the data. The importance and reason for this combination will be explained in 3.4 after reviewing the three approaches.

In order to conduct an intersectional discursive analysis, a toolkit using methods from intersectionality, CL and the van Leeuwen's (2008) SAA was assembled. These three approaches and selected tools will be explained in the following three subsections.

3.3.2.1. Intersectional Approach

Intersectionality is used in this study as a theory and a method of analysis. The study is an endeavour to confirm that intersectionality, as a theory and method, can be applied in discourse analysis to recognise complex representations. In recent few studies on intersectionality in discourse, findings have proved the value of adopting an intersectional perspective in discourse analysis (e.g. Baker and Levon, 2016; Hunt and Jaworska, 2019). The present study agrees on the importance of adopting an intersectional perspective when analysing discourse and on the essentiality of conducting an intersectional analysis when addressing social issues. However, this study is different from other studies and innovative in the full engagement of and the focus on intersectionality as a theory and an analytical tool using different approaches and tools as well be explained in the section at hand; and on different levels of analysis as will be shown throughout the thesis. Intersectionality is adopted in this study as it provides an analytical framework that allows better understanding of how multiple factors work in discourse to present advantaged and disadvantaged representations, the thing that cannot be achieved by the single dimension approaches. It is a critical theory that questions social problems by raising and analysing them from an objective perspective; it approaches the complexity of the social
representations not by focusing on one aspect, but by looking at all the relevant aspects. In addition, it is a suitable tool for discursive analysis since representations form one of the important types of social discrimination that need investigation (Crenshaw, 1989). These facets of intersectionality make it a suitable theory and tool that will contribute to achieving the aim of the study and critically adressing the research question about the complex representation of SW. More justification for selecting three aspects of this approach is presented in the following sections.

As discussed in Chapter 2, theoretically, intersectionality recognises identity as a complex entity that is positioned at the nexus of social aspects like gender or race (McCall, 2005). In discourse, identity is represented and positioned in the co-text as a result of the represented dynamic intersecting aspects (Weldon, 2008) and is accordingly classified as advantaged or disadvantaged in the co-text. This study intends to operationalise such concepts through the developed methodology. Specifically, as a method of analysis, complex representations of systems and subjects will be analysed and related to the intersectional social context using a combination of intersectional and discursive approaches and analytical features, as explained below. To examine the applicability of intersectionality to analyse discourse, an approach is designed that uses three intersectional methods. These methods are combined with other corpus and discourse analysis tools to analyse social representations (see section 3.5). The three intersectional methods are the Inter-categorical Approach (McCall, 2005), the Systemic Approach (Prins, 2006) and the Process-centred Approach (Choo and Ferree, 2010). Combining these particular aspects or methods of intersectionality facilitates describing and comparing different representations of men and women (inter-categorical), how they are linked to and shaped by systems (systemic) and why their representations and positions are different or changing throughout discourse (process-centred).

a) Inter-categorical method

While embracing an anti-essentialist perspective on identity construction, the inter-categorical approach does not accept an anti-categorical stance, which focuses on one group and does not consider points of intersection with other groups (McCall, 2005). More precisely, the inter-categorical approach assumes different social categories which require analysis to strategically document power relationships and inequalities amongst them. In this way, it is different from

the intra-categorical approach which focuses on a single aspect of a single social group or category (ibid.), e.g. focusing only on working-class Asian women and excluding other categories or subcategories of Asian women, e.g. high-class Asian women. In this study, within the inter-categorical frame, the different representations of SW will be investigated and compared to each other and to other represented social categories found in the data, i.e. other non-SW and Saudi men. Comparing the social categories in discourse does not mean that the inter-categorical approach is not critical. Rather, it intends to address social divisions by highlighting and criticising the social problem of inequality via strategic comparisons of social groups (Prins, 2006). Thus, the identification of social categories in discourse is a central aspect of this approach and needs more illustration.

Social categories in discourse

As mentioned in 2.4.2.2., social categories are complex and dynamic (McCall, 2005) and should be considered in social studies when applying an intersectional approach. Since discourse is a reflection of what is taking place in the real life, the intersectional representations may have a role in advantaging or disadvantaging the referred to social actors or, in other words, representing the social actors as more or less negative or positive in discourse. For example, the language used to represent a high-class man located in an important political position could be more or less positive than the language used to represent a working-class woman.

In the present study, social categories are created social groups that are represented and categorised based on the shared features that are assigned to them by the journalist or the reporter. Identifying the social categories in the present study will be constrained by the research question and the data content, which will help in limiting and specifying these categories. More specifically, in this study, identifying the social categories of women and men will be based on the linguistic and social aspects found in the data to represent and construct different types of gender identity, e.g. female activists, male clerics, female victims and male relatives. Accordingly, I will identify men and women of different social categories and compare them in an attempt to conduct the analysis within an inter-categorical approach frame. The identities of each social category will be analysed on two intersectional levels, namely, systems and subjects, as demonstrated by the systemic method explained in the next section.

These two levels will then be related to the macro contextual level in the interpretations of the results that will be provided in Chapter Eight.

b) Systemic method

This intersectional method focuses on the influence of systems identities representations and their social experiences. As mentioned in 2.4.2.1, it aims to identify and analyse systems of marginalization and domination (e.g. racism, culturalism) and their effect on shaping advantaged or disadvantaged identities. In this sense, individuals are passive bearers of meanings of social categories and consequently are more or less privileged subjects (Prins, 2006). In this study, systems and subjects are two central components that should be recognised and analysed when exploring representations.

Systems

The term system is used in this study as one of the two components of intersectional representation: systems and subjects. At the representational level, systems refer to represented social systems or aspects of systems which intersect in discourse and create privileged or disadvantaged images and, hence, are responsible for creating divisions amongst social categories within the discursive context. In the data, systems can be explicitly or implicitly referred to through language use, and this will be revealed by the analysis in the analytical chapters: Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven.

Subjects

As mentioned earlier in 2.4.2.1., being a subject means being located in a more or less privileged social position as a result of interaction amongst systems of domination and marginalization. When doing linguistic analysis, the concept of social actors will be used to refer to the subjects on the textual level. According to van Leeuwen (2008), 'social actors' refers to participants within discourse, individuals and groups who perform different actions and have variable degrees of power as agents or patients (see section 3.3.2.3 for more information about van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach). The use of the concept of social actors will distinguish the passive and active roles of social actors at the textual level from their roles as passive bearers of meaning at the discursive level.

Drawing on this approach in the present discursive study, the social categories represented are viewed as subjects that play no role in constructing their identities. Rather, they are linked to and controlled by dynamic social systems (e.g. nationality, gender, or class) constructed in the discursive process. In the following subsection, the process of systems construction will be explained.

c) Process-centred method

This method focuses on processes and power relations when performing intersectional analysis and claims that power is both dynamic and relational (Choo and Ferree, 2010; Lutz, Vivar, and Supik, 2011, p.8). Following this intersectional approach in discourse studies necessitates viewing the discursive production of a system, e.g. gender, as linked to the production of other relevant social systems (Weldon, 2008), e.g. a specific culture or place. When analysing systems and subjects, I do not presume that systems are static social categories that intersect to create fixed individual experiences or representations as proposed by Crenshaw (1991). Rather, I consider them to be dynamic and variable dimensions that work together within one unit to produce different and changing social positionings in discourse. Thus, I will go beyond the investigation of gender as a single system and attempt to explore other systems or features of systems that are strategically manipulated in the text to create different "gendered positionings" (Levon, 2015, p. 302). For example, many positions will be produced by the represented interactions of race and gender, creating racialised and or genderised representations for: black men and black women and white men and white women. This approach will allow exploring the different representations and social positions provided in discourse and contribute to interpretations of the included linguistic and discursive practices.

Having illustrated the methods of the intersectional approach, I will now move on to explaining the corpus approach, followed by the discourse qualitative approach, which are combined with the intersectional approach to analyse the data.

3.3.2.2. Corpus Approach

The corpus analysis will partially contribute to addressing the first, second and third research questions about social actors and systems. It enables pinpointing and collecting items that refer to social systems and subjects and contributes to classifying and grouping social categories, such as female activists, male royals and female political figures, as will be shown in the analytical chapters. Once the corpus analysis has been run, the data resulting from the corpus analysis (i.e. the identified actors and systems) are ready for the next stage of intersectional discursive analysis. For this, different corpus tools and methods are used, as will be explained in the following subsections.

a) Corpus Tools

The texts which amounted to 79,927 words, were uploaded to and analysed with the help of the software tools Wmatrix (Rayson, 2009) and Sketch Engine (Kilgariff, et al., 2004).⁸ Both tools provide methods like collocation, keywords and concordance lines to analyse semantic and lexico-structural linguistic features.

Wmatrix tool (Rayson, 2009) tags texts using the UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS), which provides 232 semantic category labels and 21 major discourse domains⁹ (further discussion of semantic domains is given below). It compares corpora based on concepts identified by a semantic tag set rather than individual lexical items. This feature is useful to produce key concepts that represent the semantic categories involved in the data, which will then go under the semantic macrostructural analysis (see section 4.4). The semantic analysis will help in addressing a central component of the first research question around the dimensions of a complex system as will be shown in the semantic category analysis in Chapter Four.

Sketch Engine proves to be more useful for this study. It offers a variety of methods for pinpointing, calculating and categorising the social aspects and actors. The methods of this tool that are used are wordlist, keywords, collocates wordsketch and concordance lines. Using these methods to analyse the data is an important step in addressing each of the second and third questions which involve finding social actors in the data. Sketch Engine is also useful for sketching the functional forms of words and offering more insights into the grammatical

⁸ Web-based corpus tools which offer a range of functions to explore how language in large collections of data works.

⁹ USAS stands for the UCREL Semantic Analysis System. For details see the UCREL (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language) website http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk.

structure of texts. Grammatical analysis is essential for addressing the second and fourth questions by contributing to identifying the roles and agency levels of social actors and consequently knowing how they are located in the social structure created.

Reference Corpora

To produce keywords, the examined corpus should be compared to a larger reference corpus. In this study, the target corpus will be compared to the reference corpora Sketch Engine's English web 2013 (enTenTen13) and to Wmatrix' BNC sampler written. The English web 2013 (enTenTen13) was selected as it is one of the large, general-purpose, web-crawled English corpora. It has large scale samples of relatively recent use on the web, with 19,685,733,337 tokens collected in 2013 in enTenTen13. In addition, it is claimed that the TenTen corpus family including the English web 2013 (enTenTen13) are built using technology specialised in collecting only linguistically valuable content (Kilgarriff et al., 2004). That is to say, not anything that the web offers is included as the data which is not suitable for the linguistic analysis is identified and discarded by considering the duplicated texts and the unwanted texts like the advertisements and post comments¹⁰.

One of the requirements of answering the first and second questions is to identify the semantic categories of the systems as well as the categories of social actors in the data. For this reason, and since the data under investigation seemed to retain a written style, Wmatrix' BNC sampler written corpus, which is composed of 1,010,690 words, is selected as a reference corpus to generate the semantic analysis. It produces the results by USAS tagger which tags the data by the semantic fields.¹¹ Another advantage is that it is tagged using a detailed tag set where all the word-class tags assigned to words have been manually checked. When necessary, any mistakes are corrected. Thus, the number of errors in word-class tagging is minimised. In addition, as suggested by experience, a small-scale BNC such as the Sampler is a more convenient corpus for application and research purposes than the whole 100-million-word (British National Corpus, 2009).

¹⁰ For more details see <u>https://www.sketchengine.eu/blog/build-a-corpus-from-the-web/</u>

¹¹ http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/semtags_subcategories.txt (accessed on April 6, 2019).

b) Corpus methods

As mentioned in 3.3.2.2, the corpus approach will be based on to pinpoint, collect, identify and categorise social actors and systems that exist in the compiled corpus. In the following, an explanation of the corpus methods employed is provided.

Frequency

A word frequency list is a list of all the words in a corpus displayed with their frequencies in it (Baker, 2006). Considering and examining word frequency according to standardized criteria can make sense of the language, especially when comparing the language of two data sets or corpora (ibid.). Such exploration of frequency leads to avoiding analyst bias when identifying important items (Widdowson, 1998; Handford, 2010). This feature gives the frequencies of both function (e.g. prepositions and conjunctions) and content words (e.g. nouns and verbs) found in the corpus. Excluding function words, a list of the most frequent words will be examined as an initial step in the analysis to have a general idea about the main focus of the texts and to help in identifying the most frequent items and gendered terms. Given that frequency lists have proved to be an appropriate method to investigate relatively small corpora (Sigley and Holmes, 2002), applying it to investigate the corpus built for this study seems feasible. I will study words with a frequency of ten or more in the built corpus. However, many assumptions based on keyness and frequency counts, e.g., the identification of the semantic categories and the social actors' categories, should not be relied on. Rather, these could be considered a starting point in the analysis (Baker, 2014), and thus a manual examination of the key and most frequent items is needed. Additional knowledge about the data could be obtained through other corpus tools such as keywords and collocations.

Keywords

Keywords can be defined as words that characterise a corpus when compared to another larger specialised or general corpus (Scott, 1999; Baker et al., 2008; Baker, 2012). For Scott (1997) a keyword is defined as "a word which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text. This does not mean high frequency but unusual frequency, by comparison with a reference corpus of some kind" (p. 236). Keywords analysis aims to identify the main semantic themes and central items of the corpus examined (Scott, 1999; Baker et al., 2008). In this study I use two types of

software for analysing keyness, Wmatrix (Rayson, 2008) and Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2014). This is because, as I explain below, Wmatrix enables semantic category analysis, whereas Sketch Engine produces key clusters (both produce lists of keywords). Whereas Wmatrix uses a notion of statistical significance when calculating keyness, as explained below, Sketch Engine employs the notion of simple maths.¹²

In my study, Wmatrix is mainly used to identify the key semantic categories that exist in the corpus. Therefore, when using the Wmatrix corpus tool, more focus is placed on analysing the key semantic categories while keywords are checked briefly. The semantic categories are composed of concepts that exist in the target corpus and are identified as key when compared to those of the reference corpus. The concepts emerge from the key words that are tagged and grouped into semantic categories based on their shared semantic components (more detail is given in the following subsection). By conducting key semantic categories analysis in Wmatrix, it is aimed to explore the themes as well as the social dimensions that are associated with the social actors in discourse as will be shown in the analysis in section 4.4.

Single key words and key clusters, which are composed of two or three items that tend to frequently occur together, are produced and analysed using the keywords and multi-keywords functions provided by Sketch Engine. The key clusters method is helpful in exploring relations amongst clustered words from an intersectional perspective, e.g. 'ultra-conservative Islamic state'.

Semantic categories description is presented in detail in the following section, while the analysis of SWC semantic categories is presented in section 4.4. of Chapter Four.

Semantic categories

The semantic category in discourse is the group of key concepts which share one or more semantic components. For example, *female* and *male* belong to the semantic category of People, while *Saudi, London, Arabic* and *Asian* belong to the Geographical Names domain. Another example is the *concepts young, old, elderly*, and *youngster* which belong to the semantic category of Age. In terms of investigating large number of texts, Wmatrix provides the function of grouping the key concepts into 21 major discursive categories based on the semantic

¹² (See <u>https://www.sktchengine.eu/documenation/simple-maths/</u>).

annotation, e.g. Media, People, Law and Order.¹³ In the present study, by using Wmatrix software, semantic annotation for the data will be conducted employing USAS in order to identify the main semantic categories. Building on the semantic classification of the key concepts into semantic categories, I introduce a novel method for identifying categories of key concepts that refer to the basic dimensions of the Saudi complex system (see section 4.4.). This identification of social dimensions will be achieved based on the semantic categories that include words referring to aspects of social dimensions, e.g. words like *male, female, men women, patriarchal* and *sex* will be grouped under the Gender dimension. This will enable investigating each category in isolation and comparing it to the other ones as will be shown in section 4.4.

In order to examine the semantic categories, keywords and key concepts in the data are systematically identified using Wmatrix. The key concepts are produced by Wmatrix's semantic annotation with its unique built-in USAS (see corpus tools p.60). This tagging system allocates each item of the data into a specific field based on the semantic inference. The keyness of the items (both key words and key domains composed of key concepts) in Wmatrix is measured by applying the log-likelihood measuring test. It is a measure that allows a comparison of the frequency of words and concepts occurring in the two corpora. When the keyness analysis is run in Wmatrix, the two compared lists of words and/or semantic categories including concepts frequencies are displayed in a contingency table (Rayson, 2008), where the loglikelihood of each item is presented as a number. The value of this number represents the difference between the items in the target and the reference corpora: the higher the value, the more significant the difference is, while the value of zero means that there is a perfect match in keyness.

In the present study, when using Wmatrix, for a concept to be considered 'key' in the target corpus it should have a frequency of ≥ 3 and a log-likelihood value of 3.84, which represents the p value of <0.05. In other words, the semantic category should include at least three key concepts and a log-likelihood value of 3.84. This standard is controlled and determined in accordance with the aim of conducting the semantic category analysis, i.e., finding the semantic

¹³ (see: <u>http://stig.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix3/semtags.html</u> for the full list).

categories composed of words that are important in investigating the Saudi identity. Applying this standard, I could produce a quantity of about 10,858 words that can be investigated and managed manually when doing the subsequent investigation of the social categories (see Table 4-1).

Collocates

Collocates can be defined simply as two or more words that are frequently used near to each other within a text (Sinclair, 1991), although there are a variety of ways of defining them (McEnery and Hardie, 2012), as discussed here. Searching for and examining collocations is important in the analysis as meaning is not conveyed by words in isolation, but rather full meaning stems from the re-occurrence of items with other words or structures in the text (Sinclair, 2004; McEnery and Hardie, 2012). This co-occurrence may reflect idiomatic as well as structural consistencies in a given language, and furthermore can reveal cultural connotations and assumptions (Stubbs, 1996, p.172).

The majority of corpus linguistics researchers have adopted Sinclair's +/- 4 span for collocates to the left and right of the node examined. However, as claimed by McEnery and Hardie, an imperfect idea of the relation between a word and its meaning might be given if a short span is applied (2012, p.129). In other words, collocates determination is not simply based on the co-occurrence of a word within a specific span but through examining the maximum span to filter it and examine its statistical significance (Sinclair, 2004; McEnery and Hardie, 2012). Statistical significance is largely controlled by the length of a text, the number of times each word appears in the text and the frequency of words' co-occurrence together (Sinclair, 2004; Baker et al., 2008; Blommaert, 2008). In my study, I chose to maximize the collocates span +/- 5 to the right and left of the node because significant lexical collocation is more likely to occur within this range (Al-Hejin, 2012).

Word sketch

It is an advanced function which gives a "one page summary of a word's grammatical and collocation behaviour" and how the node is grammatically related to other surrounding words (Kilgarriff et al., 2014). Gatto (2014) claimed that this function allows researchers to use the tool for investigating the data at the high standards required for linguistic investigations (p.

178). The word sketch function will be used to explore the generic category of SW, in order to see how they are described and how and what roles are allocated to this group (see section 5.3).

Concordance lines

A concordance can be defined as "a list of all of the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the co-text they occur in, usually a few words to the right and left of the term" (Baker, 2006, p. 71). This corpus method is very useful in exploring and comparing recurrent linguistic practices at the lexico-grammatical level (Handford, 2010). It is important to investigate this language level in the analysis at hand "to make inferences about the social practices of the community or communities in question" (Handford, 2014, pp. 316-317). Investigating maximised concordance line allows knowing how social actors are evaluated and positioned in discourse, which is considered a social practice, and relating that to the wider context. In addition, checking the co-occurrence of a certain collocation of a word in concordance lines is useful at the semantic level as it gives a clearer meaning of this item or word within the co-text. Concordance lines method is also flexible as it enables exploring language surrounding the word if more context is needed. This is achieved by maximising the concordance line and display discourse surrounding the target item for more exploration of the co-text.

Discourse prosody

A prosody was first proposed by Sinclair to indicate a language feature which extends over a group of words (1991, p.112). It is also referred to as semantic prosody (Louw, 1993), discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2001), and emotive prosody (Bulblitz, 2003). As a concept, semantic prosody arises from corpus linguistics to indicate the behaviour of a lexical keyword as observed in the discursive context of concordance lines (Sinclair, 2003, as cited in Hunston, 2007).

Stubbs defines the discourse prosody as "the relation, not between individual words, but between a lemma or word-form and a set of semantically related words" (2001, p.65). In this sense the meaning is recognised from the context surrounding and including the word not from the word by itself. He argues that "the whole point of an utterance may be to express the speaker's attitude, evaluation and point of view" and thus are encoded in the prosody (2001, p.198).

Hunston (2007) differentiates between views in conceptualising and using the semantic prosody. The different views agree on looking at the meaning as expressed by a unit larger than the word. However, they are different in many ways. Some semantic proponents like Partington (2004) find that the meaning stems from the word, which is "a feature that distinguishes nearsynonyms" while others like Sinclair (2004) consider the word as a basic part of a longer unit of language that involves a sequence of reoccurring-words (Hunston, 2009, p. 250). The core word together with the reoccurring sequence of words form the unit of meaning. Another difference is shown by Partington's claims about the distinction between the positive and negative semantic attitudes that associate the semantic prosody (2004). This view was criticised because of the difficulty to describe the prosody as bad or good, which leads to scaling the meaning of the word into more or less expressing favourable or unfavourable prosody based on the reoccurrence of this word in bad or good contexts. A third difference is the "extent to which semantic prosody carries over from one context to another" (Hunston, 2007, p.250). In other words, when the item is frequently used with a negative or positive prosody in a specific context, that resulting prosody will affect the interpretation when this item occurs in a different context. Adopting this view might be suitable for the studies which examine large corpora or compare two or more corpora sets to check the change or effect of the prosody in different contexts. For this reason, this view will be avoided in the present study because of the limited size of the corpus which is specialised to answer the research question.

In the present study, the semantic prosody as a method will be applied to uncover the hidden meaning and to see how the three dimensions are evaluated in the data. More precisely, the keywords and the most frequent words that refer to the dimensions of the Saudi system, i.e., Nationality, Religion and Gender, will be studied within the frame of semantic prosody. This will be achieved drawn on the general view that the meaning is expressed by a unit larger than the word besides Partington's (2004) view that the lexical item obtains a favourable or unfavourable prosody based on its frequent occurrences in bad, neutral or good contexts.

3.3.2.3. Social Actors Approach (SAA)

Media language is an important factor in constructing our everyday world and our expectations about it by representing actors and actions in its patterns of discourse (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

Related to this, van Leeuwen (2009, p.148) claims that discourse is a "recontextualization of social practice". Thus, he observes various participants within discourse as represented social actors who perform different actions and have variable degrees of power. He argues that, within the theory of transitivity, there is no fit between linguistic and sociological categories in the process of categorising participants. Therefore, he proposed a detailed network (see Fig. 3-2) to analyse social actors in discourse based on used sociological and linguistic features. The outlined network illustrates the depiction of social actors and recognises the linguistic strategies used to represent them (2008). It provides the study with tools for the critical textual analysis of the sociosemantic representations, which allow identifying who is included and excluded, how the included actors are identified and categorised and how roles are allocated to them, the strategies that cannot be provided by a single critical approach. Additionally, this approach allows grammatical categorisation of social actors' roles as passive or active, which is effective in exploring the represented social relations amongst actors and in this way contributes to answering the second and fourth research questions. In this way, SAA seems to be the suitable CDA tool that when combined with intersectionality will form a useful methodological synergy for analysing intersectional representations in discourse (see sections 3.4. and 3.5 to see how it is combined with intersectionality to analyse representations).



Figure 3-2: Social Actors Network (van Leeuwen, 2008)

For the study at hand, some aspects that are of key importance to analyse the data and contribute to answering the research question about SW representation are selected from this network and outlined in Figure 3-3, namely, exclusion and inclusion, determination, and role allocation.



Figure 3-3: Aspects adopted from SAA to analyse social actors

a) Exclusion and inclusion (van Leeuwen 2008, pp. 28, 32)

Exclusion and inclusion are basic aspects that should be primarily explored in social representations. Exclusion is established through suppression or backgrounding, while suppression means the total deletion of a social actor. Backgrounding happens when a participant is not directly associated with a given activity but rather is mentioned somewhere in the text (van Leeuwen, 1996). Within this approach, the social actors included are determined and analysed via strategies of nominalisation, pronominalisation and categorisation (van Leeuwen, 2008).

b) Determination of Included Social Actors (van Leeuwen,2008, pp. 40-45) Nominal determination

Social actors are determined and identified in discourse based on the nomination strategies used to represent their unique identity. As shown in Figure 3, one of the strategies used to nominate social actors is by mentioning proper names to indicate a specific identity, whether formal (e.g. address form + surname), semi-formal (name + surname) or informal (name only).

Pronominal Determination

This is another method used to refer to social actors in their unique identity. Pronouns are used to refer to a previously mentioned name or specified identity. In the analysis, I will only focus on third-person singular pronouns: he, she, her and him, and third-person plural pronouns, they and them.¹⁴ These are particularly important because analysing gender pronouns will contribute to identifying and categorising the social actors subject to study and the roles allocated to them in the examined discourse.

Categorical Determination

Social actors can be determined and categorised according to what they are or what they do based on three types of categorisation, which are identification, functionalisation and appraisement. The identification aspect refers to three ways of featuring social actors. The first one is when they are featured according to their belongingness to a specific group, such as their gender or age. Another form of identification is relational identification which refers to relations amongst social actors, e.g. a family member, friend or colleague. The third form is physical identification which refers to the physical features of a social actor, e.g. tall, blond or fat, or physically well-dressed, ill-dressed or naked. Functionalisation indicates identifying individuals or groups in terms of what they do, their activities, functions, jobs or roles, e.g. reformers, teachers, activists or carers. The appraisement strategy refers to representing social actors in terms of being bad or good, negative or passive, criminal or innocent, violent or gentle.

c) Role allocation, passivation and activation (van Leeuwen 2008, pp. 32-35)

This strategy refers to the process of assigning roles to social actors, which will be thoroughly analysed in the data. It is a process drawing on systemic functional linguistics in which semantic roles are assigned to a variety of participants at the sentence level (Rashidi & Rasti, 2012, p.3). The roles of actors might be realized in transitivity structures (drawing on Halliday's theory of transitivity (1985); or the transitivity system in which activated participants work as actors in material processes, behavers in behavioural processes, sensers in mental processes, assigners in relational processes and sayers in verbal processes (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2013, pp. 179-

¹⁴ I am not looking at 'they' and 'them' as nonbinary pronouns because there are no mentions of trans-rights or homosexuals in the texts.

259). According to van Leeuwen, however, social actors' roles of participation are realised as activated or passivated by strategies other than their systemic grammatical functions as agents or patients. For example, realizing an actor's passivity is not displayed only by being a patient within a sentence, but by positioning them as a passive subject in a passive voice sentence (e.g. they were obliged). Another linguistic way of expressing the passivity of an actor is by being located in a sentence as a recipient of benefits from the action, and this may be expressed by prepositional phrases including for and to (e.g. more work opportunities are opened up for women). Additionally, passive actors can be realized by circumstantialization, through for example a prepositional phrase starting with against (e.g. attitudes against ethnic groups); or by adjectival premodification, as in van Leeuwen's (2008) example of "racial tolerance" where people of different races are passivated and abstracted at the same time (p.34). On the other hand, there are more ways to realize an actor's active role, other than agency in the sentence, such as circumstantialization by using the prepositional circumstantials by or from (e.g. he received a shot from an enemy); premodification (e.g. international support); postmodification (e.g. the production of Europeans); possessivation within a prepositional phrase with of to postmodify the noun (e.g. a good intake of workers was expected last year).

The analysis of how roles are allocated to social actors is of importance to investigate, identity and show who has agency over whom at the sentence level. Furthermore, analysing allocated roles explores levels of agency according to the activated, passivated, and beneficialised roles of social actors who will then be classified as powerful, less powerful or powerless within the created social context. Thus, SAA is of importance in exploring how social actors are represented and in terms of their identities and roles, which contributes to addressing the second, third and fourth questions.

3.4. Why are CL, Intersectionality and SAA combined?

Critical discourse analysis has been criticised for examining short texts or a small number of texts qualitatively and making interpretations based on that, which might raise the likelihood of subjectivity and researcher's bias (Stubbs,1994; Widdowson, 1998). To minimise bias, I created a corpus by using different strings of words referring to SW to run a search and generate all articles published within a ten-year period (2008–18). This resulted in data that were too large to conduct an in-depth qualitative analysis. Therefore, I will support my qualitative

analysis and findings by conducting corpus linguistic analysis, which implements a more quantitative methodology (Baker, 2006, p.1) and enables dealing with and analysing large numbers of texts. However, subjectivity cannot be totally avoided when showing quantitative results or even when mixing quantitative with qualitative analyses as the researcher still needs to interpret and evaluate such linguistic statistical information (Baker, 2012). Nevertheless, the corpus-assisted methodology used in this research could help to reduce such bias (Baker, 2006; Mautner, 2009) besides supporting the researcher's intuition by triangulating other qualitative analysis (Baker et al., 2008; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008). In the pilot study (see section 3.3), employing keywords and collocation methods contributes to identifying and categorizing social systems and subjects existing in the data, which is of intrinsic value to answering the second research question about SW's intersectional identity and which would not be feasible had we only qualitatively examined a small number of texts. Accordingly, I can say that the corpus analysis may give a first impression about the semantic domains and identity groups within the represented social structure, and additionally highlight the linguistic features associated with such identities within the examined co-text. Furthermore, as grammatical structure is of key importance in my study (as it addresses the second, third, and fourth questions by identifying the roles and agency allocated to social actors), different grammatical patterns, word functions and forms can be investigated. This is achieved by employing structural approaches to collocation, such as the word sketch method which identifies parts of speech of words.

SAA has proved to be a fruitful approach for analysing textual representations of social actors and identity in discourse (Koller, 2012; Potts and Weare, 2018), and for supporting and qualitatively analysing the corpus results in some discourse studies (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Krendel, 2020). However, SAA may not be as critical as it claims to be, since it does not sufficiently investigate how these representations are further related to social practices (AlMaghlouth, 2017). It mainly deals with the lexical and grammatical textual levels, besides the semantic meaning, of texts without focusing on the wider sociopolitical and historical contexts. The intersectional critical approach, by contrast, has an interest in relating the discursive production of texts to the wider social level in order to best describe and explain the texts, symbols, representations and images surrounding the social issue examined. To this end, the intersectional approach will be combined with the other two approaches (i.e. corpus approach and SAA) to analyse the discourse (as a social practice) surrounding system-subject representations. Relating the textual level to the discursive and social contexts will be shown throughout the analysis conducted in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven and in the discussion and interpretation of the results of these analyses provided in Chapter Eight.

Having presented the reasons for combining these approaches, in the following section, further explanation of the levels of the analytical process is provided in the subsequent section.

3.5. Procedure (How are CL, Intersectionality and SAA combined?)

3.5.1. Semantic categories

The first step in the analysis is corpus linguistic analysis, which will present statistical quantitative information and give a preliminary idea of the semantic categories. This will be achieved with the help of frequency and keywords methods. Using Wmatrix corpus tools, I will first identify the main semantic categories or domains by producing keywords. The keywords are automatically counted and categorised into semantic domains using the corpus tool. These domains can be visualised via a semantic domains cloud which display items of single words and clusters of different sizes to represent the quantity of items belonging to each domain, the bigger the size of the item the more words it includes (Fig.4.3.). After checking these lists of words manually to make sure that the included words are relevant to the proposed semantic domain, these groups will be compared to one another and then arranged manually in a descending order according to frequency (see table 4.1). Exploring the semantic categories will help in identifying the sociosemantic domains that involve the social actors and lead to having an initial idea about the systems linked to them.

3.5.2. Social systems

To partially address the first research question about the construction of the Saudi social system, the second step in the corpus analysis (see Chapter Four) is to identify the social aspects and/or references to aspects of the social system. This will be approached using Sketch Engine. First, frequency wordlist analysis will be conducted to find the grouping with the most frequent references that indicate general systems like race, nationality, gender or religion, or even aspects of systems like patriarchal, royal, Islamic or Sunni; and to find other references that

refer to individual divisions like physical features and age. The results of this analysis will be triangulated by conducting keywords analysis.

Using Sketch Engine feature of keywords and multi-keywords, I will produce two lists of key terms: one for single keywords and another for key clusters. The first 100 items of each of the two lists will be studied to pinpoint references to the included systems and categorise them into groups. The provided key clusters list will be examined as it might tell us something about words that tend to occur together within clusters and form complex references to systems. The most interesting words will be selected for further concordance analysis, provided that they are frequent or key (Handford, 2010). As well as frequent or key terms, the methodology allows for analysing terms that are of relevance for the research questions. These are terms which are not-frequent or key in the statistical sense but rely on the salience of an item in a social, political or cultural context (Williams, 1988). In other words, while corpus-linguistic keywords are key because they are statistically significant or more typical than others (depending on the software and test used to identify and measure them), cultural keywords, though possibly of low frequency, are key because of their importance in relation to the cultural context and of their relevance to addressing the aims of the research. For example, although the word 'Sunni' is not statistically frequent in the data, it is a cultural keyword for its importance in understanding and recognising Saudi religious culture (see section 1.2). In this study, I use the term keywords for those items found using corpus tools, and cultural keywords for those items deemed worthy of further analysis due to their cultural salience. The lists of the single keywords and the key clusters produced will then be categorized into groups based on their socio-semantic categories. Examples of these categories found in BBC texts (as suggested by the pilot study) are gender, religion and nationality. The identified categories will then be qualitatively examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

3.5.3. Social actors (subjects)

As a starting point to identify representations of social subjects, it is essential to pinpoint included and excluded social actors in the text and categorise them as directed by SAA. Excluded actors will be considered and categorised as suppressed or foregrounded in the qualitative analysis only if they are relevant and important for the analysis. It is worth mentioning here that before identifying and analysing social actors using corpus tool, references

to all actors will be marked up manually throughout the data for gender and category based on van Leeuwen's strategies of identification and functionalisation (see section 3.3.2.3). This will allow them to be quantified and identified in the corpus. Once this step is completed, all included social actors will be counted by overviewing the frequency list produced by Sketch Engine and finding all references to social actors. Words which have ten or more hits in the corpus will be included in the analysis. The resulting list of words will then be manually analysed and categorised into groups sharing similar features based on van Leeuwen's (2008) strategies of nomination and categorization (see Fig. 2, section 3.3.2.3). This method will prepare these groups of social actors for a close intersectional in-depth analysis within longer extracts in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

3.5.4. Generic social categories

The previous step of the corpus analysis of frequency list and keywords is expected to result in different socio-semantic groups as found in the pilot study: social system aspects, e.g. religion, social groups: general categories, e.g. women or men, and subcategories which include individual actors determined by names, pronouns or functions, e.g. 'Eman, a female campaigner, he'. The next step is to conduct an in-depth analysis for the resulting categories. The analysis will be divided into two parts: analysing the general categories of social actors and analysing sub-categories including individual social actors. As is generally known, collocational analysis is fruitful when the words under investigation are high in frequency. Therefore, the collocational method will be applicable to analysing references to general systems and general social actors which will be conducted in Chapter Five.

First, collocates associating references to the Saudi social system will be analysed to recognise how these references are represented and evaluated as having favourable, neutral or unfavourable prosody within the text. Then, randomly selected concordance lines that include any of these references as a node will be analysed qualitatively to see how they are constructed. Secondly, representations of the general categories of social actors, i.e. women and men, will be explored by using the corpus methods of collocation and word sketch to see the specific locations of actors within sentences as subjects, objects, possessors or beneficiaries (for, to + actor) (van Leeuwen, 2008). The word sketch method (Kilgariff et al., 2004) will display nouns, adjectives and verbs that collocate with actors and may contribute to identifying process types involving them. The most interesting collocates of 'women' and language patterns associating references to this group will be analysed within concordance lines. Further randomly selected concordance lines with nodes referring to this general group will be examined at the lexical, semantic and grammatical levels to explore the language surrounding men and women and to see how they are positioned within texts. Roles that are allocated to these actors will be explored and categorised drawing on aspects of van Leeuwen's approach, i.e. activation, passivation and beneficialisation (2008, pp. 32-35).

3.5.5. Specified subcategories

The subcategories, which are originally composed of references to individual actors that are collected and then manually classified into groups according to their ascribed features, will be analysed in separate chapters: Chapter Six and Chapter Seven. Randomly selected extracts including references to individuals will be analysed to see how their identities are constructed and how roles are allocated to them. The identities of individual social actors will be analysed using strategies of identification and functionalisation, whereas the roles allocated to them will be explored by using activation and passivation methods. In addition, further analysis of agency will be conducted by examining process types to categorise the types of roles allocated as powerful, less powerful or powerless. The processes involving actors from each subcategory will be classified into material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational or existential (Halliday, 1985, Ch.5). the textual analysis will be linked to the discursive analysis, which is analysed based on the intersectional representations and their role in producing different images for the subcategories. The systems produced and linked to the identities of these subcategories will be explored in the analysis to look at the linguistic relations between systems and subjects and their relation to intersectionality. The final step is to compare these subcategories for unequal representations and discursive practices.

3.6. Summary

In this chapter, two important parts of the study have been discussed: data and methodology. In the data section, the data selection, collection sampling and the process of building the corpus were explained. In the methodology part, three points were discussed; the levels of analysis, the methods and approaches employed to analyse the data and the procedure for using these approaches. Having explained the design of the methodology of the study, the next four chapters will be devoted to conducting the analysis using these methods. The next chapter is corpus analysis which will pinpoint and identify social actors and basic social systems in the collected discourse.

4. CHAPTER FOUR: CORPUS INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSYIS

4.1. Introduction

This is the first of four data-analysis chapters in this thesis. The chapter aims to partially address the first, second and third research questions. Concerning the first and second questions, the corpus analysis presented in this chapter will identify references to systems or features of systems, and references to SW in BBC news discourse. In addition, it will contribute to identifying other (sub)categories that are associated with the category of SW, which is part of the third question. The answers to these questions will be complemented by the qualitative analysis presented in the next three chapters as it is explained in each of them. In the present chapter, different methods of corpus analysis, intersectionality and selected aspects of van Leeuwen's social actors' network are combined to contribute to answering these questions (see Chapter Three). Before identifying the social actors and references to systems, the primary impression of the data is suggested by investigating the texts production overtime as well as identifying the main topics in the examined discourse.

4.2. Texts production over time

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the collected data set is composed of 178 articles produced between 2008 and 2018 which form Saudi women corpus (SWC). The corpus is a specialised one as it is built with the aim of studying BBC online news scripts on SW within a specified period to see how this group is represented. Figure 4-1 shows the distribution and trend of the published texts over time.



Figure 4-1: BBC reports on Saudi women over time (2008 – Jan. 2019)

The above graph shows fluctuations in articles production between 2008 and 2019. There is a sudden increase in the number of texts in 2017, with the peak in October 2018. This trend reflects the active reporting after the royal decree lifting the driving ban on SW. However, as shown in the chart, the coverage suddenly dropped by the end of October 2018. This was due to a newsworthy event, the case of the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was killed in Turkey. The case attracted the interest of international journalism with about 20 articles being broadcast by BBC in the last two months of 2018. However, the reporting on women resumed at the beginning of 2019 with a total of five articles reporting on an 18-year-old Saudi woman who fled from her family and was granted asylum in Canada on 12 January. In the next section, a description of the macrostructural level of the examined discourse is presented.

4.3. Topics of SWC

The SWC is likely to contain topics or themes or what van Dijk calls macrostructures (1988) across the texts. Macrostructures are defined by van Dijk (1988) as topics that belong to the comprehensive macrolevel of discourse, or in other words, themes that are generally recognised in discourse. These semantic themes or topics are not denoted by isolated words or sentences but are given in terms of integrated propositions which are defined as "the smallest independent meanings constructs of language and thought" which are "typically expressed by single

sentences or clauses (p.31). For example, terrorism is a theme that is recognised, not from a single proposition, but from integrated propositions expressed by clauses or sentences and construct this theme in discourse (van Dijk, 1998). The theme of a text is not shown explicitly in the text, but included in the text as a whole and forms a coherent unity. Exploring the comprehensive macrostructural level of the data will uncover the main topics that are included and discussed in the discourse under investigation. By qualitatively analysing and coding the headlines of collected articles produced over years (see Appendix I), as well as reading through a random selection of body texts, it is found that there is a variety of topics discussed in these texts. Generally speaking, there is no specific topic that distinguishes one year from another except for the last two years. Throughout the examined period, the driving ban on women takes the lead as the most reported issue. It attracted journalists' interest as a symbol of gender discrimination in Saudi Arabia. This topic was extensively addressed in 2017 and 2018, and lifting the ban was referred to as a historical event. Although other political events took place earlier, giving SW the right to vote in municipal elections and involving them in the political council, these were not thoroughly covered, unlike the case of driving. Other topics concern women's rights and the system of guardianship, besides other laws imposed on women. On the other hand, some texts nominate individual women who are portrayed as trendsetters and positioned as unique pioneers in their society, being acknowledged for their distinguished activities or experiences for the first time. Many articles are devoted to narrating the experiences of other individual women who have gone through difficult experiences and faced social issues within the two social contexts of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom.

In the following section, I will move to exploring the semantic categories that characterise the data and shed more light on topics and domains of the discourse.

4.4. Key semantic categories analysis

In order to examine the semantic categories, keywords and key domains in the data are systematically identified using WMatrix.

As mentioned in section 3.3.2.2., although there are other tests, log-likelihood is preferred to calculate the keyness when using Wmatrix, because it measures the difference by considering

the frequency of a word in relation to total words in the target corpus and then compares these to corresponding values in the reference corpus (Rayson, 2008). It is also mentioned in the same section that the keyness is standardised at a frequency of ≥ 3 and a log-likelihood value of 3.84. Applying this, I produced and compared two lists of keywords and two lists of semantic categories. However, in this section, the focus of the analysis is on the semantic categories in an attempt to investigate the social dimension such as gender or race.

Figure 4-2 displays individual keywords while Figure 4-3 displays individual words or clusters to indicate key domains in the corpus. The key domains are categorised based on the keywords which share conceptual meaning. These figures are produced by the Wmatrix feature of key clouds, which display items with different sizes to indicate their significance in the corpus: the bigger the item in size, the more salient it is in the data. By clicking on each item in the keywords and key domains clouds when using the corpus, a list of occurrences of similar words within concordance lines can be seen.

* 2000 a abaya abayas activist activists seed allowed also arab arabian arrested as authorities ban BBC been bin by campaign canada clerics conservative Country court detained drive drivers driving elections facebook family father female for for_the_first_time foreign from gender government guardian guardianship has hashtag her however human_rights in in_public islam islamic Jeddah king King_Abdullah king_Salman kingdom law laws lifted male media men messenger ministry MS municipal muslim of online participation permission posted protest public reforms religious reported restrictions rights Riyadh Salman Saudi Saudi_Arabia saudis says share social society strict the their to travel tweeted twitter video who woman women

Figure 4-2: Keywords cloud for SWC/ Wmatrix

As can be visualised in Fig. 4-2, the most statistically significant keywords are those indicating people, e.g. *female*, *male*, *wom*n;* and other words indexing the nation or place, e.g. *Saudi*, *country*, *Saudi Arabia*. Other less significant keywords indicate activities, e.g. *ban*, *drive*, *allow* and *arrested*.

The keywords shown above give a preliminary idea about the grouping of semantic categories classified by Wmatrix feature of semantic domains classification. In other words, the semantic

domains in the dataset include groups of keywords distributed based on their semantic meaning. The significant domains of the data can be visualised in the cloud below (Fig. 4.3), which is produced by Wmatrix. The cloud displays key semantic domains as referred to by single items or clusters of different sizes, where the items with larger sizes are more significant. By clicking on any of these items, the list of all the words that belong to the same domain are displayed. For example, clicking on the cluster *Law-and-order* displays keywords like '*police, judge, regulations, laws*', while clicking on *Female* displays words like '*woman, girl, female, Ms*'. In the key domains clouds, single words, bigrams and trigrams are considered in the analysis; this produces a manageable number of items that could by manually categorised and qualitatively analysed (see Table 4-1). However, each list of the main displayed domains was checked manually to verify the included concepts and their relevance to the proposed domain, and also to compare the frequency of words included in each one as will be illustrated in Table 4-1.

Geographical names Government Grammatical_bin Helping Hindering Important In power Inclusion Information_technology_and_computing Kin Law and order Lawful Light Long_tall_and_wide Mental_object:_Conceptual_object Mental_actions_and_processes No constraint No_respect No_power Not allowed Open;_Finding;_Showing Other proper names Participating Participating Participating Participation People: Female People: _Male Personal_names Personal_relationship:_General Personality_traits Places Politics Quantities:_many/much Quantities:_many/much Quantities:_little Quantities:_many/much Reciprocal **Religion and the supernatural** Respected Size: Bia Social Actions, States And Processes Speech acts Speech:_Communicative Sports The Media: TV, Radio and Cinema The Media The_universe The_Media:_Newspapers_etc. Time:_Period Time:_New_and_young Time:_New_and_young Unmatched Tough/strong Unconnected Vehicles and transport on_land violent/Angry Wanted Work and employment: Generally

Figure 4-3: Key domains cloud for SWC/ Wmatrix

Investigating these semantic categories will help in addressing a component of the first research question around the construction of the Saudi system. In other words, categories of keywords will be manually recategorized according to the socio-semantic domains they are associated with or related to, in this way accomplishing the exploratory step of analysing the social dimensions of the system. For example, items that refer to domains of Female and Male will be

included in Gender, whereas the domain that refer to geographical names will be grouped under Country and Government. Other examples of social aspects are *country*, *family*, *work* and *education* which can be classified into other social domains or institutions. According to the USAS semantic tag set, the key item *Grammatical-bin* (which is displayed in Figure 4-3) refers to the category of grammatical words such as *on*, *from*, *in*, *the*, *be and by*, *to*, *was'* 's, which are studied when they are relevant. The *Unmatched* key item indicates that the software did not recognise them. When checking the items listed under the *unmatched* key term, it has been found that they are mainly personal names and cultural religious words, e.g., *Wahhabi* and *Sunna*.

The identified key socio-semantic groups are checked manually and then calculated and compared in frequency. The main categories that include large number of keywords (more than 250 items) in SWC are listed in descending order based on the number of included words as shown in the table below.

Socio-semantic Domain	Frequency
Country and Government	3834
Gender	
Female	2,565
Male	541
Power and control/ permission/ prevention	1,518
Driving	823
Law and order	811
Kin/ family	678
Politics	632
Media: TV, video, radio	529
Religion	403
Change	372
Work and employment	371
Clothes and personal belongings	345
Education	282
Sports	260

Table 4-1: Key semantic domains in the BBC corpus

As illustrated in Table 4-1, key terms that refer to *country and government* have the highest frequencies. When checking this domain manually for included words it was found that different references to Saudi Arabia, its political institutions and geographical names, besides a few other regional names of places, are included. *Gender* is the second key domain. Its high frequency is anticipated because the corpus was originally compiled from articles reporting on SW. This domain includes all the gendered terms and premodifiers that refer to female and male actors, e.g. *wom*n, lady/ladies, girl(s)* and *m*n*. Although *female* gendered terms are far more frequent compared to those of males, which is due to the standardised search used to recall texts reporting on women, the high frequency of *male* gendered terms in the data is worth considering in this study. *Power and control* domain includes words that refer to social actors classified as *authorities, religious figure* and *guardians*, besides references to controlling practices of *permission* and *prevention*. On the other hand, the least frequent keywords can be grouped under *Work, Education, Fashion* and *Sports*.

Although this study is not a corpus comparative one, it is worth mentioning here that in the Arab news corpus,¹⁵ the semantic domain of *Work* and *employment* has the highest frequency, followed by the domain of *Education*. In addition, in *Gender*, there is no high frequency for male gendered terms while *Religion* is not a key domain as it is in the BBC corpus. Interestingly, in the Arab news corpus, there are some "negative keywords", or words that are unlikely to occur in the main corpus (Handford, 2010, p.103), or totally absent (Duguid and Partington, 2018) while they seem to be key in the BBC's SWC corpus. For example, *Wahhabism, Mutaween*,¹ *ultra-religious* and *conservatives* are totally absent in the Arab news corpus compared to their keyness in the BBC's SWC. Words referring to *guardianship system, the activists' category* and *personal names* referring to female protestors which are key in SWC are negative keywords in the Arab news corpus. Much meaning can be inferred from what is

¹⁵ A corpus built of articles reporting on Saudi women and generated from an English language Saudi online newspaper. It was compiled for a previous study presented for the fulfilment of a master's degree.

absent (Scott, 2004) and from negative keywords in the reference corpus, but as mentioned, this is not the main concern of the present study.

The results of the corpus analysis of the semantic categories reinforced the findings of the thematic analysis presented in section 4.3. It validates the existence of aspects of gender issues like Guardianship and Women's rights as well as political issues like Driving and Politics and law. In addition, the semantic category analysis enables a preliminary pinpointing for other social aspects or topics that will be the focus of the analysis below (section 4.5) such as religious, familial and sporty aspects.

As mentioned above in the subsection *semantic categories* under section 3.3.2.2, Wmatrix corpus tool is specifically used to analyse the semantic categories and to identify topics and domains existing in SWC. In section 4.5. more analysis of keywords is conducted using Sketch Engine to further explore the interacting representations. Therefore, I will move on in the following sections to conduct a corpus intersectional discourse analysis to explore the social system and social actors that are included in these semantic categories.

4.5. Complexity of social categories

Adopting the inter-categorical notion of complexity (McCall, 2005, see Chapter Three, section 3.2.1.1), we assume there are different social categories and different social systems. Social systems are theorised in discourse to work together simultaneously and produce different categories of social actors. More precisely, this section will pursue the complexity of the Saudi identity and the Saudi system as they are represented in discourse. Analysing these two interacting aspects contributes to recognising how gender identity is constructed, not apart from systems, but by interacting with the complex system represented (McCall, 2005).

In addition, gender identity will be explored, but in contrast to Crenshaw's (1991) anticategorical complexity approach (Chapter Three, section 3.1.2.4), the investigation will explore women's identity in relation to other groups identified in the data following an inter-categorical approach (McCall, 2005). This approach is followed as comparing different intersectional categories will shed more light on the practices of inequality in representation. In the following part, keywords and clusters will be analysed to determine the aspects of the social system, while word frequency lists will be complied and keywords analysis conducted to identify and classify social actors (generic and specific).

4.5.1. Analysing the social system

The semantic category analysis presented in section 4.4 provided a general primary idea of the main social domains found in the corpus, with *Gender* and *National* domains coming top of the list. To know more about these and other domains, and their relation to social actors, more analysis of keywords and key clusters is needed.

First, keywords and key clusters were produced using the Sketch Engine corpus tool. As the examined corpus is relatively small, the first 100 key items of each of the two lists produced by the keywords and multi-keywords corpus features were studied. They include nouns, premodifiers or adjectives that refer to different groups, institutions, organizations and individuals (see Appendices III and IV). When checking the single keywords list, it was found that most of the first 100 terms are references to proper names of actors involved in the data (Appendix III). It is important to explore names that tend to reoccur in the data, as the main aim of the study is to find how different identities are intersectionally represented (see section 4.5.2.2). On the other hand, the 100 key clusters, which refer to any sequences of words that tend to reoccur in the target corpus compared to the reference one, were categorised into five general groups, as illustrated in Table 2.

Category	Frequency & percentage
Gender	15%
Nationality	22%
Religion	15%
Complex	21%
Others	27%
Total	100%

Table 4-2: Categories and frequencies of SWC key clusters

As shown, the clusters can be categorised into three main groups, i.e. *gender*, *nationality*, and *religion*. Some clusters are composed of two or more words from the three categories and are combined to form a complex category, i.e. *intersectional*, which forms 21% of the total clusters. Grey-area clusters are grouped as *others*, which include words referring to a variety of social issue such as *healthcare*, *sports* and *driving* (see Table 4-3 for the distribution of the top 100 key clusters). Drawing on the systemic approach (see 'b' in section 3.3.2.1), these categories are examples of systems that are responsible for categorising identities or creating social divisions and differences amongst them, as will be qualitatively analysed in the next three chapters.

Gender	Nation	Religion	Intersectional	Others
Strict gender,	Conservative	Strict code,	female poet,	driving ban,
woman driver,	kingdom, Saudi	religious fatwa,	Saudi female	driving protester,
male shop, Ms	city, foreign	strict form,	student, female	Stand-up
Assad, Gender	ministry, only	interpretation of	Olympian, female	comedian, Access
segregation,	country, public	Islamic law,	stand-up	healthcare,
Manal-	risk, quiet	strict dress code,	comedian, activist	driving licence,
Alsharif, 52-	diplomacy, public	strict	Manal-al Sharif,	detention centre,
year-old man,	entertainment,	interpretation,	Saudi cleric,	suspicious
special man,	new monarch,	religious police,	female activist,	contact, austere
female	State airline,	traditional cloak,	female	form, first robot,
marketing, Ms	Saudi kingdom,	traditional code,	ambassador,	marketing analyst,
Moharrak,	political office,	customary	female protester,	formal ban,
male	political reform,	headscarf, strict	female journalist,	terrorism court,
guardianship	labour force,	interpretation of	Saudi activist,	online petition,
system,	public prosecutor,	Islamic law,	Saudi female	immediate
business	Arabic hashtag,	insulting Islam,	marketing, female	release, reformist
woman, male	Saudi law,	abaya robe,	marketing analyst,	stance, great
permission,	guardianship law,	religious	Saudi female	victory, mountain
male	interior ministry,	establishment,	analyst,	climber, judo
companion,	royal court,	face veil,	conservative	competition, hate
Female	elective surgery,		Islamic Kingdom,	crime, large
marketing	leaving home,		Egyptian man,	following,
	Saudi King		female singer,	musical
			conservative state,	instrument,
			female student,	thriving black

Canadian	market, same
ambassador,	month, first robot,
Canadian Citize	n restaurant owner,
	close family
	member,
	television
	presenter

Table 4-3: Classification of Key Clusters in SWC/Sketch Engine

Having identified and categorised the main aspects of the social system in the corpus (hereinafter referred to as dimensions with their initial letters capitalised: Nationality, Religion, and Gender), I will move on to identify and categorise reoccurring references to the social actors included in the corpus.

4.5.2. Social actors analysis

With the assistance of corpus analysis, an innovative method that integrates the intersectional analytical framework (section 3.3.2.1) with aspects of the main cornerstones in van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) network (see section 3.3.2.3) will be used to analyse social actors. The main social actors will be identified and counted in section 4.5.2.1 and categorised and analysed in section 4.5.2.2 according to the strategies of nomination and categorisation (see section 3.3.2.3).

4.5.2.1. Determination of social actors

First, in this section, references to social actors are determined and counted. Although women are the main actors subject to analysis, it is important to explore how they are represented in relation to other interacting actors. Therefore, the first step is to determine references to all female and male actors included in the data. This is achieved by first overviewing the frequency lists produced by Sketch Engine and finding references to social actors. Within these lists, all references to social actors are calculated and categorised according to the naming and categorising strategies used to index them (van Leeuwen, 2008). References to social actors which have more than ten hits in the corpus are grouped and counted in Table 4-4 according to the reference strategies employed to index them.

Reference strategy	Frequency of social actors	
Genericization	Wom*n 1712, m*n 330, people 105, Saudis 88,	
	members 65, girl(s) 50, others 45, men and women	
	40, citizen(s) 32, committee 21	
Pronominal	She 656, her 614, they 417, who 324, he 250,	
	whom 243, we 206, them161, you 122, his 99, us	
	78, me 65 him 34	
Proper names/nominative	Feminine names: 95, masculine names: 60	
Honorifics	King 136, prince 82, Ms 139, Mr 69, Sheikh 20,	
	Mrs 18, Princess 13	
Relational	Father 80, husband 53, families 140, daughter 37,	
	wife 30, relative 36, brother 29, sister 24, guardian	
	73,	
Category/functionalisation	Activist(s) 231, police 92, drivers 101, authorities	
	92, cleric(s) 91 campaigner(s) 44, student 31,	
	journalist 26, worker(s) 25, candidate 24,	
	ambassador 24, athlete 23	

Table 4-4: Frequencies of social groups classified according to reference strategies

4.5.2.2. Categorising intersectional social actors

In this subsection, social actors are further categorised and analysed using an intersectional approach to representations in this section. Information provided in Table 4-4 about the references to different categories of social actors suggest a preliminary idea of having two main categories for the total groups of references: generic and specific, according to van Leeuwen's genericization and specification strategies (see Fig. 3-2, section 3.3.2.3). This categorical feature, i.e. genericization and specification, is used once in this study to divide the identified groups into two main groups for the sake of the further analysis. Therefore, it is not included in the adopted aspects diagram as shown in Figure 3-3. An intersectional exploration of both generic and specific social actors is illustrated in the following subsections.

a) Generic social actors

Predominantly, it is presumed that the identified social actors whether, generic or specific, share the general aspect of being Saudi. A large proportion of social actors in the corpus are significantly referred to using the method of genericization, which is referring to a nonspecified actor or a general group of actors, e.g. men, members, people or a woman (van Leeuwen, 2008). As illustrated in Table 4-4, this group contains references to both female and male actors. However, the greatest proportion of items in this category are plural and singular references to wom*n. This is not surprising as the data collection is standardised to represent women, thus the most frequent words refer to female actors. The next highest frequency referring to a generic group is 'm*n'. Except for 'girl(s)', other generic groups indexed here may include both female and male actors, e.g. 'people, members, others'.

All of the social actors included here are genericised and recognised as being the general groups of male and female native citizens who form Saudi society. They are typically formed by the main system composed of Religion (Sunna and Shia¹⁶) and Nationality (geographical region or nationality). When these two basic aspects intersect with Gender, the result is two different social groups: Saudi men and Saudi women, who may have different social features as will be further examined in the qualitative analysis in Chapter Five, see Figure 4-4.



Figure 4-4: Intersectional Saudi identity

¹⁶ A minority party in the country that embraces a branch of Islam different from that of the Sunni majority.

In the examined discourse, these three aspects, symbolised in the following formula by **N**, **R**, **G**, are the three dimensions of one system that interact to produce an intersectional representation for Saudi identity symbolised by **S**. This unique Saudi identity can be designated thus:

$\mathbf{S} = \mathbf{N} * \mathbf{R} * \mathbf{G}_{x1 x2}$

Formula 1: Saudi intersectional identity representation

Where x_1 and x_2 are binary gender variables that represent two different groups (Weldon, 2008), women and men, in this discursive context. Changing one of the two basic dimensions, i.e. Religion or Nationality, and the binary scheme Gender will result in creating another identity different from the Saudi identity. These three are considered to be basic components found in the identities of all the social actors targeted by the analysis. Besides the constancy of the National dimension, for the sake of the present study, Religion is considered constant here, in spite of the fact that it includes the Shia and Sunna parties. Due to the absence of references to the Shia party, the difference between the two is not the main focus of the study, and thus will be dealt with as a single scheme. More details will be given about the generic gender category by conducting a collocational qualitative analysis in Chapter Five to see how the general identities of men and women are recontextualised in the corpus.

b) Specified social actors

The other references to groups located in Table 4-4 are determined to be specific social actors, and this demands further analysis to see how and why they are specified in the examined discourse. This analysis addresses the third and fourth questions about (sub)categories of social actors, other than the generic gender category. The answer will be found by conducting a combination of linguistic analysis using SAA to analyse social actors in the texts, and an intersectional analysis to explore the resulting discursive representation of subjects.

Individuals or groups of Saudi social actors are specified differently in the data using different linguistic determination strategies. These strategies are pronominal references, nominal references, honorifics/ titles, relational references and categorization (van Leeuwen, 2008).
Another more complicated strategy emerged in the analysis, which is combining two or more of these strategies. This strategy is problematic, but it has been dealt with, as will be shown in the last bullet point of this section.

Pronominal references

Significantly, the most frequent method used to refer to social actors across the data is pronouns. Moreover, it can be noticed from Table 4-4 that the most frequent pronominal naming strategy is using the third-person feminine pronoun, i.e. 'she', followed by its associated pronominal reference, 'her'. These two pronouns are followed by the third-person plural pronoun 'they', which is also high in frequency. Most of the third-person plural pronoun hits (55 %) indicate generic Saudi women, while the rest indicate different generic groups of male and female subcategories. This high frequency of pronouns suggests that a large part of discourse is specified for a group of actors indexed by these pronouns. Given this, and since the main aim of this study is to know how Saudi women of generic and specific categories are constructed in relation to other participating actors, it is important to know who are referred to by those pronouns. This was achieved by tagging significant pronouns in the corpus 'she, her, they, them, he, him' for gender and role or function, e.g. they <female activists>, he <a male cleric>. Other pronouns like 'I, me, you, we, us' will not be considered as the main aim of the study is to know how identity is systematically constructed by BBC journalists, excluding in this way narratives by Saudi actors inserted in the reports.¹⁷

Nominal references

Another strategy used to refer to social actors is using their personal names. According to van Leeuwen, if social actors are represented by their unique identity within a discourse (2008), by being nominated there, it is of interest to know who they are, and why they are specified in the existing context. In addition, as informed by the corpus, personal names are keywords in the data, as shown by the domains Other-proper-names and Personal names, produced by Wmatrix's key clouds function (Fig. 4.3.), and by the 100 single keywords produced by Sketch Engine (see Appendix III). Within the semantic domain of personal names and the keywords

¹⁷ Although intertextual extracts are also chosen to be included by the journalists, they do still act as a kind of representation.

produced by the two corpus tools, feminine and masculine names are displayed, including some foreign names. However, this classification of personal names is still misleading at this stage of analysis because the female actors may be referred to by their male-surnames or by a combination of both forename and surname. This problem was solved by reading through extended concordance lines that involve confusing names and then calculating and classifying them according to their gender.

Honorifics/titles

Some names, but not all, are combined with titles that are used as expected to express respect. All references to royal members are combined with honorifics to confirm their social order or position. In addition, religious figures are formally referred to by their titles: 'MR/Sheikh/cleric' + name in most of the mentions. However, 'Ms' and 'Mr' are unlikely to be combined with male and female names, except for some formal contexts such as the court, as will be explored later.

Relational references

Another category which is specified in the data is that of kinship or family. This means that a fourth variable intersects with those of Nationality, Religion and Gender to characterise the identity of such a category, i.e. Relationship. Some individual relatives are recurrently nominated by their personal names, and thus will be qualitatively analysed in Chapter Six, section 6.4.2. The groups populating this category are identified by their position within the family, e.g. father, husband, daughter, wife. Those actors, besides the three main identity dimensions of Nationality, Religion and Gender, are identified by a further dimension which is Kinship. As displayed in Table 4, both male and female family members are referred to. Provided that the guardian and relative are mostly used in the data to refer to men only, male members are more frequently referred to by the relational strategy than women, 271 and 91, respectively.

Categorization

The last domain includes references to social actors classified according to what they do, i.e. their roles/ functions (van Leeuwen, 2008), while their gender is not identified. Therefore, it is necessary here to tag these references, first their category, as general or specific. If they are

specified, further tagging for their gender and any further associating subcategory naming conventions are checked.

It is presupposed that 'the police, authorities, clerics, guardians' within this category are male actors in accordance with the law of the country, but other subcategories need to be identified. Another way to see how binary gender terms are categorised was to examine the premodifiers 'female' and 'male' in concordance lines. This resulted in a list of subcategories of generic women categorised as activists, drivers, athletes, students, journalists, clients and campaigners. Other very low frequencies for drivers, voters and activists are preceded by 'male' as a premodifier. In the following, a further analysis will be conducted to explore the reference strategies combined to represent specific social actors.

Mixed specification

A large number of references are specified as "unique identities" (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.40) which, as illustrated in Table 4-4 and in the above analysis of reference strategies, are referred to by different strategies like titles, nominal references, pronominals or role categories. However, a mixture of these strategies is evident in the data. This is problematic because different reference strategies can be used interchangeably to refer to the same social actor, e.g. 'she, Manal, Ms. Al-Sharif, the activist', all of which are used to refer to the same social actor. To solve this and form a better understanding of the main specified and/or individual social actors, and then analyse their intersectional identities, further steps were taken. I needed to identify the social actors in the two categories of pronouns and nomination and match pronouns to names, and then subcategorize them according to their functionalization or roles. To do this, first, all the included pronominal references, 'she, her' object only, 'he' and 'him' were first marked for their names, forename + surname, as displayed in the concordance lines. These lines were extended to larger documents when extra information was needed. Secondly, more analysis of the resulting marked actors was conducted to identify their subcategory, according to their position, class, function or role in the discursive context which could be explored in the extended concordance lines. The marked actors were then filtered to include only those who are referred to ten or more times. This resulted in 44 female actors and 34 male actors. In the following, an intersectional analysis of the identified female and male actors will be conducted to explore discursive representations.

4.5.2.3. Intersectional categorisation of specified actors

a) Individual Female actors

The 44 female actors identified can be categorised into five main types of female identities based on shared features (see Table 4-5). Mentions of female public figures referred to as 'princesses' are excluded from the analysis because of their low frequency; they are mentioned only four times.

	Female Category	No. of actors	Frequency	Percentage	No. of articles
Α	Activists	17	306	43.46	70
В	Political figures	8	28	3.97	5
С	Sport figures &	6	57	8.9	7
	trendsetters	4	75	10.65	8
D	Socially abused	7	226	32.10	20
E	Intersectional	2	12	1.70	6
	Total	44	704	100	116

Table 4-5: Individual Saudi women subcategories

A total of 704 references to individual female actors encompass different subcategories of woman types, who besides their original identity as Saudi Muslim Women are featured by other dimensions that represent them differently in discourse. These subcategories are of key importance in the data due to their recurrent mentions in discourse. When comparing the total hits for words that refer to these subcategories with those referring to the plural general category of women, it is found that a considerable number of references are used to index them in spite of their limited number (see Fig. 4-5), thus demanding more exploration.



Figure 4-5: Percentage of references to generic and specific Saudi women categories

Activists appear in the corpus as a marked group of specified Saudi women. By looking at Table 4-5, it can be noticed that they form the largest percentage of the five intersectional groups. Besides being native Saudi women, their identity is differently characterised by another variable which is being socially active as opponents of national laws. This is recognised from using the strategy of categorisation as an 'activist, campaigner, protester' which interchangeably accompanies their names. A variety of naming strategies are used to refer to them, with no distinct emphasis on any, e.g. the honorific Mrs + personal/ surname (more qualitative analysis of this and other subcategories of women is presented in Chapter Seven).

There is evidence of representing another female subcategory, whose Saudi female identity is intersected by being socially abused. As opposed to the activists' identity, this group is underprivileged in discourse by describing them as submissive to social practices (they are rendered victims in the discourse). Commonly, members of this group are simply referred to using their first names. The titles 'Ms' and 'Mrs' were only added to their surnames to mark the distinct respectful relation within an official context, e.g. the court. A very limited number of individual women compose such a category in the corpus, but in contrast, the frequency of words referring to them, as well as the number of articles, is high.

The lowest number of hits refers to a subcategory of women who seem to have influential roles. These Saudi women are privileged by their positions in the political field. In only five articles, eight female Saudi council members/ politicians are formally nominated as (title)+ forename + surname+ explicit references to their political positions. This suggests that their names may be merely listed with some brief in the articles after the decree nominating 30% of female members in the Saudi Shura Council.¹⁸ This suggests a discursive practice of marginalising this group.

Saudi women trendsetters, who include sport figures and female pioneers in different social fields, form another subcategory typified by being the first to take on a new role amongst female citizens in the kingdom. The first Saudi 'female comedian, film director, Everest Mountain climber, first Olympian', besides other athletes, receive good BBC news coverage as shown by the frequency of references to them and the space allotted to them compared to their limited number, only ten actors. Members of this group were nominated by their forenames + surnames or by surnames without titles.

All of the above four analysed Saudi women subcategories are formed by intersects of different dimensions that create differences between them (see formula 2). Considering the Feminine aspect as a constant variable, as all the subgroups here are classified as women, we now need to add changing variables. The representations of the Saudi Feminine (**SF**) sub-categories resulting from interaction between different variables can be clarified by the formula:

$SF = N*R*G*+F_{X1 X2 X3 X4 X5 X6}$

Formula 2: Female intersectional subcategories

This formula stands for the groups of specified female actors. An asterisk * represents the intersectionality of dimensions in a stable interlocked identity, whereas x represents a changing variable that characterises each category. Thus, SF is the resulting representation female subcategories. $x_1 x_2 x_3 x_4 x_5 x_6$ stands for the six changing variables. Each variable produces a different intersectional female identity as symbolised by the following formulas:

$\mathbf{A} = \mathbf{N}^*\mathbf{R}^*\mathbf{G}^* + \mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{x}\mathbf{1}}$

¹⁸ Consultative Assembly of Saudi Arabia or the formal advisory group.

 $B = N*R*G* + F_{x2}$ $C = N*R*G* + F_{x3}$ $D = N*R*G* + F_{x4}$

Formula 3: Representations of female subcategories

For example, $\mathbf{D} = \mathbf{N}^*\mathbf{R}^*\mathbf{G}^* + \mathbf{F}_{\mathbf{x4}}$ represents the fourth group of women, who are originally Saudi N*R*G* but are categorised in discourse by being socially abused/victimised, symbolised by the variable x4, where replacing it by another variable symbolises another different female subcategory.

However, two other female individuals symbolised by $_{x5}$ and $_{x6}$ in Formula 2, are examples of a more complex specification by having other elements added to their represented identity. A Saudi female 'activist' who is 'a university professor' and 'a Saudi female socially abused woman' who is 'a surgeon' are characterised by the aspect of being highly educated, which intersects with the suggested dimensions of Activism and Victimism to form two further intersectional female identities (see Formula 4).

 $E = N*R*G* + F_{x5 x1}$ $N*R*G* + F_{x6 x4}$

Formula 4: Complex intersectional representations

Some of the references to the two represented women include the titles 'Dr', and 'Mrs', or the categorization terms 'surgeon', 'university lecturer' and 'activist', which raises their discursive privilege. Thus, mixing two or more female identity variables or adding another one to identity will produce more complicated female identities as shown in Formula 4.

b) Individual Male actors

Having identified and quantitatively analysed the female identity intersectional subcategories that are included in the examined corpus, it is important now to identify and analyse the male sub-categories which have a direct interaction with and a consequent effect on constructing women's identity in BBC news discourse. This analysis will enable comparing male and female

subcategories and finding how they are all discursively positioned in the social order created in SWC.

It was mentioned in section 4.4. that there are 541 explicit occurrences that form the male gendered semantic domain (Table 4-1). Further analysis presented in 4.5.2.2, showed that explicit and implicit references to specified males are categorised/ referred to as generic, relational and functional, with further hits for the third-person singular masculine pronouns 'he' and 'him', and a few references to the pronoun 'they' as shown in Table 4-4. Accordingly, references to these specified male actors are classified into three main categories (see Table 4-6). There are some names for males who are classified as women's rights 'supporters' or male 'activists', but their frequency is very low, thus they are excluded from the analysis.

Now, frequent occurrences of specified male actors will be analysed. As mentioned above, there are 34 nominated males who are frequently referred to in the data. References to those actors are categorised into three main categories: political figures, religious figures and male family members. The high number of articles mentioning them, see Table 4-6, as well as the large number of items referring to them compared to those referring to female actors, see Figure 4-6, are worth considering.

	Male category	Num. of actors	Frequency	Percentage	Num. of articles
A	Political figures	4	243	67%	88
В	Religious figures	10	56	15.5%	43
С	Family members	20	63	17.4%	71
	Total	34	362	100	202

Table 4-6: Specified Saudi men subcategories



Figure 4-6: References to Saudi women and specified men actors

References to four royal male identities are significantly ascertained across the data. The members of this group are privileged by their high class that intersects with their Saudi Men identity, but with different representations achieved by further ascribed features. This group includes King Abdullah who ruled for ten years, 2005–15; King Salman, the current king; Prince Alwaleed bin Talal, a wealthy women's rights supporter; and the current Deputy Crown Prince, Muhammed bin Salman. Different naming strategies are used to refer to each of them. For example, King Abdullah and King Salman are referred to by their honorific + forename, or by their position only, 'the king', or alternatively 'monarch' in other places. King Abdullah is sometimes distinguished by the functional feature 'reformist' preceding his name. There are 110 references to King Abdullah included in the texts produced in the first eight years, compared to only 40 mentions in the last three years for the current monarch, King Salman. However, references to the latter's son occurred frequently in the last three years, rising steeply in 2017 and reaching their peak in 2018. He is referred to 80 times using a variety of naming strategies, e.g. the prince, Prince Mohammed bin Salman, MBS, the deputy crown prince with or without a name, the young prince, the king's son, the 31-year-old prince, or a frequent mixture of some of them. This linguistic feature can be linked to his powerful position in the social structure. Prince Alwaleed bin Talal has less frequent references in the data compared to other royal family members. He is referred to as 'wealthy businessman, the billionaire', or his title + the full name. He is also described as not having a 'social position', which has a direct relation to his limited influence in the country, although he is mentioned as a 'supporter of women's rights'.

The second male identity subcategory which is highlighted in the data is that of religious figures. A total of ten personalities are referred to throughout the examined data besides other religious people who will not be included in the analysis as references to them are relatively few. The main religious figures are referred to by their full names or the titles 'cleric' or 'Shaik'¹⁹ preceding their names. They are represented as having positions in society headed by the grand cleric of the country, 'Abdu Latif al-Sheikh', who has the capacity of clarifying and deciding on religious issues in the kingdom. Compared to other religious figures, references to him are the highest in the corpus. He is nominated using different strategies, such as forename + last name, forename + middle name + surname, preceded by the titles 'Shaikh, cleric' Mr' or 'the grand mufti',²⁰ besides the third personal masculine pronoun 'he'. References to religious men are dispersed throughout the data with higher occurrences during the first king's reign (2008–15) and more specifically in 2013.

The last type of male identity featured in the corpus, by their close relation to women, as being a family member. References to 'fathers, 'husbands' and fewer references to 'brothers' are found and calculated. References to 'fathers' are the most frequent in the data. Most of them are nominated by attaching their daughters' names who are key names in the examined discourse, e.g. 'Haifa's father' or the 'father of a Swansea woman'. In addition, some of them are nominated by their forenames preceded or not by their titles. Forty-four references to ten male actors, featured as fathers, are found in the corpus, which is the highest frequency compared to other words referring to other family members. References to specific women's husbands came next, followed by references to only two brothers. As reported, they all have different attitudes to their female relatives which will be exemplified and discussed in detail in the qualitative analysis in Chapters Six and Seven, together with all other social actors' interaction.

Considering the male gender as a constant variable for this group, the complexity of the male subcategories can be formulated as follows:

¹⁹ Loan word which can be translated as *cleric*.

²⁰ A clergyman who interprets ambiguous religious issues.

$SM = N*R*G*+M_{x1 x2 x3 x4}$

Formula 5: Male intersectional subcategories

Where SM stands for the male category representation with the added M to symbolise masculinity as a constant variable shared by all category actors, x_1 represents the royal class feature, x_2 represents the political position, x_3 represents the religious orientation and x_4 represents the relation to women.

$$\mathbf{A} = \mathbf{N}^* \mathbf{R}^* \mathbf{G}^* + \mathbf{M}_{x1}^* \mathbf{x}_{x2}$$

Formula 6: Royal intersectional representation

In the above equation, * refers to the intersection of the variables of the class 'royal' and the position 'monarch' as two interlocking dimensions of the political figure identity. The following formulas stand for the religious men and male relatives of women.

$$B = N*R*G* + M_{-x3}$$

 $C = N*R*G* + M_{x4}$

Formula 7: Religious men and male relatives intersectional representation

The above analysis has shown how different intersectional gender categories are textually created from variables or social aspects that are mixed and manipulated using different language strategies. Chapters Five, Six and Seven will conduct an in-depth qualitative analysis of social actors' generic and specific representations by combining aspects of the SAA with aspects of intersectionality.

In the following section, I move on to the strategy of hyperlinks insertion, which is considered an important feature found in the examined discourse.

4.6. Hyperlinks

Although this feature is not relevant to the main research question about representations of gender identity, it is covered briefly here as it is one of the noticed features that are depended on as a source of more information.

The use of hyperlinks is a salient feature used in BBC textual reports on Saudi women. There is extensive insertion of hyperlinks in texts which amount to 502 hyperlinks linking to other texts or images. This is clear evidence for the discursive practice of intertextuality which refers to the interconnections between similar or related texts or images. Hyperlinks started to emerge in texts published in 2011 and were used extensively from 2013 onwards. These hyperlinks link to different information sources and texts such as local and international webpages, e.g. Arab news, UK and US news websites. However, most of these hyperlinks link to posts on social media channels such as Twitter and Facebook. The majority of these posts are by Saudi citizens and are embedded to give more detail on the original clause or to relate a relevant post to the same topic. Linking to Twitter accounts or blogs of male/ female Saudi opponents and exponents of various social practices occurred 280 times in the data, which positions Twitter as the main source for more information on certain topics.



Figure 4-7: Distribution of hyperlinks in the data over time

4.7. Summary

In brief, by conducting a quantitative corpus discursive analysis, we have explored the data for the main macrostructures, social systems and social actors. The Saudi system is recognised as being composed of three interlocking dimensions: Nationality, Gender and Religion which shape the general categories of men and women. While the main social actors in the data are 'women' who have different and more complicated intersectional identity subcategories, male identity categories are also emphasised in the data and are considered in the study as a central dimension (patriarchy) interacting with other dimensions, i.e. religion and nationality and linked to women's identity construction in the examined discourse (more details and clarification are presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight). The above preliminary social actors corpus analysis suggested that each general and unique identity is construed differently of multiple represented systems that result in different social groups. In the next chapter, we will explore how these intersectional identities are discursively evaluated (privileged, disadvantaged or marginalised) and positioned within the social structure based on the components of identity. Furthermore, we will explore how the process of the discursive production of such different categories is basically linked to the production of new social systems (Weldon, 2008).

5. CHAPTER FIVE: REPRESENTATION OF THE SAUDI SYSTEM AND SW INTERSECTIONAL IDENTITY

5.1. Introduction

This is the second chapter of the data analysis. In this chapter, corpus analysis of the data continues by conducting a more detailed corpus qualitative analysis based on the results found in Chapter Four. In this chapter, collocation, word sketch and concordance lines methods combined with aspects of van Leeuwen's SAA (2008). In addition, other linguistic aspects such as discourse prosody, modality and agency, are employed to complete answering the first and second questions, which were partially addressed in Chapter Four. The two questions are about how systems are constructed and linked to the general social category of women; and how SW identity is represented in discourse. The first question requires us to know how the Saudi system is linguistically referred to and how it is discursively constructed; and how it is evaluated in the data by employing the method of discourse prosody (Stubbs, 1996). The second question relates to the linguistic representation of generic women and men in the data, and how these representations are linked to the dimensions of complex system, i.e., N R G, interacting in discourse (Weldon, 2008). The analysis will explore how the system and actors are positively, negatively or neutrally represented by examining the language surrounding references to them.

In this chapter, as well as the following two analytical chapters, a linguistic analysis of the lexical, semantic and grammatical features that are associated with the Saudi multidimensional system and Saudi intersectional gender identity in the texts will be studied. The textual analysis will be related to the discursive context or level throughout the analysis, by explaining the outcome of the used linguistic strategies and their role in depicting intersectional representations. This does not mean that the analysis will be conducted in stages, moving from textual to discursive analysis. Rather, the analysis will be a mixture of the linguistic features as well as intersectional representations produced in discourse (see section 3.3.1). Therefore, for the purposes of the present chapter, the first section will be devoted to exploring the lexical and semantic features surrounding the basic system with its three dimensions, and how the associated linguistic features contribute to evaluating and representing the system within the discursive context. The second section will examine the linguistic features surrounding the generic gender identity of men and women. The investigation will be enacted by conducting a

lexical and grammatical collocational analysis, which in turn will contribute to exploring how these gender groups are represented within discourse; and to the investigation of the relationship between these representations and the constructed system. Concordance lines, which include examined sequences, will be provided throughout this chapter to present evidence and provide more illustrative analysis. For the sake of clarification, all lines and extracts presented in the analysis chapters are numbered and the articles from which they are extracted are referred to in Appendix II. In the following, the complex Saudi system will be analysed as it is represented in discourse.

5.2. System construction in discourse

The dimensions of the previously identified system will be investigated in the following subsections within the framework of discourse prosody (Stubbs, 1996). In other words, Nationality, Religion and Gender will be explored in the data to see how they are evaluatively represented within the created discursive context. This analysis will be assisted by corpus methods and by qualitative lexical, semantic and structural analysis. The analytical process will be exemplified by numbered concordance lines within which, node words will be highlighted in bold, whereas any interesting collocates or keywords will be underlined.

5.2.1. Nationality

By first checking the word lists and key words and clusters in SWC uploaded to Sketch Engine, it was found that different nouns are used to refer to the national dimension. Other than the official name of the country, i.e. *Saudi Arabia* (551), the national dimension was referred to by nouns like 'country' (156), 'kingdom' (154), 'society' (80), 'state' (30) and 'nation' (10). It is important here to see first how words referring to this dimension are described by exploring the adjectives or premodifiers that accompany them. This is achieved by studying words that are used repeatedly to refer to nationality. In the word list, the words with the highest frequencies which refer to it are 'country', 'kingdom' and 'Saudi Arabia', and as a result these will receive detailed analysis. Other low frequency references will also be reviewed succinctly here. First, it was found that the highest collocate of the cluster 'Saudi Arabia' is 'wom*n' (150). Second, when 'Saudi Arabia' was checked for collocates, it was found that 'conservative', although not

very high in frequency (15), is used to pre-modify this item. Except for these two findings, no other linguistic features surround this cluster. As a result, it is not illustrated in Table 5-1 below. 'Country' was pre-modified by adjectives like 'only, conservative, Muslim, Middle Eastern, ultra conservative'. The word 'only' was mostly used to feature Saudi Arabia as the only country in the world which forbids women to drive. The second adjective that frequently precedes 'country' is 'conservative'. The meaning of this adjective is further intensified by the adverbs 'extremely, deeply' and the prefix 'ultra' to indicate the degree of conservatism. Verbs like 'forbid, ban, not allowed' are used within the discursive context surrounding the word. When 'kingdom' is used to refer to the country, it is preceded by modifiers like 'Gulf, conservative, ultra-conservative, Islamic, desert, Muslim and oil dependent/rich' (see Table 5-1).

Naming reference	Modifiers of nation		
Country	Only (20), (Ultra) conservative (10), Muslim (8), Eastern		
	(10), Middle Eastern (4), Islamic (3)		
Kingdom	Gulf (12), conservative (9), ultra-conservative (4), Islamic		
	(5), oil dependent/rich (6), desert (2), Muslim (1),		
Nation	Sandi (2) Only (1) concentration (1)		
Ination	Saudi (3) Only (1), conservative (1)		
State	Gulf (4), conservative (3), oppressive (1), ultra-		
	conservative (1), Muslim (1), Islamic (5), Saudi (4)		
Society	Saudi (22), Arab (3), conservative (3), tribal (1),		
	patriarchal (2), male-dominated (5), national (1)		

Table 5-1: Nationality naming references and modifiers

Generally, the item that tends to frequently collocate with all the naming references as shown in the table above is '(ultra) conservative', which suggests ascribing features of being strict and traditional to the national dimension constructed. The word 'conservative' reoccurs throughout the data to describe the country. As indicated above, this adjective is pre-modified by adverbs like 'extremely, deeply, highly' and the prefix 'ultra' to intensify the degree of conservatism. In several instances in the data, clusters that are composed of words referring to different system dimensions or aspects are used to refer to the country or nationality. For example, the country is generally described in terms of its place, 'Gulf, (Middle) eastern', its religious orientation, 'Islamic, Muslim, Sunni', and its political patriarchal system, 'oppressive, patriarchal, male dominated'. Mixing these items from the different semantic categories produces clusters referring to a complex system composed of multidimensions, e.g. 'oil-rich desert kingdom, Ultra-conservative Gulf state, Muslim Middle Eastern country'. Thus, these and similar adjectives and adverbs distributed throughout the corpus are mixed to form the system as a unique multidimensional entity which is different and distinguished from other societies'. It is demonstrated that the created multi-dimensional system tends to be linked to 'women' and gender in many instances in the data:

- 1- Despite the conservative kingdom being the only nation where women are not allowed to drive. 12 Dec. 2015, (art. 95)
- 2- The staunchly **conservative Islamic kingdom** is known for its strict <u>gender segregation</u> rules. 25 Sep. 2017, (art. 124)
- 3- Saudi Arabia is one of the world's most <u>oppressive</u> states for <u>women</u>, and only last month lifted a ban on female drivers. 25 Nov. 2017 (art.137).
- 4- The video appears to express <u>women's</u> frustration with the male-dominated society in
 Saudi Arabia. 5 Jan. 2017 (art. 11)

In line 1, the country is nominated as a 'kingdom' and described as 'conservative', where there are social restrictions on women. Likewise, line 2 describes the country as an 'Islamic kingdom'. Adding the adjective 'Islamic' to kingdom here is followed by stating the rule of 'gender segregation', which might be recognised as a social practice resulting from the religious culture. However, in line 3, the word religious is not mentioned. Instead, 'oppressive' is used to describe the country which is named here as a 'state' to highlight the practice of oppressing women by not allowing them by law to drive. This practice can be realized as a political practice more than a religious one as understood from linking it only to the state. In line 4, the patriarchal dimension is introduced as a source of women's frustration in the country. Male dominance over female members is one of the features that are ascribed to Saudi society, and it is

recognised in this instance as a force. It is a premodifier of Saudi society and linked to women who are negatively affected, as suggested by the behavioural 'frustration' of a group of women.

In all these cases, the resulting image constructed for the country is linked to the generic actor 'women', 'gender' in 3, which implicitly includes women. In all the above instances, the country constructed by its different names, and attributed adjectives and adverbs, has unfavourable discourse prosody in relation to the linked social actors in the concordance lines examined. This relation is constructed as one of oppression, constraints, restrictions and domination imposed politically, socially and culturally on SW in general.

5.2.2. Religion

Reviewing the wordlist and keywords of SWC, it was found that the religious dimension is frequently referred to using nouns like 'Islam, religion, Wahhabism, Sharia'. To see how these words are used in the data to signify religion, I analysed each one of them with examples, as shown in the following subsections.

Islam

First, the word 'Islam' has the highest frequency referring to religion (50 occurrences = 6.26 per 10,000 words). Therefore, most of the space here is devoted to exploring how it is represented in discourse. 'Islam' is mainly modified by the adjective 'Sunni', which is derived from the noun Sunna, which indicates the constitution followed by the dominant party of the two Saudi sects: Sunna and Shia. The adjective 'Sunni' is further described by other (phrasal) adjectives or adverbs to describe this type of Islam. See the following lines:

- 5- King Abdullah has been widely seen as trying to strike a reformist stance in the traditional **Sunni Islamic** country. 13 Jun. 2012 (art.44)
- 6- Saudi Arabia's royal family and religious establishment adhere to an<u>austere form</u> of Sunni Islam known as <u>Wahhabism</u>. 12 Jan. 2018 (art.139)
- 7- Saudi law enforces <u>a strict form</u> of Sunni Islam known as <u>Wahhabism</u> and is known for its gender segregation. 5 Jun. 2018 (art.158)

Here, Sunni Islam is preceded by the premodifiers 'traditional, austere, strict' to highlight the degree of strictness, a discursive practice that conveys unfavourable prosody of Sunni Islam. In lines 6 and 7, and in other similar examples found in the data, when Sunni modifies Islam, the cluster is linked to another strict religious concept referred to as 'Wahhabism' (this term is elaborated more, later in this section).

In another context, other examples of adjectives that are frequently attributed to Islam in the data are 'real, true and moderate', as in lines 8–10. Using them here to pre-modify Islam may suggest discourse prosody slightly different from the meaning previously conveyed by the concept of Islam when it is described as 'Sunni' or 'Wahhabi' in lines 5–7. More precisely, in lines 8–10, the Sunni or Wahhabi party is implied as a form that deviates from the genuine version of Islam. Thus, while the first group of examples (5–7) represent Islam as an unfavourable force, the second group (8-10) convey implications of neutrality when occurring with adjectives (real, true, moderate).

- 8- On Wednesday, Prince Mohammed said that <u>the return of</u> a moderate Islam was key to his plans to <u>modernise the country</u>. 29 Oct. 2017 (art. 135)
- 9- "Real Islam is getting women's rights and being full members of society" Mr Zulfa said.
 25 Sep. 2011 (art. 30)
- 10- "We're finally showing the world what true Islam means." 14 Jan. 2018 (art. 142)

The three examples (8–10) are words quoted from Saudi actors in different categories: the deputy crown prince, a male political voice and a Saudi woman, respectively. Inserting such quotes into the main text is a kind of intertextuality which may have specific implications. According to van Leeuwen (2007), this strategy is a kind of personal and expert authorization achieved by inserting the words of Saudi actors into text to legitimise a specific idea. This strategy conveys the meaning that what used to be embraced in the country is a strict form of Islam, inserting quotes that include the words 'moderate, return, true, real' to represent the moderate version of Islam in the text.

Besides being pre-modified by different adjectives, as discussed above, Islam is also sketched in the data as a premodifier. The adjective 'Islamic' appears 45 times in the corpus (5.63 per

10,000 words) which was further checked manually as collocational analysis did not provide convincing results because of the limited occurrences. 'Islamic' pre-modifies nouns like 'code, law, scholars, dress/clothing, identity, traditions, establishment'. Examples 11–16 show how these words, which are described as 'Islamic', are contextualised in the text.

- 11-But, some observers say, in practice women may be limited by restrictions imposed by the <u>Saudi interpretation</u> of **Islamic law**. 25 Sep. 2011 (art. 30)
- 12- The <u>Saudi interpretation</u> of **Islamic law** includes the guardianship system under which women need permission from a male relative to participate in public life. 29 Sep. 2011 (art. 12)
- 13- The Saudi authorities for decades enforced <u>a strict dress code</u> on women that required them to wear abayas in public, as well as a headscarf **if they were Muslim**. 9 Jul. 2009 (art. 14)
- 14- Saudi Arabia's royal family and religious establishment adhere to an austere form of Sunni Islam known as Wahhabism, and Islamic codes of behaviour and dress are strictly enforced. 12 Jan. 2018 (art. 139)
- 15-Under Saudi Arabia's <u>conservative</u> Islamic code, women suffer severe restrictions on daily life. 22 Jan. 2008 (art. 1)
- 16-Others have defended the cleric, arguing that his tweet was aimed at preserving the country's deeply <u>conservative</u> **Islamic identity**. 4 Jul. 2017 (art. 116)

Examples 11 and 12 and other instances in the corpus include Islamic + law. This pattern is usually preceded by the word 'interpretation'. Using the latter term may suggest that the applied laws of Islam are not absolute or genuine but are subjectively interpreted by human beings. The next lines that refer to the way women are dressed (13–14) imply that when dress is linked to Islam and/or nation, it is something imposed on women, who should adhere to wearing it. The 'Islamic code' in line 15 has negative discourse prosody when coming after the premodifier 'conservative Islamic', which is reinforced by linking it to the following clause that expresses women's suffering. In example 16, the general identity of Islam is defined as 'conservative' and the degree of this trait is intensified by the adverb 'deeply'.

Religion

Religion occurs 22 times in the data. In 12 cases it appears in quotations and is preceded by the possessive pronouns 'our, my, your' or other pronouns like 'her, everyone's'. When checking the word within the concordance lines, it was found that 'religion' mostly occurs within utterances quoted for Saudi actors. This indicates that the actors are addressing religion from their own perspective. Within this sequence, religion is represented neutrally by the speakers as a feature that characterises their cultural identity (lines 17 and 18).

- 17- In <u>our</u> religion, men are responsible for women. 28 Mar. 2011 (art. 23)
- 18-We are not asking for something that is against <u>our</u> culture or against <u>our</u> religion. 13Jan. 2008 (art. 8)
- 19- A woman found killed in Colchester could have been "targeted because of <u>her</u> Muslim religion", police said. 18 Jun. 2014 (art. 75)

Line 19 is stated by the article reporter, where 'religion' is preceded by the word 'Muslim', to position the religion as a cause for killing the woman, who is not identified in this sentence, but her nationality is backgrounded in the article. Consequently, a negative image about the single dimension of 'religion' is suggested in this instance.

On the other hand, 'religious' as a premodifier occurs frequently, 98 occurrences (12.26 per 10,000 words) distributed in the data to characterise nouns like 'police 27, clerics 6, fatwa 7, authorities 5, conservative 8, establishment 8, leaders 5, elite 5 and figure 5', and other hits to describe other words. Mostly, these items imply the meaning of powerful social actors, mostly men, who are featured as religious, resulting in a unique image within a particular context. This creates intersectional identities for powerful Saudi actors who are explicitly identified by their religious orientation and functionalised in their powerful roles.

- 20- Religious leaders banned a football match last year. 13 Jun. 2008 (art. 8)
- 21- Saudi's religious <u>Police enforce</u> the kingdom's strict Islamic laws, including dress and prayer times. 18 Oct. 2012 (art. 179)
- 22- The <u>king</u> took the decisions following <u>consultations</u> with **religious** <u>leaders</u>. 11 Jan. 2013 (art. 53)
- 23- The king said he had <u>consulted</u> religious <u>scholars</u>. 11 Jan. 2013, (art. 53)

24- This has angered the conservative religious <u>elite</u> – a <u>key power base</u> for any Saudi ruler.
2 Dec. 2011 (art. 37)

In lines 20–24, the premodifier 'religious' has the unfavourable discourse prosody of force and control, which is recognised from the adjacent words surrounding it. Interestingly, the social actors, who are described as 'religious', are positioned here as influential actors, who are eligible to enact laws and make rules in the country (lines 20, 21), and are close to the Saudi rulers (lines 22–24). Their power is suggested by the verbs 'ban' in line 20 and 'enforce' in line 21, which introduce their capacity to impose rules. In lines 22–24, religious men are positioned as 'consultants' and a 'key power base' for the king or any Saudi ruler, who refers to them when he wants to make a decision concerning religious issues.

Wahhabism

In other instances in the corpus, the religion embraced in the country is referred to using the noun 'Wahhabism'. Although there are few occurrences, only 20, the word is culturally key (Williams, 1988). It is used in the data to perspectivise the version of Islam applied in the country as extremely strict and conservative, which suggests negative discourse prosody. Although the study is not a corpus comparative one, the Arab News Corpus, which is composed of articles published locally in the country and reports on SW, was checked for this word. It was found that it has never been used to refer to religion and even more, it is totally absent from the whole 200,000-word corpus. This discursive feature, i.e. the keyness of Wahhabism in SWC and its absence from the Arab news corpus, could suggest a type of Othering for the Saudi society, since it is not a word used to describe the self.

Sharia

This Arabic loan word is used to refer to Islamic rules in a more formal way as in most instances it is followed by the parenthesised 'Islamic law' to paraphrase the meaning of this word (see lines 25 and 26). The number of hits for this word in the corpus is not very high, only ten. This low occurrence of the word and the non-informative instances including it makes it difficult to guess how it is evaluated in discourse, or in other words, to suggest its discourse prosody.

- 25-But, anticipating this, the king placed his decision squarely within **sharia law** and Islamic history. 25 Sep. 2011 (art. 30)
- 26- Some traditional and religious leaders in Saudi Arabia have been saying the new law is "<u>bending</u> the verses of **Sharia**" which is the religious law <u>Muslims follow</u>. 13 Jan. 2018 (art. 141)

Establishment

This term is used to refer to religion and the country interchangeably. It is used 14 times to refer to religion which can be recognised from the structure 'religious + establishment' as in examples 27 and 28. It is used in most instances in an inclusive form, using the conjunction 'and' to construct a complex system for the country as 'Saudi and religious' (see examples 27 and 28). This depicted complex system is located as being responsible for producing a strict version of Islam nominated in these two examples as 'Sunni Islam' and described as 'austere'.

- 27-The austere form of Sunni Islam that is practised by the <u>Saudi royal family and</u> religious establishment – was born in the late 18th Century. 17 Jul. 2017 (art. 118)
- 28-<u>Saudi Arabia's royal family and religious</u> establishment adhere to an austere form of Sunni Islam known as Wahhabism. 27 Jun. 2018 (art. 163)

Overall, it can be noticed here that there is a kind of linguistic evidence showing that Islam has both neutral and negative prosody in the data, depending on the surrounding co-text or references and collocation with other systemic aspects.

5.2.3. Gender and sex

In the present study, gender refers to the binary scheme of men and women. This is not oversimplification for the social notion of gender or defining it in correspondence with the biological notion of sex (Lazar, 2005, p.5). Rather, it is a reflection of what is contextualised in the examined discourse about the Saudi context, where there are no references to other types pf gender as individuals are classified according to their biological nature. In the data, gender is a key semantic category recognised from keywords like 'gender, sex, patriarchy' and other

references to male and female types of actors.²¹ A probable reason for the keyness of references to this notion, which is suggested by the statistically significant frequency of gender terms, might be the pre-planned discourse produced by the writers of the news organisation. The agendas of news outlets are usually controlled by news values (Bednarek and Caple, 2014), which always tend to address events of interest for the audience, e.g., gender issues. In this subsection, I will examine how references to gender, as an important keyword and as a basic dimension in the Saudi system, are contextualised in the data. In section 5.3, the general gender categories of men and women will be investigated for their representations.

In SWC, the term 'gender' (30 hits) collocates mainly (16 times) with the phrase 'segregation rules' or, alternatively, 'separation rules' in some instances. The meaning of 'segregation' is further intensified by the adjective 'strict' which tends to reoccur with these phrases (10 instances) as exemplified in lines 29 and 30. In 21 different instances, the word sex is used to stand as an inclusive term for men and women. This word is frequently associated with the nouns 'mingling' and 'segregation'. It is also found as an object for verbs like 'regulate' and 'segregate' or in the passive form with intensifiers, e.g. 'the sexes are heavily segregated', and 'contact between the sexes is still tightly regulated'. Examples involving the two terms are:

- 29- It is another move towards giving more freedom to Saudi women, who face <u>strict</u> gender <u>segregation rules</u>. 29 Oct. 2017 (art. 135)
- 30- Saudi Arabia has for the first time allowed women to spectate at a football match, part of an easing of <u>strict rules</u> on **gender** <u>separation</u> by the ultra-conservative Muslim country. 12 Jan. 2018 (art. 139)
- 31-Human Rights abuses stemming from male guardianship and **sex** segregation in Saudi Arabia, draws on more than 100 interviews with Saudi women. 21 Apr. 2008 (art. 7)
- 32- The Wahhabi strain of Islam, which dominates the country, requires <u>absolute separation</u> of unrelated members of the **opposite sex**. 13 Feb. 2010 (art. 17)

²¹ In the Arab news corpus, references to gender and sex are negative keywords. Sex is referred to only once in this corpus.

Examples 29–32 show that gender and/or sex rules or constraints are represented as other features that characterise the complex Saudi system, which is linked in section 5.2.1 to the national dimension and in 5.2.2 to the religious dimension. 'Gender' and 'sex' collocate with 'regulations, rules' of 'separation, segregation', which suggests a notion of burden or force imposed on society members, both men and women. In examples 29–32, gender force is explicitly or implicitly linked to or collocates with 'Saudi' in all the examples, whereas it is linked to religious orientation in examples 30 and 32:'The Wahhabi strain of Islam, Ultraconservative Muslim country'. In this sense, the resulting represented Saudi system is a complex one that has three constraints: Nationality, Religion and Gender. In section 5.3, this multidimensional system will be investigated in relation to SW, to see how the three dimensions are discursively linked to this group.

Binary gender scheme

Using the Word Sketch difference Function, I compared references to the binary gender scheme of men and women and male and female (see Appendix VI). When first sketching the difference between 'men' and 'women', the linguistic pattern that is highest in frequency is the inclusive form 'men and women' (50 hits, 6. 26 per 10,000 words). This pattern is mainly used to show inequality or to suggest separation between the two groups of men and women. Consider concordance lines 33 and 34:

- 33- Men and women do not have equal rights when it comes to marriage. 1 Feb. 2008 (art.2)
- 34- Up until a few years ago, men and women were not allowed to work in the same room.28 Mar. 2011 (art. 23)

Line 33 shows an inequality in rights, whereas 34 suggests equality in prevention.

An interesting difference between references to men and women can be investigated through sketching the difference between roles allocated to them in the sentences. While only men are objects for verbs like 'award, relate, marry', women are only allocated as objects for verbs like 'allow, prevent, require, forbid, appoint, ban'. This shows inequality in representation as well as allocated roles, in that women are discursively disadvantaged in discourse compared to men.

Using the same corpus function, it was found that the gender term 'male' is used as a premodifier of words like 'guardianship, relative, permission, system, assistant, member, companion'. 'Female', by contrast, is a premodifier of words that indicate women's allocated functions or roles as 'driver, poet, student, activist, comedian, Olympian, athlete' (see Appendix VI). To see how references to male and female social actors are constructed, the premodifiers 'male' and 'female' were checked further in concordance lines. It was found that most of the words that are pre-modified by the gendered word 'male' imply meanings of dominating actions that are practised on women, as the word 'women' collocates with string of words and verbs as subjected recipients of these actions within these sentences. See lines 35–40:

- 35-Saudi Arabia has strict laws <u>requiring</u> women to <u>seek</u> male permission for various decisions and actions. 19 Mar. 2018 (art. 52)
- 36-[A] woman_is not allowed to work or travel without the permission of her male guardian, father or husband. 28 Mar. 2011 (art. 23)
- 37- Women are required to get the permission of a male relative if they want to do a number of things, including getting a passport, travel abroad or marry. 1 Jun. 2017 (art. 115)
- 38-However, male members of her family <u>disapproved</u> of this activity. 30 Jul. 2017 (art. 121)
- 39-Saudi women are urging deeper freedom from <u>traditional restrictions</u>, such as those imposed by what they see as <u>oppressive</u> male guardianship. 23 Sept. 2013 (art. 55)
- 40- Under the Saudi guardianship system every **woman** <u>must have</u> a **male companion** with her in public. 13 Jan. 2018 (art. 140)

Generally, the words 'guardian' and 'permission' imply meanings of domination and power of one person or group over another less powerful one. As shown by the structure of the above sentences, these two features of power are attributed to male guardians whose permission is required by women when the latter need to accomplish any action. In these sentences, the meaning of the words 'relative, member, assistant, companion', which seem to be neutrally, or even positively, evaluated when occurring alone, appear to have unfavourable prosody in the structure with male as a premodifier in such larger units of language. These examples show unfavourable prosody of domination that is attributed to male gendered terms. This prosody is also recognised as women being the subjects of verbs or verb phrases like 'seek, are required, must have, is not allowed to', all of which are linked to male actors' permission or control. The lexical, semantic and the structural features investigated in the above examples (29-40) construct the third dimension of system linked to women as unfavourable force, which is Patriarchy.

'Female' by contrast, works as a premodifier of words that indicate women's role or function, creating in this way different subcategories of the general SW identity with different representations, as identified in Chapter Four and as will be discussed in Chapter Seven. For example, 'female activists' are associated with verbs that represent them as very active actors who also appear as targets of practices against them. Other categories of women that are pre-modified by 'female' are represented as trendsetters of SW in accomplishing an innovative role or activity suggested by the word 'first', e.g. 'first + female +Olympian, athlete, comedian'. This suggests positive discursive prosody for a subcategory of SW, which will be elaborated in Chapter Seven discussing women subcategories.

In sum, representations to the three dimensions Nationality, Religion and Gender that form the Saudi system have been exemplified in the above sections. It has also been shown how these dimensions are particularly linked to generic female social actors in discourse. In the following section, texts including the genericised category of SW will be analysed with examples of concordance lines to show how they are represented and linked to the multidimensional Saudi system. Representations of the generic category of men will only be considered in relation to their interaction with 'women', as presented in examples 35–40 above. This is for two reasons. First, the low number of occurrences of references to the male category in the data are not enough to conduct a collocational corpus analysis and see how they are represented. The second reason is because the general aim of the study, for which the corpus was built, is to see how SW are contextualised in the target discourse. However, the discourse subject to study involves a quite enough number of hits that specify male individuals, the thing that will allow a qualitative analysis in an independent Chapter (Chapter Six) to see how this group is linked to women in the data.

5.3. Lexico-grammatical analysis of collocates of 'women'

References to the generic category of SW compared to specified subcategories of SW (see section 4.5.2.2) form the largest portion of all women categories referenced in the corpus. The percentage of references to this generic group is 71% of total references to women, compared to only 29% indicating other specified categories (see Chapter 4, Fig. 5). This suggests that it is the prototypical represented type of Saudi women in BBC news discourse. Consequently, and since this category was briefly reviewed in Chapter Four, it is important to explore in detail how the typical identity of SW is represented in the main discourse. For this, the section at hand will conduct a detailed quantitative and qualitative analysis of the linguistic patterns associating women in an attempt to address the second question about how the identity of SW is represented in BBC news discourse. This collocational analysis will expose frequent lexical references used to create linguistic patterns to represent and evaluate social actions and actors (van Leeuwen, 2008). First, I will start by categorising and analysing the main lexical collocates that are associated with women. The second part of this section will conduct further functional analysis of the collocates that have a direct grammatical relationship to women. Numbered concordance lines will be provided throughout the following sections, with the main searched for social actors in **bold**, i.e. women, associated linguistic features underlined, and other interacting social actors or social dimensions in blue.

5.3.1. Collocational Lexical analysis

The collocational profile of women was investigated and calculated across the data using the span -5 and 5+. Each collocate should have ten or more occurrences with women. In this section, the collocates generated that co-occur with women are classified into categories based on their semantic meaning, as displayed in Table 5-2, and then they are qualitatively analysed. The following table comprises the semantically categorised collocates of women:

Semantic Category	Collocates		
Actors	Men 96, activists 52, male 30, king 25, Abdullah 20, authorities		
	17, police 13, woman 12, family 11, people 11, citizens 11		
Actions/activities	Drive 164, allowed 89, ban* 84, work* 58, permit* 40, wear 39,		
	want 31, get 30, vote 28, travel 24, need 21, arrested 21, take 19,		
	lifted 15, made 12, dress 12, change 12, accompanied 11		
Institutions	Arabia 136, country 49, world 27, kingdom 21, Shoura 20,		
	system 19, government 19, Law 18, Islam 16, jobs 16, council		
	15,		
Description	Saudi 450, male 48, public 32, female 27, Muslim 21, strict 18,		
	Islamic 16, adult 16, religious 14, conservative 13, different 11,		
	young 10		
Other	Right* 77, some 54, still 38, only 37, restrictions 24,		
	guardianship 22, campaign 20, face 14, car 13, wheel 12, most		
	12, laws 11, headscarf 11, football 11		

Table 5-2: Frequency and Semantic classification of women collocates

Generally, there are many collocates that are associated with 'women', indicating the general social dimensions which were identified through the keyness and frequency analysis conducted in Chapter Four and analysed in detail in section 5.2. These dimensions are originally related to women's intersectional cultural identity: Gender 'men, male, female, woman, police, guardianship, dress, headscarf'; Nationality: 'Arabia, country, Kingdom, Saudi, system, law, government'; and Religion: 'Islam, Muslim, Islamic, religious, conservative'. On the discursive level (see section 3.3.1.), these references and others with similar denotations are aspects or dimensions of the created Saudi system that is positioned in discourse to shape and regulate a unique social Saudi identity (see section 5.2).

In table 5-2, by looking at the social actors category, it can be noticed that occurrences of the plural 'men' collocate most with women, which positions them as an important group of actors that need further exploration of words referring to them. Men are also signified by the item 'male' which occurs in the data as a premodifier of different types of men, as will be illustrated in Chapter Six. 'Authorities' and 'police' also indicate male actors, presuming that, by law, the authorities and members of the police in the country are all men. Additionally, 'king' and

'Abdullah' are references to a man who is the monarch. In this category, some collocates of social actors are equally introduced in the data using inclusive terms that include both men and women 'people, family' and 'citizens'.

In the 'actions and activities' category displayed in Table 8, women are linked to a set of verbs or actions, some of which suggest a lack of agency and some have no outcome or goal, or in other words they have no material targets such as 'want, need, work, take, get, wear, dress, vote'. Other verbs imply meanings of domination and hierarchical power relations, e.g. 'allow, ban, permit, arrest, lift, accompany, change, made'. When looking through the concordance lines involving the above two sets of verbs, it was found that 'women' are coded as active actors (van Leeuwen, 2008) of the first set of verbs, whereas they are recipients of actions represented by the second set, in the form of either the passive or the active voice. More illustration and clarification with examples are given in the subsequent grammatical analysis.

We can also see a pattern of references to places/ spatial domains at different levels in the institution category. These places range from international/global, e.g. 'world', to national, e.g. 'country, kingdom', and to narrower spatial contexts, e.g. 'jobs, Shoura, Council'. These collocates represent the contexts or social domains that involve interactional/ interpersonal relations between different categories of social actors.

With a few exceptions, the items included in the description category mainly indicate the general social dimensions, Nationality, Religion and Gender that are considered original components/ dimensions of Saudi members' identity. Other individual age-related features are 'adult' and 'young' that collocate with women to subcategorise other individual groups of women and add features to their original intersectional identity.

Both sets of collocates within the institutional and description categories reinforce the social domains and Saudi identity dimensions that were identified in the last chapter, namely, Nationality, Religion and Gender.

These collocational categories need further linguistic investigation in an attempt to build up an image of how SW's general identity is constructed in the language context. Therefore, and

having conducted a general lexical analysis of the most frequent collocates of women, further grammatical analysis of collocation is presented in the next section to see how women are represented in linguistic statements and what kinds of roles are allocated to them.

5.3.2. Sketching 'women': grammatical analysis

The main category of women subject to study can be further investigated by exploring the different grammatical features surrounding them in the corpus. In the previous section, the collocational profile of 'women' was produced. However, the relationships between these collocates and the women category have not been documented. In this section, the collected collocates will be identified and grammatically categorised using Word Sketch Function (see Appendix V). This function, besides producing all the collocates of the investigated word, classifies them according to their grammatical relationship to the word searched for (Baker, 2014). It is used here to generate word sketches of nouns, verbs, adjectives or propositions that colligate with 'women', including low frequency collocates, to show their grammatical and/or functional behaviour. Table 5-3 illustrates the classification of the collocates and their grammatical relationship to 'women' as informed by the word sketch function. Each of the grammatical categories included in this table is illustrated in detail in the following subsections.

Grammatical function	Collocates	Women's role
Adjectives/ predicates	Saudi 324, many 23, first 20, young 12, Arabia*	Post modifier
	10, adult 7, business 7, Muslim 5, few 5	
Premodifier	Driver 40, activist 30, driving 20, work 22, job	Premodifier
	10	
Subject	Be 313, have 90, drive 70, do 30, take 22, want	Activated/passivated
	21, say 15, work 12, wear 10, make 10, post 8,	
	need 8, seek 7, claim 6	
Object	Allow 106, give 22, ban 19, be 38, see 15, arrest	Passivated
	14, permit 12, require 12, prevent 15, forbid 7,	
	appoint 7	
Possession	Right 50, life 11, participation 10, husband 10,	Possessor
	family 9, guardian 8, body 5,	
Prepositional phrases		
a- Benefit	To 40, for 90,	Benificialised
b- obligation	on 127, over 20, against 19	Passivated

Modals		
a- Permission	can 43, could 26	Passivated
b- Obligation.	must 46, should 30, have to 22	Passivated/benificialised

Table 5-3: Frequency and grammatical classification of women collocates

Premodifiers and post modifiers

In the data, 'women' works as either a post modifier of certain adjectives or a noun that attributes certain traits to them, or as a premodifier of other words (see the first two categories in the above table). The main dominant feature that is attributed to women here is conveyed by the premodifier 'Saudi', which certainly entails other features related to nationality and culture. The feature 'Muslim', on the other hand, is rarely overtly attributed to women in the examined discourse. Other premodifiers that collocate with this general category create further intersectional subcategories of women characterised by their age 'young', by their firstness as pioneers in doing an action in the society 'first', or by their function or role of 'businesswomen'. In other cases, 'women' is sketched as a premodifier of other nouns. 'Women' reoccurs as a premodifier of 'drivers' or 'activists', which identifies two further subcategories of women classified according to their roles. This strategy may be used in the data to characterise them differently from other existing groups of male drivers and activists. The grammatical function of possession is shown in other instances, where occurrences of 'women' are coded as possessors when preceding the nouns 'driving, work, job', which suggests a kind of agency and having a role, though their frequency is relatively low in the data.

Agency analysis/ Role allocation

In this section, verbs that collocate with women are examined in accordance with the framework of van Leeuwen's (2008) aspect of role allocations which is included in his social actor network (ibid., p.52). Drawing on this, there are two kinds of grammatical relationships between occurrences of 'women' and verbs that tend to collocate with them in the data, and accordingly specify their roles in the process. More precisely, women are coded as patients/ objects or agents/ subjects for the nominated actions that occur and thus their roles can be represented as passive or active in the co-text (see Table 5-3, 'subject' and 'object' categories). As suggested in the previous section, some of the verbs that collocate with 'women' as a subject show lower levels of agency as most of them do not target material goals or aims to achieve change, e.g.

'are, want, need, do, have, work'. Amongst these verbs, the verb 'to be' (313), is the most frequent one reoccurring with 'women'. However, when it was examined in concordance lines (see Fig. 5.1, a screenshot from Sketch Engine), it was found that it is used in most cases to form the passive voice of other main verbs, positioning 'women' in this way at the receiving end of another activity which is practised by other (in most cases excluded) agents.

	Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1	doc#0	code, women suffer severe restrictions on daily life.	women are	not allowed to appear before a judge without a male
2	doc#0	in a practical light - the clear implication being that, if	women are	to drive, the government should do more to prepare t
3	doc#0	ial compound where as Wajeha Huwaider notes that	women are	allowed to drive because it is not a public road.<
4	doc#0	nforces the separation of the sexes in public. <s></s>	Women are	prevented from mixing with men other than relatives,
5	doc#0	ing cars and from employment in many jobs. <s></s>	Women are	required to cover women in Islamic dress when in pu
6	doc#0	n simple decisions on children, the report says Saudi	women are	being kept in perpetual childhood so male relatives c
7	doc#0	Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world where	women are	not allowed to drive. <s>Saudi clerics see the gu</s>
8	doc#0	sguided policies. <s>" The report says that Saudi</s>	women are	denied the legal right to make even trivial decisions f
9	doc#0	father. <s>Human Rights Watch says that Saudi</s>	women are	prevented from accessing government agencies that
10	doc#0	I hopes. <s>Behind these high walls other young</s>	women are	also learning to ride. <s>"Only 50 girls are riding</s>
11	doc#0	8 Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world where	women are	not allowed to drive. <s>Women's rights activist V</s>
12	doc#1	/oman was arrested after hitting another car. <s></s>	Women are	prohibited from driving on all public roads in Saudi Ar
13	doc#1	·Saudis clamp down on women's gyms (2009) Saudi	women are	largely constrained to the home and single-sex enviro
14	doc#1	promo boards. <s>At the same time, a few Saudi</s>	women are	starting to go bare-faced in the smarter shopping ma
15	doc#1	18 to 30-year-old men and women. <s>Men and</s>	women are	educated, well travelled Saudis who are more expose
16	doc#1	nost basic affairs. <s>Human Rights Watch says</s>	women are	still being prevented from travelling or receiving med

Figure 5-1: Concordances of 'women's' passivated role/ Sketch Engine

Passive voice structures involving 'women' as a subject are exemplified in the concordance lines 41–45:

- 41- Women <u>are prohibited</u> from driving on all public roads in Saudi Arabia. 5 Mar. 2009 art. (177)
- 42- Saudi women are largely constrained to the home and single-sex environments. 27 Apr. 2009 (art. 178)

- 43- Human Rights Watch says **women** <u>are</u> still being <u>prevented</u> from travelling or receiving medical treatment. 9 Jul. 2009 (art. 178)
- 44- Women were permitted to enter, it said, but only with a male escort.17 Apr. 2014 (art. 73)
- 45-It's the first time that **women** <u>have been allowed</u> to vote and stand as candidates in elections in Saudi Arabia. 12 Oct. 2015 (art. 93)

In examples 41–45, the main included actor is 'women' and all the hits are located as subjects, whereas the real agent is excluded. The verb 'have' in line 45, which suggests possession, also collocates relatively frequently with women. Nonetheless, it is used in 30 instances to create a passive voice structure with 'women' passivated in the sentences and represented as the target of an action or social practice, as exemplified in line 45. Another 20 examples show unfavourable discourse prosody for 'have', which is followed by 'to' to give a meaning of force or obligation when followed by verbs indicating constraint, e.g. 'women have to adhere to strict dress codes' (see Table 5.4, p. 130). In other processes, occurances of 'women' are coded as actors of verbs that show a lack of agency or dynamic force in the activity. For example, when manually checking the verb 'drive', it was found that only in 24 out of 70 processes 'women' is coded as an actor of the verb, whereas in the rest 'women' is a premodifier for the noun 'driving'. In 70 per cent of occurrences of the verb 'do', it is used as a helping verb in the language to negate the main verb and show women's inability to do deeds. The rest of the verbs imply women's less powerful roles in these processes, as these verbs do not carry meanings of force to change the outer social context (van Leeuwen, 2008): 'take, want, work, wear, make, say, post, need' are mainly used to express women's desires, feelings or their limited activities.

On the other hand, 'women' occurs as an explicit patient in relation to actions that generally indicate meanings of force and domination by more active agents. For example, verbs like 'allow, ban (always juxtaposed with driving), arrest, require, forbid' denote meanings of forceful practices enacted on women (lines 46--49). In contrast, 'give' and 'appoint' represent women as positively benefiting from nominated actions, as in lines 50 and 51. The implications of the grammatical feature of allocating agency, as well as other lexical and grammatical features, will be discussed and interpreted in Chapter Eight.

- 46-Saudi Arabia is planning to bring in a new law to <u>allow</u> women lawyers to argue cases in court for the first time. 21 Feb. 2010 (art. 18)
- 47-Saudi Arabia is the world's only country to <u>forbid</u> women from driving. 25 Dec. 2014 (art. 84)
- 48- The Gulf kingdom is the only country in the world that <u>bans</u> women from driving. 27 Sep. 2017 (art. 125)
- 49- Saudi Arabia's laws <u>require</u> women to seek male permission for various decision and actions. 20 May 2018 (art. 153)
- 50- The Middle Eastern country is one of the last in the world to give women the right to vote. 25 Sep. 2011 (art. 23)
- 51- Saudi Arabia's king appoints women to Shura Council. 11 Jan. 2013 (art. 53)

More in-depth analysis of transitivity and verb processes in the examined discourse will be conducted in the next two chapters to shed light on the interpersonal relations and hierarchy between the specified individual social actors.

Possession

In the possession category, the most distinguishable frequent collocate that co-occurs with 'women' is 'rights' (see Table 5-3). This word is widely distributed across the data but not indicated as something achieved or possessed by women, rather, it is something demanded and questioned to be given to women. Most of the other nouns that appear to collocate with women as possessives are related to their private domestic domain, 'life, husband, family, guardian and body'.

Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are of key importance in showing how roles are assigned to social actors and consequently contribute to exploring identity. Van Leeuwen claims that, besides participation in processes, the role of social actors can also be realised by different tools, amongst which are prepositions such as 'for, to, on, by', and others. In the case of passivation, two further categories of passivated social actors can be made: subjected and benificialized, which can also be realised through the use of prepositions (van Leeuwen, 2008, pp. 33-34). 'For' and 'to' are relatively high in frequency in the corpus. When checking concordance lines, in most cases they are immediately located before 'women' to suggest that women are positively benificialised, or in other words they benefit from the actions performed by other more powerful agents. Concordances 52 and 53 show how women are benificialised from the actions of creating new jobs and women-only pools by an included agent in the first example, but an excluded one in the second.

- 52- The new law could potentially create up to 40,000 jobs for ordinary Saudi women who have little or no access to employment. 5 Jan. 2012 (art. 39)
- 53- <u>Pools</u> in other hotels are only <u>open to</u> women on certain fixed days or hours. 22 Jan.2008 (art. 1)

'Against + women' and 'on/over + women' are other prepositions that are frequently ascertained across the data and they carry meanings of unfavourable societal practices. 'Women' here is subjected as the goal of material processes that are linked to women by prepositions, which suggests their passivation, lines 54–56.

54-Saudi Arabia's discrimination against women MUST END! 25 Apr. 2018 (art. 148)

- 55-It is one of a number of severe <u>restrictions on women</u> in the country. 17 Jun. 2011 (art.5)
- 56- Saudi establishment sacrifices basic human rights to maintain male control over women.21 Apr. 2008 (art. 7)

Modality

References to 'women' collocate with dynamic modals, e.g. 'can' and 'could', which are usually used to indicate a capacity of the subject within a clause (Nuyts, 2001, 0.3). However, these modals reoccur in negative or interrogative form when they collocate with 'women' to indicate the inability or prohibition to accomplish a deed, as in examples 57–60.

- 57-Women cannot make even simple decisions on children. 21 Apr. 2008 (art. 7)
- 58-At the moment, women <u>can only</u> work behind the scenes in government and court offices. 21 Feb. 2010 (art. 8)
- 59- What can women still not do in Saudi Arabia? 27 Sep. 2017 (art. 27)
60- The women were angered that female US soldiers based in the Kingdom could drive freely while Saudi women could not. 17 Jun. 2011 (art. 25)

In 57 and 59, the modal 'can' is negated to show inability or what women cannot do; it is followed by 'only' in 58 to indicate limitations on action; and it is used in line 59 with 'still' to form a question about what women cannot do.

In examples 61 and 62, 'could' is an epistemic modal (Nuyts, 2001, p.21) that is used in the two examples to suggest unfavourable probabilities linked to 'women'.

- 61- The Saudi interior ministry said women <u>could be punished</u> if they do drive. 27 Oct.2013 (art. 65)
- 62- Abdullah Qassem <u>feared</u> that women <u>could be influenced</u> by Western culture. 13 Aug. 2012 (art. 47)

References to women appear in lines 61 and 62, as objects within a passive structure for an excluded actor in 61, as an included actor in 62, i.e. 'Western culture', which is suggested as unfavourable by the verb 'feared'.

In lines 63–66, more examples of modals suggest obligation:

- 63- Women under 45 <u>must</u> receive permission from a male when women travel. 9 Jul. 2009 (art. 178)
- 64- In Saudi Arabia, a highly conservative Islamic state, women <u>must</u> have a male guardian.
 29 Jun. 2011 (art. 8)
- 65- Abdullahal-Mutlaq, a member of the Council of Senior Scholars, said women should dress modestly. 10 Feb. 2018 (art. 143)
- 66-...abayas, the long black robes that **women** <u>have to wear</u> in the kingdom. 13 Dec. 2012 (art. 52)

Strong deontic modals, i.e. 'must, should, have to', frequently collocate with the generic category of women. Most of these modal forms are used to imply meanings of restriction and obligation forced on women, as demonstrated in concordances 63–66.

What is interesting in using strong modals like 'must' or 'should' is that, in most cases, what comes after the restrictive modal is a verb linking to a patriarchal practice, like 'male's

permission', religious practices such as the 'hijab' or 'all body covering clothes', as can be noticed in examples 63–66 above. Figure 5-2, a screen capture from Sketch Engine, presents evidence of this discursive practice:

	Details	Left context	KWIC	Right context
1		n Saudi Arabia, a highly conservative Islamic state,	women must	have a male guardian. <s>Until marriage, guar</s>
2		, and even sons. <s>Under this tradition, Saudi</s>	women must	obtain permission from women's guardian to work,
3	doc#4	an absurdity in the ban on driving as it means that	women must	rely on male drivers - thereby spending large amo
4	doc#6	n author deems to be the Saudi way. <s>"Saudi</s>	women must	appear with respectable hijab, so we can have Sa
5	doc#6	nen's husbands want maids from Chile or Morocco,	women must	first see the maids before accepting them," Eid Ab
6	doc#7	system is being handed to the government. <s></s>	Women must	have the consent of a male guardian to travel abro
7	doc#8	Ind theatres are prohibited in Saudi Arabia.	Women must	wear loose-fitting, full-length robes known as "abay
8	doc#8	a strict form of Sunni Islam known as Wahhabism,	women must	wear loose-fitting, full-length robes known as "aba
9	doc#8	If women want to travel, work or access healthcare	women must	be accompanied by - or receive written permission
10	doc#8	if women want to travel, work or access healthcare	women must	be accompanied by - or receive written permission
11	doc#8	onservative country. <s>There are many things</s>	women must	ask the men in women's lives for permission to do
12	doc#8	r to work is not up to female workers. <s>Saudi</s>	women must	cover their bodies completely by wearing an abaya
13	doc#8	If women want to travel, work or access healthcare	women must	be accompanied by - or receive written permission
14	doc#9	<s>Under Saudi Arabia's guardianship system,</s>	women must	be accompanied by a male family member to trave
15	doc#9	<s>While out in public and at these events, the</s>	women must	wear loose-fitting, full-length robes known as "aba
16	doc#9	edges to abolish it. <s>Under the system, adult</s>	women must	obtain permission to travel, marry or leave prison.

Figure 5-2: The obligation pattern 'women must'/ Sketch Engine

As shown in Figure 5-2 above, 'women' is mostly positioned as forced by the multidimensional system to accomplish deeds. This relationship is expressed by the linkage of references to women to patriarchal, religious and national dimensions, e.g. 'women must have a male guardian, women must adhere to a strict dress code'. It is noticed in the table above that there are repeated concordance lines, and there are other examples scattered in the corpus. When the repeated instances were checked in the compiled articles, it has been found that they are included in different articles produced in different points of time. This could be attributed to the fact that the content of the online version can be accessed and modified at any time, resulting in updated similar copies that adds new developments or corrections (Garrison, 2005, pp. 15-16).

By studying the modal verbs, it is noticed that they are used in the data not only to express restrictions on women. In a few other cases, modal forms are inserted in texts to express what I would call 'beneficial obligation' (see Table 5-4). This meaning is conveyed when modals (i.e., must, should and have to) are used as helping verbs linked to main verbs that convey the meanings of benefits for women, whether acted out by women themselves 'women must' or by other agents. Examples of this use of modal verbs are shown in lines 67-69, in which women are shown as beneficiaries of obligation.

- 67- Saudi authorities <u>must stop treating</u> women as second-class citizens. 17 Jun. 2011 (art. 25)
- 68- About 10 years ago the king said women <u>should be central</u> to the Saudi economy. 25 Sep. 2011 (art. 31)
- 69- Women have to be discreet. 13 Apr. 2015 (art. 90)

Modal	Beneficial obligation	Restriction
Must	7	39
Should	12	18
Have to	2	20

Table 5-4: Functions of modals collocating with women

5.4. Summary

In sum, different language strategies are used to create a complex system and intersectional subjects. On the discursive level, the system has three dimensions that are evaluated as a force or dominance matrix (Nationality, Religion and Patriarchy) which is mainly linked to the general category of women. The journalists use different linguistic repetitive patterns and link them to 'women'. This discursive practice results in positioning them as weak subjects or powerless agents in discourse, and in most cases as passive actors who are located as targets of other actions practised by more powerful male subjects. In this way, the stereotypical image of women who are dominated and represented as subordinate weak social actors is reinforced by representing them as dominated intersectional subjects in an international media outlet, i.e. BBC news. Likewise, biased gender practices are perpetuated through using different lexical

and grammatical tools of language and discourse. These results will be explored and further interpreted in relation to the social context in the discussion chapter.

More analysis of discourse on Saudi specified intersectional categories, and the interpersonal relations created for them in this discourse, occurs in the next two chapters. The three subcategories of men and the four subcategories of women that are identified by the corpus analysis provided in Chapter Four will be analysed in Chapters Six and Seven, respectively.

6. CHAPTER SIX: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF INTERSECTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS: SAUDI MEN SUBCATEGORIES

6.1. Introduction

The chapter at hand and Chapter 7 build on the results of the previous analyses presented in Chapters Four and Five. In Chapter Four, a corpus intersectional discourse analysis was conducted by mixing different analytical tools adapted from CL, SAA and intersectionality. This analysis resulted in identifying three levels of complex representation: a three-dimensional system, intersectional generic female and male categories, and seven specified intersectional male and female subcategories. In Chapter Five, a lexical, semantic and grammatical analysis of collocates and concordance lines involving the system and the generic social actors of men and women was presented. In the present chapter and in Chapter Seven, the seven subcategories involving specified individuals of men and women will be analysed. In so doing, I will conduct a qualitative analysis of selected extracts, which should include references to specified social actors, previously grouped and classified into subcategories based on shared features (e.g. clerics, royals, activists; see Chapter Four).

The general aim of the qualitative analysis of these extracts is to show how the complex subcategories of men and women are represented. Furthermore, it examines the roles, interaction and power relationships amongst actors on this intersectional level (specified subcategories); how they are linked to the three-dimensional system; and how they differ in representation from each other. The analysis in the present and subsequent chapters will address the third and fourth research questions:

- 3- What other intersectional subcategories are represented in the data?
- 4- How are female and male subcategories positioned in the social structure?

The third question was partially answered by the corpus analysis in Chapter Four. However, what was focused on was only finding and classifying social actors into groups based on explicit shared features. Therefore, in this chapter, the collected actors will be qualitatively explored for ascribed features, allocated roles and strategies of nomination and categorisation, as

demonstrated by the SAA aspects illustrated in Chapter Three (see section 3.3.2.3). In addition, from an intersectional perspective, the role of the linguistic features employed in the texts will be linked to intersectional representations on the discursive level. In other words, I will attempt to see how language as a tool works to build different intersectional representations within the discursive context. For example, how nominating specific social actors, ascribing lexical items or roles to them, and positioning them in specific grammatical structures depicts different privileged, disadvantaged or even marginalised intersectional representations for these subjects within the examined discourse. This does not mean that the analysis will be done in stages, textual and discursive, but it will be a mixture of analysing the textual and discursive features employed to produce a specific representation.

As mentioned above, the corpus analysis exposed references to three main male subcategories: male royals, religious men and male relatives. These three subcategories will be analysed in this chapter, whereas Chapter Seven will be devoted to analysing representations of female subcategories. In each text in the present chapter and Chapter Seven, I will specify the included actors. These actors will be studied for strategies of nomination and categorisation (van Leeuwen, 2008). In addition, I will analyse the roles allocated to them and their agency within grammatical processes as well as the relationships depicted amongst interacting social actors (van Leeuwen 2008, Halliday, 1985). While doing the analysis, the relation between these textual strategies used to refer to the actors and intersectional representation will be examined.

6.2. Male Royals

References to male royals are of particular interest in the study, as items used to refer to this subcategory have the highest frequency compared to those referring to other types of male actors in the data. Four royal figures are frequently mentioned in the examined discourse. Besides referring to their royal class, three of them (King Abdullah, King Salman and Prince Mohammed bin Salman) are discursively distinguished by a further identity dimension which is their political position, as can be seen in most of the following examples. This subcategory is divided into two further subcategories based on sociopolitical rank: kings and princes.

6.2.1. The kings

6.2.1.1. King Abdullah

Unsurprisingly, in almost all of instances, Abdullah is formally addressed in terms of his position 'king, monarch', and nominated in his first name, as can be seen in the following examples:

Example 1

Correspondents say King Abdullah has struck a reformist stance since he ascended the throne in 2005, especially in regard to women's rights. (29 Sep. 2011, art. 36)

Example 2

Since he ascended the throne in 2005, King Abdullah has been widely seen as trying to strike a reformist stance in the traditional Sunni Islamic country (13 Jun. 2012, art. 45).

Example 3

Saudi Arabia is a conservative society which has been inching towards reform under the leadership of King Abdullah, himself a reformist. (25 Sep. 2011, art. 32)

In the above three examples, the main included social actor is 'Abdullah'. References to him are linked to other intersectional representational levels, i.e. the generic category of 'Saudi women', and the Saudi system. In other words, interaction/ relationships are discursively created amongst three complex levels: the specified 'King Abdullah', categorical 'SW' and systemic 'country'.

Besides the political address form 'King', which also refers to a political position, and the personal name 'Abdullah', different lexical terms are selected to functionalise this subject according to his role as a reformer (see section 3.3.2.3 for actors' determination strategies). The

terms surrounding this actor in these examples imply meanings of authority, power, capacity and ability to change intrinsic/ fossilised social beliefs, views and practices. In the first and second examples, when the verbs 'struck' and 'strike' collocate with 'reformist stance', positive discourse prosody (Stubbs, 2001) for the action is conveyed. This construction suggests that reform is framed as a desirable powerful action promoted by the king and the target is both the system and the generic category of women. In example 1, the reform action is specifically linked to the status of the generic intersectional category of SW. In (2) and (3), the reform action is linked to the system, which is represented in terms of its regional and religious dimensions: 'Sunni Islamic country', further culturally represented as 'traditional', 'Saudi Arabia is a conservative society'. In brief, in these examples, the 'King' is represented as a powerful reformer who has agency and influence over other interacting subjects.

Many examples in the data refer to the king's active roles and their targets, which depict the kind of relationship between the dominant actor and the affected or acted upon recipient: agent/ patient. The following examples exhibit the roles of the king as an active agent, and also depict images for less powerful actors who are affected by these actions.

Example 4

In September last year King Abdullah granted women the right to vote and take part in municipal elections.

.... King Abdullah has made moves to give women more rights – with seats on the influential Shura Council and the right to vote in the next municipal elections. (9 Jul. 2013, art. 61)

Example 5

In September 2011, King Abdullah announced that women would be given the right to vote and run in future municipal elections. (27 Jul. 2012, art. 50)

In examples 4 and 5, the king is functionalised as a decision-maker whose decisions are linked to the political and social position of women. The verbs and verbal phrases 'grant, made moves

to give, announced that' indicate meanings of power and superiority, and refer to the dominant political voice attributed to the king. The generic category of SW is represented here as the powerless beneficiary of these actions, being located as object in the sentences or as the subject of a passive construction (5). The words and structure of these sentences propose a meaning of promotion and change to the social and political structure by a powerful actor for the sake of a powerless category. Although it is implied in these sentences that women lack agency, the positive change in their agency is suggested by benificialising them in the sentences: 'the right to vote, take part in municipal elections, seats in the influential Shura Council, vote and run in future municipal elections'. The adjective 'influential' in example 4 suggests and highlights the importance of the new political status granted to women. In other words, these expressions suggest a change in the status of the social category and the gender dimension of the system caused by this individual powerful actor. Moreover, the generic gender category is, although grammatically passivated, represented as positively changing, which in turn represents a new image for SW within this co-text characterised by being politically and socially more active than the stereotypical image of 'oppressed, restricted Saudi women'.

Subtle Shift in Representation

After depicting a powerful image for the king as a dominant actor and a sociopolitical cuttingedge reformer of the system and a group of social members, there is evidence suggesting a subtle difference in this representation. This is achieved by foregrounding other traits of this actor through lexical and syntactic choices.

Example 6

Saudi Arabia remains a deeply conservative country, however King Abdullah has recently introduced some cautious political and social reforms. (13 Jun. 2012, art. 45)

Example 7

Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah presents himself as a sponsor of reformed Islam, but as Ginny Hill discovers competing power bases in the country mean that social reform develops sporadically. ... King Abdullah has been sponsoring a slow-burn reform programme since inheriting the throne. And he replaced the head of the Mutaween in a rare cabinet reshuffle in February.

The move was seen as an attempt to rein in the organisation's most brutal and oppressive elements. (4 Jun. 2009, art. 12)

In examples 6 and 7, King Abdullah is indicated as an agent of reform. However, the use of some language features affects this image. In (6) a meaning of being careful and wary when making decisions is conveyed by adding the adjective 'cautious' to describe the king's behaviour, which is further preceded by 'some' to suggest a limit. In (7) the conjunction 'but' is used to join contradicting clauses. In the first sentence of (7), a different view and a different social actor are inserted into the text to convey the writer's presupposition of a specific idea. Thus, inserting Hill's view starting with the contradictory conjunction 'but' gives a meaning of random social reform suggested by using the adverb 'sporadically'. Adding this feature affects the meaning spelled out in the first clause that presents the king as a 'sponsor of reformed Islam'. This sentence also informs that there is a competing dominant political group responsible for slowing down or delaying the progress of reform. In the second sentence of (7), the king's programme of reform is described by the expression 'slow-burn' to convey the meaning of incremental progress. A reason for that is proposed in the next sentence which is the king's 'attempt' to control so-called 'oppressive elements', i.e. clerics, who are negatively described as 'brutal' and 'oppressive' and recognised as an obstacle of reform. Extract 8 further clarifies this discursive practice:

Example 8

The King took the decisions following consultations with religious leaders.

... The King said he had consulted religious scholars, who had approved the participation of women in accordance with Sharia (Islamic law). (11 Jan. 2013, art. 59).

The religious male subcategory is represented in (8) in terms of its role as 'leaders' who are 'consulted' by the king. In this way, men who are religious are depicted as having top hierarchical political positions, or as religious issues legislators in this created discursive

context. Further, the word 'following', which describes the king's action of making decisions in (8), suggests order in doing so, giving the clerics priority and a higher function in assessing and approving these decisions. In this way, language is used to represent the king as a follower/ consulter, as opposed to the previously depicted image of top leader and decision-maker, which marks a subtle shift in representation. This meaning is further confirmed in the second sentence which expresses the supremacy of the clerics who are linked to the religious system, which was originally a basic aspect of their identity: 'who had approved the participation of women in accordance with Sharia (Islamic law)'.

In sum, in extract (7), an image of the religious male subcategory is negatively depicted as being 'brutal oppressive elements' who should be dominated and replaced by the king. In (8), by contrast, a powerful dominant leading image is portrayed for religious figures and linked to the royal actor whose image and role are discursively converted from a definite powerful actor to a less powerful one. This suggests that intersectional representations are not static, but rather are process-centred and changing in discourse (Weldon, 2008; Choo and Ferree, 2010). This change in the representations of subjects may be affected by the contexts of time or place or other circumstantial aspects that surround this discursive context.

The above extracts which convey different intersectional representations include linguistic and discursive practices that foreground some features of identity, whether individual or categorical, and change their images and represented positions in different discursive contexts (Hunt and Jaworska, 2019). More examples showing how a relationship is sketched out between the royals and the religious category will be analysed in Section 6.3., which investigates the representation of the religious male category. Now I will move on to the second royal actor, the current king of Saudi Arabia.

6.2.1.2. King Salman

After King Abdullah died, crown prince Salman ascended the throne in 2015. The following extract includes predictions or presuppositions for the identity of the new king at the very beginning of his reign.

Women are waiting to see if progress in other areas will continue under the new monarch, King Salman bin Abdulaziz, who is seen as closer to the religious establishment than his predecessor. He has sent mixed messages so far. Publicly women declare that King Salman bin Abdulaziz cannot reverse the gains women have made. Privately some express unease. But all agree that even if changes continue, changes will happen very slowly. (13 Apr. 2015, art. 92)

This example is extracted from the first article reporting on King Salman, just after taking the throne. Here, King Salman's is initially identified in his role as a 'new monarch', followed by his formal name and an adjectival clause, which identifies him in his relation to religious members. Beside the royal aspect, his identity here is implied as more religious, understood from the adjectival clause that follows his name, 'who is seen as closer to the religious establishment than his predecessor'. As previously discussed, the religious dimension of the Saudi system is negatively evaluated in the data as a force imposing strict gender roles (see Chapter 5). The image constructed here for the king is the one women do not want. Thus, an intersectional image is created for the king by foregrounding a religious feature which intersects with other basic features to construct an unfavourable persona. In this example, this image is recognised by the associating lexical terms 'unease, cannot reverse, very slowly', which are combined in the sentence to appraise this actor negatively within this co-text. However, a different image of this actor is suggested as the discourse progresses/ proceeds:

Example 10

Earlier this year, King Salman issued orders to modify guardianship rules. In April, King Salman ordered government agencies to allow women to access government services without a male guardian's consent. (30 Jul. 2017, art. 124)

Example 11

Saudi Arabia's King Salman has issued a decree allowing women to drive for the first time, to the joy of activists. (27 Sep. 2017, art. 128).

Examples 11, 12, 13 and 14, which include King Salman as a main actor, are randomly selected from the corpus. However, it is noticed that all are extracted from articles produced in the years 2017 and 2018. This is because most of the news articles that mention Salman as a king (after ascending the throne in 2015) were produced in these two years (see Figure 4-1 and Appendix II). This increase in number of reports on King Salman follows the royal decision of lifting the driving ban on SW which was announced in 2017 and lifted in 2018. In these examples, the author refers to the king in terms of what he does using verbs that represent him as a more active agent and progressive leader. In all these instances, King Salman is included as the main individual agent. He is functionalised as a powerful royal leader who is the actor of the verbs 'issued, ordered, issued a decree', which are linked to core changes in the system of the country and the status of social categories: 'to modify guardianship rules, to allow women ... allowing women'. In these examples, the king's powerful role is linked to the gender dimension with more focus on male guardianship in the first two sentences in (10), while (11) refers to fixing another political gender issue expressed by the king's announcement to lift the driving ban on women. As opposed to the earlier depicted image, the image drawn for the king here is a positive one, categorising him in his role or function as an actor of reform or a reformist who is responsible for making political decisions. The gender dimension of the system and the generic category of women are located at the other end of the reform action. In other words, his identity is represented as an agent of real change and reform with a different stance to the traditional and conservative attitude which refuses social and political change, as conveyed by the following example:

Example 12

King Salman has said it is to take effect from June 2018; the delay seems intended to get conservatives accustomed to a highly visible social change and deal with the practicalities of training female driving instructors and traffic police. (27 Sep. 2017, art. 133)

In example 12, the delay is justified as a strategic stage of a plan aiming to start with some preparations, in contrast to the delay linked to King Abdullah who is depicted as being hindered

by another opposing group, namely, conservative clerics. The following example exemplifies Salman's full unrestricted capacity to make rare political changes to the social structure.

Example 13

King Salman has promoted one of his youngest sons, 32-year-old Mohammed bin Salman, to the elevated position of Crown Prince, partly to connect with this young majority. (17 Apr. 2018, art. 151)

Here, the king is the main actor in the clause, who has acted on another micro-individual actor. In this sentence, the expressions 'promoted, the elevated position, Crown Prince' have meanings of raising and upgrading to a higher position to the benefit of Prince Mohammed. The recipient here is Mohammed, who is nominated by his name and categorised in his relation to the current king, 'one of king's youngest sons'. The premodifier superlative 'youngest' refers to the age order of Mohammed amongst his brothers. This example refers to a core change to the political structure, which is suggested by the verb 'promoted' that indicates raising a position in this sentence (more explanation about the recipient of this promotion is given in section 6.2.2). This action is justified by the author as: 'partly to connect with this young majority'. The terms 'young' and 'majority' foreground two aspects of society members, i.e. majority and average age. Foregrounding these two dimensions helps to legitimise such a promotion/ rare reshuffle. In this extract, the age dimension receives more focus and characterises the prince and the majority of society.

After limited coverage of the current king, shown by the limited discourse space and the low frequency of references to this actor, only 33 items referring to him, the focus of the reportage shifts to another actor, which is the promoted prince. This discursive practice may suggest a type of marginalising the king and his role in the discursive context and moving on to focus on another lower rank actor in the data, but privileged in other features, as will be explored below. The following section will illustrate how princes are represented in discourse.

6.2.2. The Princes

As mentioned earlier, references to two princes are explored in the data, nominated as Prince Mohammed bin Salman and Prince Alwaleed bin Talal. I will first analyse the actor who has more space for representation in the data, i.e. Prince Mohammed.

6.2.2.1. Prince Mohammed

Comparing the space devoted to individuals in the royal subcategory, Prince Mohammed receives more focus than the other three members. This is shown in the number of items referring to his identity, the diversity in strategies to nominate him (see section 4.5.2.3) and the space specified for depicting his image and his social roles. Although he is in fact lower in political and social position than the kings, and references to him appeared in the discourse published in the last two years (2017–18), the corpus quantitative analysis exposed that the number of references to this actor (236) is higher than those referring to the late king (2008–15) and the current king (2015–), (97, 33) references, respectively. A variety of nomination strategies are used to refer to this royal actor, such as formal naming by mentioning his full name, his honorifics, the abbreviation 'MBS'. He is also categorised by his age, relation to the monarch, function and position. The role of these linguistic features in creating a unique intersectional image for the prince will be explored in the following examples:

Example 14

Some slammed the move arguing that <u>the Vision 2030</u> strategy recently outlined by Saudi Deputy Crown Prince and Defence Minister Mohammed bin Salman, which detailed several reforms aimed at diversifying the country's economy and moving it away from its dependence on oil profits, would be at the expense of women. (6 Jun. 2016, art. 104)

Mohammed's name is repeatedly accompanied by his political position, and obviously his royal address form, as in example 14 and most of the following examples. In example 14, the prince is identified by a string of premodifiers referring to: nationality, political position, social position. This string is followed by formally nominating him by his first and second names, which implicitly indicate his gender and relation to the king. He is referred to in terms of his

role or function as a proposer of the Vision 2030 strategy planned to achieve reforms in the economic and social domains of the country.

Besides his formal name, address form and political position, other dimensions of his identity are foregrounded in other instances, as shown in the following example:

Example 15

The young deputy crown Prince driving this plan, who is seen as the favourite son of 81year-old King Salman, knows there's another clock fuelling pressure for change. Twothirds of Saudis are his age or younger. Hundreds of thousands of them, men and women, were educated at the best western universities thanks to a generous scholarship programme started by the former King Abdullah. (13 Feb. 2017, art. 115)

Example 15, though short, includes many linguistic and discursive features surrounding this actor. Linguistically, in this example, Prince Mohammed is referred to and described in terms of his age and personal relation to the monarch of the country, both of which are frequently indicated throughout the discourse. Further, he is described as the 'favourite' of the king, who is identified by his old age, 'the 81-year-old King Salman'. Discursively, the Prince's identity is positively depicted in the context through an intersectional representation of age, relation and closeness/ preference to the king. In addition, a binary age difference (young vs old) is conveyed in this extract, 'young, 81-year-old, his age or younger'. This strategical construction exemplifies a privileged powerful complex image for Mohammed in this and other similar examples in the data.

In example 15, an intersectional image is created, not only for the prince, but also for the social category of general society members who are identified in terms of their young age and number, and they are privileged within an energetic metaphorical image as a 'clock that fuels change', i.e. the reason for change, to appraise their energy and activeness. In the next sentence, further differences are created amongst society members, classifying them in different sub-categories (Nash, 2006) composed of shared intersectional aspects indicating their gender, education and cultural background implied by being educated in Western countries.

In the following extracts, the textual analysis will explore the roles allocated to Mohammed and explore how these roles are linked to the other actors involved (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.42).

Example 16

The lifting of the driving ban is one of a number of changes brought in by 32-year-old Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman in recent years. (16 May 2018, art. 155)

While we have discussed above how King Salman issued an order to lift the ban of driving (see example 11), the prince is functionalised in example (16) as the real activator of this decision within a material process. His action is represented within a dynamic material image, 'a number of changes brought in', which suggests the power of change. One of these changes is the actual lifting of the driving ban on women, which is represented in previous examples as an idea suggested by King Abdullah and as an announcement or a delayed order by King Salman within verbal processes. The expression 'one of' suggests that there are other changes made by this actor, which are displayed in the following examples.

Example 17

Credit for this decision will be given to the new Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman. At 32, he styles himself as a moderniser. Letting women drive does more to change Saudi Arabia's image than any other single policy announcement could and will also burnish his personal image as an agent of change. (27 Sep. 2017, art. 133)

Example 18

Saudi Arabia, meanwhile, is a deeply conservative country. But Mohammed bin Salman has sought to present himself as a reformer, especially when it comes to the subject of women's rights. (22 Mar. 2018, art. 149)

Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is leading a major drive to modernise Saudi society and boost the economy. Like other Middle Eastern countries, Saudi Arabia is overwhelmingly young: most of its 32 million people are under 30. (17 Apr. 2018, art. 151)

In these instances, besides his intersectional image that is built up of terms indicating his social dimensions like age, position and class, he is represented in the above examples in terms of the roles allocated to him and targeting the cultural dimension, as suggested by words that refer to reform and novelty, 'moderniser, reformer and modernise'. This meaning is clear in (18) which starts by describing the country as culturally 'deeply conservative'. This image of the system is contrasted in the second clause with the same example as suggested by the contradicting conjunction 'but' and the clause which inserts an intention to change the cultural stance, i.e. change in gender roles. In (17) and (18), the prince's image and role as an agent of change/ moderniser is linked to the category of women who are represented as a passivated-beneficialised group (van Leeuwen, 2008) by his actions and reforms.

In terms of grammatical structure, in the first sentence of (17), it is clear that the use of the selfreflective verbal phrase 'styles himself' suggests that the agent and the patient are the same actor. Mohammed is represented as positioning 'himself as a moderniser'. This grammatical structure is repeated in the second sentence of (17) where the agent of the verb is the recipient of the action, 'burnish his personal image', to present himself as a reformer. This suggests a meaning of power and capacity linked to his intersectional identity and effective roles allocated to this via the lexico-grammatical structure and allocated roles.

In (19) lexical and grammatical selection is further employed to represent his role and power. He is positioned as an agent followed by a sequence of lexico-semantic terms: 'leading, drive, modernise, boost'. Thus, a meaning of ability for change and transmission is created within a dynamic powerful image using such a sequence of terms that suggest a meaning of agency and change actions. The material verbs and/or process nouns acted out by him are linked to both social society and the economic system, which are located as objects/ targets in this sentence.

In spite of his young age, his lower position compared to kings, he is appraised as influential and senior in his decisions and deeds. He is represented as the decision-maker for events which are expressed as being gradual and careful speech acts when associated with other leaders, e.g. 'changes brought' to the society by the prince vs a 'slow reform programme' by the kings.

Macro-topics, which define the overall and general meaning of discourse (van Dijk, 1988), are relevant to discuss here because references to Prince Mohammed are associated with mentions of new themes or topics that have never been linked to other subjects in the data, as in the following examples:

Example 20

The reforms are in line with a wide-ranging plan announced by 32-year-old Prince Mohammed to bring social and economic change to the oil-dependent kingdom, known as Vision 2030. (29 Oct. 2017, art. 138)

Example 21

The tourism project is part of a plan, known as Vision 2030, spearheaded by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, who was elevated to become the first in line to the Saudi throne in June. (1 Aug. 2017, art. 125)

Example 22

Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman has made lots of changes in Saudi – from allowing women to drive for the first time, to giving them the option to join the military. (25 Apr. 2018, art. 152)

Example 23

It comes as Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman pushes a new reform agenda in the kingdom, allowing women to drive and even join the military. (28 Apr. 2018, art. 153)

Example 24

But in March the young Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman declared that women only needed to dress modestly and not necessarily wear abayas. (27 Jun. 2018, art. 167)

In examples (20-24), his name is involved in discourse discussing new topics that have not been mentioned before: Economy, Tourism, Military and women's way of Dressing. He is functionalised as an agent of social economic change (20), the organiser of a tourism strategy (21), a reformer who activated women's new roles (22) and (23) a moderniser who changed some intrinsic cultural views or behaviours (24). If we look at the verbs in these sentences, we notice a representational meaning of substantial change and movement: 'bring, has made, pushes'. These verbs add strength to the meaning of agent-led change and transformation, which also contribute to positively appraising his represented image and role in this context. 'Spearheaded by' in (21) and 'declared' in (24) also represent his active roles in the surrounding discourse. Although this actor is positioned as a subject in the passive construction in (21) who 'was elevated', this feature gives a positive empowering meaning for his role when linked to the subordinate relational clause 'to become the first in line to the Saudi throne'.

6.2.2.2. Prince Alwaleed

Alwaleed bin Talal has the lowest frequency of royal group references in the data. However, he is privileged in some instances as a result of identifying some aspects of his identity, as shown in the following examples:

Example 25

Eventually she (female film director) was backed by Rotana, the TV production company owned by Saudi Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal, who is known as a supporter of women's rights. (8 Jul. 2013, art. 60) An influential Saudi Prince, the billionaire investor Alwaleed bin Talal has called on his country to lift its ban on women driving cars. He said it was a matter of economic necessity as well as women's rights to lift restrictions ... "It is high time that Saudi women started driving their cars", he said. Prince Alwaleed is an outspoken member of the Saudi royal family who has criticised the restriction of women's rights in the country before. Although he has no political position in the country, he is the chairman of the Kingdom Holding Company (KHC), which owns stakes in the huge US bank Citigroup and the Euro Disney theme park, and which is listed on the Saudi stock exchange. The Prince's statement, published at length on his website, argues that the ban is extremely expensive for Saudi Arabia. (30 Nov. 2016, art. 111)

In (25) the included royal actor is formally nominated as 'Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal; he is identified in terms of his nationality and social position; and he is functionalised in terms of his role as an activist or supporter of women's rights. These selected aspects construct his image positively in this co-text.

In (26), Alwaleed bin Talal is the main social actor. He is first identified by the adjective/ premodifier 'influential' to suggest his function as an influencer. This premodifier is followed by a series of lexical choices that work simultaneously to construct his image in this text. He is identified by his nationality 'Saudi', class 'prince', wealth 'billionaire' and function 'investor', and then formally nominated by his first and surname, which implies his gender. This is followed by the feature 'outspoken' in the third sentence of this example. All of these features are combined by the writer to depict a specific persona for the prince as an influential actor in this text. However, later in the same extract, this image changes when the author described him as having no political position, which appraises him as a weak figure in terms of proposing political change.

At the beginning of the extract, he is discursively functionalised as being influential, which is directly linked to his intersectional representation. In the second part, by contrast, he is blanked/

unfunctionalized in terms of making or imposing decisions in the political field as a result of lack of position.

In terms of lexico-syntactic structure, verbal processes are linked to this actor: 'called, said, criticised, argued'. In (26), he is addressing the national dimension of the Saudi system, without identifying names or specific social actors. In this example, a kind of imbalance between the depicted powerful image and the role allocated to this subject is noticed. In other words, identifying the actor in this intersectional privileged representation is not relevant to the political context which involves political positions and decisions. This is presupposed when his role is reduced or limited to a sayer within the verbal processes 'called, said, criticised, argued' targeting lifting the ban on Saudi women.

Generally, mentions of Alwaleed in discourse are always associated with the economic dimension. The journalist, hence, foregrounds or makes the economic level more relevant in the discursive context including this actor, in spite of the fact that the texts are reporting on political decisions regarding women. It is also noticed that there are no material processes involving references to this actor in the compiled data, which may suggest a difference in representation and power level compared to that of Prince Mohammed.

Having finished the analysis of male royal intersectional subjects in discourse, the following section will analyse the second male sub-category.

6.3. Religious Men

Generally, as demonstrated by the corpus analysis in Chapter Five, references to religious men are frequently associated with references to Abdullah, the late king. They are mainly functionalised as powerful legislators. Construction of the subcategory is exemplified below:

Example 27

For several decades, Saudi Arabia's religious police have been the lynchpin in a power structure linking hard-line Wahabi clerics to the Saudi royal family. (4 Jun. 2009, art. 12)

Example 28

The motoring ban is not enforced by law, but is a religious fatwa imposed by conservative Muslim clerics. It is one of a number of severe restrictions on women in the country. (Jun. 2011, art. 27)

Example 27 is quoted from a report produced at the beginning of the examined period (2009). It suggests a preliminary idea about how the 'Saudi clerics' category is appraised in the texts. In the first sentence, they are first categorised based on their functional position that intersects with their religious orientation, 'religious police'. Their force is represented as a 'lynchpin' in the created social structure. The structure in this sentence is meant to indicate the country's system which is formed by the nationality indicated by 'royal family' and religion indicated by 'clerics'. The latter are further appraised as 'hard-line (forceful) Wahabi' – a loan Arabic word which is used to refer to a party of Muslims– to indicate their extreme religious orientation.

In (28), a meaning of dominance of such a hegemonic sub-category on another social category, 'Saudi women', is linked to hegemonic terms: 'enforced, imposed, conservative, severe and restrictions'. These two gender categories of men and women are contrasted in this extract, creating conflicting images of dominance of religious men and weakness of dominated SW.

Example 29

Correspondents say King Abdullah has been cautiously pressing for political reforms, but in a country where conservative clerics and some members of the royal family resist change, liberalisation has been very gradual. Women in Saudi Arabia to vote and run in elections.

...The King added: "Because we refuse to marginalise women in society in all roles that comply with sharia, we have decided, after deliberation with our senior clerics ... to involve women in the Shura Council as members. (25 Sep. 2011, art. 31)

As previously mentioned, the conservative sub-category of clerics is represented as more dominant in the studied discourse. In the above example, clerics are negatively appraised as anti-change members and may be the factor that affects the pace of change driven by the leader of the country. In the second sentence of (29), clerics are functionalised as consultants of the king, to whom he referred before making the political decision. In other examples, lexical and syntactic choices contribute to constructing their intersectional image:

Example 30

It is not far short of a social revolution being pushed through in the teeth of fierce opposition from the kingdom's top clerics. (5 Jan. 2012, art. 40)

Example 31

Some Saudi clerics have criticised allowing women onto the Shura Council, saying it was against Sharia (Islamic law). (20 Feb. 2013, art. 55)

In examples 30 and 31, the clerics are again negatively appraised in their stance as opponents of the country and ongoing changes for the benefit of the society – depicted as being distressed and struggling with such a group. Words like 'teeth, fierce, opposition' show how the clerics' image is negatively appraised as a basic dimension in the matrix of domination 'Saudi clerics', where gender intersects with religion and nationality to affect SW.

Furthermore, 'some' members of this category who are linked to Sharia (religious system) in this sentence are functionalised as 'critics' who condemn the leaders' political decision of allowing women onto the council as illustrated in example (31).

Shift in Representation

In articles published in the years 2014–16, the subcategory of clerics is somewhat marginalised shown by the clear reduction of references to them during this period. This reduction in references coincides with an increase in references to female activists, which then became more frequent in the data (see section 7.2). However, mentions of male religious men reappeared in reports in 2017 and 2018 (see also Appendix VII for terms trends). Example 32

- The ban on women driving was not a case of the Saudi government suddenly being democratic about its social regulations. Rather, it was a concession to a particular section of society: the influential, socially conservative religious clerics
- The Saud family has always governed with the support of clerics, but some of them have also been critics of the government. The driving ban was an attempt to appease this important constituency and dissuade them from being a potential source of opposition.
- Ending it signals that the clerics no longer have the same role to play in Saudi policy. The old model of ruling was to rely on oil and clerics. Prince Mohammed is trying to build a new model based on nationalism, economic development and the sense that the Saud family provide the security and stability missing in too many other Arab states. (27 Sep. 2017, art. 133)

This extract (32) is from a report published in 2017. It suggests a clear shift in identity representation for the previously depicted image of clerics as influential male subcategory, who are sometimes depicted as competing challengers or opponents of the change. In the first paragraph of (32), this subject is depicted as the main obstacle to sociopolitical change because of their influential role linked to their intersectional image identified as 'authorised religious political men'. In the second paragraph, two contrasting images are created for this subcategory. While they are functionalised as supporters of the royal governors in the first sentence, they are depicted as powerless and meant to be calmed and weakened by the leaders' political decision in the second one. In the second paragraph of 32, 'clerics' are unfunctionalized by explicitly stating that they have a less influential role as a result of ending the driving ban, which is expressed as being done against their will. The journalist in this paragraph presents an unfavourable image for the political system by creating a complex representation: 'the old model of ruling was to rely on oil and clerics'. In contrast, a positive image follows these statements, functionalising Prince Mohammed as a moderniser, who contributes to replacing the so-called 'old model' system with a new national, economic and democratic one, which presupposes innovation in the dimensions of the system. The corpus includes reportage of other unexpected representations of this changing image, social position and role of the clerics:

Example 33

The fact, that even high-profile clerics can be arrested means most Islamists and conservatives will be less likely to speak out – whether over the driving ban, foreign policy or economic austerity. (27 Sep. 2017, art. 133)

Example 34

Women in Saudi Arabia have criticised a Saudi cleric's advice that they should not wear embroidered clothes and avoid make up. Many women responded sarcastically to the cleric's guidance on acceptable attire by sharing pictures of their abayas and asking Dr Arifi for approval. (4 Jul. 2017, art.120)

In (33), 'clerics' are first identified by their class as 'high profile', but then passivated by being located in the subject position of the passive structure. Further, 'clerics' are depicted as likely to be 'arrested' by the forces of government. This passive image is linked to their passivated role in making political decisions, national or international, suggested by the metaphorical phrase 'less likely to speak out', which suggests a certain degree of powerlessness.

Another passive image is depicted in (34) which presents an outspoken cleric, identified by his nationality, as a target of the sarcasm of Saudi women. Here, two new representations, different from what was implied in the first part of the data, are constructed for both the religious man and generic SW. Unexpectedly, in sentence (34), women are located as agents, whereas the cleric is the patient. Hence, we find that the earlier representation that frames the relationship between clerics and women is reversed here. Reference to the religious man figure locates him as a patient for an agent, i.e. SW, which are used to being portrayed, in most examined instances, as voiceless weak patients, targeted by religious, patriarchal and political forces. Although, women's action is not expressed within a material process, the verbal act 'responded' which is defined by the adverb 'sarcastically' indicates an unexpected dominant verbal behaviour or stance linked to such a group towards a member of a category which once was represented as dominating and powerful.

In these extracts and other similar ones, the selection of the topic, social actors and lexicosyntactic structure is employed to create powerful and dominated intersectional images in discourse. In addition, these examples of scenarios suggest a change in roles and images, and dynamic power relations nested between the main categories as scripted through words.

More examples are displayed below, including more linguistic strategies, semantic meanings and discursive interaction and dynamism amongst different intersectional representations:

Example 35

In the 20th Century, its ruling Al Saud dynasty could rely on two sources of power: plentiful oil wealth and an informal pact with conservative religious clerics. But now the country has to adapt to a 21st Century where oil wealth will not be enough to fund government spending and create jobs, and where the clerics have less influence than they once did with the new leaders of the royal family. (17 Apr. 2018, art. 151)

In (35), a clear image of the cleric's position in the past is contrasted with theirs in the present. In the past they are functionalised as an important base for the country, together with the oil. In the second sentence starting with the contradiction conjunction 'but', they are explicitly described as having less influence, linked to the effect of another category identified as 'the new leaders of the royal family'.

Example 36

The 32-year-old crown Prince has also overseen a crackdown on influential clerics and Intellectuals since being named heir to the throne last June. (23 May 2018, art. 158)

Example 37

The authorities in Saudi Arabia have arrested more than 20 clerics and intellectuals in an apparent crackdown on dissent, activists say. (13 Sep. 2017, art. 158)

But the Prince, who took power in June 2017, has also been responsible for a number of high-profile crackdowns on people that could present a challenge to his authority, including arrests of clerics, intellectuals, businessmen and other members of the royal family. (9 Aug. 2018, art. 172)

In examples 36–38, the clerics category is constructed within a different linguistic pattern, which is both grammatically passive and semantically negative. They are positioned as individuals who are suspicious of 'dissent and challenge' and targeted by the authorities, with the deputy crown located as the main actor responsible for the clerics crackdown (36, 37). In example (38), the meaning is stated clearly, as clerics are mentioned within a pattern that shows their lack of agency and dominated position: 'high-profile crackdowns on, arrests of clerics'.

The linguistic study of the above extracts and the previously analysed ones show how the representations of intersectional subjects and the social roles allocated to them, and also nested power relations, are not fixed. Rather, intersectionality works on different levels of the represented social structure (Yuval-Davis, 2006): systems, generic and individual subjects as shown in the examples analysed above. Now we move on to analysing representations of another male sub-category within a different institution, i.e. relatives and family

6.4. Male Kin

Apart from the aforementioned political institutions, there is another social institution or system that is underscored frequently in the data, which is the family system/ institution. Concerning that, references to male relatives within the family context are worth considering because the discourse including these references is substantial. The subcategory of male relatives is referred to as either generic identities or specifically nominated individuals. In the following, each one is analysed independently.

6.4.1. Generic Male Relatives

Generally, a subcategory of generic Saudi males is identified in their personal relation to women as 'fathers, brothers, husbands, sons'. Generic identities of male relatives are frequently functionalised (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.42) as 'guardians' of their female relatives. See the examples:

Example 39

In Saudi Arabia, a highly conservative Islamic state, women must have a male guardian. Until marriage, guardianship will typically be the job of the father, but this role can be performed by uncles, brothers, and even sons. Under this tradition, Saudi women must obtain permission from their guardian to work, travel, study, marry, or even access certain types of healthcare. (29 Jun. 2011, art. 29)

Example 40

Women are also banned from driving in Saudi Arabia, are separated from unrelated men, and must be accompanied by or receive written permission from a male guardian – usually a father, husband or brother – if they want to travel, work or access healthcare. (19 Jul. 2017, art. 123)

Example 41

Women are also banned from driving, must not associate with unrelated men and must be accompanied by or receive written permission from a male guardian – usually a father, husband or brother – if they want to travel, work or access healthcare. (25 Sep. 2017, art. 127)

Example 42

Women must adhere to a strict dress code, be separated from unrelated men, and be accompanied by or receive written permission from a male guardian – usually a father,

husband or brother – if women want to travel, work or access healthcare. (23 May 2018, art. 158)

Example 43

There are many things that Saudi women are unable to do without permission from a male guardian, usually a husband, father, brother or son. (15 Nov. 2018, art. 179)

In the above examples, the link is discursively created between a macro-systemic representation, and the subject's representation. Dimensions of this complex system are included and overtly referred to in (39, 40): 'Saudi Arabia, a highly conservative Islamic state, the deeply conservative Islamic kingdom', while backgrounded in other extracts (e.g. in 43 there is no explicit mention of the system). The system is represented and evaluated by the journalists in these extracts as a dominance matrix imposing males' role of guardianship on female relatives. This system is further identified by the intensifying adverbs 'highly, deeply' to show the degree of conservativeness. 'Guardianship' is depicted as a 'job' that is 'performed' (39) on women by men within a symbolised workplace institution which stands for their family relation. This dominant role and kind of relationship within the family context is suggested by expressions like 'the job of the father' (39), 'this role can be performed by uncles' (39), 'women must obtain permission from a male guardian' (40, 41, 42, 43)', receive written permission from a male guardian' (40, 41, 42) and 'are unable to do without permission from a male guardian' (43). In all the above examples, the image of women who are Saudi is contrasted with that of Saudi men, who are further identified as women's relatives. Women are represented here as fully dependent on male relatives who are classified as guardians controlling them. This suggests that Saudi male relatives are appraised negatively as the most forceful types of men vis-à-vis Saudi women in the data; this role is linked to their intersectional identity, 'Saudi male relative guardians', as represented in the texts.

In extracts 39-43 different, roles are allocated to male and female actors, and the construction of power relations amongst them is exemplified. In these examples, the two social categories of men and women within the family context are constructed differently in terms of agency, power and interaction. While men are activated in these sentences, women are passivated.

These opposing roles are recognised by different linguistic practices and strategies. In spite of the fact that men are not directly located as agents of verbs, and that women are not always direct objects of verbs in these instances, there are other strategies that show these passivated and activated roles (van Leeuwen, 2008). Prepositional phrases that recognise activation are used with references to men, e.g., 'the job of + male relative' in 39, 'permission from + male relative, receive... from + male relative, accompanied by + male relative' found in all examples. References to women, on the other hand are linked to modals and words that show obligation and force on them, e.g., 'women must have, women must adhere, women must obtain'. In terms of verbs, while material verbs like 'practice, perform, accompany' and the nouns or process nouns 'permission, guardian and consent' are associated with references to men, indications to women are linked to verbs like 'have, be, obtain, receive, adhere'. In other locations female references appear as subjects in passive structures to demonstrate lack of agency: 'be+ separated, be+ accompanied, are banned'. In addition, extract 41 was almost copied in another point of time as shown in 42 with a very slight change in language representation of gender role differences, which indicates a stable disadvantaged image for women within the family institution.

In short, a hegemonic image has been represented for men, who are characterised as Saudi and relatives; and this hegemonic image and social practices are linked to women who are identified as Saudi and relatives to those men. In addition, women are represented as affected by the gender and religious dimensions of the system which, in reality, imposes its regulations on both, men and women. Using modals 'must, have to', and obligation terms like 'need, adhere' are linked to women only, where this strategy can be similarly applied on men in these texts. For example, instead of women must be accompanied by male relatives, the writer can simply and alternatively say male relatives must accompany women, to express a kind of equality in representation.

6.4.2. Specified Male Relatives

On the other hand, when a male relative is specifically referred to in discourse, his identity is appraised either negatively or positively. So, there is no neutral representation of such individual relatives. When they are positively represented, they are identified as supporters of their female relatives, as in the following examples:

Example 45

My father and brother encouraged me and my younger sister to get the licence so we could drive as soon as the ban was lifted. (24 Jun. 2018, art. 255)

Example 46

Female stand-up comedian said her father was very supportive and her mother has come round after initial fears for the family reputation. (13 Jun. 2009, art. 13)

Example 47

Luckily for her, she says, her father believed that despite her gender she could achieve anything she wanted.

People from our extended family would write letters to my father telling him 'how dare you let your daughter do that'. There is social pressure on a lot of families to control their daughters and Haifa al Mansour's father never listened to that. (18 Oct. 2012, art. 51)

Example 48

Hindi tells the Saudi Gazette it was her father's dream for one of his children to become a pilot. When Hanadi Al-Hindi applied to Jordan's Middle East Academy of Aviation in 2001, managers there were so surprised and asked her father if he was happy for her to pursue what was seen as a traditionally male career. (23 Apr. 2014, art. 76)

In these four examples, the male relative is the 'father'. In each case, the father is represented in his function as an exponent who encourages and supports his daughter, challenging in this way the stereotypical image created for the Saudi man who is a relative. In the above examples, male relatives are represented as supporters of their female relatives. This can be understood from the selection of words and word structures that suggest their positive identity and role: a male relative 'encouraged' (45), 'is very supportive' (46), 'was happy for her pursue' (48). In addition, female actors are more active here compared to those discussed in section 6.4.1., as references to them are located as subjects in sentences, when she 'could drive' (45), 'could achieve' (47), becomes first female Saudi director (47), get the driving license (45), 'applied to Jordan's Middle East Academy' (48). It is noticed that verbs linked to female actors here are not material to express power and the ability to change. However, when comparing these to the generally represented roles of women in the previously analysed examples (see Chapter Five), it is clear that there is a difference in representing intersectional subjects and in the roles allocated to them in the two different co-texts. This difference in images caused the ascribed selective features, the variety in language strategies of lexical, semantic, syntactic and structural features used.

On the other hand, there are other examples that include a negative image for a specified male relative. They are constructed as offenders and abusers who practise violence on their female victims. This type will be explored in section 7.4, about female victims.

6.5. Role types of male subcategories

As illustrated in the examples analysed in this chapter, the roles allocated to male subcategories are diverse and categorised into different levels of power based on the passivated and activated roles allocated to them (van Leeuwen, 2008, see Table 6-1).

Intersectional Participant	Activated	Passivated
Royal males	49	7
Religious men	15	5
Male relatives	24	7

Table 6-1: Active and passive roles allocated to male actors

In the table 6-1, royal males are shown as mostly activated. When royal actors are passivated, they are not located as patients linked to material verbs, but rather are located within passive structures that involve mental or behavioural verbs, e.g. 'King Abdullah is seen as a reformer'.

In addition, the analysis of the 48 examples conducted in this chapter shows that the degree of male social actors' agency and power fluctuates based on both the represented intersectional image and the types of processes and verbs linked to each intersectional representation, which in turn construct their roles in discourse. Table 6-2 illustrates the types of male actors' activated roles and shows the differences amongst them in agency.

	Actor	Sayer	Assigner	Senser
Royal males				
King Abdullah	9	2	2	0
King Salman	6	2	1	0
Prince Mohammed	19	1	1	1
Prince Alwaleed	0	4	2	0
Religious men	7	2	5	0
Male Relatives				
Generic	11	0	0	0
Specific	4	1	3	3
Total	56	12	14	4
rotal		12	14	4

Table 6-2: Types of male actors activated roles

In general, royal actors are represented as the actors with most agency compared to other male subcategories. This is recognised from their roles as actors of verbs or as agents within material processes which implicate meanings of influence and change in the real world. The three male subcategories are seldom located in the data as sensers within mental processes, which implicate roles with less agency.

6.6. Summary

In this chapter, a qualitative analysis of extracts including references to the three male subcategories has been presented. It is found that the intersectional representations for Saudi male subjects are often created in discourse by identifying and categorising them in texts based on selected aspects, such as age, gender, position, interpersonal relation and religious aspect. Their images and roles are not static, but rather shift within the examined discourse; and there is a dynamic interaction between levels of representations, different dimensions of the system and different types of subjects.

Prince Muhammed is functionalised in the data as the most influential actor, as suggested by the 19 verbs acted by him within material processes and that are implied as causing a real change in the social context. Different types of roles are allocated to these subcategories and these show differences amongst them in terms of agency and power. Generic male relatives are actors in total, being represented as guardians who always engage in actions linked to their women relatives. Male actors are rarely included within mental processes that express feelings or thoughts, with a slight exception for some specified supporting male relatives, as shown in Table 6-2.

7. CHAPTER SEVEN: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF INTERSECTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS: SAUDI WOMEN SUBCATEGORIES

7.1. Introduction

This is the fourth and final analysis chapter. This chapter and Chapter Six build on the results of Chapters Four and Five. The corpus analysis resulted in different (sub)categories of Saudi men and women. Since the generic category of women as well as male subcategories have been thoroughly exemplified in Chapters Five and Six, the chapter at hand is devoted to the subcategories of SW, which are: activists, female political figures, female trendsetters and female victims. The collocational analysis presented in Chapter Five proved to be fruitful in exploring the representation of the generic category of 'Saudi Women' because of the high frequency of items referring to this group which enables a corpus analysis and provide authentic results. However, this is not the case with items referring to specified female actors, which are characterised by their low frequency. For this, a qualitative analysis of longer extracts is needed here to explore the language surrounding female subcategories.

The female subcategories are presumed to share the basic dimensions of the Saudi intersectional identity, i.e. religion and nationality which intersect with gender to form the SW category as distinguished from that of men. However, as revealed by the previously presented corpus and discourse analysis, different subcategories are sampled from the general categories. These subcategories are constructed differently in the discourse by selecting different social aspects and using them in texts to represent a specific identity for each of them. This discursive construction of different female subcategories is further explored in the following sections, in which a detailed qualitative analysis will be conducted to expose female social actors' identification, role allocations, agency and power relations with other interacting actors. The analysis presented in this chapter will contribute to answering the third and fourth questions about existing subcategories and how they are positioned in the structure created.

In each of the examples below, I will first pinpoint the actors included in the texts. The second step is to see how they are nominated and referred to. Next, I will examine how they are identified and functionalised in the texts (Leeuwen, 2008). The last step is to analyse the roles
allocated to them and the actors' agency within grammatical processes (van Leeuwen, 2008; Halliday, 1985).

7.2. Female Activists

References to female activists are the highest compared to references to other women subcategories. As illustrated in Chapter Four, they are mentioned in 70 out of 178 reports. Seventeen personal names of female activists are specified in the data and referred to 306 times. Analysis of the following examples will show how individuals in this subcategory are nominated, and how their identities are identified and constructed. In addition, the linguistic strategies used to allocate roles to them and interactions represented that occur between them and other categories or subcategories will be explored.

Example 1

Last month, Al-sherif was arrested after uploading herself driving but was released after 10 days having promised not to drive again. (21 Jun. 2011, art. 27)

In example 1, the only mentioned participant is Al-Sherif. The activist is informally nominated by her second name only, and is grammatically passivated by being positioned as a subject in a passive voice sentence. The object is supressed and is assumed to be the local police. In other words, this social actor is the target of two material transitive verbs, 'arrest' and 'release', within a passive voice process. The two main clauses include two dependent clauses both starting with the time conjunction 'after', where the participant is represented as a sayer, as suggested by 'promise' and 'upload' respectively, which fulfil the role of conveying a message (verbiage) (Machin and Mayer, 2012).

Example 2

Saudi authorities have arrested seven women's rights advocates, weeks before the Kingdom is due to lift its ban on women driving, rights group say. (19 May 2018, art. 156).

In example 2, the two included actors are 'authorities' and 'women's advocates'. The former is identified by nationality and position, whereas the latter is functionalised in the role of individualised 'advocates'. Identifying this female group is achieved by the limiting number 'seven' and using the present perfect 'have arrested', which in turn specifies the seven individuals of this group. 'Saudi authorities' is positioned as an agent for the activity 'arrested' in the material process, whereas the women's group is located as a patient on the receiving end of this activity, thus, using language features that are passivated, while 'Saudi authorities' are the activated actor in this example.

Example 3 is another instance expressing a genericised participant 'woman', since it is preceded by the indefinite article 'a'. This actor is targeted by the police for filming women who violated the law of banning women from driving. The activist is further described as 'leading', which suggests another feature to the represented actor. In the second sentence of this example, while the police are also located as an actor for the transitive verb 'let', the object pronoun reference for the female activist is the object. In both sentences, 'the police' is activated whereas references to the female activist are passivated.

Example 3

A leading woman activist was stopped by the police for filming women driving. The police had behaved with considerable politeness and then let her go as she did not seem to know what other procedure to follow. (26 Oct. 2013, art. 66)

When comparing verbs assigned to activists as objects to those that collocate with activists as subjects, it is found that in the latter type, verbs are mostly either intransitive, as in existential processes (e.g. the verb 'be'), or are the main verbs in verbal processes where references to activists are classified as sayers of words. See the following examples:

Example 4

Eman al-Nafjan said that if she was asked to call her male guardian, she would simply say that she was her own guardian. (29 Nov. 2013, art. 71)

Example 5

"Twenty-four hours spent on the border of Saudi," Al-Hathlool tweeted to her 233,000 followers on 2 December. "Officials won't give me back my passport and officials and won't let me pass and no word from the Ministry of the Interior." (3 Dec. 2014, art. 85)

Example 6

"There is a Ministry of Welfare in the country," explains Ms Al-Tayar, "but it is the men who must go and ask for assistance". (28 Ma. 2011, art. 24).

The social actors are nominated by their first and/or last names in examples 4 and 5, and by a honorific and last name in example 6. In all three examples, references to activists are located as sayers in verbal processes as they are the subjects of the verbs 'said and say' in 4, 'tweeted' in 5, and 'explained' in 6; all of these involve messages, quoted in 5 and 6 and reported in 4

Extract 6 includes two types of social actors, female and male ones, and exemplifies two types of processes: verbal, having the female social actor 'Ms Altayyar' as a subject; and material, with a subject role allocated to the generic male reference 'men'. This sentence implies a comparison between male and female roles: women as sayers, and men as real actors who can cause change and deliver help to women if they need it. In examples 7 and 8 we can see further roles and processes:

Example 7

The move was welcomed by activists who have called for greater rights for women in the Kingdom, which enforces a strict version of Sunni Islamic law. (25 Sep. 2011, art. 32)

Example 8

Campaigner Manal Al-Sarif thinks women are banned from driving because allowing them to drive may threaten the guardianship system. (27 Oct. 2013, art. 67)

In the above examples, the generic participant in 7 'activists', and the specified nominated participant in 8 'Manal al-Sarif' were positioned as sensers in mental processes as they are the subjects of the verbs 'welcome' in 7 and 'think' in 8.

Although references to female activists are located as subjects of intransitive verbs, or as sayers and sensers in verbal and mental processes, these verbs express a meaning of resistance and opposition to the system of the Sunni male dominant Kingdom: 'the Kingdom, which enforces a strict version of Sunni Islamic law' in 7 and 'the guardianship system' in 8.

Example 9

But a statement by Human Rights Watch says activists have told the organisation that both Al-Hathlool and Al- Amoudi have been detained and it is calling on the Saudi authorities to release the two women. (3 Dec. 2014, art. 85)

In example 9, four participants are included: Human Rights Watch, activists, Al-Hathlool and Al- Amoudi, and the Saudi authorities. The first one is nominated by giving the name of the organization, the second is genericised and the third is individualised and nominated by giving the surnames of the two female activists, while the last is identified by nationality and position. In terms of role allocation, while 'Human Rights Watch' and 'activists' are activated, the two female activists and 'Saudi authorities' are passivated. 'The organisation' and generic activists are positioned as sayers in a verbal process 'says, have told', whereas the two female activists and the Saudi authorities are located as objects of the Saudi police (supressed) and 'Human Rights Watch', respectively. In this example, the organization is represented as having power over the Saudi authorities, suggested by the former giving an order to the latter to release the two detained women.

To summarise, individuals in this category are nominated in the data using their first and/or last names, with or without honorifics/ address forms, and are also referred to by the female pronouns 'she, her'. They are identified by their nationality and gender and functionalised by their role as 'activists', 'campaigners' or 'female protestors'. They are distinguished and categorised as 'activists' as they are frequently positioned as subjects and objects of verbs that show resistance, struggle and challenge: objects of verbs like 'arrest, stop, protect, detain and

release', sayers of verbs like 'say, tweet, tell, welcome and post', actors of verbs like 'campaign, and drive'.

7.3. Female Political Figures

Saudi women's involvement in the political field is agreed on as a new step in empowering women and including them in more political positions in the country (see example 7's article). This is relevant because there is minimal coverage of this group in SWC compiled articles. Although this category includes the second highest number of personal names for female social actors, it has the lowest frequency of items referring to them when compared to other woman types in the data. The question now is how this subcategory is positioned in the examined discourse. This question will be addressed through analysing some examples extracted from reports on this subcategory. First, this category is specified and individualised (van Leeuwen, 2008) in the data, as can be seen in the following examples:

Example 10

Saudi Arabia King swears in first women on Shura Council 20 Feb 2013: Saudi Arabia King Abdullah has sworn in 30 women to the previously all-male Shura Council, seen by many as a major step in female participation in public life in [the] conservative kingdom. It is the first time in [the] country's history that women have been able to hold any political office. (20 Feb. 2013, art. 55)

Example 11

30 women now sit on a government advisory board called the Shura Council. But there is a long way to go yet in women's struggle to gain equality with men in law and practice. It has not been a smooth ride for all the new women councillors, however. (13 Apr. 2015, art. 92)

In both examples 10 and 11, the main social actor 'women' is specified by the number 30, which suggests that only 30 individuals of all SW are classed/ categorised as a subcategory of

women in this report. This subcategory is identified as a type including individuals, as also can be realised from the number 30. Additionally, this group is individualised in the first example by being a target of the king's action of swearing which is expressed in the present perfect tense 'has sworn'. In example 11, however, the present tense 'sit', acted by 'women', gives a sense of generalization which is further realized by having no definite article preceding the reference to them. In this way, they are represented as a general category of women.

In terms of role allocation, in example 10, this women subcategory is passivated by being positioned as an object of a male subject, who is nominated by his honorific + first name, and identified by his political position, gender and authority, 'Saudi Arabia King'. This interaction is expressed as taking place within a social context that is described as 'public life in conservative kingdom'. However, in the second sentence of example 10, 'women' are positioned as a more active actor within a relational process. Their active role can be realised from involving the relational process 'women have been able to' which links women's ability to 'hold any political office'. In example 11, this subcategory of women is also represented as an active social actor and is located as a subject in the relational process with 'sit on' as a main verb to encode meaning about women's status of being members of the Saudi political council. However, the second sentence starts with the contradicting conjunction 'but', and it explicitly expresses inequality between men and women, despite previously describing the involvement of women in the political field as a major step.

Example 12

Salma bint Hizab al-Oteibe was named as Saudi Arabia's first female politician, after winning a seat on the council in Madrakah in Mecca province. Salma bint Hizabal-Oteibi was running against seven men and two women, the electoral authorities said. (13 Dec. 2015, art. 99)

In example 12 the main social actor is formally nominated using a female first name, second name and surname. This actor is intersectionally identified in the dimensions of nationality, trendsetting and gender, and positioned as 'Saudi Arabia's first female politician'. The role of the female social actor is passivated by locating reference to her as a subject within a passive

voice sentence. The active actor responsible for assigning a position to this woman is foregrounded, but predicted to be the male electoral authorities in the country. The second sentence only provides more information about the political context, which includes interaction.

Example 13

After Rasha Hifzi, a prominent businesswoman, won a seat in Jeddah, she was interviewed by CNN's Chief International Correspondent Christiane Amanpour. While excited by her electoral success, Ms Hifzi spoke about the obstacles that she and her fellow female candidates faced during campaigning. (18 Dec. 2015, art. 100)

In example 13, the main social actor is formally nominated by her first and second personal names and then functionalised in terms of her fame and economic role 'prominent businesswoman'. Unlike the political actor referred to in sentence 3, Hifzi is positioned here as an active social actor who 'won' a position in the political field. However, in the main clause, the actor is passivated when it becomes a subject within the passive voice sentence in which the correspondent of the CNN agency is allocated as the active actor. In the next sentence, the same social actor is positioned as a successful elected woman, and is then activated as a sayer within a verbal process that describes this and another women in the same subcategory as campaigners who faced obstacles. Here, a feature emerges as another component of her image, which is being a previous campaigner and/or activist, resulting in a more complex intersectional subject: 'a prominent businesswoman + politician + woman + Saudi + activist'.

Example 14

In Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, Councillor Khadra al-Mubarak told media that she did not seek any fame. "I aimed through my candidacy ... to provide many social benefits to my country in general, and Al-Qatif region in particular." (18 Dec. 2015, art. 100)

Aliya al-Ruwayli, a representative from the Riyadh municipal council, grabbed the media's attention only a day after the election. When a local TV presenter asked her about the main issues facing women and local communities, a very nervous Ms al-Ruwalyi only managed to reply: "There are many problems, God willing... ", Aliya al-Ruwayli then hung up the phone live on TV. (18 Dec. 2015, art. 100)

Example 14 starts by stating the setting/ context of the interaction, which is the Eastern Povince of Saudi Arabia. In this and example 15, the two female actors are formally nominated by their first names and surnames and are functionalised in terms of their political roles as councillors. Both social actors in the two examples are represented as sayers within verbal processes that include them as the only participants and sayers of the words quoted. In example 15, however, the female actor is further described as nervous, who 'only' replied with a few words and then 'hung up the phone'. Though characterised by her political position, the allocated role is limited by 'only' and adding a verbal process which in itself is not informative.

Th subcategory of female political figures appears in the data as a list of names nominated by the authorities and there are no distinctive language features surrounding references to them. In spite of characterising them by their political positions in the country, their political roles are marginalised in all instances including their names, as suggested by the above examples. In contrast, they are represented in some cases as sensers or sayers within relational and verbal processes, which shows their lack of agency and power.

7.4. Female Victims

References to socially victimised women number around 226 and refer to only seven individual women mentioned in 20 BBC reports. References to this subcategory can be divided into two main groups drawing on the linguistic features that are associated with them. First, female actors are located as patients who receive actions practised by male agents. Male agents are characterised by their relational aspects, e.g. 'fathers, brothers, male relatives, guardians'. Female actors are located as objects of verbs like 'interlock, beat, keep, put, abuse, return'.

Secondly, they appear as subjects of verbs like 'live, want, face, suffer'. In other instances, when they are represented as agents in sentences, they are actors of verbal processes like: 'say, talk, complain, claim'. Though they are acting subjects, these two sets of verbs show their powerlessness in producing effective acts that may cause any change.

Words that frequently collocate with the abused women category indicate meanings of the force and violence practised on them as will be shown in the following examples. Words like 'kill, lock, mistreat, beat' are examples of the top verbs that have female social victims as objects. Extracts involving linguistic constructions of this type of women are analysed in the following examples:

Example 16

Huda could face mistreatment, or even death at the hands of her father (23 Nov. 2013, art. 69)

Example 17

Amina complained her father locked her up (5 Apr. 2017, art. 103)

Example 18

Samia says her battles with her father were going nowhere (29 Jun. 2011, art. 29)

Example 19

The presenter told the story of Hanan Shahri, who is reported to have killed herself in 2013 after her brother and uncle allegedly beat her and refused to allow her to marry her fiancé. (19 Aug. 2018, art. 173)

In examples 16-19, the main female participants are nominated by their personal names 'Huda, Amina, Samia' and 'Hanan Shahri'. In example 16, Huda is represented as the targeted victim

who 'could face death' by the dominant actor who is explicitly identified here as 'her father'. In 17, Amina is the actor of the verb 'complain', but this verb denotes no agency and express the actor's passivated role which is linked to her father. Her father is positioned as the dominating actor who practice locking up his daughter. Example 18, unlike other examples, conveys a kind of matching roles allocated to the male and female relatives; who are depicted as fighters in a 'battle' within this context. In example 19, the female actor 'Hanan Shahri' is first passivated as it comes within a passive voice sentence as an object of the verb 'report'. Then, in the reported utterance, 'Hanan' is positioned as both actor/ subject and acted upon/ object of the reflexive verb 'kill'. This violent action is linked directly to a dependent clause connected by the time coordinator 'after' to state the cause of this reaction. In the dependent clause, the main female actor is identified by her relation to more active actors who are two male members of the family, namely, 'brother' and 'uncle'. Both are represented as doing dominating actions, as they are positioned as actors of the transitive verb 'beat' which is linked to 'her' as an object, and of the rejecting speech act 'refused'. The latter verb is further followed by the infinitive 'to allow' to convey a deeper meaning of domination and force, where the one acted upon is positioned as unable to even take personal decisions without the male relatives' permission.

Example 20

With melancholy music playing in the background, the presenter of Nasawya FM (Feminism FM) addresses the issue of domestic violence in the Gulf Kingdom. The presenter's voice shakes with emotion as she discusses the fate of Sara, a woman she says was killed by a male relative. Sara was a 33-year-old university graduate with a job who lived with her parents – and she wanted to marry a man with a different nationality, that of Yemen. Sara's dream was ended with five bullets shot by her 22-year-old brother, even though she had been officially engaged with the consent of the parents (19 Aug. 2018, art. 173)

In example 20, the setting is presented as a radio programme discussion of the social issue of domestic violence, which is specifically located using two dimensions of geographical place and the political system, 'Gulf Kingdom'. The discussion is framed by noting a tragic

atmosphere, as suggested by the playing of sad music. This is followed by inserting the narrator using the functional honorific 'presenter', who is also a female activist, describing her state as sympathetic to the female victim. Besides nominating the victim by her first name 'Sara', she is intersectionally identified in terms of gender, young age, high education and role. Moreover, the represented subject is identified by her relational status within a family composed of parents and a brother. She is then positioned as a target of a domestic violence act. The hegemonic actor of this action is intersectionally identified by his kinship relation, which also implies the gender dimension 'brother', and his age '22'. He is furtherly functionalised in the violent action of repeated shooting directed at the female victim. Comparing the ages of the two participants suggests the relational weakness of the victim who, despite being older than her brother, was targeted and affected by a younger male who is her 22-year-old hegemonic brother, who is also implied as stubborn as he denies his parents' will.

Example 21

Nahid Almanea, 31, was found with 16 stab wounds on a path in Colchester on 17 June as she walked along a footpath to the University campus where she was studying. The announcement was made alongside the doubling of another reward – to $\pounds 10,000$ – for help in solving the murder of James Attfield who was stabbed more than 100 times in March. Nahid was alone wearing a dark robe and hijab scarf when she was attacked. (25 Jun. 2014, art. 80)

In example 21, the participant, who is nominated by her first and last name 'Nahid Almanea', is identified by her young age. Then, she is passivated by being the recipient of the violent action of repeated stabs acted by a suppressed agent. In this example, the victim is later described by her appearance and outer garments, depicted by their colour 'dark' and obscuring length and coverage, as indicated by 'robe' and 'hijab'. The attack might have been racially motivated, implied by the reference to hijab. Aspects of gender, culture and walking alone are three main aspects attributed to this actor and play a role in positioning her as an intersectional disadvantaged victim of an excluded agent. This exclusion may be because of not being aware of the real actor, as suggested by the reward announcement for someone who gives information about her killer. Consider the following longer example about another female victim.

Example 22

Amina Al-Jeffery, 21, had complained her father locked her up in his flat in Jeddah because she had "kissed a guy". In August, Mr Justice Holman said her father had to allow Amina Al-Jeffery to return to England or Wales, but he has not. On Wednesday, the judge heard Miss Al-Jeffery wanted to withdraw proceedings. The court heard after a recent private meeting in Jeddah with her solicitor, Miss Al-Jeffery said she wanted to focus on the reunion with her family. Her father, Saudi academic Mohammed Al-Jeffery, disputed her allegations and said he was trying to protect her. The court heard Miss Al-Jeffery, who has dual British and Saudi Arabian nationality, had now been promised freedoms which she did not believe she would have been given by her father had it not been for the proceedings. Mr Al-Jeffery claimed he took his daughter to Jeddah in Saudi Arabia in order to "save her life." He said she was not doing well at school, had been taking drugs and "going to clubs and spending time with older men." The court heard Mr Al-Jeffery had agreed his daughter could travel in and out of Saudi Arabia but required her to ask permission which, he said, would always be given. (5 Apr. 2017, art. 103)

In example 22, there are two main actors: Amina and Mohammed and another interacting actors: Mr Justice Holman, Amina's lawyer, and the court. The included context is a negotiation in the court on a family case. Amina is formally nominated in the text using her first and surnames and then identified by her young age. This actor is further identified by her relational status to her father who is also formally nominated by his first and last names 'MohammedAl-Jeffery'. This actor is identified in relation to his nationality 'Saudi', education 'academic' and his relation to his daughter 'father'. The judge is formally nominated by the address form Mr and his full name and functionalised by his more powerful role.

In terms of role allocations within example 22, Amina is mainly represented as a patient within material processes, which include the father as the main actor for transitive verbs like 'lock' and 'protect'. She is the sayer within other verbal processes as can be seen when referring to her as a subject of verbs like 'complain' and 'said', and for the process noun 'allegation' that is allocated to this actor. 'Amina' is also positioned as a senser in mental processes of verbs

like 'want, believe', and as an object of the verb 'heard'. References to her father, on the other hand, are presented within material processes as an actor of verbs that are linked to the daughter as a patient: 'lock, protect, take, save'. This subject is represented as hegemonic when linked to these verbs and other verbs like 'allow, permit, dispute, refuse', all of which target the daughter as a patient. Away from the kinship context and within the court context, the judge and the court are represented as more dominant than the father who is ordered and obliged by the judge (as shown in the text) to allow the daughter to return to Britain and to travel whenever she wants.

7.5. Innovative and Trendsetter Women

The word 'first' is mentioned 240 times in the data, all of them denote meanings of innovation and the uniqueness of actors and actions within the social context of Saudi Arabia. In the corpus, 'the first' frequently occurs as a premodifier of references to individuals of SW or roles performed by them, hence this subcategory is proposed to represent them as the trendsetters within this discursive context.

References to firstness are found in the sport field/ domain, as can be noticed in the four examples below (23–26), and in other domains in the next four (27–30). Thus, a subcategory of SW is further described by the sporting feature in some contexts, as can be seen in the following four examples:

Example 23

This year, Arwa Mutabagani was the first Saudi woman to be appointed as a top sports administrator, at the Equestrian Federation. (13 Jun. 2008, art. 8)

In the above example, the only included actor is nominated by her first and last names and positioned as an agent of the verb 'was' within a relational process to relate this actor to other features: firstness, nationality and gender. Within the whole relational process suggested by the verb/ infinitive 'to be', this actor is an assigner which is categorised in relation to her high position and role in the sport field 'top sports administrator'. When the subject is involved

within such a relational process, the conveyed meaning is the existence of something new or an action in relation to another, which is 'first female sports administrator' in this context.

Example 24

Wojdan Shahrkani became the first Saudi Arabian woman to compete at the Olympic Games, she took part in the 78kg+ judo competition in London. The 16-year-old became the subject of worldwide media attention when it was announced that she would be one of the first two Saudi female athletes to compete at the Olympics. But this was soon overshadowed by a row over her hijab – a head covering that many Muslim women wear – that meant Shahrkhani was at risk of not taking part at all. (3 Aug. 2012, art. 47)

Similarly, in example 24, the actor is first nominated using her first and last names. This actor is grammatically positioned as an assigner of the verb 'became' within a relational process which suggests existence or turning into something or someone. After 'became', an intersectional persona is constructed from firstness, national, regional, gender and athletic dimensions, as well as her age introduced in the next statement. This intersectional subject is positively described as 'a subject of worldwide media attention'. However, this image is then affected in the next clause starting with the contradictory conjunction 'but', which inserts the fact that interest in this woman is reduced by a contradicting dispute over a further identity characteristic, which is wearing hijab (further described as characterising many Muslim women). In the third sentence of example 24, the religious dimension is inserted into the text to indicate a further feature of her identity, which in turn plays a role in disadvantaging it in the co-text. That is to say, a Muslim woman's head-covering characterising Wojdan is represented as an obstacle that is linked to cancelling her role in the Olympic Games.

Example 25

Raha Moharrak, 25, not only became the first Saudi woman to attempt the climb but also the youngest Arab to make it to the top of Everest. A Saudi woman is part of a fourperson expedition that also includes the first Qatari man and the first Palestinian man attempting to reach the summit. Originally from Jeddah, Ms Moharrak is a university graduate currently based in Dubai. Coming from Saudi Arabia – a conservative Muslim country where women's rights are very restricted, Ms Moharrak had to break a lot of barriers to achieve her goal. (18 May 2013, art. 57)

In example 25, another sport context is demonstrated, which is mountain climbing. Like previous examples and throughout the texts, the subject is depicted at the intersection of age, firstness, gender, education, origin/ nationality and current place of living 'Dubai'. The privilege and uniqueness of this actor is widened from the very beginning by comparing her to members of two categories: Saudi women and Arabs in general, using the correlative conjunction 'not only ... but also ...'. Moreover, she is distinguished by her young age when using the superlative 'youngest'. This actor is then stated within a group of four actors who share being pioneers in mountain climbing and their Arabic origin, though they differ in their gender and nationality. The social actor is positioned as the assigner in the relational sentence with the main verb 'became' to suggest setting a trend in the field of mountain climbing. In the last sentence of 25, this actor is linked to a matrix of domination (McCall, 2005; see also section 2.4.1. of Chapter 2), which is a system composed of Nationality, Religion and Gender. However, the participant is positioned as an actor of the verb 'break' within a material metaphorical process that conveys the meaning of challenge and resistance to such a dominating matrix. This meaning is conveyed using a concrete symbolic image for the matrix as 'barriers that had been broken', while proceeding in a way to reach a goal.

Example 26

In her first broadcast interview, Sarah Attar, who ran the 800 metres wearing a kit that included the hijab, told Zubeida Malik that running in the Olympic Stadium was a "whirlwind of emotions" but "absolutely astounding". "The door is open … this legacy will really develop the women's spirits to get more active and get involved in sport." (11 Aug. 2012, art. 49)

In example 26, the first actor is semi-formally nominated by her first and last names, functionalised in her role of running the 800 metres, and physically identified by the way she is dressed. In this example, metaphorical utterances are quoted from her first interview with the

presenter Zubeida Malik and intertextualised in the text. In her quote, a concrete image is depicted to convey an abstract meaning within a dynamic image: 'whirlwind' to express super excitedness and 'the door is open' to suggest the start of chances given to women to have new experiences. The discursive practice of quoting might be a discursive strategy for legitimising change in the role of women (experiential legitimation strategy, van Leeuwen' 2007).

Example 27

The first female comic in Saudi: Stand-up comedy is a serious business for the first female comic in Saudi Arabia. Zubeida Malik talks to "Noufie" who cannot perform under her real name because of the dangers to her and her family. When a 25-year-old Noufie performed the female comic first gig as Saudi Arabia's first female stand-up comedian last weekend, she was more nervous at her lack of prepared material than any risks female stand-up comedian faced. (13 Jun. 2009, art. 13)

The title of the article from which example 27 is taken refers to firstness and a new role for women as well as where this setting is located (The first female comic in Saudi). A new domain of role change and innovation is presented in this example, which is that of media and more specifically a comic show. At the very beginning of the extract, a stand-up comedy show is described as a business for an actor who is identified by firstness, gender, a new role 'comic' and nationality. Unlike other examples, her name is hidden/ supressed for issues of the actor's safety, as mentioned in the text. Again, the aspect of age is included in the next sentence to describe the actor. The intersectional female comic here is represented as an active actor, as suggested by the verb 'performed' in the material process 'performed the female comic first gig'; and senser as suggested by 'she was more nervous', which describes the actor's feelings towards her lack of material needed for the show.

Example 28

Haifa al Mansour becomes first female Saudi director: Women in Saudi Arabia cannot drive, vote or work with men, but one woman has become the country's first film-maker to direct a film in her homeland. Haifa al Mansour has made a film – titled Wadjda – that

has received critical acclaim around the world but cannot actually be shown in Saudi Arabia because there are no cinemas and few films are given a public showing. (18 Oct. 2012, art.51)

The title of the article includes the main social actor and the main topic of example 28. In the title, the actor is nominated by her first and last name and categorised by aspects of gender, nationality, and function or role. The extract is the lead paragraph of the article which starts by stating a critical view about the status of women in general in Saudi Arabia and their inability to practise some social roles and activities. In this sentence, the conjunction 'but' is used to connect the first clause including the negative image of SW to another clause depicting a positive image for an individual Saudi woman. The main individual actor, Haifa, is identified, besides her gender, by individuality/ number 'one woman' to emphasise the meaning of the uniqueness of this type in the country. This specified female actor is the agent within a relational process which is located as a subject of the verb 'became'. 'Haifa' is related to an innovative role for SW by functionalising this subject as 'the first film-maker'. This phrase indicates the trendsetting nature of a new role in the country, which in turn privileges the social actor within the co-text. 'Haifa' is also the actor in the following material process, where she is located as the agent of the transitive verb 'made' which is linked to 'the film of Wadjda'. The extract ends with another critique of the country for not presenting this film in the homeland and for having no cinemas or public TV shows. This relates the resulting intersectional representation of disadvantaged female subjects to the created multidimensional system that is always linked in the texts to these actors. In other words, the created complex system is linked to women in the examined discourse and is framed as a shaper dominating or controlling their images. More discussion of this finding is presented in Chapter Eight.

Example 29

10 women became the first female licence-holders swapping their foreign licences for Saudi ones in cities across the country. (24 Jun. 2018, art. 165)

In this sentence, a group of indefinite actors are first identified by their fixed aspect of gender and their limited number. This category is positioned as the actor of the verb became which suggests change to a state or person. Within the relational process suggested by the verb 'became', this group is related to the innovative function of 'licence holders', suggesting the firstness of this new role for women in the country. This meaning is further emphasised by the rest of the sentence which indicates their old licences granted by other countries.

Example 30

A woman has been appointed to run a Saudi Arabian bank in a first for women in the country. Saudi businesswoman Lubna Al Olayanwill chairs a new bank being formed out of a merger between the Saudi British Bank (SABB) and Alawwal Bank. The move comes amid a liberalisation of women's roles in a traditionally conservative society. In June, Saudi women were officially allowed behind the wheel for the first time, after a driving ban was lifted. Currently the head of a family conglomerate, Ms Olayan is seen as a trailblazer for Saudi women in the finance industry. The US-educated financier topped the list of Forbes Middle East's Influential women 2018. (5 Oct. 2018, art. 178)

The main included social actor 'Lubna Al Olayan'. At the very beginning of extract 30, the social actor is identified by her gender 'woman', preceded by an indefinite article 'a'. In this sentence this genericised actor is passivated within a passive voice structure for an excluded agent 'has been appointed'. This clause is linked to the infinitive 'to run' within the relational process, where the meaning of change and existence is given in relation to another thing: here, 'a woman was appointed to run a bank'. More identification and classification for the female participant continue throughout the sentences of this extract. The female actor is primarily identified by her nationality and function as a 'businesswoman', and is then nominated by her first and last names. This depicted intersectional subject is positioned in the sentence as the main actor of the role of running a new bank. Within the same report, another different topic is intertextualised to describe the political and social change to women's roles in the country, which is again described as 'traditional and conservative'. Describing the main female actor is then presumed by giving more features in terms of her role 'the head of the conglomerate', education 'US educated', economic position 'financier'. Other roles are attributed to her to further distinguish this subject in terms of leading/ firstness, 'seen as a trailblazer' positioned on 'the list of Forbes Middle East's Influential women 2018'.

7.6. Role types of female subcategories

Tables 7-1 and 7-2, display the roles allocated to female subcategories. In Table 7-1, the female subcategories activated and passivated roles are illustrated. It is shown that trendsetters are the most active, as suggested by their activated roles within the sentences analysed in this chapter. Passivated roles outweigh the intransitive activated roles acted by victim social actors, which indicates their low agency and powerlessness in the data.

Intersectional female actor	Activated	Passivated
Activists	13	10
Political figures	15	7
Trendsetters	24	7
Victims	15	25

Table 7-1: Active and passive roles allocated to female actors

Table 7-2 shows the types of activated roles located to the four female subcategories.

	Actor	Sayer	Assigner	Senser
Activists	1	8	0	3
Politicians	5	4	4	3
Trendsetters	11	2	11	1
Victims	4	4	6	4

Table 7-2: Types of female actors activated roles

Trendsetters are represented in the data as being more like agents than other female subcategories as their roles are represented as those of actors within material processes. Additionally, being assigners in many examples express the positive change that is linked to this group as expressed in the above examples. In contrast to men's subcategories, female subcategories are represented as having different types of actors within verbal, relational as well as mental processes, as shown in Table 7-2.

7.7. Summary

In sum, female actors in the examples analysed in this chapter are represented as intersectional subjects, passive bearers of meaning, and they are constructed by the reporters of different selected aspects, such as gender, activity, political position, interpersonal relation and age. These aspects are linked to their classification as discursively advantaged or disadvantaged, relatively powerful or powerless, where a variety of roles are allocated to them and show different levels of agency and power.

In general, as shown in the analysis of the examples, trendsetters are a marked group of SW subcategories. Although, their roles are both activated and passivated, the activated roles outweigh the passive ones. However, when their roles are activated, not all actions are represented as causing change in the world (see Table 7-2). More precisely, they are either assigners within relational processes, most of which are describing their existential situation using verbs like 'be' and 'become', or they are located as the actors of intransitive verbs. Activists are mostly sayers within verbal processes, as illustrated in Table7-2.

Agent	Transitive verb	Patient
suppressed (passive voice)	arrested, released	
Saudi authorities	released	
backgrounded (the police)	stopped, let (passive voice)	activists
suppressed	asked (passive voice)	
officials	give	
Saudi Arabia king	swear, sworn	
suppressed	named (passive voice)	politicians
CNN correspondent	interviewed (passive voice)	
Local TV presenter	asked	
suppressed -passive voice	appointed	
female interviewer	talks to	trendsetters
suppressed – passive voice	was appointed	
suppressed – passive voice	is seen	

victim	kill (passive voice)	
brother and uncle	beat, allow	
male relative, brother	killed (passive voice)	
suppressed	engaged	
suppressed	found, attacked	victims
backgrounded 'father'	locked, allow	
judge	heard	
her father	protect	
backgrounded 'Mr Al-Jefferey'	promised	

Table 7-3: Social actors power relations in discourse

Table 7-3 summarises power relationships nested between social actors as expressed in the examples examined in this chapter. When references to specified female actors are located as patients within processes, a variety of other included or surpassed powerful actors (mostly male) are located as agents, as shown in Table 7-3. Verbs linked to female actors, as patients or agents, vary from one subcategory to another. In addition, the semantic categories of these verbs are not the same. For example, while verbs linked to victims are mostly ones of physical violence, verbs acting on trendsetters and politicians carry meanings of advantage and/or beneficiary. Activists, on the other hand, are linked to verbs that express a kind of struggle and ease.

In the four analytical chapters, Four, Five, Six and Seven, gender identities are represented differently (with different allocated roles) and linked to dimensions of discrimination, or as conceptualised in this study different social dimensions. Besides the dimensions of Nationality, Religion and Gender that seem to exist in all categories and subcategories of social actors, other dimensions such as Classism, Activism and Victimhood are constructed in the data. This relationship between created systems, intersectional representations, and the role of the process of linking these two aspects to produce negative and positive representations, as well as locating the different subcategories of social actors in different social positions, will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

8. CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION

8.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion and critical implications of the findings of the data analysis. The study draws on a combination of the systemic (Prins, 2006) approach and the intercategorical (McCall, 2005) approach to intersectionality to explore the representations of Saudi systems and Saudi gender categories in BBC news discourse. The systemic approach, on the one hand, addresses the influence of systems, e.g. gender and race, on shaping intersectional identities, e.g. a black women. The inter-categorical perspective, on the other, assumes existing social categories, i.e. groups of people identified and classified according to shared features, e.g. men and women, black and white, able and disabled. Based on this assumption, it demands comparing these categories in order to document inequality. In order to pinpoint social systems and categories in SWC and identify them based on an intersectional perspective, a corpusassisted discourse analysis was conducted in Chapter Four. The analysis in Chapter Four involved identifying three main systems, which are Nationality, Religion and Gender; generic gender category (general Saudi men and women actors); and seven subcategories including individual actors of men and women. The systems as well as general and individual gender categories identified as a result of the corpus analysis conducted in Chapter Four, and the relationships between them, were then investigated in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Therefore, this discussion chapter is structured according to the findings of the analysis of the three intersectional levels: social systems, generic categories of women and men, and female and male social subcategories. Three sections (8.2., 8.3., 8.4.) discuss answers to the four research questions, respectively, with the last section addressing questions 3 and 4:

- 1- How is the Saudi social system discursively constructed and linked to 'Saudi women' in BBC news discourse?
- 2- How is the identity of Saudi women represented in BBC news discourse?
- 3- What other intersectional gender subcategories are exemplified in the data?
- 4- How are female and male subcategories positioned in the social structure?

Within each section below, the results are discussed and related to the framework of the study to show the value of applying this framework in discourse analysis of representations. In addition, the results are discussed within relation to previous studies to explore the gap in language and discourse research that is addressed by the present study and the findings, which is the intersectional representations of identities and how they are linked in discourse to social systems, i.e. social divisions.

8.2. Social systems

As shown in Chapter Four, conducting a corpus analysis resulted in identifying and categorising explicit and implicit references to three main systems: Nationality, Religion and Gender. The results of the corpus analysis show the importance and usefulness of using the corpus approach in studying intersectional representations in discourse. Besides the assumption that systems are complex and interactive in nature (from an intersectional perspective), three main findings were explored by the corpus analysis in Chapter Four and the consequent qualitative collocational analysis in Chapter Five: (a) Religion is an interlocking dimension of the Saudi system, (b) the Saudi three-dimension system tends to form an unfavourable image, and (c) the three dimensions are framed as forming a dominance matrix. They are discussed in the three subsequent sections.

a) Religion is an interlocking dimension in the Saudi system

It was not surprising to find high frequencies for references to gender and nationality, as the search terms to retrieve articles are strings of words indicating Saudi women. What is interesting is the emergence of religion as a third aspect, and it having the second highest frequency of references after gender. This result is found by the corpus analysis of word frequencies and keywords. The following close qualitative analysis of the most important keywords found that words referring to religion emerged as culturally key (Williams, 1988). In other words, in the qualitative analysis of the extracts, keywords like 'Sunna' and 'Wahhabism' and clusters like 'Islamic country, religious establishment' and 'ultra conservative' emerged as important for exploring how the system is constructed in terms of the religious culture of the Saudi system. The results of investigating basic systems in discourse suggested that religion is presented in the examined discourse as a component of the Saudi system, as exemplified by

BBC news discourse, and consequently should be considered in the analysis. Thus, representations of the Saudi system cannot be recognised in discourse by focusing only on nationality. Rather, they should be investigated as one unity composed of Nationality, Religion, and Gender, as will be shown in section 8.3.

The results of the analysis revealed the different naming references used to indicate aspects of Nationality, e.g. 'Saudi Arabia, country, kingdom, nation, state'. Such variable references were associated with words referring to Religion, Region and Gender, e.g. 'ultra-conservative Islamic Kingdom, Middle Eastern country, the system of male guardianship'. In terms of Religion, it is referred to as 'Islam' and 'religion' interchangeably in the data. These two terms are mostly described by two main loan concepts, 'Wahhabi' and 'Sunni', to indicate the version of Islam embraced by the Saudi state. The discursive production of Nationality and Religion is linked to Gender throughout the examined discourse (more details in Section 8.2). The discursive practice of combining references to country and religion and linking that to women constructs an image of one system composed of three dimensions, namely, Nationality, Religion and Gender. These dimensions are commonly presented in the data as mutually constituting one another (Collins 1998, Yuval-Davis 2006, Choo and Ferree 2010). Hence, the Saudi system is recognised in the study as one entity composed of three dimensions that constitute each other (more details in the next section). The linguistic interaction between and combination of the dimensions of Gender, Nationality and Religion that form a unique complex system could not be found if a single approach is applied. This demonstrates the value of the adopted intersectional perspective to representations which theorises systems in discourse as intersectional and interactional, as has been illustrated in Chapter Three section 3.3.2.1

b) The Saudi system has negative prosody

A major finding of the analysis is that the discourse prosody of the represented intersectional system, i.e. Nationality, Religion and Gender, is generally negative, but when one of these dimensions is used in isolation, the underlying evaluation is not negative. Given that negativity is one of the most common news values for a report to be newsworthy (Bednarek and Caple, 2014), the analysis exposed the role of the intersectional representation in conveying such negativity. In the analysis of extended concordance lines, it was found that when references to Islam, country and gender are combined, they tend to collocate with expressions like 'strict,

austere, constrain, impose, (ultra)conservative and (deeply) traditional'. These collocates suggest unfavourable discourse prosody of oppression and hegemony linked to the threedimensional system. However, when Islam, for instance is isolated from other dimensions in the co-text, a neutral or positive image is given, e.g. 'real Islam, moderate Islam, reformed Islam'.

Negative prosody is also conveyed by the gender inclusive form 'men and women'. Whereas previous research on media discourse found out that using gender-inclusive forms shows balanced representations for the social roles of men and women (Hansen et al., 2016), exploring such expressions in larger units of concordance lines indicated inequality or gender segregation when it intersects with references to nationality and religion, for example, 'men and women do not have equal rights in Saudi Arabia'. These findings demonstrate why using an intersectional analytical lens is so valuable when analysing discourse and can help to unearth potential bias that would not be apparent through a single access lens.

Thus, analysing the semantic prosody of the complex system is a useful method when analysing the intersectional representations. This method contributed to recognising the relationship between the intersectional construction of the multi-dimensional system and the resulting negative or positive representation of this system.

c) The system dimensions form a dominance matrix

In the examined discourse, references to the complex system are commonly linked to a specific social category, namely 'Saudi women', which is represented as a dominated group (for more details about the representation of this category see section 5.3.) Generally, in most of the analysed examples in Chapter Five, the three-dimension system is discursively constructed to form a 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 2000, p.299) or 'axes of power' (Yuval-Davis 2011, p.13) inflicted on the subject, i.e. 'Saudi women' as different forms of oppression: Nationality, Religion and Patriarchy²¹. Exploring the relationship between the represented complex system and intersectional identity is based on a process-centred approach to intersectionality (Staunaes, 2003; Weldon, 2008; Choo & Ferree, 2010). This approach allows the analyst to recognise how

²¹ Patriarchy replaces Gender dimension when talking about the Saudi system as a dominance matrix linked to women, as framed in discourse.

the discursive production of gendered individuals or groups is related to the production of other systems. In the present study, the discursive representation of the gendered disadvantaged group of 'Saudi women' is linked to the discursive production of the intersectional cultural system (Saudi, Islam and Patriarchy). This finding confirms the importance of analysing intersectional representations of social divisions on different levels, including macro and micro (Yuval-Davis 2006), and the dynamic relationship between these levels (Staunaes, 2003, Yuval Davis 2006, Choo & Ferree 2010). The image provided by the interaction of Nationality, Religion and Patriarchy and its relation to the general category of women clarifies the kind of structural power relations depicted between the system and the subject linked to this system, i.e. women. The three dimensions are framed in the data as unfavourable forces that are linked to women producing in this way what is conceptualised as a dominance matrix (Collins, 2000) that affects and/or shapes the subject linked to it.

The findings of the analysis underscore the real value of applying an intersectional systemic approach to investigate a social system's construction in discourse. In this study, adopting an intersectional approach paints a comprehensive picture of how the Saudi system is constructed from three dimensions, which confirms the intersectional view that social systems or aspects of systems cannot be approached as an isolated entity, but rather as an interlocked unity composed of constitutive dimensions (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2010; Choo and Ferree, 2010). Therefore, a single-axis approach is not sufficient to recognise the complexity of a social system and its effect on subjects within a specific discursive context as this will result in an unclear or incomplete image. In addition, the result that identifies the strong link between the represented Saudi complex system and women shows the necessity of investigating the different levels of intersectionality (i.e. systems and subjects) and the discursive interactions between them (McCall, 2005) in order to recognise the full image of the examined representations as explained in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.1. In other words, it would not be enough to study the representations of women without studying the representations of the systems and their relation and effects on this group, which will be further analysed in the next section.

This is the end of the discussion and interpretation of the first level of the intersectional process, which illustrated the answer of the first research question about the discursive construction of

the Saudi system. In the following section, the influence of the represented intersectional system at the level of the main gender category will be discussed.

8.3. Intersectional gender category

This part reflects on the findings of analysis presented in Chapter Five, which addressed the second research question: 'How is general Saudi women's identity represented in BBC news discourse?'

As mentioned earlier, the study follows an inter-categorical-systemic approach that examines the influence of the system on shaping identities and comparing them to each other (Prins, 2006; McCall, 2005). In this study, the representational relationship between the multidimensional system and the subjects (i.e. the included categories of social actors) is recognised as a dynamic process (Weldon, 2008; Choo & Ferree, 2010; Ferree, 2011). In the following subsections, I discuss how this process of system-subject representation contributes to producing a disadvantaged or marginalised gendered group (Levon, 2015, p.297).

8.3.1. The process of shaping identity

As mentioned in section 8.2, the three-dimensional system is represented as a triple dominance matrix which is linked in the texts to the general category of Saudi women. In Chapters Four and Five, the corpus and collocational qualitative analysis showed that references to women are primarily on three main topics: Driving ban, Covering the body and Guardianship. Within these topics it was found that 'women' was positioned as a passive actor for more active agents, namely, political authority, religious men and Saudi men. This finding shows the importance of using the corpus collocational analysis in studying frequent references to women, where methods like word sketching and qualitative analysis of randomly selected concordance lines featuring 'women' as a node (see Chapter Five), showed that the mentioned above three topics are linked to the three dimensions of the intersectional dominance matrix, respectively: Nationality, Religion and Patriarchy. This is argued to be an important finding of the study, which was discovered as a result of applying a systemic intersectional approach (Prins, 2006), which aims to study the relation between systems and subjects. This approach combined with

the SAA contributed to uncovering the type of link between the represented dominance matrix (Collins, 2000) and the subjects, i.e. SW; the link is the social practices represented as inflictions on women caused by the dominance matrix as will be explained in the rest of this section. Throughout this section, it will be illustrated how the discourse on these three topics demonstrates social issues which highlight gender inequality in the state. The choice of these topics can be considered the first step in constructing a relationship between the systems and the social category of women.

Between the intersectional representations of social actors and intersectional representations of systems I have found what I would call intersectional discursive practice, which explains how the two are discursively linked: the shaping system and shaped subjects. Investigating this medium level explains what the user of language is doing when creating discourse within the perspective of the process-centred approach (Choo and Ferree, 2010). While producing social systems and linking them to actors in the text, the author is denoting the latter as a privileged or disadvantaged subject by, for example, genderising, nationalising or racializing the groups included and creating differences amongst them in discourse through the use of language and intersectional construction. This process will be further explored and exemplified in the rest of this subsection.

Throughout the qualitative analysis of discourse on the topics of the Driving ban, Covering the body, and Guardianship, it was found that there are lexical and grammatical features that position women as subjects, which in turn are dominated by social practices, and which are thus linked to the three-dimensional system. As such, these findings support the CDA assertion that systems and subjects are mutually constituted through, and linked by, social practices (Fairclough, 1995). I have framed each social practice according to the most pertinent systemic dimension (national, religious and patriarchal). The represented social practices are thus proposed as: banning women from driving (national practice), covering women's bodies (religious practice) and men dominating women (patriarchal practice). The following subsections reflect on the findings indicating these three practices, with implications for the dynamic process of the system-subject relationship. While these (systemic) practices, will be discussed separately, it does not mean that their effect on identity is not intersectional. Yet, for the sake of exploring the complexity of the dynamic relationship between the two intersectional

aspects, namely, systems and subjects, the social practices represented are dealt with individually in this section. The role of the triple-dimension system and its relation to shaping intersectional identity is illustrated in section 8.3.2, which also shows the value, in contrast to single dimensional approaches, of adopting intersectional analysis, as is the case in this study (see section 2.4).

a) Banning women from driving

'Driving ban' is framed in the examined discourse as a ban practised by the Saudi system only on women who are Saudi and live in the country. Driving is represented in the data as one of the human rights given to men but of which women are deprived. The force of the national dimension is further emphasised by providing texts which present Western women who are in the country for diplomatic reasons as being granted permission to drive. Expressions like 'the only country, only in Saudi Arabia, Saudi women only, only women in Saudi Arabia' are used interchangeably to relate and limit the practice of the driving ban to Saudi women and to show how this group is subjugated by law in the country. In addition, other lexico-grammatical collocates are used to construct this hegemonic relationship. Patterns for processes with obligation verbs where references to women are frequently passivated like 'women are banned, prevented, prohibited, not allowed' and the reoccurrence of negated modals 'cannot, could not, should not drive in the country' express obligations and constraints practised on women by the system (see Chapter Five). In this sense, throughout the discourse on this topic, women are represented as an oppressed category compared to men in the country, to other women in the country, and to women outside the country.

The controversial topic of the driving ban on Saudi women was covered substantially in local and international media, before and after the overturning of the ban in 2017. This richness of data has enabled analysts in different disciplines to interrogate this issue, most recently and relevantly the linguistic studies by Harun et al. (2018), Altoaimy (2018) and Elias et al. (2020). Most of the studies on the Saudi women driving ban explore an oppressed image for women linked to a single system of nationality within a hegemonic relationship. In terms of micro-linguistic analysis, the use of obligation verbs and other strong deontic modals or negated dynamic modals 'cannot, could not' to contribute in representing Saudi women, who are banned from driving, as a dominated and oppressed identity has been explored and critically analysed

in media texts (Harun et al., 2018). These studies, however, reduce the represented dimensions responsible for shaping a dominated oppressed identity in discourse to one single dimension, which is the national system, neglecting in this way the relationship between other systems and identity construction in discourse. As such, they fail to give comprehensive meaning to constructs like gender and religion which, as Levon states, "do not exist as entities unto themselves" but "…crucially depend for their meaning on their relationship to the other categories with which they intersect" (Levon 2015, pp. 297-298). This point will be taken up again in section 8.3.2.

b) Covering women

Although there are occasional references to the physical covering of Saudi women throughout the data, the number of texts involving this topic has increased in more recently produced articles (2017–18). After reporting in depth on the historical event of lifting the driving ban on Saudi women that occurred in 2017, which could be justified as an instance of the journalistic practice of highlighting a newsworthy event, the BBC reportage moved unexpectedly to the theme of women's physical dress. Besides reflecting some of the social changes taking place in the country, this thematic change can be a strategy applied by news workers to create newsworthiness for the target readership through the topic selection and language use (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). Here, the writers moved on from the topic of the Driving ban, which was in reality lifted, to reporting on Covering women or how women are dressed, which did not change during the reporting time frame. Unlike the reporting on the ban, in other words, it is not in itself a newsworthy event.

In the analysis, covering the body, which involves women as the central subject, is linked to Religion. The practice of covering the body is constructed as an undesirable practice imposed only on women by religious doctrine. The high frequency of patterns of deontic strong modals ascribed to women displays this kind of relationship, e.g. 'women should, women must, women have to wear'. In addition, this Islamic covering is represented negatively using words like 'imposed on women, head to toe cover, dark robe/ cloak, and Islamic strict code'. Hence, religion, which is 'largely ignored' in intersectional studies as a dimension of the dominance matrix, (Collins et al., 2021, p.706) is here considered as a third force in the dominance matrix constructed to shape the identity of Saudi women.

The relation constructed between women's physical covering and Islam is not new in the literature. Nonetheless, Islamic covering is positioned in many studies on Muslim women's representation as the main aspect that characterises Muslim women's identity (Macdonald, 2006; Sadar, 2014; Alhejin, 2015; Hametner et al., 2019). Relevant to the topic of physical Covering and Saudi women's representation, Mishra (2007) studied a corpus of 83 articles reporting on Saudi women. These articles were collected from different resources in the American press. She found that Saudi women's dominant images in the examined discourse were veiled ghosts and sheltered children who are kept in houses and do not mix in the public sphere. She claims that the goal of discourse of the American press is to focus on the physical dimension of "disciplining the female body" (p.256). Also, Al-Hejin's (2015) study on Muslim women's representation in BBC news, with Saudi women as a subgroup, demonstrates that the representation of women is linked to dress or different types of body covering, and that Hijab is imposed on women by Islamic law. However, while the present study and relevant studies found that Muslim women are represented as invisible oppressed victims in Western media, other studies found that this group is represented as a visible danger to British security and identity (Sadar, 2014) or posing a threaten as suicide bombers (Jaworski, 2010; Al-Hejin, 2015; Matthew, 2020) or a veiled threat (Rashid, 2016). The difference between Muslim women's depictions as submissive victims and aggressive actors may be somewhat attributed to contextual reasons, for example the "post-9/11 American context" (Mishra and Shirazi 2010, p.191), when fear of Muslims' involvement in terrorism spread, particularly in the USA (Ahmad, 2006), resulting in many studies on Islamophobia that related the construction of Muslims to terrorism (Collins et al., 2021).

c) Men dominating women

Discourse on 'Guardianship' has been linguistically developed in the compiled texts to express patriarchal behaviours practised on SW. The results of the analysis showed that women are positioned as subordinate to and hegemonized by men. This is achieved by attributing inactive roles to women and connecting women's activities to men's decisions by the frequent use of expressions like 'women cannot/are not able to + verb + without a male guardian/companion', and 'women should be accompanied by/ permitted by a male guardian/escort'. The grammatical location of women as objects in processes for permission and interdiction verbs acted by men, and also locating them as subjects in passive voice structures linked to dominating male objects, e.g. 'women should be permitted by men', are examples of linguistic strategies that frame the power relations between men and women in the texts. Furthermore, within this relationship frame, women are depicted and, in some instances, referred to as 'children' who are 'kept in childhood' and who need permission and consent from their male guardians to engage in their own issues. Hence, language use perpetuates the stereotypical hegemonic relationship between men and women. Such hegemony is originally/ primarily realised by selecting Guardianship as a main topic which puts men in contrast to women, where 'men' are activated while 'women' are passivated, agent roles are allocated to 'men' while 'women' are represented as lacking agency, and where 'men' are positioned in political domains and courts while 'women' are associated with the home and children. Therefore, Patriarchy is depicted as being the third force within the dominance matrix, controlling and shaping Saudi women's representation in BBC news discourse.

Relevant to this finding on the represented effect of the Patriarchal dimension on Saudi women's identity, Elias and Aljabri (2020) examined Saudi women portrayals in the discourse of three famous Western newspapers (The Washington Post, The Guardian and the Toronto Star). The analysts focused on the construction of Saudi women's identity in relation to the guardianship system and found out that media journalists negatively employed a 'negative other-presentation' to depict women as controlled by and subordinate to men (p.339). Such findings of the present and relevant studies do not deviate far from older studies discussing the general issue of the biased media portrayals of men and women. These previous studies conducted critical analyses of stereotypical depictions of gender roles where women are trivialised in media discourse and depicted within domestic fields with subordinate roles, whereas men are represented more positively and linked to public settings and superior spheres (Cantor, 1972; Fowler, 1991; Watkins and Emerson, 2000). However, the present study is different from these gender studies in recognising and exploring gender as one dimension that could not be separated from other dimensions of a more complex system, as will be further illustrated in section 8.3.2.

These results presented in the above discussion about the process of shaping SW's identity confirmed the value of both the macro discourse analysis and the micro linguistic analysis. The

manual macro analysis of the social themes or topics as well as the analysis of the semantic categories, which was primarily conducted via the corpus tools, contributed to identifying the main aspects which are associated with women and are basic in shaping women's identity such as the religious and the gender aspects. The micro linguistic analysis conducted by the SAA lexical, semantic and grammatical aspects contributed to uncover the intersectional discursive representations of different categories of SW, and the passive representations for their identity and roles.

Positive representation

In contrast to the negative images discussed above, there are a few studies on Muslim and Saudi women representations in Western media that have uncovered a subtle positive portrayal. Undeniably, many of the previous studies on Muslim women's representation agree on the notion of Othering Muslim women by Western journalists (Scharff, 2011; Baljit, 2018), but not all of them found a biased negative representation. In Kabgani's (2013) study on Muslim women's representations in non-Islamic media, women's identity is constructed in relation to religion. However, he found that they are positively represented in the Guardian as "active actors of Muslim community, remarkably determined in their beliefs" (p. 57). This result confirms the findings by Kaufer and AlMalki (2009) in their study on Saudi women's representation in Western media. The results of their study suggest that despite Western media depictions of powerless Muslim women, there are positive depictions of Saudi women in powerful roles. In this study, there is further evidence for this positive discursive attitude which supports the results of Western media's heterogeneous representations of Muslim/ Saudi women. This variety of representations, which will be further detailed in section 8.4, supports my decision on selecting an inter-categorical comparative approach which allows comparing groups of social actors for more understanding of the intersectional representations.

A possible cause of such contradictory representations may in part stem from the different underpinning ideologies of different news channels, and due to them being local (Saudi channels), regional (Middle Eastern channels) or international. Most local newspapers focus on the positive aspects of women's representation (Elias et al., 2020), whereas Western media tend to consider the empty part of the glass. For example, in local media, a study on Saudi women's representation in Saudi newspapers showed that this category was positively represented as an active identity with superior roles in different political, academic and scientific fields (Elias et al., 2020). It is claimed that this portrayal is a result of the ideological underpinnings of the political and social atmosphere of the kingdom (ibid.). Another possible cause for the discursive practice of constructing negative and positive images for women in the media news is rather motivated by the news values which are required to judge the worthiness of news (Richardson, 2007). Although in this discourse negativity is basic when reporting on SW, this does not mean that there is no place for the positivity value. As it is evident in the examined discourse, the good news reports about women are narrated in the domains of sports and social activities like trendsetting or women's protest as will be discussed in 8.4. A further cause and justification for variations in the discursive representation of women may be interpreted within the frame of the intersectional construction of identity which depend on the change of the contexts. For example, although both groups are Muslim Arab women, Palestinian women's image is linked to violence and terrorism in the literature (Hasso 2005; Jaworski 2010), as opposed to Saudi women's identity which is represented in the present and other studies as a submissive victim of social practices. More explanation about understanding the value of the intersectional method to recognise identity is given in the next subsection.

8.3.2. Multidimensional jeopardy- intersectional identity

This section highlights a part of the original contribution of the present study and how it is different from previous studies. As reviewed and discussed above, the representation of Saudi women in local and international media has been investigated in several discourse studies. In the findings of these studies, Saudi women's identity is found to be represented negatively or positively in media. However, it is worth explaining in more detail the difference between the previous studies and the present study which systematically analysed the multiple effect of the constructed multidimensional system on the intersectional identity. In other words, in each study, attention focused on a single dimension as more relevant to women's representation than others. Thus, exploring the representation of women in the present study is different from what has been reviewed regarding Muslim/ Saudi women's representation in some facets:

- The representation of women is conceptualised and explored as an intersectional entity in discourse in line with the theory of scholars of intersectionality like Crenshaw (1989, 1990), McCall (2005), Yuval-Davis (2006) and Collins (2000).
- 2- Identity representation in discourse is linked to the construction of a complex system (Prins, 2006; Weldon, 2008). Systems are not considered additive, nor are their effects on shaping the identity of women reducible, rather they are considered as components of one intersectional system in accordance with Yuval-Davis' (2006) view.
- 3- The relation between systems and identities in discourse has a dynamic nature that works on different levels, including the wider contextual structure of intersectional historical, political and social aspects (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Yuval Davis, 2006; see the Introduction chapter). In this sense, identity (formation) is considered non-static in discourse (McCall, 2005; Weldon, 2008; Levine-Rasky, 2011).

In the present study, the full engagement with these theoretic facets of intersectionality from a micro-analytical discursive perspective is an original contribution that can help to recognise a comprehensive image of/for women in discourse, and to understand the variation in (women's) identity representations in different channels of media discourse. The analysis conducted and its results validate the intersectional view that social categories and/or systems cannot be approached as separate entities, but rather as an interlocking non-static unity composed of constitutive interacting dimensions (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2010; Choo and Ferree, 2010; Levon, 2015). While the findings of the analysis provide evidence to support the systemic intersectional view and the interactional relationship between systems and subjects, the value of close linguistic analysis shows how this is manifested in discourse in a specific context. In the present study, the religious aspect was not expected. Rather, it emerged clearly through the corpus analysis and proved to be a force within a dominance matrix affecting and shaping Saudi women's identity in the examined discourse. This demonstrates that intersectionality can be useful in studies of media coverage and discursive depictions of privileged and disadvantaged religious groups (Collins et al., 2021, p.710). On the textual level, these categories and other minority categories can be identified, categorised, and critically analysed drawn on aspects borrowed from SAA, which proves to be fruitful in the previous corpus and critical discourse studies of social actors (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon, 2010; Koller, 2012; Potts and Weare, 2018; Krendel, 2020) and in the present study,

which combined aspects from SAA and CL to analyse intersectionality. In addition, the analysis exposed the dynamic relationship between the two levels of intersectionality, i.e. the system and the subjects, which are linked in discourse by what I call (intersectional discursive practice) as explained above. This in turn confirms

8.3.3. The effect of intersectionality in shaping SW disadvantaged identity

Overall, generic SW's identity is shaped by the represented multidimensional Saudi system in BBC news discourse as a dominance matrix. This category is shaped as a powerless, dominated and oppressed group of women. Women's identity is discursively disadvantaged by the created interacting multiple forces of the Saudi system, which is composed of Nationality, Religion and Patriarchy. Therefore, gender is culturized and culture is gendered in the examined discourse, supporting the view that the process of discursive construction of gender is linked to and constituted by the construction of other dimensions (Weldon, 2008; Ferree, 2011), which are Religion and Nationality/Culture in the present study.

The general outcome of the discursive practices in these media texts is a trivialised image of women, controlled by the power of a double force. One of the affecting forces is the intersectional social aspects mentioned in the data. The other force is the linguistic power of journalists in the context of Western news, which may be affected by other intersectional factors like history, policy and culture, which indeed have an influence on representing identity. This claim for the effect of the double force on shaping identity agrees with finding of Hunt and Jaworska (2019) that the identity produced is an outcome of the interaction between selected social aspects and linguistic features combined in discourse.

From a feminist critical discourse perspective, journalists' choices of topics are mainly concerned with gender issues in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, like guardianship, the driving ban and physical covering. These topics are strategically framed in the discursive context as social practices of gender inequality, using different linguistic features that juxtapose women with men. Intersectional critical discourse analysis can potentially contribute to raising the awareness of writers and readers to how discourse contributes to (re)producing gender inequality; such inequality is achieved, according to Lazar, by "representations of practices
formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining unequal power relations and dominance" (2005, p.6).

Within the feminist studies field, this study contributes to the body of criticism and rejection of mainstream feminist discourses which have been focusing on the experiences of white middleclass women and/or on "ethnocentric universalism" (Mohanty 1984, p.336; 2013). Mohanty claims that some Western feminist movements turn Western feminists' views into ideals or standards. In so doing, the "implicit referent, i.e., the yardstick by which to encode and represent cultural Others" is in fact a discursive power practised over its subjects (1984, p. 336). She calls for considering the cultural and historical aspects in an understanding of the complex society of marginalised groups of women (2013, p.967). While the need to fight and reject oppressive practices is considered and acknowledged, this study resists the imperial feminism agenda that links the liberation of non-Western women to Western values. To this end, the present study recommends an intersectional critical method to recognise women's culturalized and genderised representations in discourse which, of course, affect the subjects' social experiences in real life. Adopting this method provides us with tools for theorizing and analysing intersectional representations in order to clarify and work against the universalism as well as the simplistic stance regarding the material and discursive practices affecting women. To this end, the necessity of adopting a feminist critical approach to women's intersectional representations became obvious and urgent in the field of discourse analysis.

8.4. Gender subcategories

This part discusses the results of the analyses presented in Chapters Six and Seven. It explains how the third question is answered, which is: What and how Saudi gender subcategories represented in BBC news discourse? How are representations of male and female subcategories located on the created social structure?

As shown in Chapter Four, about 33% of total references to social actors index the microlevel of Saudi intersectional identity, which is composed of nominated individuals. In this intercategorical systemic study, it is important to investigate representations of different subcategories. This investigation allows exploring and comparing different intersectional constructions of identities and systems. In the following parts, I discuss how the intersectional method contributes to recognising unequal representations of gender subcategories in the examined discourse.

8.4.1. Selective intersectional representation

As illustrated in Chapter Four, references to individual male and female social actors were collected and then classified into seven gender subcategories: MALE Royals, Clerics and Relatives, and FEMALE Trendsetters, Activists, Political figures and Victims. This categorisation was determined on after conducting a corpus analysis using methods of word frequency and key word analysis combined with aspects of SAA and intersectionality (see Chapter Four). Given that Religion, Nationality and Gender are static dimensions in each subcategory, this further classification is based on multiple dimensions (also referred to as multiple memberships, e.g., Hunt and Jaworska, 2019) that are selected to characterise and form each subcategory. For example, the multidimensional system of Gender, Position and Class forms Royals; and that of Patriarchy and Kinship interpersonal relations characterises male Relatives. It is agreed that social identity is assumed to be complex and composed of "boundless" aspects of division (McCall, 2005; Yuval Davis, 2006, p.202), but the biased representation of unequal types of identity is the "product of human creative freedom and autonomy" (Yuval Davis 2006, p. 203) as the writer or speaker has the power to select from amongst these aspects and use language to present a specific type of identity within a specific discursive context. This biased representation is uncovered by comparing the different subcategories of men and women within the frame of inter-categorical approach to intersectional representations, which shows the value of adopting this approach for more understanding of how intersectionality works in discourse.

Not all dimensions forming subcategories are explicitly mentioned in the examined discourse. Rather, the close qualitative linguistic analysis using the toolkit which includes analytical tools from intersectionality and SAA explored implicit references to composing dimensions. While references to class, position and age, for instance, are explicit in the texts (e.g. 'the young Prince', 'the old King'), others referring to activism and victimhood are implicit and are recognised/ determined by analysing the discourse surrounding female subcategories and ascertaining female activists and female victims. For example, Female Activists were recognised from describing a group of Saudi women as active challengers, 'protestors' or 'campaigners' against social practices, who 'are stopped, detained, arrested, released, led', whereas Female Victims were elucidated from their location as patients /recipients of hegemonic verbs acted out by male actors like 'lock, abuse, prevent, hit, kill and prohibit'. Hence, the selection of composing dimensions is the first aspect to create textual differences and power relations amongst the seven subcategories.

Another aspect that contributes to creating unequal images for and relations amongst the identified gender subcategories is the linguistic choices and discursive features used to construct a specific identity for each subcategory with different allocated roles. In the data, Royals are described in terms of their political position 'the monarch of the Kingdom, the deputy crown, the leader', their class or social position 'the prince, the king and a few instances that refer to fortune 'the wealthy, the billionaire'. This subcategory is linked to powerful roles allocated to its composing individuals as decision-makers, reformers, changers of the society, powerholders, and leaders. Other male subcategories are characterised by other features such as the clerics' extremist religious aspect; and male familial relations to women that identify individuals in this group as fathers, brothers or husbands. The selected dimensions shaping Clerics and Male Relatives are strategically involved in texts by combining their selected features with lexico-grammatical features to nest power relations and dominance over the other (sub)categories (see Chapter Six). The agency of male subcategories and their roles as dominating groups is framed within material processes that state their dominance and hegemony. By contrast, the combination of selective social dimensions and linguistic features in other textual instances depicts passivity and lack of agency in women subcategories. Individuals in female subcategories were mainly located as patients of verbs acted out by men, which rendered them as marginalised groups, social victims or activists struggling against hegemonic social practices (see Chapter Seven).

The biased gender representations in the texts can be produced by sociocultural ideological presumptions that lead to referring to/selecting aspects of discrimination/ domination like gender, political position, class, and men in relation to women; aspects are combined in language to create a privileged and dominant image and role for Saudi men in contrast to the oppressed image of powerless Saudi women. A clear example of these entrenched ideologies

that may affect gender representations in discourse is women's victimhood vs male dominance and hegemony that presupposes relations between the two gender groups as 'a victimoppressor' relationship (Sadar, 2014, p.63).

Furthermore, I argue here that discrimination in the intersectional representation that results from the selection of dimensions which are manipulated in language to create divisions does not occur only amongst subcategories, it might also happen amongst individuals within the same subcategory. For example, further differences in representation are created between members of the royal subcategory by describing the deputy crown in terms of his age and close relation to the king, which privileges him amongst other royal members. There are explicit references to his age throughout the discourse in contrast to the age of his father 'the 32-yearold prince, the young prince, the youngest son' vs 'the old king, the 83-year-old king, his old father'. In addition, the feature of the father-son relation between the current king and the prince is frequently presented and highlighted in the studied discourse. The other prince is privileged by his wealth but disadvantaged by having no political position. Thus, the multidimensional system of Gender, Position, Nationality, Class, Age and Relation to the king constructs an intersectionally complex persona for Prince Mohammed as a privileged powerful leader and thus one located in the highest position of the royal pyramid (more details are given below). The prince's resulting image differs from the expected familiar image and position which assumes that the king is of higher rank in the structure. This means that a powerful identity "is not a given, to be 'put on' when required. Rather, it is a repertoire of social categories" which results from instances of language use (Hunt and Jaworska, 2019, p.5). The results of this analysis and the identification of different representations demonstrated the synergy between SAA and intersectionality to analyse intersectionality on both the textual level and the discursive level (see section 3.3.1). The findings of analysing the textual and the discursive levels allow a possible interpretation on the micro contextual level which explains the effect of biased intersectional representations in creating differences amongst different categories. This will be illustrated in the next section.

8.4.2. Hierarchical order of intersectional identities

The selection of social dimensions, and discursive and linguistic features to produce different representations and different roles for social actors creates different positions for gender subcategories in the imagined social structure. This discursive practice enabled me to sketch a grid representing the imagined social structure and power relations amongst the gender subcategories as represented in the co-text (Fig. 8-1). The unequal representations of men and women are a result of what (Castoriadis, 1987) calls 'creative imagination', which results in an imagined positioning of these subcategories in different hierarchical locations in the social structure (as cited in Stoetzeler and Yuval-Davis, 2002, p.324). The results for unequal gender representations confirm the claim by Yuval Davis (2006, p. 203) that "the construction of categories of signification is, in the last instance, a product of human creative freedom and autonomy". Thus, it is the role of news discourse agents to select different dimensions to construct different intersectional identities; these foregrounded dimensions are in turn responsible for creating different positions for men and women within a specific context.

Figure 8-1 below illustrates different locations created for men and women subcategories. The locations are plotted based on the intersectional representations of each subcategory that explain power relations of domination and subordination. Although the different hierarchical positions of the subcategories are not explicitly mentioned, the figure helps to understand the role of the system-subject intersectional representation in creating social divisions and hierarchies amongst gender subcategories.



Figure 8-1: Gender Hierarchical social order as represented in BBC news discourse

Figure 8-1 represents the imagined social structure as implied in the examined discourse (see Chapters Six and Seven), which demonstrates intersectional gender subcategories. The MALE Clerics subcategory is situated in two locations, one is marked in grey to show the representational reversal for this sub-category, which will be discussed later. The seven subcategories of men and women are positioned hierarchically against the intersecting axes of Gender and Culture that represent the main dimensions of the Saudi intersectional system. While the vertical dimension indicates the gender hierarchy/ binary scheme order, the horizontal one stands for the social actors' twin stance on cultural norms (religious and/or national). The subcategories to the right are those represented as assimilating the norms of the culture, in contrast to those positioned to the left that are represented as resistant to cultural values. Along the Gender dimension, social subcategories are plotted to the left and right according to the ideological sociocultural(ized) gender hierarchy.

In the upper-right quadrant the three male subcategories are located. Male Royals are positioned at the top of the hierarchy because their assigned roles are those of power-holders and decisionmakers, the dominating group that is characterised by agency and hegemony over other gender groups within the discursive context. Next to the Royals are male Clerics, who are characterised by their position and religious orientation and referred to as consultants and co-legislators of Saudi royals. Beneath this subcategory but above women subcategories are male Relatives who are symbols of patriarchy linked to hegemonic behaviours practised on women within familial as well as societal institutions. Almost all male actors are agents within material processes which convey meanings of holding powerful roles of change and influence in the society. The dimensions of Class, sociopolitical, and familial positions, besides Manhood, form the dominating intersectional system that characterises the identities of male subcategories and positions them in locations above those of female subcategories.

In the upper left quadrant, two female subcategories are located in a lower position than those of the three male subcategories, but higher than the locations of female Politicians and Victims. In the data, the female subcategories of Trendsetters and Activists are represented as resistant to cultural norms, thus locating them to the left. They are textually characterised in their active and innovative roles that are represented as more agentive and different from other typical female subcategories, which are passivated in sentences. However, the agency of the individuals in these female subcategories is restricted in the texts, where references to them exist as identified carriers in relational processes (e.g. 'she is the first Saudi woman'), sensers in mental processes (e.g. 'she thinks emancipating women threatens the guardian system') and sayers in verbal processes (e.g. 'she told the media that she did not seek fame'). To the lower right, we find the female Politicians subcategory which is unexpectedly marginalised and passivated in BBC discourse. Female Political figures, who are in fact and represent political nationalists, are marginalised in the data in terms of both discursive space and language use. References to them are present in very few articles: just lists of female names nominated by male authorities. This group's influential political role as counterparts to male politicians is underrepresented and suppressed. Therefore, it can be concluded that the intersectional system of Gender and Position demonstrates the lower social position of women, in contrast to the expected high position of male politicians who, when shaped by the same intersectional system, are represented and positioned in a higher space. Consequently, the location of this subcategory indicates its culturalised and genderised position in the social structure. This bias gender representation is evidence of the marginalisation and underrepresentation of women politicians who, overall, "receive less coverage" and more negative coverage than male colleagues (Heldman et al., 2005, p.320). A little lower than this category is that of Victims, who are located to the bottom left as 'challengers' of cultural practices, but at the same time rendered as 'victims' of male hegemonic practices.

Overall, the different hierarchies of social subcategories are created linguistically using different strategies such as the selection of sensational topics (Sadar, 2014), a limited discursive space (Bystrom et al., 2001; Miller et al., 2010; Pearce, 2008), selecting and textual foregrounding of the social aspects (Hunt and Jaworska, 2019) and linguistic choices that include semantic, lexical and grammatical selections used to describe men and women subcategories (Mills, 2002; Sigley and Holmes, 2002; Baker, 2010, Lazar 2007) (see Chapters Six and Seven). The close linguistic analysis showed the influence of intersectional 'representational choices' in producing different gender categories and a variable social hierarchy (Jaffe 2011, p.564), thus maintaining inequality amongst social actors. An example of the presumed complex system is Gender and Position, discussed above, the dimensions of which constitute each other to produce two unequal subcategories of men and women Politicians. The critical interpretation of the discursive and linguistic practices that are uncovered by the intersectional corpus and discourse analysis (on the textual and discursive levels) shed light on the social problem of discrimination and biased representations in discourse. These practices in discourse have their influence in constituting knowledge, what is believed to be true, social practices and power relations (Foucault, 1972); in producing and reproducing inequality (van Dijk, 1993) which goes in line with Fairclough's view that discourse is constituted by and is constituting the society (1992).

8.4.3. Shift in representation

As mentioned in section 8.3, identities are not settled in discourse. They change within the process of intersectionality that works on different levels: systems and subjects (macro and micro categories). In the following part, I discuss the relation between intersectional representation and the shift in identity construction in discourse.

In section 8.3, an image of dominated, oppressed and covered Saudi women shaped by the constructed dominance matrix of Nationality, Religion, and Patriarchy was discussed. Above, in this section, however, a different image of active, innovative Saudi female groups is discussed. In the examined discourse, individual female Trendsetters and Activists are represented as challengers of cultural constraints and social practices and as having more active roles than other women subcategories. Their identities are constructed in the texts by involving social aspects that go beyond the main static dimensions of Nationality, Religion and Gender. These characterising dimensions are recognised as their Activism and/or Innovation, which are framed in discourse to expose their anti-cultural stance as resistant to social traditional practices. These aspects are mixed with linguistic features to construct an identity different from Saudi women's general identity which, as discussed earlier, is represented as traditional and submissive. In addition, it is noticed that, unlike the case with the general women category, female Trendsetters' identity is not textually linked to or affected by the triple dimensional system. In other words, the social systemic practices that appear to be linked to the general category of women and some female subcategories, which are women banned from driving, men dominating women, and covering women, are not likely to be linked to this group. Furthermore, while Saudi women's general identity is allocated in the familial and domestic domain, the female subcategories of trendsetters and activists are involved in different semantic domains, such as sport, media, public life and protest. This result aligns with previous findings that highlight the heterogeneous representation of Saudi/ Muslim women's identity in Western media (Kaufer and Al-Malki, 2009; Kabgani, 2013). This finding contributes to prove that identity is not static and differs according to the culture, context, organization, and relation to other identities (Levine-Rasky, 2011). This dynamic and changing state is expressed linguistically by the intersectional representation that changes from group to group and from context to context as has been explored in this study.

The shift in representing identity takes another direction, and with another gender sub-category, i.e. from active and powerful men (privileged) to passive and powerless ones (oppressed). As displayed in Figure 8-1, there is a shift in the position of Religious men from the upper right to a lower right position. The privilege and disadvantage in Clerics' identity are linked in the texts to a dimension of positions as can be concluded from the linguistic analysis in Chapter Six. This subcategory, which is characterised by the social aspects of Religion and Position as

religious legislators, is represented earlier in the data as powerful decision-makers, who are consulted by kings, who have central political roles in the country, and consequently positioned high in the social structure. The identity of Religious men shows a representational reversal from powerful hegemonic actors to oppressed and dominated actors located in the lower right quadrant of the shape (marked in grey in Figure 8-1). This change reflects the sociopolitical changes that recently took place in the country (2016–18). This dramatic shift in representation is expressed by lexical and grammatical selections resulting in a disadvantaged image for clerics with a represented deterioration in the roles allocated to them (see Chapter Six). References to them are located as patients of judgemental material verbs like dissuaded, cracked down, arrested and appeased. These acts are linked to the national system controlled/ headed by the deputy crown prince. The Clerics' role is disactivated using expressions such as having no role, so they are less likely to speak and are a source of opposition.

Another shift in representation is that of male guardians or Relatives. While, in this study, the dominant image of Saudi men is one of dominating guardians of women, as explained in section 8.3, they are exemplified as supporters of women in other instances. When men's relation to women is depicted as supportive, which is limited, collocates of 'women' suggest more active roles: 'they can, could, are encouraged, become, achieve'. This representation may suggest that women's activated roles in the data are linked to male actors role change, i.e., when the relative is a supporter of a woman, she can accomplish deeds (see section 6.4.2.)

The findings for a shifted representation contribute to confirming that intersectional identities and their positions are neither simplistic nor static in discourse. Rather, they are produced within a dynamic discursive process that constructs intersectional identities differently, according to some contextual circumstances (McCall 2005; Weldon 2008; Levine-Rasky 2011). Likewise, Hunt and Jaworska arrived at a finding that shows how "certain aspects of multiple social memberships can be foregrounded or backgrounded in a particular context or in a particular point of time and result in multifarious disadvantage or privilege" (2019, pp. 3-4). The present study is innovative in its framework which theorise, analyse and confirm that intersectionality in discourse is a process, which includes dynamic, linguistic features and discursive representational practices that work on different levels (systems, categories and individuals), resulting in different and changing social positions for individuals and groups.

8.5. Summary and final comment

The results of the linguistic analysis show the value of adopting a systemic inter-categorical intersectional perspective to explore a comprehensive image for inequality in gender identity representation. In addition, this approach has uncovered evidence of biased/ hegemonic discourse that supports and perpetuates hierarchical hegemonic domination-subordination relationships, internally, which occur amongst different male subcategories (Christensen and Jensen, 2014); and externally between men and women, which are largely established through the tools of language and discourse. It is in discourse where "ideological assumptions" are produced, reproduced and circulated as "commonsensical and natural" (Lazar, 2007, p.147). The naturalization and internalization of gendered images and roles contribute to the reproduction and perpetuation of unequal gender hierarchies and to the marginalisation and trivialisation of specific (sub)categories of women. It is through language and discourse tools, besides the powerful role of news discourse agents, that different hierarchical positions and hegemonic power relations are nested and legitimated between interacting social categories. And thus, besides reflecting and representing gender social issues, language and discourse have an influence on the way women are negatively perceived in specific contexts and communities, and as a result they produce, enact and sustain gender stereotypes and hegemonic power relations in discourse (Lazar, 2007).

Generally speaking, the findings of the study show how the macro-contextual aspects of society, history, policy and culture surrounding discourse are basic factors in creating and representing social issues including systems and subjects in discourse. However, the findings support the debate about media discourse which is claimed to be used as a medium to legitimate and maintain hegemony by employing reporting strategies to construct and maintain ideological meanings. Subjective journalistic strategies include the selection of sensitive topics, lexico-grammatical selections, intertextualised quotes, and the use of visuals (Sadar, 2014; Hunt and Jaworska, 2019). Except for the use of visuals, which is not considered in the study because of time and space limit, these linguistic and discursive strategies are exemplified in this study on Saudi women's representation in BBC news discourse.

In sum, the results and findings of this study ascended from applying the designed mixed methods approach which allows conducting a comprehensive analysis by using different tools

from CL, CDA and levels of intersectionality that work on different analytical levels of discourse. This design proves to be successful in achieving the aim of the study and answering the main research question about the representations of SW in BBC news discourse.

9. CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

9.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis on the topic of the 'Representations of Saudi women in BBC News Discourse: A Corpus-assisted Critical Intersectional Study'. It presents the research questions and how they were addressed, by summarising the main findings that resulted from applying an intersectional perspective and framework to explore women's representations in discourse. It also outlines the limitations of the study and makes recommendations for further studies based on the challenges faced and the results obtained from the analysis of intersectional representations of social systems and subjects.

The overall aim of this thesis was to explore the representations of SW within the context of BBC news discourse adopting a critical intersectional theory. 'Saudi women' in textual reports collected from the BBC website proved to be a suitable case study to examine intersectional representation, as it explicitly includes gender and nationality. From a critical perspective, it seemed to be a suitable case study for exploring if there is a biased discursive treatment as regards 'Saudi women' resulting from intersectional depictions of this category as well as other included (sub)categories. In order to examine intersectionality in representing women, systemic and inter-categorical approaches to intersectionality were combined to theorise identity. This combined approach was employed to explore how systems are related to identity in the texts and if there are unequal representations amongst different gender categories resulting from being constructed from different dimensions. In order to recognise the complexity of Saudi women's identity in BBC discourse, four main Research Questions needed to be answered:

- 1- How is the Saudi social system discursively constructed and linked to 'Saudi women' in BBC news discourse?
- 2- How is the identity of Saudi women represented in BBC news discourse?
- 3- What other intersectional gender subcategories are exemplified in the data?
- 4- How are female and male subcategories positioned in the social structure?

To answer these research questions, an exhaustive methodological framework was designed to analyse the complexity of gender identity in BBC discourse on Saudi women. It involved combining corpus and discourse analytical methods and tools with intersectional aspects and features to analyse interacting levels of systems and subjects. Applying this framework to analyse the data resulted in some valuable findings which are summarised in the following section.

9.2. Summary of findings

The main purpose of this summary is to draw a conclusion about the value and validity of adopting an intersectional perspective to theorise and analyse the case of Saudi women's representation in BBC news online discourse (see 1.2.3). The question of theorising women's identity in discourse was addressed by answering the above four questions. The first and the second questions are connected, and their answers complement each other as the Saudi systems and SW identities in question are hypothesised as two interacting aspects within the process of shaping identity.

Concerning the first question on constructing systems, the primary corpus analysis exposed variable lexical references to three main systems in the data (see section 4.5.1). Through an indepth collocational and concordance analysis as well as a close linguistic analysis of extracts involving references to these systems, it was discovered that besides Nationality and Gender, which were expected from the topic 'Saudi women', Religion emerged as an important cultural dimension related to women's identity (see section 5.2.2. and 5.3.2). It was also confirmed that the three systems could not be considered/ recognised separately in discourse. Rather, they were looked at as three components of entity. It was found that these three dimensions were framed in the examined discourse as a matrix of domination: Nationality, Religion, and Patriarchy which are linked to women's identity in discourse. Their unity becomes evident when checking the systems both separately and intersectionally in the texts. When they exist separately, they are positively or neutrally represented and not textually linked to 'women'. Nevertheless, when references to them intersect in the texts, an unfavourable negative meaning of domination is implied as being inflicted on and linked to 'women' (see sections 5.3 and 8.2 and 8.3).

Another important finding which is also an important contribution of the study is found when exploring how the systems are linked to the subjects. The relation between the complex system and women's intersectional identity is framed within an intersectional process. The three dimensions of the system are set up to produce three main social practices that disadvantage the general category of women within this process, which is the meeting point of the answers to the first and the second questions (see Fig. 9-1).



Figure 9-1: Process of Saudi women's intersectional representation

To address the second question related to the representation of Saudi women's identity, a qualitative analysis of collocations and extended concordance lines featuring 'women' as a node was conducted. It was found that Saudi women's generic identity is textually linked to the three dimensions of the intersectional system. The analysis of longer extracts showed how women's identity in BBC news discourse is shaped as a multiple entity intersected by dimensions of the Saudi system within a process. It is shaped as an oppressed category by the represented National dimension, physically covered up by the Religious dimension, and dominated by the Patriarchal dimension. The dimensions of the system are represented as producing intersectional practices that work together to shape a disadvantaged intersectional identity for women in discourse (see Fig. 9-1 and section 8.3.1). Thus, the recognition of Saudi women's general identity in BBC discourse was achieved by looking at it as one outcome (Muslim Saudi women) shaped as a disadvantaged category by the social practices of being oppressed, dominated and covered, which are produced by the created triple dimensional system (Nationality, Religion, and Patriarchy). Concerning micro-linguistic features, the exhaustive analysis on lexical, semantic and grammatical levels exposed how 'women' are passivated in discourse. Additionally, the micro-linguistic analysis uncovered how hegemonic relationships between men and women are discursively depicted through different ways of role allocation, agency distribution and lexical words associating each group, which shows the patriarchal domination of men and subordination of women.

Answering the third and fourth questions required finding references to all the individual social actors in the data and categorising them into groups of men and women to enable comparisons. Then, examining how intersectional systems and subjects are represented, and if such representations create inequalities amongst the different subcategories of men and women in context, was required. To answer the third question, instances of individual social actors were manually collected and categorised into seven sub-categories of men and women based on shared attributed aspects. Classifying them into sub-categories was achieved by using features borrowed from van Leeuwen's (2008) Social Actors Approach: nomination, identification, functionalisation and role activation and passivation. Accordingly, it was found that seven gender subcategories were created in the data: MALE Royals, Clerics and Relatives of women, and FEMALE Politicians, Activists, Trendsetters and Victims of men. The illustrative intersectional critical analysis of extracts including references to these subcategories has answered the fourth question. The results of the analysis and interpretations of these results confirm that there is discrimination in intersectional representations amongst both: men and women categories and the same gender subcategories. This discrimination is mainly caused by the selection of different dimensions to shape each category and by linguistic choices. Furthermore, the subjective selection of social aspects and combining them in language using selective linguistic strategies contributes to creating hegemonic relationships between the intersectional categories of men and women and amongst subcategories of the same gender in discourse. This causes them to be positioned in different hierarchical locations in the imagined social structure (see Fig. 9-2).



Figure 9-2: Hierarchical positions of Saudi intersectional gender subcategories

As a result, images of these subcategories can be classified into superior, marginalised and dominated. Systems of discrimination composed of Gender, Position and Class were framed to position men higher in the hierarchy in the created social structure. The represented system of Gender and Position, on the other hand, is part of trivialising and marginalising female politicians in the examined discourse. Gender and Victimhood are two dimensions that discursively intersect to disadvantage the subcategory of socially abused women. Within different categories of the same gender group, the female Trendsetters/Pioneers and Activists' subcategory is privileged compared to other female subcategories by constructing their identities from the dimensions of Anti-culturalism, Innovation and Activism. By contrast, male Clerics, who were first represented as a privileged dominating group, are later intersectionally rendered as a dominated and oppressed category of men using different linguistic strategies. The deputy crown prince is represented differently from other male actors and particularly from male royals in terms of his age and relation to the king. Thus, these findings for intersectional representation in discourse have answered the question of differences in representation amongst different gender (sub)categories.

Answering the research questions provided a further general important finding which is that intersectional identity/ representation is not static. It changes in discourse as a result of contextual change (circumstances as well as social and time contexts and changes in events). This change is manifested in language which is manipulated by subjective selected identity aspects and selected linguistic and discursive features to represent them differently.

Addressing the four questions also helped to answer the main research question about the role of intersectional representation in constructing Saudi gender identity in BBC news. The principle finding of the whole study about Saudi gender/intersectional representation within a BBC news discursive context is that gender identity is multidimensionally represented within an intersectional process working on intersectional levels, namely Saudi multidimensional system and Saudi subjects, that interact in this specific discursive context. Systems which are referred to in other studies as divisions, structures, categories, aspects and systems of discrimination, are framed in the examined discourse as axes of power that create unequal representation (social divisions) between different social (sub)categories and classify them into groups of domination and subordination. As such, this study aligns with other intersectional studies in that power is inherent to understanding the role of gender (along with other) identities in society.

In conclusion, the proposed framework was successful in exploring the examined language and discourse to better understand Saudi women's images in BBC discourse. A criticism of the study is that no equivalent body of texts for Saudi men was built to be studied and compared. This was because of the unavailability of texts reporting on Saudi men in the same resource, i.e. BBC website. However, this category was thoroughly interrogated in the texts reporting on women which enabled comparison. In addressing the research questions, the analysis and results contribute to different disciplines of research such as language and discourse, gender studies and social identity. In term of language and discourse, the study explores how different linguistic and discursive features are used to construct different intersectional representations and differences amongst them within discourse. For example, the use of the passive structure which involves 'women' as a passive actor whereas 'men' are always involved in active, mostly material, processes as active actors. In terms of gender studies, the study shows the importance of addressing gender issues as linked to and formed by other social aspects like race or

nationality, and thus gender cannot be separated from other interacting aspects in research. In other words, we need to conceptualise and analyse gender not as a single social aspect but as a dimension or a part within a multidimensional entity. As for identity, the thorough investigation explores how intersectional representations have their influence in creating differences amongst social identities in discourse, which has its undeniable effect as a "mirror" and as "productive" (Talbot 2010, p.15), of social practices, especially when the discursive context is media. In other words, the intersectional representation has its undeniable role in creating complex differences amongst different categories in social life, as media discourse feeds into and is fed by, or constructs and is constructed by the social context (Hodkinson, 2017). The original contribution of the study is further illustrated and specified in the following section.

9.3. Original contribution

Through the full involvement of intersectionality into the corpus discourse analysis, the study presents a unique framework to accommodate the complexity of Saudi women's identity in the examined discourse. This is innovative in the interdisciplinary field of research on the topic of 'Saudi women' because it presents a new framework to explore this complex identity which resulted into new findings on this topic. It is also a contribution to the field of gender and discourse studies as mentioned above, both theoretically and methodologically.

Theoretically, with the full engagement of the theory of intersectionality in analysing different types of Saudi identity in BBC discourse, the value of employing this theory in exploring gender identity has been displayed. This was achieved by exploring and proving the role of intersectionality to understand the representation of women's identity in discourse and how this category representation is linked to and shaped by the selected social dimensions as different from men's (see section 8.3. and 8.4.). It is also proved in the study the view that Saudi women's identity in media discourse is not homogeneous. Rather, it varied and when reporting on this group, language users make intentional or unintentional social divisions internally amongst categories of the same gender group and externally between men and women via intersectional representations (see section 8.4). In addition to what has been presented in the few recent studies on intersectionality in discourse such as Hunt and Jaworska's (2019), and Baker and Levon's (2016) about the intersectionality of identities in discourse, this study has extended to explore

the dynamicity of this discursive feature and its work on different levels: intersectional, i.e., subjects, systems and context; and discursive, i.e., textual, discursive and contextual.

Methodologically, the study has proposed a mixed-method approach to analyse intersectional identity in discourse. Whereas Hunt and Jaworska's (2019) and Baker and Levon's (2016) studies used CL with intersectionality, the study at hand does not just bring in intersectionality as a way of framing what is going on in discourse, rather, embeds it at all levels of analysis making intersectionality much more integrated with discourse analysis. Corpus and discourse analysis methods were combined with intersectionality as an analytical tool to identify, classify, and fully recognise the complexity of women's representation in discourse. The corpus method showed its validity in pinpointing systems and social actors by analysing word lists. Key clusters analysis sustained the findings for the intersectionality of systems as well as that of social actors (see Chapter Four). The social actors approach contributed to showing how different discursive strategies and socio-semantic, lexical and grammatical features mixed with selected social aspects are included in language to construct intersectional subjects (with different facets of identity), on the individual as well as the general levels of social categories. Intersectional analysis of different interacting identities proved to be an effective tool for revealing the journalists' biased discursive practices in representations or practices that are responsible for discursively creating and consequently perpetuating the stereotypical image of gender in the Saudi society. The critical nature of intersectionality combined with discourse analysis tools enabled unearthing and recognising these discursive practices that cannot be recognised without close intersectional linguistic and discursive analysis and interpretation of the results. Adopting a process-centred analytical approach when analysing Saudi gender identity has uncovered the relation between shaping dimensions of Religion, Nationality, Patriarchy, Class, Position, Activism, and Victimism and the shaped different (sub)categories of subjects: Male Royals, Clerics, Relatives; and Female Trendsetters, Politicians, Activists and Victims. It has been an original finding that the two levels of systems and subjects are linked by the intersectional discursive practice of genderising, culturalising or victimising, which is produced by language and language users.

9.4. Limitations of the study

Exploring Saudi women's intersectional identity in BBC news discourse (2008–18) showed some limitations of the study, which are listed below:

- The researcher is a Saudi woman, the thing that may affect the interpretations of the results. It allowed for an emic perspective, but there is inevitably the potential for bias. However, I have tried to avoid that and be objective by applying an exhaustive analytical method. I have tried my best to remain focused on what the language of the texts was suggesting and to provide relevant and satisfactory examples that show the kinds of prejudiced treatment found in women's (sub)categories in the analysed discourse.
- The corpus built is small and specialised to investigate SW representations in BBC discourse. Therefore, the results cannot be generalised to Muslim women representations on the BBC news website without further research.
- Due to study space and time limits, the researcher avoided scripts of audio and video reports on Saudi women in the same channel. It is a specialised corpus built for the main concern of the study, which is to examine intersectional representation in pre-planned written texts and its role in creating different gender categories.
- The data comprise written texts only. They exclude images and captions attached to the texts, which may tell more about the intersectionality of 'Saudi women'. This is due to the complexity of the applied framework, which does not allow including the images or using a multimodal approach.
- The search terms were restricted to look for articles reporting on women, and there is
 no equivalent corpus built for men to show inequalities in intersectional representation.
 A search was tried using the search term 'Saudi men', but not enough data were found
 on the website involving the intersectional term 'Saudi men'. However, references
 indexing Saudi men were found to exist, noticeably in articles on Saudi women which
 enabled some comparison and producing interesting results.
- Because of study limitations, Saudi women's representations were not compared to those of other women, for instance Arab or Western, but the data do include some linguistic evidence that shows how intersectional representations of Saudi women may be compared to and differentiated from other women in the world.

- Gender in the data refers only to men and women. That is because there are only two gender categories contextualised in the data and there is not a single mention of other gender orientations in the collected texts.
- The study has overlooked the discriminatory practice of not mentioning or neglecting other categories of Saudi men and women. In other words, in the written texts, some women groups are rendered invisible, which proves the inequality and bias in women's representation. This could not be approached without another body of articles that includes other social categories of a large slice of the society such as businesswomen, who were found to be dominating in a previous empirical study on local articles.
- BBC news discourse was the only source to generate articles from, and this indicates its limitations as regards the generalisability of the resulting depictions.
- The gender and other personal information about the writers of these articles were not considered. Another study could show how the resistance and reproduction of some social practices are expressed in the words of the writer based on his or her gender perspective, and how gender identity is constructed through his/her discourse.

9.5. Suggestions for further studies

The topic of intersectionality of Saudi women is an innovative one. It is a very rich source for further studies and more research in different research disciplines. Concerning the language and discourse field, some ideas for further studies are suggested based on the challenges faced and the above limitations.

- Intersectionality of women's identity could be examined in different language genres and/or media channels, other than that of news, e.g. social media, TV programmes, narratives, novels and interviews, written or spoken.
- A larger corpus composed of articles from different news resources in the UK, or from other Western resources and different agencies, could be built and examined to gauge the efficiency of corpus tools and methods for exploring the intersectionality of Muslim/ Saudi women in media discourse.
- Two sets of corpora could be built of local and international news items reporting on Saudi women to explore and compare intersectional representation in the two sets,

applying one of the social theories to identity to show how the 'other' and 'us' are intersectionally represented.

- It would be useful for other projects of smaller scope to analyse the images and captions of images attached to the analysed texts to see how intersectionality works in them compared to the analysed written texts.
- Another project could explore intersectionality in the audio and video texts displayed on the BBC website and compare analysis findings and results to the results of this research.
- A constructionist approach to intersectionality could be applied to see how women and men language users construct their intersectional identities in their planned or spontaneous written and/or spoken discourse or speech in different contexts.
- Related to the previous point there are many quotations intertextualised in the analysed data that could be used as material to apply a constructionist approach to intersectionality and see how these actors construct their identities. In addition, the results of analysing these quotations could be compared to the results found in this study.
- The intersectionality of social aspects other than social actor representations or identities could be analysed. This includes events, actions, situations and institutions.
- Another study including texts published in a different era, after the scope of the present study, could to see if there is diachronic change in intersectional representation, with changes in time and social life, especially after the many social and political changes made for the benefit of women in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
- The effects of such intersectional representation of women who are in the host country for study, tourism, diplomatic reasons or medication could be studied by conducting interviews to see how members of this group construct their identities in relation to the context they are situated in.
- The methodology employed in this study could be used to analyse other types of data such as simultaneous conversations, interviews, autobiographies and political speeches.

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APPENDIX I: Short Glossary of Terms

Dimensions:

The word dimension in the study refers to one component of a unity. In this study, dimensions are the components of the complex Saudi system as composed of religious, national and patriarchal dimensions. Occasionally, it is used to refer to aspects of the represented subject, e.g. identity dimensions, or subject dimensions, e.g. a Saudi female student, in which Saudi is a dimension, female is a dimension, and student is a dimension.

Systems:

In this study, system is generally used to refer to any aspect of social division that creates differences amongst people when it is dealt with separately, e.g. religion is a system, gender is a system; in this case, the initial letters are in lower case. When these two intersect (or any other social dimensions), they are dimensions within one complex system and the initial letters are in upper case.

Actors:

This refers to participants on the textual level, singular and plural, agents and patients.

Generic and specified actors:

Generic means references to Saudi men and women and specified means those individuals or subcategories who are identified in the data by different nomination and categorisation strategies.

Categories and subcategories:

Categories are used to refer to generic groups of men and women, whereas subcategories are used to refer to specified individuals who are classified in the analysis and grouped further into subgroups.

Subjects:

Besides referring to the grammatical role of a 'subject or agent', 'subject' is used in the analysis to refer to social actors (specified or generic) on the discursive level, as passive bearers of meaning who are intersectionally constructed by the journalist to represent a specific persona for the reader. A clear example in the data is that of Prince Mohammed who is represented positively as opposed to the clerics whose representation is disadvantaged discursively.

Structure:

This is used to refer to a created social context involving systems and different levels of individual and categorical subjects.

Dominance matrix

This term is used when the interacting dimensions of a complex system are recognised as issues of oppression, like those of gender and class that are linked to and negatively affect and shape subjects' identities.

APPENDIX II: BBC Articles on SW (2008-2018)

2008

- Saudi Arabia eases laws on solo women http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7201643.stm
- UN call for Saudi women's rights http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7222869.stm
- Saudi scholars back women drivers <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7257295.stm</u>
- Saudi women make video protest.
 <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7159077.stm</u>
- Saudis open hotel for women only. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7305549.stm
- The Middle East's first women-only hotel has opened in Saudi Arabia. <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/learningenglish/newsenglish/witn/2008/03/080</u> <u>324 saudi hotel.shtml</u>
- Saudi women 'kept in childhood'. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7358448.stm
- Saudi women vie for Olympic rights. <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7449220.stm</u>
- Saudi women want right to drive.
 <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7497804.stm</u>
- 10. Saudi cleric favours one-eye veil.
 <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7651231.stm</u>
 2009
- 11. Saudi women are largely constrained to the home and single-sex environments http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8020301.stm
- 12. Saudi reform in 'fits and starts' <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from our own correspondent/8081760.st</u> <u>m</u>
- 13. The first female comic in Saudi http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_8098000/8098557.stm

- 14. Saudi Arabia 'restricting women' http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8142940.stm
- 15. First Saudi women work as maids http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8181241.stm
- 16. Lashes for Saudi woman journalist http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8324117.stm
- 17. Saudi call for boycott against men selling lingerie http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8514201.stm
- 18. Saudi women to be allowed to argue cases in court <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8526862.stm</u>
- 19. BBC News Saudis clamp down on women's gyms
- 20. Saudi Arabia 'restricting women' <u>http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8142940.stm</u> 2010
- 21. Saudi female poet whose verse inflames and inspire http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/8587185.stm
- 22. Saudi women photograph Women's world http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/world_news_america/8899583.stm
- 23. Saudi woman jailed for abusing Indonesian maid Sumiati
- 24. The Saudi women taking small steps for change http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/newsnight/9436095.stm
- 25. Saudi woman seeks to put women in the driving seat
 <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13431562</u>
 2011
- 26. Saudi Arabia women drive cars in protest at ban <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> <u>middle-east-13809684</u>
- 27. Hillary Clinton praises 'brave' Saudi women drivers https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13865033
- 28. Saudi women turn to social media for the right to drive http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-13928215

- 29. Saudi Arabian woman challenges male guardianship laws https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13932287
- 30. Freed Saudi woman driver vows to continue campaign https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14240340
- 31. First step for Saudi women's rights <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-</u> 15055066
- 32. Women in Saudi Arabia to vote and run in elections https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-15052030
- 33. Women living in Saudi Arabia get the right to vote https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/15065691
- 34. Saudi social media joy at reform promise <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> <u>middle-east-15063938</u>
- 35. Saudi woman to be lashed for defying driving ban https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15079620
- 36. hSaudi woman driver's lashing 'overturned by king' <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15102190</u>
- 37. Viewpoint: Saudi women should not drive <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15123076</u>
- 38. 'End of virginity' if women drive, Saudi cleric warns <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16011926</u>
- 39. Saudi woman executed for 'witchcraft and sorcery' http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16150381
- 40. Women only to work in Saudi Arabia lingerie shops https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16412202
- 41. Women 'injured' in Saudi university protest <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> middle-east-17304960
- 42. Saudi women could compete for the first time https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/olympics/17440836 2012
- 43. Kariman Abuljadayel makes Saudi history in 100m https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/olympics/37069808

- 44. Middle distance runner Sarah Attar was the first female track athlete to run for Saudi Arabia
- 45. Saudi activist urges king to relax women's driving ban https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-18422642
- 46. Saudi Arabian women to compete <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-</u> <u>18813543</u>
- 47. Shahrkhani first Saudi Arabian woman at Games https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/olympics/19111548
- 48. Saudi woman athlete makes headlines <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-</u> <u>east-19107957</u>
- 49. Sarah Attar on 'opening the door' for Saudi women http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_9744000/9744193.stm
- 50. Saudi Arabia judoka will not wear hijab in competition https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/olympics/19009374
- 51. Haifa al Mansour becomes first female Saudi director https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-19980920
- 52. Uproar over Saudi women's 'SMS tracking' <u>http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> <u>middle-east-20469486</u>
- 53. Winning the case for women in work: Saudi Arabia's steps to reform https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-20697030
- 54. Saudi Arabia's king appoints women to Shura Council (2013) https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20986428
- 55. Saudi Arabia king swears in first women on Shura Council (2013) https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-21516955
- 56. Saudi Arabia plans female religious police <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19992267</u>
 2013
- 57. Saudi woman makes history by reaching Everest summit http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22580140
- 58. Saudi cleric faces backlash over harassment tweet http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-22705573

- 59. Saudi Arabia's King appoints women to Shura Council <u>www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> <u>middle-east-20986428</u>
- 60. Saudi Arabian film-maker breaks boundaries https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-23195482
- 61. Saudi Arabia women activists urge jail term reversal https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-23245707
- 62. Saudi Arabia: Foreign mothers welcome new rights https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-news-from-elsewhere-24063914
- 63. Saudi women seek right to drive <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-</u> 24296811
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- 70. UN helps eloped Saudi 'Juliet' asylum case <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> middle-east-25082597
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- 72. The Saudi artist with one million Instagram followers https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-25261427
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- 75. Saudi women and shisha smoking rights <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-</u> trending-27069274
- 76. Saudi Arabia: First woman to get pilot license <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-</u> <u>news-from-elsewhere-27125689</u>
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- 88. Saudi women drivers 'freed from jail' <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-</u> east-31449972

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- 103. Swansea woman ends Saudi Arabia 'locked up' court case https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-south-west-wales-39502210

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- 113. Saudi Arabian video on women's rights goes viral2017
- 114. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-38520492
- 115. Is Saudi Arabia on the cusp of change? <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> middle-east-38951539
- 116. Saudi Arabia launches girls' council without any girls: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-39264349
- 117. Saudi woman seeking asylum 'forcibly' returned home https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-39577932
- 118. Flying without a man: The mysterious case of Dina Ali https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-40105983
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- 122. Saudi police question miniskirt video woman https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-40645114
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- 140. Sophia the robot wants a baby and says family is 'really important' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-42122742
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- 142. Saudi Arabia woman driver arrest <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-</u> middle-east-40171306

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- 145. Why couldn't women drive in Saudi Arabia? https://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/41426099
- 146. Saudi female football fan: 'We wanted to enter stadiums and we did' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-42681625
- 147. Saudi women should not have to wear abaya robes, top cleric says https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-43017148
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- 149. Why this photo of a US-Saudi meeting sparked outrage http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-43498880

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- 157. Saudi Arabia women's driving activists 'targeted in smear campaign' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-44187840
- 158. Saudi Arabia widens crackdown on women's rights activists http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-44223285
- 159. Saudi Arabia to criminalise sexual harassment http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-44290312
- 160. Vogue defends Saudi princess cover after backlash https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-44333068
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- 162. Saudi Arabia issues first driving licences to women http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-44367981
- 163. Saudi Arabia job growth likely as woman driver ban ends <u>https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-44578119</u>
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- 166. 'I can't believe I'm driving in Saudi Arabia' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-44592186
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- 177. Saudi woman 'barred from marrying man who played musical instrument' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-45724710
- 178. Lubna Al Olayan appointed as first woman Saudi bank head https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-45763656
- 179. Saudi women in 'inside-out abaya' protesthttps://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-46222949

APPENDIX III: SWC Keywords/ Sketch Engine

ITEM	Score	Freq	Ref_freq
Ms	1486.56	135	0
Mr	804.3	73	0
Sophia	441.17	40	0
Lasloom	375.14	34	0
Almanea	342.13	31	0
Shahrkhani	320.12	29	0
Amina	294.05	121	3
Mrs	276.1	25	0
licence	253.18	50	1
Colchester	221.08	20	0
Albutairi	221.08	20	0
kholoud	199.07	18	0
Ashtar	199.07	18	0
troll	188.07	17	0
Wahhabism	166.06	15	0
Olympian	166.06	15	0
modernise	155.06	14	0
criticise	155.06	14	0
Alnajdi	155.06	14	0
cleric	145.57	91	5
neighbour	144.05	13	0

Swansea	144.05	13	0
Holman	144.05	13	0
organiser	133.05	12	0
organisation	133.05	12	0
Huwaider	122.05	11	0
Amnesty	122.05	11	0
Nahid	111.65	22	1
Shura	109.5	45	3
Essex	106.6	21	1
unaccompanied	100.04	9	0
Raif	100.04	9	0
robe	95.43	29	2
Hathloul	91.44	18	1
mutaween	89.03	8	0
Usher	89.03	8	0
Trending	89.03	8	0
Supt	89.03	8	0
Miss	89.03	8	0
solicitor	78.03	7	0
monarchy	78.03	7	0
dissent	78.03	7	0
councillor	78.03	7	0
Somayli	78.03	7	0
Shia	78.03	7	0

Sebastian	78.03	7	0
Newbon	78.03	7	0
Kadi	78.03	7	0
Hutchinson	78.03	7	0
Det	78.03	7	0
Attfield	78.03	7	0
Alkashgari	78.03	7	0
organise	76.27	15	1
centre	76.27	15	1
Nafjan	76.27	15	1
honour	71.22	14	1
Wajeha	71.22	14	1
tweeter	67.02	6	0
practise	67.02	6	0
indecent	67.02	6	0
behaviour	67.02	6	0
Ushayqir	67.02	6	0
Noufie	67.02	6	0
Medina	67.02	6	0
Ghomgham	67.02	6	0
BaDughaish	67.02	6	0
kingdom	63.52	128	18
wrestler	61.11	12	1
Hariri	60.93	25	3

programme	59.93	31	4
Месса	56.06	11	1
sorcery	56.02	5	0
recognise	56.02	5	0
re	56.02	5	0
midwife	56.02	5	0
informal	56.02	5	0
comedienne	56.02	5	0
Worron	56.02	5	0
Woodrow	56.02	5	0
Souan	56.02	5	0
Snapchat	56.02	5	0
SW	56.02	5	0
Madeha	56.02	5	0
Juliet	56.02	5	0
FM	56.02	5	0
Chrystia	56.02	5	0
labour	51	10	1
Lujain	49.51	15	2
Samia	47.54	50	9
Aziza	46.36	19	3
imprison	45.95	9	1
wrestle	45.02	4	0
unnamed	45.02	4	0

stadia	45.02	4	0
sceptical	45.02	4	0
rumour	45.02	4	0
ovary	45.02	4	0
newsreader	45.02	4	0
monarch	45.02	4	0
liberalisation	45.02	4	0
kafala	45.02	4	0
judgement	45.02	4	0
jailed	45.02	4	0
fort	45.02	4	0
footpath	45.02	4	0
favour	45.02	4	0
defence	45.02	4	0
Shireen	45.02	4	0
Salary	45.02	4	0
Opening	45.02	4	0
Meagan	45.02	4	0
Hifzi	45.02	4	0
Hanson	45.02	4	0
Feb	45.02	4	0
Chile	45.02	4	0
Brook	45.02	4	0
Avon	45.02	4	0

backlash	42.95	13	2
Badawi	42.58	22	4
protester	41.5	17	3
Rawan	41.07	30	6
reformist	40.89	8	1
austere	40.89	8	1
Wales	40.89	8	1
Nassif	40.89	8	1
Clinton	36.8	19	4
Dr	36.65	15	3
wound	35.84	7	1
Solafa	35.84	7	1
Watch	35.3	22	5
activist	34.93	231	61
judo	34.22	14	3
witchcraft	34.01	3	0
witch	34.01	3	0
welsh	34.01	3	0
unescorted	34.01	3	0
statistician	34.01	3	0
specialise	34.01	3	0
shave	34.01	3	0
preach	34.01	3	0
modernisation	34.01	3	0

metre	34.01	3	0
juvenile	34.01	3	0
interracial	34.01	3	0
humanoid	34.01	3	0
hefty	34.01	3	0
elope	34.01	3	0
easing	34.01	3	0
colourful	34.01	3	0
behead	34.01	3	0
arbitrarily	34.01	3	0
apologise	34.01	3	0
Whitson	34.01	3	0
Welsh	34.01	3	0
UGC	34.01	3	0
Trail	34.01	3	0
Sophia_calls_for_dropping_guardianship	34.01	3	0
Shema	34.01	3	0
Seraj	34.01	3	0
Sabika	34.01	3	0
Robotics	34.01	3	0
Rican	34.01	3	0
Puerto	34.01	3	0
Pound10	34.01	3	0
Oct	34.01	3	0

Nsawya	34.01	3	0
Newsnight	34.01	3	0
Nayef	34.01	3	0
Mutlaq	34.01	3	0
Hibah	34.01	3	0

APPENDIX IV: SWC Multi Keywords (Key Clusters) / Sketch Engine

ITEM	Score	Freq	Ref_freq
female poet	232.09	21	0
saudi female student	177.07	16	0
female olympian	155.06	14	0
female stand-up comedian	133.05	12	0
strict dress	133.05	12	0
driving licence	133.05	12	0
access healthcare	111.04	10	0
male guardianship system	111.04	10	0
conservative kingdom	100.04	9	0
woman driver	89.03	8	0
guardianship system	70.65	29	3
detention centre	67.02	6	0
saudi city	67.02	6	0
saudi cleric	67.02	6	0
suspicious contact	67.02	6	0
religious fatwa	67.02	6	0
strict form	67.02	6	0
strict gender	67.02	6	0
interpretation of islamic law	67.02	6	0
driving protester	67.02	6	0
strict gender segregation	67.02	6	0
male shop	67.02	6	0

stand-up comedian	61.12	12	1
activist manal al-sharif	56.02	5	0
driving activist manal al-sharif	56.02	5	0
manal al-sharif	56.02	5	0
ms asaad	56.02	5	0
strict dress code	56.02	5	0
austere form	56.02	5	0
foreign ministry	56.02	5	0
first robot	56.02	5	0
only country	52.79	16	2
female activist	45.02	4	0
canadian ambassador	45.02	4	0
female ambassador	45.02	4	0
marketing analyst	45.02	4	0
formal ban	45.02	4	0
terrorism court	45.02	4	0
strict interpretation	45.02	4	0
guardianship law	45.02	4	0
online petition	45.02	4	0
female protester	45.02	4	0
immediate release	45.02	4	0
public risk	45.02	4	0
reformist stance	45.02	4	0
elective surgery	45.02	4	0

great victory	45.02	4	0
religious police	43.94	18	3
female journalist	40.9	8	1
gender segregation	39.67	12	2
saudi activist	34.01	3	0
state airline	34.01	3	0
female marketing analyst	34.01	3	0
saudi female marketing analyst	34.01	3	0
juvenile detention centre	34.01	3	0
late 18th century	34.01	3	0
canadian citizen	34.01	3	0
mountain climber	34.01	3	0
traditional cloak	34.01	3	0
traditional code	34.01	3	0
judo competition	34.01	3	0
hate crime	34.01	3	0
quiet diplomacy	34.01	3	0
public entertainment	34.01	3	0
large following	34.01	3	0
customary headscarf	34.01	3	0
leaving home	34.01	3	0
musical instrument	34.01	3	0
strict interpretation of islamic law	34.01	3	0
insulting islam	34.01	3	0

saudi king	34.01	3	0
conservative islamic kingdom	34.01	3	0
saudi kingdom	34.01	3	0
52-year-old man	34.01	3	0
egyptian man	34.01	3	0
special man	34.01	3	0
thriving black market	34.01	3	0
female marketing	34.01	3	0
saudi female marketing	34.01	3	0
close family member	34.01	3	0
ms moharrak	34.01	3	0
new monarch	34.01	3	0
same month	34.01	3	0
political office	34.01	3	0
restaurant owner	34.01	3	0
television presenter	34.01	3	0
mass protest	34.01	3	0
apparent reference	34.01	3	0
political reform	34.01	3	0
abaya robe	34.01	3	0
humanoid robot	34.01	3	0
strict segregation	34.01	3	0
female singer	34.01	3	0
conservative state	34.01	3	0

saudi statistician	34.01	3	0
sceptical saudi statistician	34.01	3	0
empty street	34.01	3	0
getting elective surgery	34.01	3	0
new voter	34.01	3	0
female student	32.95	17	4
twitter user	30.79	6	1
religious establishment	26.55	8	2
male guardianship	26.5	25	8
labour force	25.73	5	1
public prosecutor	25.73	5	1
business woman	25.73	5	1
arabic hashtag	21.38	11	4
news agency	20.92	13	5
direct action	20.68	4	1
woman activist	20.68	4	1
little bit	20.68	4	1
male companion	20.68	4	1
muslim country	20.68	4	1
islamic kingdom	20.68	4	1
permanent representative	20.68	4	1
jail sentence	20.68	4	1
face veil	20.68	4	1
death penalty	19.98	6	2

male permission	19.98	6	2
saudi law	17.73	11	5
football fan	16.7	5	2
interior ministry	16.7	5	2
internet campaign	15.62	3	1
royal court	15.62	3	1
british embassy	15.62	3	1
close family	15.62	3	1
well-known figure	15.62	3	1
own guardian	15.62	3	1
unrelated male	15.62	3	1
black market	15.62	3	1
saudi prince	15.62	3	1
najd province	15.62	3	1
saudi state	15.62	3	1
big step	15.62	3	1
state television	15.62	3	1
local time	15.62	3	1
oil wealth	15.62	3	1
bank account	14.79	6	3
women2drive campaign	14.79	6	3
immediate action	13.42	4	2
modest clothing	13.42	4	2
male family member	13.42	4	2

social reform	13.42	4	2
male relative	12.93	8	5
royal family	12.77	12	8
saudi journalist	12.36	5	3
medical school	12.36	5	3
male guardian	10.3	35	31
dream car	10.14	3	2
heated debate	10.14	3	2
right decision	10.14	3	2
historic lifting	10.14	3	2
tv presenter	10.14	3	2
arabian woman	10.14	3	2
saudi arabian woman	10.14	3	2
text message	9.94	4	3
black abaya	9.81	5	4
conservative country	9.73	6	5
family member	9.58	10	9
driving ban	9.16	36	36
saudi royal family	8.31	6	6
right time	7.89	4	4
conservative society	7.51	3	3
male family	6.06	5	7
saudi husband	5.96	3	4
dress code	6.81	10	13

saudi embassy	6.54	4	5

APPENDIX V: Word Sketch of 'wom*n' / Sketch Engine

corpus	user/0000			
subcorpus	-			
Keyword	Gramrel	Collocate	Freq	Score
woman	modifiers of woman		565	26.750
		saudi	230	12.600
		many	23	10.190
		other	19	9.860
		saudi	26	9.510
		first	15	9.370
		young	12	9.330
		more	10	9.050
		adult	7	8.640
		business	7	8.630
		woman	8	8.490
		year	6	8.360
		arabia	6	8.360
		healthcare	5	8.160
		thing	5	8.160
		swansea	5	8.160
		arabian	5	8.130
-------	------------------	------------	-----	--------
		muslim	5	8.100
		few	5	8.080
		only	5	8.070
		system	4	7.840
		access	4	7.830
		arabian	4	7.780
		foreign	4	7.730
		last	4	7.640
woman	nouns modified		160	7.580
	by woman			
		driver	35	12.130
		driving	15	11.430
		activist	9	10.020
		drive	5	9.800
		SW	4	9.580
		work	4	9.580
		permission	4	9.560
		right	4	9.250
		woman	8	8.490
woman	verbs with woman		612	28.980
	as object			
		allow	103	12.100
		say	49	10.820

	1	1	
	give	22	10.000
	ban	19	9.910
	be	36	9.820
	see	15	9.510
	arrest	14	9.420
	permit	12	9.280
	require	12	9.280
	prevent	12	9.280
	forbid	7	8.520
	appoint	7	8.500
	show	7	8.460
	drive	8	8.410
	get	7	8.380
	encourage	6	8.290
	take	6	8.050
	grant	5	8.030
	sentence	5	8.030
	think	5	8.020
	let	5	8.020
	become	5	7.990
	oblige	4	7.730
	elect	4	7.720
	involve	4	7.720
	stop	4	7.710

deny 4 7.700 find 4 7.670 include 4 7.620	
include 4 7.620	
make 4 7.530	
have 4 7.330	
womanverbs with woman88441.860as subject	
be 313 11.940	
drive 70 11.210	
have 101 10.960	
do 30 9.940	
take 22 9.550	
want 21 9.500	
work 12 8.750	
wear 10 8.490	
make 10 8.450	
say 12 8.180	
post 8 8.170	
need 8 8.170	
seek 7 7.990	
go 7 7.950	
travel 6 7.780	
claim 6 7.770	
receive 6 7.770	

		live	6	7.760
		face	6	7.750
		begin	5	7.500
		compete	5	7.500
		cheer	4	7.200
		sign	4	7.200
		respond	4	7.200
		marry	4	7.200
		launch	4	7.190
		hit	4	7.190
		see	4	7.180
		tell	4	7.100
woman	woman and/or		151	7.150
		man	43	12.620
		system	5	9.990
		month	4	9.640
		work	4	9.620
		arabia	4	9.420
		woman	4	8.760
woman	prepositional phrases		614	0.000
		of "%w"	121	5.730
		"%w" in	116	5.490
		for "%w"	85	4.020

 	-	-	
	on "%w"	53	2.510
	to "%w"	32	1.520
	by "%w"	19	0.900
	"%w" from	18	0.850
	if "%w"	15	0.710
	"%w" to	14	0.660
	with "%w"	13	0.620
	"%w" at	10	0.470
	than "%w"	10	0.470
	as "%w"	9	0.430
	against	9	0.430
	"%W"		
	"%w" of	8	0.380
	"%w" into	7	0.330
	"%w" on	6	0.280
	in "%w"	6	0.280
	"%w" as	6	0.280
	from "%w"	6	0.280
	"%w" with	5	0.240
	"%w" behind	5	0.240
	"%w" without	4	0.190

woman	adjective		49	2.320
	predicates of			
	woman			
		muslim	8	12.160
		unable	5	11.510
		due	4	10.950
woman	woman's		276	13.070
		right	50	12.290
		activist	40	12.010
		life	11	10.290
		participation	10	10.160
		husband	9	9.980
		family	9	9.970
		guardian	6	9.440
		campaigner	5	9.180
		body	5	9.170
		car	4	8.860
woman	of woman		121	5.730
		dozen	7	10.760
		number	8	10.710
		video	7	10.710
		thousand	7	10.650
		participation	5	10.340
		role	4	10.020

		group	4	9.950
woman	woman in		116	5.490
		arabia	54	12.320
		country	11	10.950
		society	4	9.950
		kingdom	5	9.760
woman	for woman		85	4.020
		day	6	11.060
		right	6	11.030
		illegal	4	10.520
woman	on woman		53	2.510
		ban	32	12.940
		restriction	10	12.250
woman	to woman		32	1.520
		licence	4	11.790
woman	woman from		18	0.850
		driving	9	13.000
woman	if woman		15	0.710
		headscarf	7	13.340
woman	woman to		14	0.660
		council	6	13.000
woman	than woman		10	0.470
		right	6	13.580
woman	against woman		9	0.430

		discrimination	4	13.090
woman	woman on		6	0.280
		council	4	13.190

APPENDIX VI: a) 'women' and 'men' Difference Sketch / Sketch

Engine

WORD S	KET	Cł	H DI	FFER	ENCE	со	rpus da	te tagge	d	२ (j) Get r	nore space	Ð	Ξ	0		2
man 322×	6.0 4.	0	2.0	0 -2.0	-4.0 -6.0	wom	nan 2,	112x				ঽ	• •	• -	٢	()	☆
←				🔅 🖸 🗙	,				٢	ХØ	↔				٢	$[\underline{O}]$	Х
"man	/woman	" an	d/or		verb	s with "	man/w	oman" a	is object	t	verbs	with "m	an/won	nan" as	s subje	ct	
samia	2	0	9.7		award	3	0	10.0	-	•••	express	2	0	9.2	-	•••	
video	2	0	9.6		execute	2	0	9.4	-	•••	find	2	3	9.1	6.8	•••	
woman	43	4	12.6	8.8 •••	punish	2	0	9.4	-	•••	tell	3	4	9.2	7.1	•••	
man	4	43	9.8	12.6 •••	marry	9	2	11.3	6.7	•••	see	2	4	9.1	7.2	•••	
lasloom	0	2	_	8.7 •••	show	4	7	10.0	8.5	•••	do	4	30	9.3	9.9	•••	
threat	0	2	_	8.7 •••	arrest	5	14	10.1	9.4	•••	have	11	101	8.7	11.0	•••	
announcement	0	2	-	8.7 •••	be	8	36	8.4	9.8	•••	be	44	313	9.6	11.9	•••	
public	0	3	-	9.3 •••	give	2	22	8.5	10.0	•••	cheer	0	4	-	7.2	•••	
arabia	0	4	_	9.4 •••	allow	6	103	9.6	12.1	•••	work	0	12	-	8.8	•••	
work	0	4	-	9.6 •••	see	0	15	-	9.5	•••	want	0	21	-	9.5	•••	
month	0	4	-	9.6 •••	ban	0	19	-	9.9	•••	take	0	22	-	9.5	•••	
system	0	5	-	10.0 •••	say	0	49	-	10.8	•••	drive	0	70	-	11.2	•••	
	~						~						~				

¢						ЮX	÷				🔅 (0) X	¢				🔅 () X
	adjective pred	licate	es of "	man/w	oman"			modifiers	of "man	/woman'		nc	ouns modifie	ed by	"man/wo	man"
intereste	ed	0	2	-	10.3		unrelated	14	0	11.8		man	2	0	9.1	
driving		0	2	-	10.3	•••	52-year-old	3	0	9.8		woman	3	8	7.4	8.5 •••
own		0	2	-	10.3		egyptian	3	0	9.7		wrestler	0	2	-	8.6 •••
different		0	3	-	10.8		special	3	0	9.7		vote	0	2	-	8.6 •••
due		0	4	-	11.0	•••	white	2	0	9.2		councillor	0	3	-	9.2 •••
unable		0	5	-	11.5	•••	only	11	5	11.2	8.1 •••	cyclist	0	3	-	9.2 •••
muslim		0	8	-	12.2	•••	other	3	19	8.8	9.9 •••	work	0	4	-	9.6 •••
							first	2	15	7.8	9.4 •••	SW	0	4	-	9.6 •••
							saudi	4	26	7.5	9.5 •••	drive	0	5	-	9.8 •••
							saudi	23	230	10.0	12.6 •••	activist	0	9	-	10.0 •••
							young	0	12	-	9.3 •••	driving	0	15	-	11.4 •••
							many	0	23	-	10.2 •••	driver	0	35	-	12.1 •••
									•					×		

←→				🔅 🖸 🗙	←				🔅 🖸 🗙	←				🌣 🖸 🗙
	"man/	/woma	n" at		"man/woman" of						of "ma	n/wo	man"	
wheel	0	2	-	11.9 •••	arabia	0	3	-	11.8 •••	support	2	2	11.5	9.0 •••
games	0	2	-	12.3 •••	obligation	0	3	-	13.1 •••	video	2	7	11.1	10.7 •••
										introduction	0	2	-	9.0 •••
										total	0	2	-	9.1 •••
										handful	0	2	-	9.1 •••
										empowerment	0	2	-	9.1 •••
										inclusion	0	2	-	9.1 •••
										role	0	4	-	10.0 •••
										participation	0	5	_	10.3 •••
										thousand	0	7	-	10.7 •••
										number	0	8	-	10.7 •••
										dozen	0	7	-	10.8 •••
												~		

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	if "ma	an/wor	nan"			against "man/woman"						for "ma	an/wo	man"	
fine	0	2	-	11.9	•••	discrimination	0	4 —	13.1 •••		call	0	2	-	9.5 •••
headscarf	0	7	-	13.3	•••						safe	0	2	-	9.5 •••
											moment	0	2	-	9.5 •••
											milestone	0	2	-	9.6 •••
											mobility	0	2	-	9.6 •••
											space	0	2	-	9.6 •••
											leave	0	2	-	9.6 •••
											restriction	0	2	-	9.6 •••
											be	0	3	-	10.1 •••
											illegal	0	4	-	10.5 •••
											right	0	6	-	11.0 •••
											day	0	6	-	11.1 •••
													~		

	on '	'man/w	oman"			"man/	woman	" in		in "man/woman"				
rely	2	0	12.4		life	3	0	12.0		swear	0	2	-	13.0 •••
place	0	2	_	10.2 •••	world	0	2	-	8.8 •••					
code	0	2	-	10.2 •••	public	0	2	-	8.9 •••					
restriction	0	10	-	12.3 •••	sport	0	2	-	9.1 •••					
ban	0	32	-	12.9 •••	workforce	0	2	-	9.1 •••					
					thirty	0	2	-	9.1 •••					
					dress	0	2	-	9.1 •••					
					council	0	3	-	9.7 •••					
					kingdom	0	5	-	9.8 •••					
					society	0	4	-	10.0 •••					
					country	0	11	-	11.0 •••					
					arabia	0	54	-	12.3 •••					
							~							
↔				🔅 Q 🗙	←				🏶 🖸 🗙	←				🔅 Q 🗙
	"man/	womar	n" as			"man/w	oman"	from		from "man/woman"				
hero	0	2	-	13.0 •••	arabia	0	2	-	11.1 •••	separate	5	0	12.9	
citizen	0	3	-	13.3 •••	driving	0	9	-	13.0 •••	permission	4	0	11.7	
										cheer	0	2	-	13.0 •••
₽				🔅 Q 🗙	÷				🔅 🖸 🗙	÷				🌼 Q 🗙
	"man/	womar	n" at			"man/	woman	" of			of "n	an/wo	oman"	
wheel	0	2	-	11.9 •••	arabia	C	3	-	11.8 •••	support	2	2	11.5	9.0 •••
games	0	2	-	12.3 •••	obligation	C	3	-	13.1 •••	video	2	7	11.1	10.7 •••
										introduction	C	2	-	9.0 •••

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	possessors of "man/woman"						"man/woman" on									
relative	3	0	12.6		arabia		0	2	-	9.6 •••	council	0	4	-	13.2	•••
wife	2	0	11.7		[
permission	2	0	11.6													
involvement	0	2	-	7.9 •••												
advocate	0	2	-	7.9 •••												
defence	0	3	-	8.5 •••												
family	0	9	-	10.0 •••												
husband	0	9	-	10.0 •••												
participation	0	10	-	10.2 •••												
life	0	11	-	10.3 •••												
activist	0	40	-	12.0 •••												
right	0	50	-	12.3 •••												
		~														

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	"mar	n/woma				with "	man/w	/oman"			"man/w	oman"	around				
selfie	7	0	13.8	- 1		associate	6	0	12.4		world	0	2	-	12.2	••••	
						mix	4	0	11.9								
						time	3	0	11.6								
						equal	2	0	11.1								
						work	2	0	10.8								
						breakfast	0	2	-	12.0 •••							
						problem	0	2	-	12.0 •••							
¢				4	i 🛛 🗙	¢				🔅 🖸 🗙	, ₽				۲	0	×
	tha	an "mar	n/woman"					"man/	woman	" into							
more	2	3	10.7	11.2		see	2	0	12.7		stadium	0	2	-	12.4	••••	
right	0	6	-	13.6		staff	0	2	-	11.5 •••	work	0	2	-	12.8	••••	
						conspiracy	0	2	-	11.6 •••							
						direct	0	2	-	11.6 •••							
						wear	0	2	-	11.6 •••							
						appeal	0	2	-	11.6 •••							
¢→				<	x Ø	←				🔅 🖸 🗙					Party and Party and		
	beca	iuse "m	ian/woma	n"			"man/wor		whil	e "man/	woman"			1 Illing			
drive	0	2	-	13.	7 •••	wheel	0	2	-	11.7 •••	drive	0	2	-		- 11	
						campaign	0	2	-	12.8 •••							

b) 'male' and 'female' Difference Sketch / Sketch Engine

WORD SH	KET	СН	DIFF	EREN	CE	ous date tagged		٩ (D		Get more a	pace 🕀	Θ	?	
male 180×	6.0 4.0	2.	0 0	-2.0 -4.0	-6.0 fema	ale 285×					0	. <u>+</u>	⊙		D t
÷				🔅 () 🗡	¢ →				🔅 🖸 🗙	¢ →				÷ 1	ØX
"r	male/fema	ale" ar	nd/or			subjects of "b	e male	e/female			modifiers	of "m	ale/female'		
female	7	0	11.3		woman	0	1	-	9.2 •••	notably		1 0	12.7	-	
young	2	0	11.0		model	0	1	-	12.2 •••	mainly		1 0	11.8	-	
discriminatory	1	0	10.8		university	0	1	-	12.2 •••	however		1 0	11.7	-	
short	1	0	10.8		risk	0	1	-	12.2 •••	traditionally		1 0	11.3	-	
oppressive	1	0	10.8		conference	0	1	-	12.2 •••	then		01	-	10.8	
fellow	1	1	10.6	8.7 •••	force	0	1	-	12.2 •••	ever		0 1	-	10.9	
saudi	1	34	7.6	12.2 •••											
first-ever	0	1	-	8.8 •••											
new	0	2	-	9.5 •••											
male	0	7	-	11.3 •••											
first	0	9	-	11.4 •••											
stand-up	0	12	-	12.1 •••											
		~													

male180× 6.0 4.0 2.0 0 -2.0 -4.0 -6.0 female285×

Show relation

nouns modified by "male/female"



APPENDIX VII: Word Trends (Negative and Positive)

Trends | Sketch Engine

20/06/2022, 12:33



	Lemma	Trend	Frequency	Sample		Lemma	Trend	Frequency	Sample
1	two	>	92	~	26	no	1	112	\sim
2	young	$\mathbf{\mathbf{Y}}$	56	~ ~~	27	lead	1	45	$\sim\sim$
3	religious	$\mathbf{\mathbf{Y}}$	98	~~	28	few	1	42	~
4	report	>	98	\sim	29	official	1	59	\sim
5	female	>	300	\sim	30	police	1	83	<u>~~-</u>
6	protest	>	46		31	campaigner	1	44	\sim
7	our	>	64		32	where	1	90	Ş
8	great	>	41	~~	33	their	1	88	\langle
9	me	>	63	\sim	34	work	1	143	\sim
10	male	>	193		35	can	1	140	
11	open	>	49	\sim	36	cleric	1	91	\sim
12	group	>	57		37	home	1	51	\sim
13	move	1	60	~~-	38	authority	1	98	\leq
14	guardianship	1	66		39	when	1	139	~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
15	even	1	72	<u> </u>	40	well	1	42	\sim
16	both	1	46	\sim	41	think	1	63	}
17	against	1	82	~~~	42	woman	1	2,106	
18	them	1	60	$\sim\sim$	43	show	1	75	\sim
19	day	1	72		44	permission	1	69	
20	just	1	67	\sim	45	any	1	57	
21	week	1	52	\sim	46	say	1	738	Ş
22	come	1	95	~~~~	47	society	1	84	
23	travel	>	70		48	tell	\rightarrow	126	<u>~~~</u>
24	there	>	215	~~~~	49	make	\rightarrow	141	
25	my	1	103	<u> </u>	50	at	>	272	~~~~

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	Lemma	Trend	Frequency	Sample		Lemma	Trend	Frequency	Sample
1	in	>	1,951		26	some	>	167	<u> </u>
2	and	>	1,674	~	27	other	→	163	~~~~
3	have	>	1,257		28	family	>	151	~~~~
4	that	\rightarrow	774	<u> </u>	29	about	>	145	~~~~
5	on	>	725	~~~	30	up	>	141	~~~
6	her	→	549	\sim	31	if	>	137	\sim
7	drive	>	471	\sim	32	change	>	130	<u> </u>
8	with	>	461	~~~	33	get	>	130	~~~~
9	by	>	385		34	social	>	129	
10	man	>	322	~~~	35	kingdom	>	128	$\sim\sim$
11	right	>	306	\sim	36	after	>	128	~~~~
12	do	>	286	\langle	37	people	\rightarrow	125	\sim
13	will	1	281	Ż	38	campaign	1	124	\sim
14	country	1	266	ł	39	arrest	>	121	\sim
15	an	\rightarrow	263		40	you	~	118	\sim
16	who	>	245	\ }	41	want	>	115	\checkmark
17	ban	1	238	Ś	42	medium	>	115	\sim
18	activist	1	231	ξ	43	father	>	114	
19	first	>	218	Ş	44	go	>	112	<u> </u>
20	or	-	211	Ś	45	conservative	\rightarrow	106	\frown
21	take	1	200	Ş	46	wear	1	104	\sim
22	also	>	183		47	last	~	99	\sim
23	time	~	180	\sim	48	his	~	99	\sim
24	which	>	172		49	its	>	98	\sim
25	year	~	170	~~~~	50	than	~	97	~~~~

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