Framing analysis of British Newspaper Representation of Saudi Women from 2005- 2013

By:

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Abstract

By the beginning of the 1990s, Saudi Arabia began to be presented as economically important globally. On November 6, 1990, in a historic first, a group of Saudi women protested against the prohibition against women driving. Very few previous studies have examined Saudi Arabia's image in the British press concerning the treatment of Saudi women. However, in 2005, King Abdullah began supporting efforts by women to win their rights, and the Western media started following the social movement in Saudi Arabia.

The aim of this study is to trace the representation of Saudi women in the British newspaper and investigate how the British press represents coverage of stories relating to Saudi women, using a conceptual framework which draws on Entman's model of framing, and concepts from Edward Said's Orientalism (1978) and Rana Kabanni's Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient (2008). Coverage from four British newspapers, The Daily Mail, Daily Telegraph, Guardian and Independent, during the period 2005-2013, was used to explore two case studies: the protests by Saudi women concerning the ban on female drivers and the representation of Saudi women at the London Olympics in 2012. A mixed method approach combining content analysis, and framing analysis was used to examine both written text and photographs with captions from the sample. More specifically, the thesis investigated how the prevalence of five news frames: conflict, human interest, morality, economy and attribution of responsibility coexist and support each other in the news media and what the differences are between newspapers in terms of frame choice.

Findings of the study indicate the following: (a) That the representation of Saudi women in British news media is negative compared with the depiction of Western women in the absence of understanding in the journalism realm concerning the cultural differences between societies; (b) the analysis of the two case studies revealed two dominating frames which are conflict and human interest; (c) The analysis of the photographs used in both case studies revealed that journalists often use photographs unrelated to the actual content of the news stories; (d) the representations of Saudi women in the newspaper sample reflect the same negative portrayal that is seen of the Muslim women elsewhere in the Western media which is rooted in the Western ideology of Orientalism. Links were also found between the cultural frames of

Orientalism and journalistic culture in building a news agenda. Thus, this thesis presents finding concerning the important role played by the various frames used by British newspapers and the significant difference in how news is covered by selecting the source and analysing the frames.

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   Rationale for this research

This thesis examines the representation of Saudi women in the British press. The choice of this subject is a result of personal experience while working for several print newspapers in Saudi Arabia from 1990 to 2008. During this period, I worked as a journalist specialising in women's issues with a particular interest in feminism. Over time, I learnt that the presentation of Arabic (Muslim) women by the British press had a significant impact on the creation, perception and circulation of news in British society. Ultimately, it contributed to the widening gap and a seemingly lack of understanding between the (British) West and the East. The historical representation of Arabic language and culture by westerners (collectively known as orientalism) could be attributed to these representations. Orientalist images of Arabic (Muslim) women dating back to colonial times and earlier, showed alluringly seductive and exoticised veiled females. Stories appearing in newspapers on the subject of Saudi women consistently showed images of anonymous groups wearing amorphous black attire which, from personal experience, do not represent the reality of the modern Saudi woman. In this way, the British have established such historical and cultural representations of Saudi women even in contemporary society. According to Aburwein (2003) "Arab women were always victims of the stereotyping process. There is little understanding of either their status as women or the total context of Arab woman lives. There is also very little understanding about the Arab woman's role in the social, political, academic, and practical life." Aburwein (ibid) adds that western perceptions of Arab women are confusing and contradictory. On the one hand they are pictured as seductive belly dancers clad in diaphanous gowns and veils, residing in luxurious harems at the beck and call of lecherous caliphs or sultans. On the other hand, they are perceived as submissive women cloaked in unattractive and shapeless attire which covers not only their bodies but also their faces and eyes. This latter image suggests to western eyes females possessing no worthwhile identity or self-worth, clinging to dominating patriarchs who have no respect or admiration for them and treat them with contempt.

As an experienced professional journalist and scholar, I have vast knowledge of the impact of journalism on cultural perceptions and of the techniques used for framing as

well as their ability to produce media representations, which shape popular opinions about other cultures, both negatively and positively. These observations inspired me to explore the processes through which the external reality of issues concerning Saudi women is transformed into mass media discussions that are fictional. More specifically, I was interested in correlating resultant frames that form part of an individual's culture and language with the values and practices of journalism to gain an insight into the overlapping of personal and professional frames during the creation of new stories and the propagation of existing ones. My personal background as an Arabic woman of Muslim origin and from Saudi Arabia instigated my desire to understand how these theoretical insights are a reality with a specific focus on stories covered by the British press concerning Saudi women.

From this background, this study aims at understanding how images generated from personal opinions of cultural frames relate to formal procedures and values of professional journalists during delivery of media stories, which are known to shape the views on Saudi women by both the Arabic community and the British. Analysing those representations can reveal how underlying meta-narratives regarding Saudi women used by the British press serve to structure the ways in which we as individuals and as an Arabic culture situate ourselves in relation to western societies, especially British society. Furthermore, this analysis will show how these frames expose the inherent ideologies in particular publications and what they tell us about the nature of the press, i.e. biased and skewed. In addition, observing and assessing these patterns over time reveal the role of powerful discourses such as orientalism and their capacity to condition particular power relations between nations. Understanding these trends offers opportunities to deconstruct negative frames that perceive Saudi women as weak and vulnerable. Using intensive and extensive empirical studies in the proposed model could enhance understanding on the effects of personal and professional framing during news production and publication.

This introductory chapter justifies the relevance of the research and its contribution to existing theory in the field of media studies. Furthermore, it explains the existent constructions of Saudi women by the British press. It begins by explaining the researcher's motivation and interest in conducting the study and gives a detailed account of the research context, which underpins this study. The chapter also outlines

the research questions to be addressed in this study, the significance of the research and lastly, a summary of the subsequent chapters in this thesis report.

1.1 Saudi Arabia: Kingdom of Strangers or Kingdom of Men?

American writers in 2012 wrote two novels about the Saudi Arabian way of life and extensively explained the rise of interest in the Arab world as a result of the Arab spring. The first novel, *Kingdom of Strangers,* was penned by Ferraris (2013) and was set in Riyadh. The book unearths a secret desert grave with 19 bodies of women, resulting from serial killings in Jeddah over more than 10 years. The book exposes the lives of Saudi women in one of the most conservative cultures worldwide. Ibrahim Zahrani, one of the characters acting as the lead inspector in the case portrays the position of women in this culture. He does this by having an adulterous relationship with a mistress who disappears but Ibrahim is afraid to report this to the authorities as such a relationship is illegal. The second novel, '*In the kingdom of men*' by Barnes (2012), focuses on the lifestyle of American professionals living in Saudi Arabia in the late 1960s. The book paints a picture of Gin, a modern woman struggling to fit into Saudi Arabia's conservative and chauvinistic culture. The book portrays female independence, liberation and advancement as a threat to males in Saudi, hence resistance to feminism in society. The titles of the two books and the inherent images encapsulate general western attitudes towards Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia is viewed as a Kingdom of Strangers since it is a closed society whose citizens lead lives characterised by crimes against each other resulting from religious distortion, rigid gender positioning and roles, leading to widespread crime and hatred for all. In contrast, westerners have secular liberalism and democracy as the norm. The country is depicted as a collection of cultures plagued by lost souls who are outliers within their own culture, which is patriarchal and extreme. Moreover, is considered to be a Kingdom of Men largely because so little is known in the western world about the real lives of its female inhabitants, their history, the challenges they have faced and the achievements which they take pride in.

This opening section attempts to deconstruct the pre-existent image of Saudi Arabia by providing some general contextual information about its culture with the intention of comparing the media cases analysed in this thesis with the kingdom's broader socio-cultural and historical backdrop. At the same time, these widely accepted

publications will help to explain some of the prevailing attitudes in the west towards the Kingdom. More detailed and contextual information regarding these two case studies is explained later in this thesis. Chapter six particularly provides the background to various campaigns, which have been initiated by Saudi women against the driving ban whilst Chapter seven examines the representation of Saudi women at the London Olympics in 2012, and traces the history of the practice of banning women from sport in Saudi Arabia, explaining the problems associated with this event . In each case, the researcher attempts to account for the British media's interest in this topic.

Although this thesis focuses on the representation of Saudi women in British newspapers during the period 2005 to 2013, it also recalls the 1990's, when the invasion of neighbouring Kuwait by Saddam Hussain's Iraqi forces triggered the First Gulf War, in order to enable a better understanding of Western attitudes towards this nation and particularly its female citizens. As Teitelbaum (2000: 25) notes: "uncertainty and flux permeated Saudi society during the Gulf War" and many see this event as the catalyst to a period of social transformation in Saudi Arabia. It was during this period of uncertainty and flux on November 6 1990 that the first group of Saudi women, led by Ayshah Al-Manea and Hissah Al-AlShaykh exercised their right to drive. They dismissed their assigned drivers in the parking lot of Safeway's store in Riyadh and proceeded to drive to the centre of the city to protest against the driving ban on women. Al-Manea, a renowned businessperson later admitted that the demonstration had a much broader symbolic value. On the fifteenth anniversary of the event, she stated, "It was never about driving […] Driving is just a symbol. […] It's about female empowerment and mobility. Women need income, they need jobs, and they need a way to get to those jobs" (Ambah, 2005: online). As such, it was a wakeup call to allow more liberal, empowered and independent women to emerge in Saudi Arabia. The most fundamental aim underpinning these women driving themselves was to raise awareness of women's rights. However, these feelings among some educated women and their supporters were not shared by the majority of Saudi people at that time, leading to a huge debate in Saudi society about this matter. The reaction indicated a growing internal tension in the kingdom on the issue of women's advancement in a male-dominated society.

At that time, Saudi society had been characterized by a lack of open debate on women. However, the outbreak of the conflict instigated the airing of a range of divergent opinions on a variety of subjects, including the desire to seek ~~for~~ aid from the armies of western nations to end internal social and political problems. As a result, different factions and various schools of thought emerged based on the opinions they were voicing. Consequently, the events of the Gulf War resulted in efforts to enforce social transformation in both the ideological and the religious spheres in Saudi Arabia. It is from these events that women's issues in Saudi Arabia became a major talking point for all concerned parties, particularly academics and the media after the Gulf War. The government embarked on a reform process, especially during the reign of King Abdullah who fought for a more lenient policy towards women in Saudi society, which enabled considerable advancements to be made, unlike under previous leadership (Lust, 2010: 427).

These events are interpreted as the unspoken recognition of the need to empower women following many years of neglect of cultural values.

In 2008, Amélie Le Renard noted that:

> "The women's question in Saudi Arabia is not taboo, at least, not anymore. It has been discussed intensively by public personalities such as certain members of the government, some official and unofficial *Ulama* [Islamic religious leaders], and a number of female and male intellectuals with different orientations." (Le Renard, 2008: 617).

Another major event, which influenced western attitudes towards Saudi Arabia at the onset of the twenty-first century was the 9/11 attacks on the United States in 2001. In this case, 19 militants belonging to al-Qaeda, an Islamist extremist group carried out suicide assaults and hijacked several airlines. The attacks resulted in destruction and death especially in Washington, D. C., New York City and Pennsylvania. Of the 19 militants involved in the attacks, 15 were Saudi citizens. This led to a realignment of the political and economic relationships of affected countries particularly Saudi Arabia and the United States. The United States turned a cold shoulder towards Saudi Arabia following allegations of religious radicalisation and terrorism involvement.

Although the relationship between the two nations deteriorated, the events opened a new window to civil and human rights awareness in the Kingdom for the next two

decades. Furthermore, an increase in ideological and religious conflicts opened up opportunities to publicise issues concerning women. At the same time, a third powerful influence made its appearance in the form of technological developments such as satellite television, digital media and the internet. These platforms gave Saudi citizens unparalleled access to information as Saudi Arabia entered the era of globalised media communications. This technological change is perhaps one of the most important features of the post-Gulf War period and arguably has been responsible for the most far-reaching social changes in Saudi society, particularly the transformation of women's rights for the better.

In Saudi Arabia, gender divisions characterised by a largely public-oriented male space in contrast to a private and domesticated female space has been the norm from ancient times (House, 2013). However, the advent of virtual space saw a change as women quickly took advantage of the newfound freedom, which provided them with opportunities to intensify social activism and campaign on issues arising from positioning them as the weak link in society. The Women to Drive movement, for example, used YouTube to post video clips showing women driving and also alerted the international press to their activities using blogs, Twitter feeds and Facebook (Yuce et al. 2013). This provided them with an extensive and prompt opportunity to publicise the information. These pages were later blocked and removed by the Saudi government after realising their extended influence on society (Christopher, 2012).

As noted earlier, the original Riyadh protest against the ban on women driving formed part of a broader debate concerning women's rights and Islam. Some conservative Islamic scholars, clerics and many Saudis viewed this event as another step on the road towards westernisation. They feared that with female advancement and empowerment, their culture could be eroded and hence lose its identity. In contrast, liberal clergymen have argued that there is no basis for prohibiting women to drive as increasing numbers of Saudi men have showed their support for lifting the ban by signing petitions or even writing directly to the King (Karam & Jamali 2013). This is a clear indication of the willingness of people in this society to adapt to modernity despite the cultural resistance.

Those at the forefront of defending women's rights in Saudi Arabia claim that men choose to interpret certain Qur'anic texts such as the verse "And the male is not like

the female" (Qur'an Sūrahāli 'Imrān: 36) as absolute religious truths. Such verses are however, evidence of the need to maintain what in many cases are essentially long-standing Arab customs. Consequently, they encourage their fellow Saudi Muslims to believe that any efforts to change women's situation must be viewed as an attempt to defy its religious values. Le Renard argues that within this type of ideological framework, "[a]ny issue relevant to women's position, activities or visual appearance will be quickly generalised and transformed into a matter of 'choice' between 'Islam' and 'Westernisation'" (2013: 451) in order to assert these constructed beliefs. Al-Rasheed (2013:148) also shares similar sentiments noting that, "some Saudi women are accused of promoting a Western agenda, with the purpose of destabilising society and threatening its Islamic piety and authenticity". This fear of "westernisation", often deliberately exaggerated by some extremist groups, who express and paint it in terms of "the clash of civilizations" between Islam and the West (House 2013), has a tendency to convince some Saudi citizens of the need to oppose any changes to the status of women. Such potential changes are seen as the beginning of the slippery slope towards secularisation, hence the tardy nature of their implementation.

However, the extent to which Saudi women must comply with secular, religious and tribal laws as well as traditions remains a contentious issue with widely differing opinions. Some believe, on the one hand, that Saudi women must learn to accept their society as it is or face the consequences of failing to conform, while, on the other hand, others believe that Saudi society has to keep pace with the progress that other Islamic countries have made in terms of extending equal rights to women. Others are convinced that the debate on women's rights is used merely to distract public attention from what they view as more pressing matters such as economic policy, unemployment, the need for political change or administrative and financial corruption (House, 2013). The western press, however, do not often reflect on the complexities of modern Saudi society when they trivialize and ridicule the structure of these opinions. Karen Elliot House agrees with this opinion calling it, "the interplay of multiple issues−religion, royalty, economics, culture, and modernity" (House 2013 : X). As such, an inherent and thorough analysis of the position of women in the culture and its structural interplay in Saudi Arabia is imperative.

Finally, it is important to address another point regarding women and Islam, since this is another topic which is often misrepresented in simplistic black-and-white terms by

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the popular European and American media. This issue is highly contentious such that the print or online media would do well to handle it with extra caution owing to its lack of objectivity. Most views are in agreement that Prophet Muhammed granted women extensive rights compared to the pre-Islamic norms. However, these improvements tended to revert to pre-Islamic norms after his death. As (Mishra 2007) notes, the negative representation of Saudi women in the Western press as passive victims of Islamic laws forms part of a broader negative representation of Muslim women, which is based on the idea that Islam effectively persecutes women. The Arabian Peninsula has long been the focus of attention of the Islamic world since two of Islam's most sacred sites, the Holy Mosques of Mecca and Medina, are to be found there and form the main pilgrimage destination for Muslims from all over the world. The estimated 1.6 billion members of the ummah (the Islamic community) literally look towards Mecca as the qibla, (the direction in which they must face to say their obligatory prayers). Saudi Arabia has been at the forefront in protecting Islamic rule and sharīʿah (House 2013), which bestows upon it the central role of propagating the religion. It is from this backdrop that the European and American media perceives Saudi Arabia as the centre of the Islamic world, labelling it anti-women, and ultimately spreading the notion that Islam must be the source of this misogyny.

Baki (2004) emphasised that women's treatment in Saudi society is often more to do with the power of patriarchal norms in traditional Arab culture, rather than a direct result of Islamic teaching. In pre-Islamic Arabia, women lived in oppression and were considered to be merely male properties that were to be disposed of as they wished (Al Munajjed, 1997). Islam prohibited many of the misogynistic Arab traditions, which previously existed, including Wa'd Al-Banāt (female infanticide, which was the deliberate killing of female children under the age of one year) (Esposito n.d.). As such, the emergence and acceptance of Islam brought a more enlightened view of women's role in society though not to a heightened level.

The Qur'an, for example, gave women equal, though not identical, rights with men in personal, civil, social, and political platforms. Neither the Qur'an nor the Hadith [the Prophet Muhammad's teachings] prevented women from taking active roles in public life. Whilst the Qur'an does prohibit the mixing of the sexes, which could lead to "seduction and the 'evil consequences' that might follow" (AlMunajjed, 1997), the practice of secluding women pre-dates Islam and such practices are the norm among

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various groups in the Middle East (Ahmed 1986). Prophet Muhammad was a proponent of modest clothing for both males and females, but did not specify that women should veil their face using *niqab* (Yamani, 1996). As Chapter seven notes, practices related to Saudi women participated in the Olympic 2012 covered by females have long been prevalent among many groups in the Middle East. Thus, many of the issues that westerners regard as being examples of misogynistic practices imposed by Islamic religion on Saudi women are in fact more closely linked to historical and socio-cultural practices during the pre-Islamic or Arabic traditions. As such, it is important to draw the facts from history and establish the differences between Islamic values and pre-historic values in traditional Arab community.

The following section explains the aim, objectives and research questions of this research and outlines the thesis structure to address the research questions.

1.2   Research aim, objectives and questions

Conceptually, The aim of this research is to explore how Saudi women are represented in a sample of British news coverage published in four newspapers over the period from 2005 to 2013. Three of these newspapers are daily broadsheets representing a variety of perspectives: left-centre (*The Guardian*), right-centre (*The Telegraph*) and a nonaligned liberal viewpoint (*The Independent*). The fourth is a daily middle-market tabloid, *Daily Mail*. These papers are widely read, and so their frames have strong influence in reported news.

The first objective of the research is to establish how different media representations are made, both in written journalistic discussions and in the photographic images of Saudi women. Media representations were selected because they accompanied press articles. This thesis is aimed at exploring Saudi women's image in the contemporary British news media as an extension of Western historical representation in Britain because Muslim women have often been negatively represented in the British press. More specifically, in this thesis, the researcher explores how Saudi women have been represented in the British news media in recent years. The second objective is to identify which frames were most commonly applied in the chosen newspaper samples of contemporary British news reporting on issues relating to Saudi women. This objective will be met by conducting both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the discourses in these papers. Last, the third objective will be to establish the differences

in the meta-narratives that emerge from the various frames and explore the extent to which they shed light on the ideological differences that exist among the chosen newspapers. This objective will also reflect on newspaper-specific cultures of journalism in relation to frame selection.

With this in mind, this thesis aims to demonstrate two significant points. First, that there is little empirical research that has been done on newspaper representations of Saudi women as a whole, particularly on the perception of their modern images after obtaining new rights. One of the main reasons for this is that the British media's representation of Saudi women has been very limited throughout history. This became particularly apparent as the researcher searched for news articles during the research.

This study aims at understanding how images generated from personal opinions of cultural frames relate to formal procedures and values of professional journalists during the delivery of media stories, which are known to shape views on Saudi women in both the Arabic and British communities. Analysing these representations can reveal how underlying meta-narratives used by the British press regarding Saudi women serve to structure the ways in which we as individuals and as members of an Arabic culture situate ourselves in relation to Western societies, especially British society. Furthermore, this analysis will show how these frames expose the inherent ideologies in particular publications, as well as what they tell us about the nature of the press (i.e., biased and skewed). In addition, observing and assessing these patterns over time can reveal the role of powerful discourses, such as orientalism, and their capacity to condition particular power relations between nations. Understanding these trends offers opportunities to deconstruct negative frames that perceive Saudi women as weak and vulnerable. Using intensive and extensive empirical studies in the proposed model could enhance an understanding of the effects of personal and professional framing during news production and publication.

The aforementioned research questions are fundamental and central to the research contained in this thesis. They are the guides that lead all analyses and discussions of each case study in the empirical work. The fundamental theoretical concept, which is considered throughout the whole of this thesis, is framing and the framing process, and it is used as an analytical tool to explore and make sense of media discourses, from both cognitive and socio-cultural perspectives of Saudi women. It is this form of

analysis that has been chosen as the basis for examining how the media frame their representations of Saudi women in the 21st century. The researcher choose this analytical method because it can best correlate the two issues—media representations and resultant frames—using real case studies for better insight into the reality of women's issues and the constructions generated by media publications to find approaches to deconstruct negative frames in future studies. Women issues in this study refers to topics that are related to women rights in societies such as education, economic rights or some rights that women do not get, such as driving, in Saudi Arabia.

Entman's (1991, 1992, 1993, 2003, 2010) model was adopted as the theoretical guidance of this thesis because it is well suited to the characteristics of the culture of newspaper journalism, which involves active and deliberate selection in producing news frames to conform to a particular publication's principles regarding news coverage. In addition, the model is strongly affected by the wider cultural context of society involved in this study. This model emphasises the intentions of journalists as they select which news to cover, and it rejects the idea that the frames adopted in the course of communication are solely chosen unconsciously. Other models proposed by scholars such as Bateson and Goffman focused on the relationships among everyday encounters of individuals and literature. This analysis will help assess the application of communication skills to explore discussions, negotiations and other interactions regarding issues (Hallahan, 1999).

In this thesis, the researcher aim to reveal the pervasive frames that can be found in the media discussions of sample coverage in British newspapers on issues specifically relating to Saudi women. The researcher will determine which frame, if any, dominates within particular articles and more generally within a specific publication, and will explore the ways in which two or more frames can work together within the same article or in coverage of the same news event.

Two case studies were selected for empirical analysis using a mixed-methods approach (quantitative and qualitative) that combines two different but complementary methods, namely, content analysis and frame analysis. The As detailed in Chapter Four, each of these methods has its own strengths and weaknesses, so when used in combination, they are a good means of ensuring that a

comprehensive analysis of the material is carried out. In addition, in this study, the researcher will focus on optimising the strengths of each method and compensating for each one's weaknesses.

1.3 Contribution of this Research

The review of the existing literature on the representation of Muslim Arabic women constitutes an extensive examination and assessment of the historical representation of Arab women in the fields of art, literature and photography. This is evident in the works of, for example, Said (1978), Alloula (1986) and most recently, Kabbani (2008), to mention but a few. These studies often focus on Orientalism and Arab women, specifically within the harem settings, since they are exclusively female domains. A few studies focus attention on many male and female travelers in the Arab world both before and during the colonial era.

However, the number of studies exploring the representation of Arab women of Muslim persuasion in the contemporary media is considerably more limited. Specifically, those focusing on such representation by the British media are more limited. Those that have attempted to focus on the representation of Muslim women in British newspapers have tended to concentrate on the representation of women from UK-based ethnic minority communities, rather than on Muslim women from the Gulf States. Most of the studies in this literature have analysed the existing press stereotypes used to represent these women. Two of these studies, authored by Adibeik (2012) and Meer et al. (2010) have focused exclusively on the issue of the veil and female Muslim identity, respectively, whilst (Kabgani 2013) conducted an analysis of the representation of Muslim women, which centred on coverage in *The Guardian*. Other authors have conducted broader studies of the representation of Muslim women in the British press, including Le Renard (2008) and Poole (2011). Two studies have focused specifically on applying the concept of Orientalism to analysis of representations of Muslim women, one by Hamid (2006), the other by Sarwar (2014). However, it is important to note that all these studies either focused on only one media source or failed to conduct a thorough comparative analysis of the framing process and the resultant frames.

These studies tend to focus on short-term periods and are in response to specific events, such as the aftermath of the events of 9/11, the war in Iraq, or the rise and fall

of the Taliban in Afghanistan. This study, which starts in 2005 and continues until 2013, provides a more comprehensive, long-term account, covering a nine-year period, and will therefore be better placed to provide a clearer picture of possible changes in trends in the representation of Arab Muslim women over those years unlike previous studies. Indeed, it covers a wider range of issues relating to women, hence is more extensive and analytical. Although a few of the existing studies have focused on the coverage of Saudi women in the press, they have focused on specific non-British media outlets such as Al-Jazeera or the Canadian press (Jafri, 1998). Moreover, none of the previous studies have attempted an in-depth analysis of media representations of Saudi women, focusing on how the framing by journalists affects daily reporting practices and protocols, which subvert reality, and more often, reproduce stereotypes (Eltantawy 2007) in news production. This is the strong point of this study in contributing significantly to existing literature.

The review on existing literature also shows that there is a need to produce more studies on Arab women of Muslim origin, which are fully cognizant of the specific national and local cultural contexts in which these women exist, rather than speaking merely in general terms about Arab or Muslim female identities. This is because these localised socio-historical conditions, often the product of a colonial past, have helped to create particular stereotypical representations, which are endlessly recycled across different media publications. A case in point is the image of a woman wearing a face veil or *niqab*, which is customarily interpreted negatively by the foreign media as a sign of patriarchal oppression and unthinking religious observance. However, the issue of clothing has attracted multiple interpretations depending on the specific socio-cultural context in which it is worn. It may represent a political statement of ultra-conservatism or extreme radicalism. It may signal adherence to a particular set of religious beliefs or may simply be a fashion statement of personal style (Reece 1996). It could be argued therefore that local knowledge is necessary to gain an understanding of the complexities underlying how women from a particular culture choose to present themselves before attempting to examine how and why the media choose to represent or too often misrepresent such women outside their own cultural context. This study, focusing on the framing of Saudi women within the British press will, it is hoped, encourage more studies concerning European media representation of diverse cultures in the Arab Muslim world. This will help to increase awareness of

both the similarities and the differences amongst the sisters whose identities are misunderstood and misinterpreted.

1.4 Research Limitations

This section addresses the difficulties and limitations that faced the researcher during this research. It is important to begin by pointing out that the researcher's background as a Saudi journalist has inevitably brought a particular slant to this research and it can be argued that as an 'insider' to the world of Arab Muslim women, she brings a distinctive perspective to this research. However, every effort has been made to avoid adopting an 'Occidentalist' approach which simply blames British journalists for the misrepresentation of Saudi women in newspapers. Said (1994: xxvii) himself cautioned against the need for those from the Arab world to ensure that they did not simply view the West as a series of negative stereotypes, arguing that all too often in the past they had "slipped into an easy anti-Americanism". The researcher is very well aware of this difficulty, having read many articles which have appeared in the Arab press which present only negative stereotypes of Western women. The freedoms enjoyed by British women are often labelled as being merely shallow achievements and journalists are sometimes highly judgmental of British women, criticizing them as being promiscuous and morally unreliable. Mishra's (2007) study examining the representation of American women in the Saudi press concluded that Saudi journalists made no attempt to go beyond stereotypical representations of Western women who were presented as an amorphous mass. In this instance, the researcher used her own insider knowledge of the history of Saudi women and of journalism as a profession to test the credibility of the published news because the process of writing news depends on the writer and the culture of journalism. A researcher with no background in journalism would have little real insight into the process of how news is produced and who is responsible for writing and producing it. Therefore, in this sense, the researcher's position as a Saudi journalist can be said to add value to this research, particularly given that it proved impossible to incorporate other journalistic perspectives. Given the central importance of journalistic culture to this research, repeated attempts were made to try and arrange interviews with some of the journalists from the four newspapers, which feature in this study, who had covered events involving Saudi women. When they failed to reply to emails, which were sent to them, further attempts to approach them were made via Twitter. This usually

elicited apologetic responses, which indicated that they are not interested in Saudi women's issues even though the researcher explained the reason for approaching them related to academic research. As a journalist herself, the researcher was not surprised at this apparent lack of interest in co-operating. Journalists like to feel they are well-informed and they may have felt they did not have enough information to answer the questions. It is possible that are, in fact, even interested in Saudi women issues, but like all journalists, British journalists are always busy, and felt they could not afford the time and effort to make a contribution. This was disappointing, however, as their input into the issues addressed in this thesis would have made a particularly useful contribution to the discussion of the culture of journalism. The researcher also experienced some difficulties in collecting the data. The first of these was gaining access to newspapers to obtain the photographs as the electronic edition of the newspaper is sometimes different to the original paper-based copy. In addition, the original editions of the 2005 are only available in the British Library in microfilm. Another limitation experienced by the researcher was the nature of the research topic. relatively little has been published about media representations of Saudi women in the British context which specifically used framing and sentiment analysis to approach press coverage meaning that studies needed to be sought in related areas such as the media coverage of women from Britain's Muslim minorities.

Finally, since the empirical study was confined to content analysis of Saudi women in a sample of four British newspapers; the findings of this research cannot be generalized to other countries. However, the research provided an overview of the drivers and barriers in news building within the British context and provided an insight in the media representation of Muslim women, which could be beneficial to the similar studies examining the representation of Muslim women from the developing world, particularly since studies related to Saudi women are rare in the media field. The acknowledged limitations of this research also form the basis of the recommendations for future research as described in the following section

1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into eight chapters, which address the various aspects mentioned in the research questions above. This introductory chapter sets out the research objectives, and the rationale for and significance of the present study. It also presents

the research questions and outlines the methodological approach used as well as the conceptual framework for this thesis.

Chapter Two analyses the representation of women in the press by providing a literature review relating to the approaches used by the European and American media to report female issues in the Arab world. It begins by defining various terms such as representation and the stereotype and impact of the media. The chapter then examines the relationship between feminism and the western media. Furthermore, it recounts the events leading to the 'women to drive' movement and its capacity to challenge the then prevailing norms regarding print media representation of women and women's issues. Some of the most important academic studies relating to the representation of women in the American and British press are described and their impacts explored. The chapter will also discuss the representation of Saudi women in the local media, followed by a shift in focus to consider works which have specifically analysed the representation of Muslim women in the British press. This will then be followed by a discussion of the few studies that have examined the representation of Saudi women in the British press. This chapter will contribute to a greater understanding of the context of the research and identify gaps in existing literature, which are the focus of this study.

Chapter Three presents a framework for the study and begins by examining the origin, process and development of the concept of framing. It outlines and compares the framing theories proposed by renowned scholars such as Bateson, Goffman, Tuchman and Gitlin. This is followed by a detailed exploration of Robert Entman's theory, the rationale of choice and the main conceptual inspiration for this thesis. The chapter further explores the model of two cultures (professional and personal) which is presented here. Based on Entman's understanding of the framing process, the chapter attempts to account for the different processes involved when British journalists frame Saudi women in publications.

The chapter also gives a detailed examination of the concept of framing and its application in works relating to the culture of journalism, which results in elements of salience, bias and slant appearing in news creation. This leads on to an examination of how professional culture frames issues are covered by journalists. The chapter also examines the personal cultural frame and discusses how western journalists frame

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Arabs. To do this, it uses theoretical insights from two key works. The first of these is *Orientalism* (Said, 1978), the highly influential work on western attitudes towards the Orient by the post-colonial critical theorist, Edward Said. The second is Rana Kabanni's '*Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (2008), which investigates the origins of western fantasies and myths about the Arab world and explores in particular the extent to which historical images such as those found in *The Arabian Nights* continue to influence western representations of Islamic Arab women.

Chapter Four focuses on the design of this study and describes its chosen methodology, which seeks to analyse the representations of Saudi women in a sample of British newspapers consisting of *The Guardian, The Independent, Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph*. After establishing the research philosophy, approach and strategy, the chapter goes on to identify the quantitative and qualitative methods selected as the most appropriate approaches to analyse verbal and visual texts. These include content analysis, and framing analysis. Content analysis was chosen as a useful comparative tool for providing an overall picture of the frequency of subjects arising in each of the two case studies and in the four newspapers that were examined. The quantitative method offers a statistical means of identifying particular issues, topics and themes within a social context. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods facilitates a more culturally sensitive analytical perspective when examining the meaning within the texts for the preliminary data. These mixed methods fit seamlessly together and reinforce each other and in so doing, compensate for each other's shortcomings. This chapter also outlines the sampling and data collection and analysis procedures as well as the limitations of the methodology.

Chapter Five focuses on the initial analysis of the news stories published by the four British newspapers to quantify the common Saudi women issues, in order to choose the issues to be analysed in the case studies. The quantitative method offers a statistical means of identifying particular issues, topics and themes within a social context

Chapter six presents the first of the two case studies, which form the empirical mainstay of this research. It contains an analysis of news stories related to the campaign by Saudi women against the driving ban. The chapter also reveals the results of various analyses while paying close attention to establishing how the

identification and analysis of frequency of common words within concrete texts helped to demonstrate the definition and construction of frames by newspapers vis-a-vis prevailing events. In this empirical chapter, evidence from both content analyses is provided under each identified frame. Quantitative results are presented in graphs, with summarised data of frequencies from the content analysis, and the results of the data are discussed. The chapter concludes by summarising the novelties discovered from the frames and comparing the newspapers' uses of the five frames.

Chapter Seven is the second of the empirical chapters and presents the researcher's analysis of the second case study, which explored the issue of representation of Saudi women participating in the Olympic Games of 2012 for the first time. It also explores the frames of news stories that were used by British newspapers when they covered Saudi women in the global Olympics. The representation of Saudi women in British newspapers took the form of perceiving them as victims because they were deprived of the right to practice sport, for example, they were not allowed to practice sport in the schools and then could not participate in any global sporting event. This was a consequence of the government's response to the traditional values which did not reflect the real meaning of Islamic values. The chapter opens with an introduction to the background behind the banning of women from sport in Saudi Arabia which traces the history of this practice and explains the first participation of Saudi women in global competition. The quantitative results of content analysis and framing analysis are then presented graphically, together. A detailed quantitative analysis of the texts in selected news items is then provided. All these analyses are then combined to show how they form the frames. The chapter concludes by providing a discussion of the results from the framing and comparing the newspapers' usage of the five frames.

Chapter Eight relates the results of the various analyses to the framing model, which was presented in Chapter four. This chapter begins with a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative results from all the news stories about Saudi women in British newspapers from 2005 to 2013. It considers the findings of this study in relation to the research questions and more generally in relation to the theoretical concept of framing. The chapter also explains the implications of the findings in this thesis and their contribution to existing knowledge, hence its significance. The

chapter concludes by providing recommendations for future research directions, which could be pursued for a better understanding of the discussed issues.

Chapter 2   Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews previous research on the topic of framing women in the press in order to contextualize this study, which examines British newspaper framing of Saudi women. The chapter begins by defining representation and provides a brief historical overview of this concept before explaining how representation can lead to stereotypes and stereotyping due to the process of framing. The next section examines various theoretical perspectives on the effects of media. This is followed by a discussion of the history and meaning of feminism in order to consider its relationship to the media representation of women. Subsequent sections examine work on media representation of women in the West and then contrast this with studies concerning media representation of Arab-Muslim women in North America and the United Kingdom. The chapter concludes by focusing on research that has examined various aspects of Saudi women and the press in Saudi Arabia.

Since this study analyses the representation of Saudi women, it was important to examine previous research that had focused on media images of non-Western women. It is argued in this thesis that these images form part of the repository of stereotypes of Muslim and Arab women and influence how journalists frame stories about women from these groups when creating the news. Feminism appears to have played, and still continues to play, a vital role in challenging damaging stereotypical representations of Western women in the news; however, this is not true in the case of Muslim women who continue to suffer from negative media portrayals. This literature review also attempts to identify the justifications that have been offered for the negative media representations discussed.

2.2 Representation and the stereotype

The concept of representation is based on the idea that connections between signs and symbols form particular meanings and reflect some aspect of reality (Newbold et al., 2002). Laughey (2009) emphasizes the view that representation involves the use of symbols and images - it is a way of portraying something real in pictorial fashion. Most studies agree that representation is a method of portraying a real object,

creature, occurrence or place. Hall (2011) argues that representation is particularly important in cultural studies because it connects meaning and language to culture in order to represent something or someone. Broadly speaking, it constructs the social heritage of a group of people in the form of an organized community or society. Culture is conceptualised narrowly in regards to cultural policy. There are two ways to the discourse of culture policy. First, when the policy is related to the large-scale of institution, particularly those of government. Second, "the discourse on cultural policy tends to treat culture in limited to these particular fields" (Johnson et al, 2004:11). However, this raises the question of how to define culture adequately. In 1952, the American anthropologists, Kroeber and Kluckhohn, critically reviewed concepts and definitions of culture, and compiled a list of 164 different definitions. Apte (1994; 2001), writing in the ten-volume Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics, summarized the problem as follows: '[d]espite a century of efforts to define culture adequately, there was in the early 1990s no agreement among anthropologists regarding its nature'. Thus, it appears that the term 'culture' is notoriously difficult to define (Spencer-Oatey, 2012). However, there is one definition that may be considered to be related to this study as it discusses the culture within the context of journalism: "[c]ulture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour."(Spencer-Oatey 2008: 3).

while Lowe (2007) points out that the associations between language and concepts may be relevant to the real world.

Ideology and the structure of ideas are linked to the system of social power (Mendes, 2011a). The theory of hegemony, as proposed by Gramsci (1927-1971), claims that a relationship exists between power and critical practice with regard to the analysis of media. Both ideology and social hegemony play a vital role in our understanding of representation, as meanings are created in our minds from the language of the nation (Hall, 2011). According to Hall (2011), representation can be divided into two systems: contact with anything such as people or events alongside concepts or mental images of those things; and language, which creates meaning and translates this to create common understanding. As Lowe (2007: 11) explains, language could take the

form of spoken words, visual images, written words, fashion, music or even facial expressions, using Hall's (2011) definition.

Laughey (2009) explains that if representation can be considered as a method of identifying real things, then the media are very important suppliers and sources of representation. It is crucial to understand that representation does not occur solely in order to describe real things; it also forms part of our construction and understanding of reality. This means that representation shares the real meaning of the object in question. However, understanding representation is not an accurate means of understanding real meaning because a reflection cannot fully represent reality, even though it attests to what that reality means (Laughey, 2009). According to Laughey (2009), representation is controlled by ideology, which may be defined as the process of mobilizing meaning to maintain a dominant relation (Orgad, 2012).

Stuart Hall (cited in Awan, 2007: 12) explains that images and portrayals are ways in which representation describes the social world, and that the media relies on ideological dissemination to create representation. In this way, we make sense of the world around us: "how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work". Furthermore, Hall claims that ideology helps to shape people's understanding since they base their awareness of the world about them on ideology, which has the ability to confer logic on social reality and its inherent situations. Thus, ideology is a construct of representation. This means that issues, such as the representation of race, appear to be conveyed naturally. This institutional representation allows us to classify the world in a scheme of racial categories. This is derived from Hall's (2007) argument that these classes have essential features that strengthen the view that these representations are natural. He adds that western societies propagate white ideology as natural, making representations through a controlling force less of an issue. He puts this scenario in context saying that, 'the "white eye" is always outside the frame – but seeing and positioning everything within it. (2007: 13). This notion is a useful way of understanding the role of journalists and the culture of journalism in terms of news making.

Representation depicts real things; however, it is not analogous to reality. To accurately understand the two, the real entity must be experienced. Representation and real-life experiences both come from reality, but they do not reflect reality to the

same degree. Representation merely indicates a person's interpretation of real-life experiences. Thus, the media is useful as a supplier of information, as a means of structuring meaning, but it cannot inform to the same degree as real-life experiences (Laughey, 2009). Not everyone sees reality or the representation of that reality in the same way and people do not have complete freedom in their interpretation of reality. This is due to the fact that the way people view a representation has to be within a structure of meaning (Laughey, 2009), or what is commonly referred to as a frame. Such frames usually have implications in the resultant stereotypes. Implicit personality theory hypothesizes that human beings categorize each other into types in order to simplify the task of people awareness, drawing on stereotypes to assess each other. In short, all people practice stereotyping to a greater or lesser degree - but unconsciously. It has thus been argued that, "the media stereotype because the people stereotype" (Newbold et al., 2002: 265). Psychologists Hamilton and Trolier (1986, p. 133) defined a stereotype as "a cognitive structure that contains the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group.".

Theorists have also widely researched the relationship between representation and power, with Orgad (2012) arguing that all representation is significant and is inevitably linked to power. Power is determined by media representations that create these power relationships by building standards, concepts and principles and for this reason, representation is important and substantive in short representation matters. Most of the research, which has focused on media representation, analyses different forms of representation content and the extent to which these can be said to replicate or challenge the link between power and discrimination. These types of discrimination can be based on gender, race, age, ethnicity and nationality just to mention a few aspects. According to Orgad (2012: 25-26), it is possible to distinguish three main theoretical approaches, which have interrogated the links between power and representation. The first of these approaches focuses on connections between representation and ideology. The second approach concerns Foucault's theory, which examines the links between discussion, power and knowledge, whilst the third relates to the representation of differences in various groups.

In Hamilton and Gifford (1967) study of illusory correlations and stereotypes, they argued that in some cases stereotyping may come from aberrations in human memory. They postulated that certain, occasional negative behaviour perpetrated by or within

minority groups is over exaggerated by society and results in such groups being apportioned an unfair or disproportionate image in terms of their lifestyles and general behaviour. In their study, Hamilton and Gifford (ibid) insisted that this kind of labelling of minorities was not influenced by any prior expectations but was more likely to have arisen out of the fact that such negative behaviour had been made more memorable by virtue of occurring in minority communities. This was borne out by their experiments in which respondents were presented with artificial communities and were asked to make judgments relating behaviour in certain communities. It was incontrovertibly shown that rare, reprehensible behaviour emanating from minority groups seemed to be noticed or remembered more by the respondents than similar behaviour evidenced in majority communities. Such mismatches between behaviours and communities were termed by Hamilton, Dugan, and Trolier (1985, cited in Risen et al., 2007) as "illusory correlations" who endorsed the view of Hamilton and Gifford (1976) that although there was no correlation between group membership and type of behaviour in the presented materials (both groups displayed positive and negative behaviours in the same proportion), participants still perceived a connection in that they believed that the members of the minority group were more likely to exhibit the rare negative behaviour than the members of the majority group.

Despite support from Hamilton, Dugan and Trolier (1985, cited in Risen et al., 2007) , Hamilton and Gifford's (1976) analysis of illusory correlations has been brought into question. For example, believes that Hamilton and Gifford's effect can be explained by what can be termed an "exemplar-based memory system" in which the absolute difference between positive and negative behaviours committed by each group is encoded rather than the ratio between positive and negative behaviours (Risen et al., 2007)

The first theoretical approach explains the relationship between representation and ideology, and is interested in understanding the view that social opinion is underpinned by injustice, antagonism and domination, which are perceived as desirable, unavoidable and even natural by their beneficiaries (Orgad, 2012). The model proposed by the French theorist Michel Foucault views power relations as being regulated not by ideology but by repression. Although his model prefers to speak of discourse rather than representation, Foucault argues that the product of a particular social, historical, organizational or political situation renders certain

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statements meaningful or meaningless. Thus, in the case of analysing media texts and images, a Foucauldian approach focuses on determining which strategies of exclusion and inclusion representations have been employed. It is concerned with revealing how certain people, places, social entities, objects, ideas, voices and relations are accorded visibility, authority, legitimacy, and perceptions of truth. This typically involves construing certain people as authoritative experts or by employing techniques which help to establish people's identification with certain characters and 'values' (Orgad, 2012: 26; 28-29).

This is a useful way of identifying sources which are used by the media to boost the credibility of opinions in question. As Ross (2007: 466) states, news is often limited to "journalists choosing to include one story over another one' but she adds that, 'there is a way to guarantee to provide a perspective legitimacy, a corroborating voice, which marks out the authority of the story to the audience".

The third set of theoretical perspectives focuses on the links between representation, difference and others. It too is interested in critically investigating the linkages between representation and power, in particular how these are affected by ideology and discourse. Silverstone (2007) highlights the usefulness of the concept of 'boundary work', which describes the symbolic marking of frontiers, in which the production and reproduction of different representations serve to maintain particular positions of power. Hall draws on the elements of this approach in his book, *Binary oppositions and stereotyping* (1997). He focuses on how differences and 'otherness' are constructed, particularly in relation to race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and other personal or group identity elements. The construction of binary oppositions as a means of creating stereotypes plays a fundamental role in media representation, and is embedded in the reproduction and reinforcement of power. Representation of difference can be an important strategy for building and reinforcing identity in the production of meaning, but can become damaging if it is used negatively (Orgad, 2012). The words of a Guardian journalist reproduced by Allan (2010) highlight the key role of the media in creating positive and negative representations of minorities and the impact that these can have on groups and individuals. Allan notes that:

> "[r]epresentation and people's preconceptions are strongly related. The media
> plays a powerful role in this relationship, as they can change or alter people's

perceptions about reality or a concept. We as a profession need to take more responsibility for the stories we put into the public domain and the effect they have on wider society. True or not, these stories sink deep into public consciousness and can't help but influence the way people perceive each other. When, as in the case of stories involving Muslims, and before them black people and Jewish people, they are not balanced by more rounded coverage, the results can be deeply damaging" (2010: 35).

Western press journalists, whether employed by broadminded or conservative newspapers, need to think about issues of representation. Arab Muslim journalists should also pay attention to their representation of Western nations in order to avoid distortion of the individual, group, organization and nation structures in cases where there are differences of culture, religion and ethics between reporters and target groups.

It is from representation that stereotyping, which may be defined as an unclear notion of a person or group of people to whom a specific set of features are related, is formed. The resultant notions (stereotypes) can be negative or positive depending on the formed opinions. The book, Public Mind by Lippmann (1922) explains that stereotyping is an important characteristic defining the human mind. In fact, stereotypes are not inherently formed but emerge as a result of cultural and environmental influences, which reflect what people see, believe and think about situations leading people to praise societal heroes as well as demonize others. Limpmann (1922) further asserts that stereotypes are mental pictures of reality which are usually pre-formed in the head. Allport (1954) states that stereotyping is often accompanied by prejudice, a result of human thinking that helps people to understand the world by classifying it into mental classes. The classification facilitates judgment of the situations in question. However, stereotypes result from personal fears of other groups leading to isolated behaviour on the part of some members of a group within the whole group (Grobman, 1990).

Stereotyping enables people to differentiate themselves from others who are perceived as their targets and who are usually people not in their cultural circles. In the US, groups categorized as not young, not heterosexual, not middle class and not white think they have the least representation of culture and hence are stereotyped (Fiske,

1998). Stereotyping also grows when a certain group is associated with certain features, especially size.

Employers' reluctance to hire minorities and migrants, despite their extremely positive influence on organizational success is a common form of discrimination. Thus, minorities are people who may arouse sympathy but at the same time may also inspire negative attitudes towards them in the minds of others. These attitudes are defined by Eagly and Chaiken (1993)[1] in a highly influential textbook as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Bohner, 2001:2).

In such cases, employers consider themselves unprejudiced and fair (Gaertner & Davidio, 2005). Evaluators during the recruiting and hiring process have low expectations of the performers but set unrealistically high evaluation standards, reducing their employment chances (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Relying on stereotypical decisions, these employees discriminate against minorities outside their social groups, such as women and foreigners (Hewstone, 2002). As such, the behaviour of people is shaped by their culture, norms and beliefs with some showing flexibility.

2.3   The Impact of the Media

Various attempts have been made to theorise the media's impact on society, driven in part by interested groups that are keen to argue for or against its impact; for example, advertisers are eager to quantify its effects on consumers; political campaigners endeavour to judge its potential impact on voters whilst others are more concerned about the possible negative role of the media on public morality. Historical analysis suggests that it is possible to identify a number of stages in the development of these competing models concerned with divergent notions of minimal or significant effects.

From the 1930's to the 1950's, the 'hypodermic effects theory' (also known as the 'magic bullet theory') was used to explain media effects (Schramm 1971; Wicks 1996; Power et al., 2002). According to this paradigm, the media message was likened to a needle or bullet that was able to reach a target audience and have an impact on it

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[1] Eagly and Chaiken (1993) observed that attitudes are psychological behaviours usually expressed by assessing specific entities either negatively or positively while others show rigidity towards others. Their judgment is subjective as it is based on perceptions and beliefs, which can change from one individual to the other.

which might be immediate, persuasive, or physically or behaviourally evident. In this model, the media influences the news as it is presented to potential audiences as well as their attitudes and knowledge (Williams, 2003). This notion was associated with Harold Lasswell, who published extensively on psychopathology and propaganda. His research was motivated by having witnessed the rise of powerful dictators who had manipulated naïve followers deprived of alternative independent information sources (Lasswell, 1930, 1935).

The theory was also derived in part from the mechanical transmission model concerning immediate effects popularized by information engineers (Shannon and Weaver, 1949). At a time when there was widespread development of radio and television, concerns about the European totalitarian regimes which had emerged prior to the Second World War were still fresh in many people's minds and "in the air'' (Katz, cited in Neuman and Guggenheim, 2011: 6). However, subsequent publications argued that these theories were based on assumptions about direct, uniform, and powerful persuasive effects that were not supported by empirical testing in real-world settings (Cacciatore et al., 2016). This lack of credible research evidence led to the hypodermic/magic bullet theories being abandoned as researchers sought more complex theories that more closely modelled the effects of the media (Power et al., 2002).

After the demise of the hypodermic/magic bullet theories another school of thought emerged, rejecting the notion of the media's limitless capacity to influence opinions. Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) proposed a shift to a two-step model in which the audience is viewed as being more independent and actively involved and in which the public contribute to the creation of meaning. They claimed that opinion leaders, that is those whose ideas are respected and have a desire to gratify the public, are able to influence dominant frames regarding news and these frames are influenced by the mass media. Thus, information and ideas are sourced from the mass media to opinion leaders and then passed onto the wider population. However, in this kind of model, the media was seen as having limited effects because the audience had the freedom to depict the reception of messages from the media (Williams, 2003).

The term 'minimal effects', which became associated with this theoretical development, was derived from a review by Klapper (1960) entitled *The Effects of*

Mass Communication. His review reported that only a few voters changed their voting preferences as a result of media reporting during election campaigns. Their voting intentions largely remained unchanged despite the fact that they had correctly interpreted persuasive messages broadcast by politicians. Klapper established similar results when assessing the potential effects of representations of violence, sexuality and smoking on news aired by the CBS television network (De Fleur and Dennis, 1981).

Moreover, the minimal and unfair effect model, has been refined by better methodological designs and measurement tools. The challenge of distinguishing minimal effects from significant effects has been documented by McGuire's (1986) *The Myth of Massive Media Impact* as well as Zaller's (1996) response *The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived*. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) as well as Bennett and Manheim (2006) view this development as the origin of various theoretical and empirical inquiries into such effects and the processes that induce them. It is also possible to produce a revised history of media effects models by focusing on agenda setting and the resultant para-social notions rather than the size of their influence.

As Joinson et al. 2007 mentioned, Persuasion Theories are characterized by direct and unmediated effects, which tend to be founded on persuasion and audience modelling of observed behaviour. The most influential research into this area was conducted during the period 1944–1963, focusing on political campaign effects, propaganda campaigns, attitude change, and social modelling of observed representations of behaviour in the mass media, especially among children. The information theory of Shannon (1948) , for example, stressed the importance of information as opposed to persuasion and was largely perceived up to the mid-1960s as providing a fundamental scientific basis for assessing social behaviour and conducting analyses of communication processes. In addition, the work of Lasswell 1930-1935) as well as the institutional/cultural level models of how communication functions in society also form part of this particular body of research (Neuman & Guggenheim, 2011).

The second stage, which constitutes the largest body of work with nine sub-theories , is usually identified as the collection of Active Audience Theories whose most important works were published from 1944 to 1986. As was the case with the preceding cluster of persuasion theories, the main hypotheses attributed the direct

transmission of messages to discrete individuals. However, these theories neglected to consider the individual's position in society or within a particular social organization.

What distinguishes this collection of theories from others is its various propositions concerning the motivations and psychological orientations of audience members known as the ''active'' audience (Bauer, 1964). On occasion, these psychological orientations might possibly diminish an informational or persuasive effect (as in minimal effects and selective exposure); in other cases, according to parasocial and disposition theory, these orientations might reinforce and strengthen potential effects. ELM theory (the Elaboration Likelihood Model) also has a place in this group of theories, rather than in the persuasion cluster, because it hypothesized the central role of cognitive processing and emphasized active evaluation and deliberation in response to a potentially persuasive message.

The third stage, which comprises the Social Context Theories, places a greater focus on situated social contexts and examines individuals' perceptions of how messages can influence other people in their social sphere. The most important work in this area took place during the period 1955–1983. The two-step and multi-step flow theories, for example, highlight the significance of sense-making and how it is deeply embedded in social consciousness, causing individuals to continually look for social cues in interpersonal conversation to interpret and contextualize complex media messages. Due to the nature of these particular theoretical interests, entirely different approaches to research methodology and sampling are necessarily required to supplement or indeed replace traditional experimental and survey designs. Diffusion and Knowledge Gap theories, for example, trace rates of penetration of new ideas, opinions, and behaviours over a period of time and among different social strata while the Spiral-of-silence Communication theory, the Evolution of Effects theory and Third Person theory all revolve around perceptions of the persuasiveness and beliefs of socially relevant luminaries.

The fourth stage encompasses the Societal and Media Theories which, by means of the Hegemony and Public Sphere theory, and the Differential Media Exposure and Cultivation theories, draw attention to both societal level and accumulative individual level effects over the long term. The hegemony, public sphere, and to some extent, cultivation traditions focus on progressive, political views and a critical perspective.

The Channel Effect and Differential Media Exposure theories are by and large neutral or even apolitically orientated. However, it should be noted that this cluster of research is by no means a tight-knit construction, and although intellectually identifiable, does not feature a high level of internal cross-citation.

The fifth stage, featuring the Interpretive Effects theories, incorporates the related traditions of agenda-setting, priming, and framing theory. Researchers working with these traditions not only provide evidence of significant media effects but also contribute important work on extending and refining extant theory. In addition to investigating the effects of exposure to media messages on attitude and learning, these scholars examine how individuals interpret and measure the salience of formulated information and opinion to which they are exposed. Thus, when analysts characterize communication research in terms of the relationship between media effects and media processing, they may be referring to this new perspective which appears to be a major preoccupation (Joinson et al., 2007)

The most recent model focuses on evolving traditional theories as a result of interactive and technological advances and is therefore referred to as the new media model. This theory contrasts face-to-face communication with mediation communications in organizational settings. This model is also used to analyse the effects of the Internet on interpersonal communication via social media and in home settings (Joinson et al., 2007) and contributed to developing hypotheses that took shape in the 1990s.

2.4 Feminism and Media

There is a relationship between feminism and representation of women in the world, while feminist and media scholars provide studies to discuss the changes in the portrayal of women in the media. However, in this section the focus is not on the representation of feminists but on the efforts of professional women around the world, whether they be feminists or media academic scholars, to conduct studies to highlight the history of women's representation in the press.

2.4.1 The History of Feminism

Feminism is a collection of ideologies that form a socio-political movement with a common objective to fight for women's rights and achieve equality in social, political, economic and personal issues vis-a-vis men (Hawkesworth, 2006). The movement has

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fought and continues to fight for women's right to work, to earn equal salary with men, to vote, own property and hold high leadership positions, to name a few. They also work to enhance the bodily integrity and independence of women, seeking protection from sexual harassment, rape, and domestic and gender violence (Echols, 1989). Feminism campaigns are forces for societal change in western cultures where many women have almost but not equal rights with men. Although the initial focus of feminism was to empower women, modern concepts on the same model now include male liberation with regard to traditional gender roles (Hooks, 2000). The Feminist movement has its roots in traditional Greece and has developed in three stages, leading up to modern day feminism. Although, there is agreement on the three waves that explain feminism, there is no consensus in the literature on explaining the nature of the waves in relation to the era before the late nineteenth century.

The first wave occurred in the late 19th and early 20th century in the US and UK and had a focus on equal rights for women in owning property, parenting, marriage and the workplace. Later, the feminist movement fought for political involvement over issues of reproductive, economic and sexual rights, which became key concerns (Freedmand, 2003). The era was characterized by efforts to achieve women's suffrage in Britain, New Zealand, South Australia and Australia in 1918, 1893, 1895 and 1902, respectively (Phillips, 2004). In terms of suffrage, the focus was on liberating women from traditional roles often associated with household chores. The first wave was eventually superseded by the second wave of feminism, which came into being to describe a newer and expanded movement focusing on socio-cultural and political inequities on a wider scale (Flexner, 1996). This second wave of feminists proscribed the marginalization of women, which they declared to be retrogressive in nature and discouraged those practicing it.

The second wave began in the 1960s and endured into the 1990s. This new phase unfolded during a period of anti-war and civil rights agitation, coinciding with a growing self-consciousness within a number of disparate minority groups around the world. The New Left was in the ascendancy, as the voice of the second wave grew increasingly radical. During this time, the issues of sexuality and human rights came to the fore in many countries, as activists devoted all their energies to lobbying for change in legislation concerning equal rights for citizens, gaining social equality for all.

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The launching of this (second) phase is often associated with the protests against the Miss America beauty contests held in Atlantic City in the late sixties. Feminists accused the organisers of holding a degrading "cattle parade", reducing women to sexual objects as viewed by a patriarchy that insisted on confining them to domesticity or to dull, low-paying jobs. A radical movement founded in New York known as the Redstockings put on an alternative pageant, crowning a sheep as Miss America and throwing what they labelled as typical articles of female oppression such as underwear, high-heels, makeup and false eyelashes into a dustbin.

The second wave of feminism was, in some ways, unfortunate to emerge at the same time as a number of other significant social movements, resulting in its being marginalized and perceived as less of a priority than, for example, Black Power or efforts to end the war in Vietnam. Feminists confronted this situation by forming women-only and "consciousness raising" groups. They adopted an increasingly more complex and theoretical dialectic, based on neo-Marxism and psycho-analytical theory in order to ascribe the subjugation of women to traditional and dated notions of patriarchy, capitalism, normative heterosexuality and women's roles in society. In so doing they redefined the terms sex and gender, denoting the former as biological in nature, and the latter as a social construct that may vary from culture to culture and over time.

This second wave of feminists were quite different from their first wave counterparts of who tended to be almost exclusively white, middle-class women from the developed world. The second wavers comprised women from different ethnic backgrounds, some of whom came from the third world, seeking to join forces with their western sisters, claiming "Women's struggle is class struggle." They purported to identify women as a social class in its own right in order to proclaim that notions of race, class, and gender were all inter-related. They placed great emphasis on ridding society of rampant sexism, which could be found in such innocent places as children's cartoons as well as in the highest levels of government.

One of the consequences of the rise to prominence of this second wave was the concept of women-only spaces in women worked together to create a superior dynamic that was not deemed possible when working with men.. They promoted themselves as women who were more humane, collaborative and inclusive than men.

They also felt that they were more peaceful, nurturing, democratic, and holistic when dealing with issues due to their long "subjugation" and their biological nature. They popularized the expression "eco-feminism" to highlight their claim to have a biological connection with the Earth and the lunar cycles, and to postulate that they were natural advocates of environmentalism.

The third wave of feminism rose to prominence during the 1990s, influenced by post-colonial and post-modern ideas, which inspired the new woman to revisit long-established feminist views on universal womanhood, body identity, gender, sexuality and heteronormativity. Veterans of the first two waves were shocked to see their younger counterparts reassert their femininity by wearing lipstick, high-heel shoes and low-cut necklines exposing their cleavage, which they had always associated with male oppression. Pinkfloor expressed this new stance by proclaiming that sexuality and intelligence were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The so-called "grrls" of the third wave promoted themselves as strong and empowered, rejecting victimization and redefining women as participants in a sexual revolution rather than as objects of a sexist patriarchy. They mimicked the language of sexism, appropriating derogatory terms such as "slut" and "bitch" in an effort to subvert sexist culture and emasculate its verbal barbs. They used the Internet as an important tool of "girlie feminism." They used E-zines to create a new form of women-only space, crossing gender boundaries and encouraging experimentation and creative thought. The third wave adopted a more ambiguous persona refusing to think solely in terms of "us-them." Most contemporary third-wavers refuse to call themselves "feminists" adjudging the term limiting and exclusionary. The new feminism is more global and multi-cultural in outlook, and rejects earlier feminist constructs of identity, gender, and sexuality. Its contrarian dialectic leads it to celebrate diversity in terms of ethnicity, class, sexual orientation which are celebrated and recognized as dynamic, situational, and provisional. In sum, third wave feminists believe in breaking boundaries (Rampton, 2015)

Today's views on the achievements of feminist movements show significant progress in realizing the second wave goals but still far from meeting the third wave feminist goals. Although women are not anti-feminism, they appear to challenge the ideologies of the second and third wave terming them as unrealistic and in some cases

impractical in today's society and this heralds the post-feminism period (Wright, 2000). Post feminism grew out of the 1980s and 90s from publications labelling second wave feminism as a gigantic entity (Amelia, 1994). Modern day notions point to a blaming narrative where women are maligned for fighting to achieve gender equality and the very rights they were fighting for have turned against them (Chunn, 2007). Although these views are evident in developed countries, many developing countries, particularly in the Arab world, still crave for female empowerment to the level of the westerners, at least at the third wave level.

2.4.2 Feminism, Scholars and the Media

To ascertain how the media represent women, we must examine the efforts of feminism and media scholars to improve the portrayal of women in the news. One of the earliest publications to tackle the issue of the media representation of women was Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). Friedan argued that the model of femininity depicted in American women's magazines and advertising images consisted of a stereotyped image that she referred to as the 'happy housewife heroine' (Friedan, 1963: 21). Following this publication, the study of women's representation in the media became a more prevalent part of the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, throughout this period, women called for more social, educational, political and economic rights. According to Mendes and Carter (2008), throughout the 1970s, several studies were conducted in the US and elsewhere on the invisibility of females working in the media, and on their causes in society being underrepresented or devalued. Thornham (2007) noted that the 1970s saw many developments in the area of feminist theory and its application to media study. At the same time, the media representation of women began to see significant changes in the late 1970s, meaning that women were no longer exclusively portrayed in their traditional role – as homemakers (Lin, 1999: 254). At that time, typical media stereotypes of women focused on the following features: home is a suitable place for women; women do not make useful things; women are subordinate to men; and men consider women as sex objects only (Lin, 1999). Feminists fought for the media to recognize the different roles played by women, many of which were positive but underrepresented in the media, challenging depictions of them as dependent and indeterminate (Eltantawy, 2007; Lowe, 2007; Vliegenthart & Van Zoonen, 2011). Feminists in the UK and the US campaigned determinedly to change the way women

were portrayed in newspapers. However, the mass media continued to ignore feminist perspectives; maintaining traditional and stereotypical attitudes towards women. As the women's movement developed in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s, there was greater attention paid by the mainstream media to political matters, which feminists had already defined (Mendes & Carter, 2008).

Between 1955 and 1975, institutions that maintained the traditional male-breadwinner/female-homemaker division of labour subsided over those decades. Despite this milestone, a woman's occupation was never presented as important when compared to her wedding and family (Meyers, 1999)[2]. From the 1980s onwards, the media changed the focus of their discourse from a more traditional perspective to a more modern feminism. Additionally, feminist scholars sought more roles in the media that reflected realistic images of women. At the same time, an increasing number of publications on the representation of women in the media in different cultures, and sex-role stereotyping emerged in the media throughout the world (Yunjuan & Xiaoming, 2007).

Müller (2007a) notes the emergence of "visual studies" and "visual communication" as scholarly disciplines, which focused on visual representations of different kinds, using theoretical perspectives drawn from art, history, humanities, and communication studies. In modern times and amidst expansion of visual culture, scholarly attention has increasingly focused on this medium (Oczan, 2009:32). Using a Foucauldian approach to examining journalistic practices with regard to visual representation, Becker argues that journalistic representation, as a cultural form and a visually-based practice, has arisen from a particular set of cultural and historical circumstances and implies a particular relationship between seeing and knowledge (Becker, 2004). Given this emphasis on the visual, it is hardly surprising that Thornham (2007) claims that the most important issue in contemporary feminist media is the relationship between women and images. She advocates paying close attention when analysing visual representations of the ways in which women are imaged, the contexts in which these images appear, and the way in which readers/spectators are invited to, and actually do, engage with them.

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[2] Meyers (1999) notes that interestingly, the representation of women prior to the twentieth century took the form of more diverse images that were not consistent with traditional, misogynistic notions about women; but neither did they reflect more recent ideas about women's roles.

Barker-Plummer's analysis (2010) of news representation of third-wave feminism concludes that the news media have largely failed to capture its multiple viewpoints, and has appropriated its ideas in quite constraining ways. Sowards and Renegar (2006) have argued that the political strategies adopted by third-wave feminists, including the use of humour and appropriation of popular culture, rather than public protests, have made women less visible to journalists. However, this over-simplification and selectivity in the representation of today's female activists is similar to the media treatment meted out to second-wave feminism four decades earlier. In the early second wave, radical feminists in the UK started raising some of the issues that came to be recognized by the media in order to form a relationship. However, the media resisted the radical feminist approach and was unhelpful. During this time, women's organizations began to exploit journalists and the news as information sources about feminists by seeking media interventions. This was timely since the media suffered from a shortage of news sources. For example, the National Organization for Women, and feminist groups such as the Rhode Island Coalition against Domestic Violence, aired their views and got immense media support. These gains were reversed in the 1970s which saw an increase in sexist attitudes and negative representations of women in the media. The first sources of feminist media studies in the UK originated from women studying in universities or working within the fields of culture or communication studies, who became aware of the blind spot that characterized women issues during gender representations. The second source of criticism came from women who worked in the media, who were worried about female stereotyping in the media industry (Gill, 2007). However, British academics in the field of media studies did not show any interest in the representation of Saudi women in the British press. This could be due to a lack of information about Saudi women or a lack of departments covering gender studies or women's studies in Saudi universities.

Whilst representations of third-wave feminists tend to avoid the stereotypes, which was not the case for second-wave feminists (depicting them as misandrist and ugly) they are still highly selective and are not always clearly understood by the target audience (Bronstein 2005). The media tends to label third-wavers unsympathetically as "lipstick feminists," or "feminism lite," simplifying their position in the same way as they once demonized second wave feminists as anti-sex and anti-men. It also

compares them negatively with their second-wave sisters, who are viewed as being more interested in non-issues such as equal pay. Bronstein (2005) asserts that resorting to these kinds of stereotyping limits the impact of second- and third-wave movements and actively undermines the connections which exist between them. Although the rise in the number of females working for newspapers has helped contribute to making women's issues and events more newsworthy, problems persist due to the challenges from patriarchal values and practices in media workplaces (Mendes (2011a). As Ross and Carter note, "Feminist researchers have regularly argued that in (the still) male-dominated newsrooms, the decisions which journalists make every day about what is newsworthy tend to be based on masculine conceptions of the world and what is important in it" (2011:1149). Furthermore, female journalists still lag behind in terms of career development and salary increments with only a few women occupying senior positions in many media organizations (Ross and Carter, 2011).

Mendes (2011a) was one of the first authors to examine British feminism in the news methodically. Her study is the only one that analysed resistance to stereotypical roles cross-nationally. Mendes (2011a) argues that more research is needed to explore how media ideologies regarding women have changed since the 1960s noting that such an undertaking is important in understanding the history of feminism and the local construction of change. She examined 443 news articles on feminism published in 2008 in the original four publications, plus four new ones (*Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Washington Post* and *The Washington Times*). Her findings identify five indicators of shifts in magazine content over the past 20 years. These include (1) an increased focus on famous women; (2) an increased sexualisation of the body; (3) an increased acceptance of feminist and individual empowerment; (4) an increased number of descriptions of women working inside and outside the home, and (5) an increased emphasis on heterosexual orientations**.** However, there has been increasing difficulties for feminists in contemporary societies. Baxter and Cosslett (2013) have pinpointed five main problems facing modern women: the division of domestic labour, the media, the glass ceiling, social inequality, and violence against women. The writers claim that the media, for example, is responsible for perpetuating outdated stereotypes, as can be seen in a Weetabix advertisement in which there is an implication that only males, but not females, can be superheroes while Unilever

advertisements seem to imply that thin women are not "real women" and that dark-skinned women should strive for a fairer complexion. They also cite the case of the Daily Mail which headlined the story of a young girl who took part in an unapproved bikini shoot and complimented her on inheriting her mother's slender legs. The authors also criticised the sexist dissection of women politicians and noted with regret that women over the age of fifty represented only eighteen per cent of all TV presenters. Another study revealed that 70 per cent of females under the age of seven harbour ambitions of being slimmer, while most British women are reported to worry about their bodies at least four times an hour. With such pervasive body anxiety, it would appear that media sexism appears to be the main concern facing modern feminists (although it could be argued that 'glass ceiling' issues should also be urgently addressed). Consequently, campaigns against male-only magazines and the Sun's Page Three semi-naked models have attracted much support in recent years from organisations such as Media Smart, Endangered Bodies, UK Feminist and Any Body. Meanwhile young feminists are increasingly petitioning advertisers and partaking in sticker sabotage (Baxter and Cosslett, 2013).

Intersectionality is now a central component of activist science which itself forms the basis of modern feminist psychology. The goal of activist science per se is not to make policy, however, but to support it. While feminist research into intersectionality has emerged from a perspective based on a programme aimed at more meaningful social change, such a programme requires data to support it. This approach reflects a belief that only a strictly scientific approach to research will uncover those problems and issues that have a bearing on real people's lived experiences. Thus, an awareness of the importance of intersectionality is needed in addressing how social issues are understood and explained systematically, leading to empirical strategies which have a basis in scientific method. Bograd (1999), for example, concludes that merely highlighting gender in itself as the major issue in domestic violence has obstructed theoretical development and empirical research. On another note, Burman (2005) has shown how current research on multiculturality has marginalised or even discounted gender. Intersectionality is an urgent issue because it spurs researchers on to look beyond their own personal perspectives, which they unavoidably bring to their enquiries. On this note, Moghaddam et al. (2003) asserts that "the attempt to understand intersectionality is, in fact, an effort to see things from the worldview of

others and not simply from our own unique standpoints" (p. 991). The intersectionality perspective, therefore, reminds researchers of the importance of seeing beyond their own usual research practices (Shields, 2008).

In Saudi Arabia, it is too early to speak about the evolution of feminism because it has not yet been established. AlFasi states in Bashatah (2013) that there are different levels of feminism in the Saudi society in that the feminists differ in terms of the application of their thoughts to different kinds of feminism. Certain parts of Saudi feminism draw attention to women's rights, demanding a certain quality of life for women and a stop to discrimination against them, while the Islamic feminism refuses to accept any different values especially those which come from abroad. The problem appertaining to the feminism in Saudi Arabia is that the term of feminism is new to the Saudi culture. Indeed, some women do not understand the scientific methodology of feminism. Therefore, there is very little development for radical change except in some women's activities and women's articles which support women rights arising from the efforts of Saudi women that study abroad.

There appears to be no possibility that the Saudi society can become more open to accommodate feminist principles without the existence of any department of women's studies or women's history in any Saudi university, or without any women's organization or civil society foundation for women. Even Saudi women's charities do not appear to be interested in women's rights. Alfasi states that Saudi women should be aware that constricting the concept of feminism to some terms, such as liberation and disintegration, impedes the deep critical analysis for Saudi women rights. AlFasi explains that it is not important to have feminism in the Saudi society, but it is very important that we have a movement for resistance aimed at any discrimination against women by the Islamic feminists (Bashatah, 2013).

2.5   Coverage of women in The Press

The representation of women is a worldwide issue. This section highlights the portrayal of women in the western press, including the British press, and Muslim women in the British press as a preface to further discussion in the main part of this thesis. This discussion will address the representation of Saudi women in the British press in terms of their country of origin and religious calling because they are viewed in the West as uncompromising women who hail from a strictly religious and

conservative country.

2.5.1   Women in the European and American Media

A large volume of published studies has described the representation of women in the media. *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* (Tuchman et al., 1978) was published at a time of social, political, economic and cultural disturbance, when the media had largely ignored women for the previous twenty years. This book examined a broad assortment of mediated texts focusing on the representation of women in popular culture and was one of the first to provide an in-depth analysis of the image of women in the media. The writers attempted to chronicle the popular representations of women within specific themes, such as femininity or idealized models in advertisements (Meyers, 1999). Tuchman et al. (1978) collected early theoretical and experiential research on the media's stereotypical portrayal of women and their tendency to ignore alternative roles for women, criticizing the media for their discrimination against both women and feminism (Meyers, 1999). In their introduction to the book, the writers drew attention to the term 'symbolic annihilation', which they used to describe how the media represented American girls and women. The book sought answers to diverse questions about the role of the media in portraying women and in how women saw themselves. Tuchman and her colleagues (1978) were concerned about the probable impact of this symbolic annihilation of females on both girls and women. They suggested that television images encouraged girls to work as homemakers rather than have careers outside the home like men and contribute to the economic wellbeing of their families.

Contemporary media images reveal the efforts that feminists made to change what the media presented as 'normal' images of women (Meyers, 1999: 13). Meyers (1999) believes that popular imaging of women has been inconsistent, and that misogynistic images of women and their roles have clashed with feminist images of equality. She asserts that Tuchman, Daniel and Benets (1978) exaggerated the idea of 'symbolic annihilation', and that much has changed within society since their book originally analysed the representation of women in the media.

Be that as it may, it should be noted that women working in media industries still earn lower salaries and are excluded from management roles. More recent literature on-the coverage of women's issues commends an increase in the number of professional

female journalists in the mainstream press in the last two decades. However, the studies are quick to point out their overreliance on male experts to make the stories possible. Women in most cases are featured in stories to do with domestic violence, natural disasters and accidents, rather than in stories on their professional capabilities and expertise. Goddu (1999), a Canadian journalist, reported on the sidelining of women in politics after studying magazine and newspaper coverage of women over a fifteen year period. She discovered a focus on the domestic issues of politically involved women without paying attention to the ideologies they represented. Such domestic aspects included the wearing of high heels, choice of bags, dress code and likeability as a modern woman. Moniere (1998) reported a similar pattern after assessing 83 late night news anchorages in three media networks, namely TVA, Radio Canada and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Women were framed as average citizens rather than potential and professional experts in economic and political platforms that were male dominated. Moniere (1998) also noted a disproportionate number of interviews with female politicians from Canada's parliament and national assembly. Subjective coverage of women by the media is a worldwide problem, as evidenced by research by the Association of Female Journalists (AFJ) (2006) in 70 countries worldwide. In the study, only 17% of the stories sampled quoted women, one in every 14 women was depicted as a victim compared to one in every 21 men and 1 in every 5 women was depicted in the context of her domestic role compared to 1 in every 16 men. Furthermore, Rivers (2000) noted that female politicians are stereotyped and belittled by media. A case in point is the reference to Hillary Clinton as witchlike or a witch while serving as a First Lady more than 50 times by the press. She adds that while male politicians may be insulted using vituperative words, they are not usually associated with dread or superstition. In coverage of sports news, women athletes also face discrimination as Duncan and Messner (2005) report in a study in three media networks in Los Angeles. Only 9% of airtime was devoted to women's sports, compared to 88% for male counterparts. The situation was worse in ESPN's national sports show entitled Sports Center with only 2% of airtime being dedicated to female sports. Here, commentators, most of whom were male, used insulting terms to depict women, unlike the positive terms they used to describe male athletes. Holste (2000) also reports of female stereotyping in sports news coverage where women are framed in hyper-sexualized poses, making their images more attractive but not actually representative of what they are or do. The image of beauty

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before brains is also evident in many women in the media industry. A case in point is the surgical alterations and makeover that Greta Van Susteren had following her move to Fox from CNN in 2002 to appear younger and more beautiful. The display of her legs in short skirts and well-coiffed hair objectified her. Gerber (2002) demystifies this case showing how women, despite being smart, confirm the old adage that their looks are more important that what they actually represent. This is a reminder of underlying media priorities; a reminder of female inequality where being smart is not enough but requires a pretty face to satisfy the image-conscious media and society in general.

In the 1970s and 1980s, British women were represented in advertisements as career-orientated, working class and professional rather than as glamorous models or sex objects (Yunjuan & Xiaoming, 2007). However, with the constant exposure of physically attractive females by the media, the standpoint changed (Lin, 1999). Several opinions of how women are 'supposed' to look negatively affected their self-esteem making them societal stereotypes. She also suggested that women were depicted as sexually seductive compared to men because of the rewards to be gained from using 'sexy' or inappropriately dressed women in advertising. Lowe (2007) established a relationship between gender and body image in the British press. His analysis of a sample of 36 British national daily newspapers concluded that the visual representation of the body produced a model of a stereotypical attitude towards sex, hence the labelling of women as sexual objects. Mendes and Carter (2008) note that the focus of the media is on gender roles that women play in the media and not on the role they play in news gathering and publications and, even when they are sourced, men tend to speak on their behalf. Women's underrepresentation is also evident in the online spheres. Matias and Evans (2012) analysed sampled articles published every day for a period of one year (June 2011 to June 2012) in *The Guardian, The Telegraph and Daily Mail*, to assess the relationship between gender and social media popularity. The data collected from the UK online news demonstrated that women had relatively little effect on public opinion and were less influential than men in discussions on civilization and society and human rights generally. In a single year, they wrote less than 30% of the articles published in the three newspapers. In addition, their content was rarely shared for widespread communication compared to that of men and across all social media platforms (Matias & Evans, 2012). Mendes

(2011a) points out that interviews with British and American feminists reveal that feminists are trying to attract the media's attention by organizing feminist events to reverse the male-dominated gains in society. She also explains that, although negative perceptions of feminism are on the decline, oppressive ideologies, such as racism and patriarchy, are still dominant factors in many western societies.

2.5.2   Muslim Women in the British press

Generally, there is a negative perception in the West of Muslim women in the media due to a long-time association with colonial discussions and notions of orientalism. As Jiwani (2005:183) notes, "representations not only tell us about the world in which we live, they also categorize that world, giving it an order that is intelligible and makes common sense". This means that historical views of gender representation remain relevant even to date. In her content analysis of the *Montreal Gazette*, she explained that Arab/Muslim women are portrayed as victims. In other words, she discovered a contradictory frame: the perspectives of 'victim' and 'danger'. She noted that the profile builds a negative perception that women are helpless and vulnerable to manipulation after analysing activists from the Middle East whose efforts to reverse male chauvinism have borne little fruit throughout history (Jiwan, 2005). Rahman (2012) also found that the negative images of Muslim women are constructed based on stereotypes rather than knowledge of reality, because the West takes the view that the images of oppression are the products of corrupt, patriarchal rule and poor government. Events such as the 7/7 attacks in London foregrounded terrorist images while the newspapers published photographs of veiled women. This shows a close association of Muslim women with terrorist activities. One of the most convincing explanations as to why the European and American Media in general has been particularly important in the demonisation process of Muslim communities around the world is deeply rooted in images constructed about participation of Muslims in worldwide catastrophic events, most notably the 9/11 attack on the US (Le Renard, 2008). Le Renard (2008) notes that some Westerners automatically think of terrorism when they see individuals dressed in a *hijab, niqab* or males wearing a beard. However, the European Union has ~~an~~ undertaken a new strategy to deal with their media as they are using disciplined language and new formulations to discuss Western attitudes to the so-called radicalisation of Muslims (Le Renard, 2008).

Rahman (2012: 106) states that:

"[w]estern commentators have generally projected a negative view of the relationship among Islamism as a political ideology, Islam as a religion, and women depicted as living in oppressive patriarchal societies and shackled by a long list of cultural and religious codes of conduct oppressing them."

The problem is that the European and American Media have a preconceived notion of all Muslim and Arab women as alike in character, reasoning and thinking, opinion, level of development and culture owing to the fact that they all wear a *hijab*. Eltantawy (2007) examined American newspaper representations of Muslim-Arab women's lives between September 2001 (9/11/2001) and September 2005 (9/11/2005). Although her study is about the portrayal of Arab and Muslim women in American newspapers, she concluded that there was not just one version of Muslim-Arab women but that they were an assortment in terms of their physical endurance, mental ability, economic capability, and religious principles, as well as their objectives, motivations, confidence levels and weaknesses. She concludes that in the analysis of her study she had disclosed the differences using several pictures to explain the distorted misrepresentations of such women. Many European and American Media reports focus on the outer appearance of Muslim women who wear *hijab*, which is not concrete evidence of oppression and repression. Muslim women wear the *niqab* or *hijab* for different reasons. Some women wear it to identify with Islam, whereas for others it represents a fashion statement. However, the image of the *hijab* in the mind of the Westerner is fraught with negativity, with the assumption that because it covers the whole body, including the face, it therefore limits facial expression and mobility.

The media in the west lacks a concrete basis for its reports on Muslim/Arab women, hence the flawed reality in representing them. Allen (2014) reported that 74% of the British public claim that they know nothing or next to nothing about Islam and 64% consider the media as their source of information on this topic. At the same time, Allen's (2014) research from 2006 indicated that press reporting of news about Muslims and Islam in British national newspapers had increased by approximately 270% over earlier decades while 91% of that coverage presented them negatively. It is from such negative media reports that stereotypes are created about Muslim/ Arab women. Sian et al. (2011) state that in the British media, Muslims and Islam have occupied a central role following the Salman Rushdie issue, the 2001 riots, the Arab

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Spring, the wars against terrorist struggles in the Middle East, and the worldwide war on terrorism, all of which are viewed as negative events. The British media have focused on a number of related issues such as multiculturalism, crime, illiteracy and faith schools which are known for radicalization, immigration, and oppression of women who wear the *niqab* or *hijab*. The representation of Muslims has been mostly stereotypical, often informed by racialised Islamophobic discussions.

Global feminism could solve the problems caused by these cultural differences which, at times, can instigate crises, but it still faces difficult barriers in most societies. Chandra Mohanty proposes a 'feminist solidarity model', which focuses on the value of life 'within the boundaries of nations and between nations and indigenous communities', and most meaningfully, this model recognizes power and agency in a non-essentialising form. By accepting such a model the West would be in a position to understand feminism from an Arabic/Muslim viewpoint, enabling it to grow to greater heights. However, it should be pointed out that Western feminism is not solely to blame for the problematic framing of Muslim women. Rather, the 'othering' of Muslim women has extensive roots throughout colonialist discourse (Crosby, 2014: 48-49).

The representation of Muslim women in British newspapers revealed the existence of negative and, in some cases, positive aspects. For example, Kabgani (2013) analysed an article from *the Guardian* and focused on the representation of Muslim women, concluding that in spite of a somewhat positive representation of Muslim women, this representation was not entirely favourable, especially when the author of *the Guardian* tried to question the independence of Muslim women. European countries with their special cultural, societal, and political stances are often accused of treating other nationalities unfairly. Since these countries hold enormous power, they can project and also impose their thoughts on other ethnic groups who, owing to their less-developed disposition, can be easily affected by the flamboyant advertisements of Western countries, resulting in preconceived negativity towards Muslim/Arab women. Usually such projections can be done in two ways: In the first method, the dominant cultural and social norms of those countries are directly aimed at their targets. This has been the case in many countries that were colonized by the West and have since adopted their cultures in the post-colonial period. The groups of people who are frequently influenced by such a strategy are among those who lack the ability to think

critically. In the second method, a clear design of what is going to be imposed on the targets' minds is first formulated, and then, using particular strategies, it is injected into people's minds (Kabgani, 2013).

The British press has represented and framed the issue of Muslim women in relation to coverage concerning stories about the wearing of the hijab, niqab or burqa. Thus, it is worth considering the broader context of the British press in the post-9/11 period since this set some of the frames for the period being discussed in this study.

Poole's (2006) study identified and analyzed the framework of stereotypes found in the coverage of British Muslims and Islam in their longitudinal study dating from 1994. They identified four key frames which were used to describe the coverage of events relating to Muslims:

1. Muslims pose a threat to the security of British society because they participate in deviant activities.
2. Muslims and Islamic values represent a threat to British values.
3. There are differences between Muslims and the host community which cause stress in personal relationships.
4. The social presence of Muslims is increasing, as demonstrated through the topics of politics, education and discrimination (Poole, 2011: 84).

In her longitudinal study Poole examined the UK media's changing representation of British Muslims before and after the events of 9/11 (2011). Poole noted that during the earlier part of that period even The Guardian, usually acknowledged as a supporter of minority group rights, was often guilty of what Poole referred to as an "exclusive liberalism" in its representation of Muslims which placed Islam in a negative light. One consequence of this stance was that it often took great issue with what it saw as the lack of rights for Muslim women, both in the UK and particularly in Islamic states abroad.

This 9/11 backlash was even more marked in other sectors of the media, particularly the tabloids. To a certain extent, British Muslims were framed as a kind of "enemy within", particularly in the context of on-going conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. As Richardson (2004) concluded in a study covering the period immediately following 9/11, when they reported news about Muslims, British journalists almost always used negative terms, invariably collocating the adjectives 'Islam' and 'Muslim' in negative

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expressions such as 'fundamentalist Islam' 'Islamic terrorism' or 'Muslim fanatics'.

However, as British-born Muslims began to assert the equality politics which had been embraced by other minority groups, such as those who had campaigned against discrimination on the grounds of gender, race or sexuality, more positive coverage began to appear of national and international issues which concerned Muslims. At the same time, a more diverse range of voices began to be heard from a younger, more articulate, politically astute and media savvy generation of British Muslims. This type of coverage appeared mainly in The Guardian but there was evidence of less negative coverage also elsewhere (Poole, 2011: 52). Interestingly, although Poole's (2011) study focused on the political and social British context, it did not discuss the coverage of issues relating to Muslim women and 'veiling', focusing more on the framing of Muslims as 'terrorists'.

In their survey of British national print news media coverage of issues relating to Muslims in the period 2000-2008, Moore et al. (2008) of the Cardiff School of Journalism, concluded that in the category of religious and cultural issues, stories relating to Muslims or Islam constituted some 22% of these stories overall. These topics included discussions of aspects of shari'a law, debates about the wearing of 'veils' (which covered hijab, niqab and burqa), other aspects of Islamic dress codes, forced marriages, the role of Islam in Britain, and the Danish cartoons controversy.The researchers found that these stories generally highlighted cultural differences between British Muslims and other British citizens (Moore et al., 2008).

However, they observed that it was not until after the bombings in London on 7 July 2005 (usually referred to in the media simply as 7/7) that Islamic dress codes of niqab or burqa, which involved the covering of facial features, were viewed as a newsworthy item and started to make the headlines in both tabloids and broadsheets. In 2008 Moore et al. concluded in their study that for the first time stories of this kind focused on the otherness of British Muslims and centered on Islamic religious belief and culture as the source of that difference. This began to outweigh coverage of terrorism, shifting the framing of coverage to Muslim women particularly. They observed that coverage of issues relating to the face veil (niqab) and other Islamic dress codes amongst women appeared to be emblematic of a broader shift within British media, a moment of reframing, where visible signs of difference were used as

a means of opening up discussion about underlying concerns such as 'British values' and immigration.

To a certain extent it could be argued that the use of pictures of this kind are a form of sensationalism long associated with certain elements of the tabloid press in Britain. The so-called 'red tops' i.e. those tabloids which have red nameplates such as The Sun, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Star and The Daily Sport have long been noted for their particular form of media reporting which includes a highly emotive reporting of issues, a popular written style and the copious use of photographs (Rohn 2010; Hawkins 2002; Abbas, 2001). In the British market, these tactics are successful means of attracting audiences and improving ratings (Galander, 2012).

As Zempi and Chakraborti (2014) note, in the British context much of the coverage concerning women wearing the niqab or burqa was prompted by one key story and its repercussions. In September 2006, John Reid, the then Home Secretary, wrote a piece which was published in The Sun newspaper, stating that the British "Muslim community […] must choose between accepting the propaganda of the terrorists and taking on would be terrorists at every opportunity". In the same piece, he warned Muslim parents to be aware of the dangers of extremism and advised them to check for signs of extremism in their children. It was in this context that the MP Jack Straw, a former Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary, became the first high-profile politician to address the issue of the use of what he called "the full veil" (in this context, the niqab).

Straw, who was then MP for Blackburn in Lancashire, had a weekly column in the local newspaper, the Lancashire Telegraph, and used this to express his opinion that the wearing of the niqab was a "visible statement of separation and of difference" and that as such it was "bound to make better, positive relations between the two communities more difficult." Straw's opinion was openly supported by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair and other leading Labour politicians including Ruth Kelly, the newly appointed Secretary of State for Communities, who "recognised" the dangers of promoting cultural and religious 'differences' in the UK and suggested that it was important to ban the 'veil' to achieve community cohesion in the UK (Zempi, 2014: 17).

Straw's article provoked strong media reactions, for example, The Sun continued to

publish daily comments for a month calling for the banning of 'the veil', warning about the social ills which it caused and how it was responsible for imposing a foreign ideology on British society. Straw continued to stand by the views he voiced in his article on the grounds that even if he preferred women not to wear a veil (presumably the niqab as in the original context), he would not support calls for it to be banned by law (At Home in Europe, 2015). The British Prime Minister, David Cameron, supported this decision but the Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, stated that he was uneasy about the veil ban (Swinford and Hope, 2013). In 2010 Damian Green, then Immigration Minister, stated that banning the veil in this country would be 'un-British'" (Zempi, 2014: 15).

In their story of the so-called 'the veil affair', referring to the debate which ensued after Jack Straw's opinion piece in the Lancashire Telegraph, Meer et al. (2010) concluded that the discourse on this topic in the British press was varied, but it was possible to identify three key points in relation to how this discourse was framed. Firstly, the discourse on the wearing of the veil (in all its manifestations) was closely linked to concepts of 'Britishness'. This brings to mind (Mishra, 2007) observation that "A woman's body is the property of her nation. She symbolically represents her nation and its political, cultural and religious ideologies". On analysis, none of the newspapers were able to say exactly what British identity was but they used stories about wearing the niqab or burqa as a means of show what it was not. Meer et al. (2010) found this very clearly reflected in coverage in The Daily Mail and The Daily Telegraph. Articles about wearing the niqab or burqa were often framed by other stories which seemed to establish a contrast and to indicate: this is what being a British citizen means.

Secondly, Meer et al. (2010) found evidence of clashes of ideology in the newspapers between the discourse of the newspaper's leader and the articles which appeared either inside the same newspaper or in later editions. This was particularly the case in The Guardian and The Independent where the lead article might be supportive of the rights of an ethnic minority community to follow its own cultural practices, whilst other pieces by journalists, often females, would take a feminist perspective on the story, treating the veil as a symbol of oppression. Other newspapers were more unequivocal in their approval of the intervention by Jack Straw and their condemnation of the practice of 'veiling' (normally in reference to the use of the

niqab), of those women who wore niqab and those who 'imposed' this practice (male relatives, other members of their ethnic community and faith leaders).

Thirdly, at least part of the newspaper coverage concerning Muslim women wearing the niqab, burqa or abaya framed this act in terms of its qualities of concealment and the fact that it posed a potential threat to security. To a certain extent, the press were picking up on one of Straw's original points, that he found it difficult to communicate with a woman wearing niqab, since this acted as some kind of barrier between them: "I felt uneasy talking to someone I couldn't see", as he said. He then linked his uneasiness with the fact that this would make communication between communities more difficult. The unspoken logic of his comment was that this absence of communication between Muslim and non-Muslims would be likely to reinforce the threat of terrorism.

In this kind of logic, wearing the niqab is framed as the first step on a slippery slope which is destined to end in the breakdown of communications, the disintegration of civil society and the perpetration of terrorist atrocities. A further element was added to this when newspapers started to publish stories which told of the burqa being adopted as a cover by male terrorists and of the niqab being used to carry out criminal activities. This opinion is epitomized by Daniel Pipes of the online Middle East Forum who collates such stories on his blog and comments:

The niqab and burqa both should be banned on security grounds, because one cannot allow faceless and bodyless persons walking the streets, driving cars, and otherwise making use of public spaces; the dangers are too great.

According to Bleich (2009), however, it should be kept in mind that the framing of the debate about the burqa in France was quite different in a number of respects to that in Britain, since there had been strong opposition to the wearing of the hijab in French state schools since the late 1980s when pupils began to be suspended for wearing hijab, which was viewed by many as an 'ostentatious religious symbol' with no place in the secular space of the classroom.

Another example that reveal British newspaper represent Saudi women within culture text of British that Muslim Arab societies is highly gendered, and images of Muslim Arab women and girls salient in media content about events in the Middle East (Falah, 2005; Ahmed, 1992).

Some photographs published alongside the sample of news stories reveals that The Daily Mail sometimes chose to publish images of women which were not related to the topic of the news story but which then made what women were or were not wearing the salient issue. One good example of this was an item concerning changes to Saudi labour law intended to give Saudi women more opportunities to contribute to the labour market by recruiting them for jobs as sales assistants in lingerie shops, also meaning that women would be serving other women.

As Ahmad (1992) noted, the 'veiled' female Muslim body was framed in Western colonial discourse as an image of passive victimhood yet at the same time, this covering of the female body under the male gaze draws attention to what it is covering and thus the 'veiled' body also becomes more seductive in its suggestiveness. It is exactly this Western colonial discourse which is hinted at in the jarring juxtaposition here of the mention of "attire beneath the burka". Ironically, the story itself contains a strong counter narrative to the usual narrative of the powerless Saudi female victim. For although "King Abdullah issued the decree" which formalised the changes in labour law, it was a collective action by Saudi women, an organised boycott of lingerie stores, which actually prompted this change.

This current obsession with Muslim clothing and headwear leads, at best, only to a very limited understanding of hundreds of millions of people worldwide, especially if this obsession is coupled with stereotypical images entangled with power relations. All too often one forgets that these images and the political discourses that rely on them also have very real consequences for Muslim women, whose freedom of choice is restricted by the patriarchal systems they live in, be they Western or Muslim. Rather than focusing attention on controversy related to symbols like veils or headscarves, more serious attention should be paid to the broader problems of patriarchy and racism that shape life on both sides of the imagined boundary between the West and East (Janson, 2011).

As seen from the above discussion, it appears that the European, including British, fear of Islam is largely based on symbols and images that have little to do with the situation on the ground. These images, however, have very deep roots, reaching down into colonial policies, cultural history and patterns of immigration. Contemporary bans on and regulation of all things perceived to be Islamic mirror these deeply

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embedded false

the symbols used to incite fear of Islam in Europe. However, it is used in such a way mainly to symbolise power, rather than the "freeing of women". And yet the burqa has become the "face of Islam" in the West, as if it represents a whole way of life. Therefore, for the reasons explained above, Westerners should seriously question everything they think they know about Islam and obtain facts about the situation on the ground. As seen from the above discussion, it appears that the European, including British, fear of Islam is largely based on symbols and images that have little to do with the situation on the ground. These images, however, have very deep roots, reaching down into colonial policies, cultural history and patterns of immigration. Contemporary bans on and regulation of all things perceived to be Islamic mirror these deeply embedded false images of religion and the people identifying with it. The veil, for example, is one of the symbols used to incite fear of Islam in Europe. However, it is used in such a way mainly to symbolise power, rather than the "freeing of women". And yet the burqa has become the "face of Islam" in the West, as if it represents a whole way of life. Therefore, for the reasons explained above, Westerners should seriously question everything they think they know about Islam and obtain facts about the situation on the ground.

2.6 The Saudi women context

2.6.1 Saudi women in the local media

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is of great importance to the world economy owing to its massive oil reserves. It has had numerous political and economic reforms in modern times. One such reform is the signing of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 2000 that was prompted by increased foreign investment in the kingdom and its new membership of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Public discussions on women in media platforms in the kingdom are controversial. Some formal rhetoric focuses on women's nature and appears to induce self-imposed controls on the actions and freedom of women while others focus on the progress in government policies empowering women in educational, legal and employment circles as well as the tremendous progress being made to include the right to education and voting for

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women. However, scholars still question the effect of official discussions on women's empowerment and their practicality in the Saudi environment (Murphy, 2009).

Sakr (2007) believes that Saudi public discourse about women's status is mystifying because official statements do not mention any developments advancing the role of women in society even though government policies have shaped significant changes in women's education, employment and legal standing in recent years. This opinion is confirmed by Fatany (2008), arguing that in order to understand the situation of Saudi women in society, the relationship between men and women must also be understood. In reality, this relationship is based on the Islamic sharia, which does not conform to the global trends concerning developments in male and female relationships. However, it should be noted that the Islamic sharia bases its view of this relationship on equality in terms of rights and duties (Fatany, 2008).

An important issue in Saudi Arabia is the creation of opportunities for both males and females; however, in the last few decades, discrimination has been more evident among Saudi women, particularly in terms of employment and education (Pharaon, 2004). Fatany (2008) disagrees with Pharoan (2004) as a male writer who supports the women's movement and progress towards feminism in Saudi Arabia, stating that although male writers use newspapers to discuss women's issues, Saudi women do not fully subscribe to that idea.

In his study using a survey of Saudi women's empowerment, Fatany divides his results into three categories. Half of the participants stated that male writers cannot discuss women's issues in the right way because they write about what they need, not what women need and understand. The second view, represented by 10% of the participants, was that male writers can discuss women's issues because they have more experience working in the media than females. The third view, represented by 40% of the participants, asserted that it does not matter who discusses women's issues because the important point is the objective of such discourse. Furthermore, it is the extent of research done before reporting that defines the quality of investigative journalism. Fatany's results reflect the opinion of Saudi society towards Saudi women's issues. His findings allude to the lack of a women's organization in Saudi Arabian society to lobby for women's rights, resulting in the kingdom being deprived of a substantive infrastructure to support the lot of women.

The position of the Saudi media with regard to reporting the women's movement is more uncertain and confusing. Public newspapers often show inconsistencies: one admiring article featured a Saudi woman who had won an international award, yet another article in the same paper wrote about Saudi women who suffer domestic violence without receiving any support from society (Fatany, 2008). In addition, 80% of the participants in Fatany's Saudi survey said that the Western media does not understand the position of Saudi women. They stated that the Saudi media provides a poor picture of the reality of women and that there are few academic sources of information to accurately inform the Western media. Arebi (1994) conducted research into the works of literature written by Saudi women, highlighting the challenges they face and their 'double struggle' against both Western hegemony and the patriarchy embedded in their own culture. Arebi points out that, in contemporary Saudi Arabia, "women have been placed at the centre of the power struggle between the religion, scholars and the state" (Arebi, 1994: 13). Furthermore, she explains that religious scholars are fighting against the religious establishment, imposed by modernization, by increasingly focusing on issues dealing with women and their role in Saudi society.

In 2010, Maha Akeel published a book entitled "Saudi women in the media: a study of experiences, role and the effect". She examined the state of Saudi women working in the media in 2003 through feminism theory. She interviewed six Saudi female journalists about her experiences and the problems that they face in in their work. She also distributed a questionnaire to ten Saudi newspapers in order to count the number of women working in the Saudi media. After completing her study, Akeel added a second part, including the changes that have happened in the Saudi media and reflecting on these changes in the role of Saudi female journalists. This (second) part also examined the difficult issues encountered by Saudi females in the media.

Akeel (ibid) also defended Saudi women's issues as depicted in the foreign and public media. She stated that they focus on what Saudi women are not allowed to do in areas such as driving, independence, veil abuse and employment. As mentioned before, Akeel added a new part to her study of the developments in the Saudi media such as the opening of many satellite channels, and Saudi journalists establishing the organization of Saudi journalists with two women on the board of directors. However, she also pointed out that this development might not altogether be a positive initiative for Saudi female journalists.

According to Maha Akeel (2010), journalists often come into conflict with their editors concerning the importance of women's issues. Journalists were among the first reporters to concentrate on the shift in attitude and the difficulties encountered in tackling the issue of gender in the political and cultural fields. The marginalisation of women by anti-feminist journalists has seriously affected the movement, providing more evidence for researchers of the media's marginalisation of feminism. Despite the fact that Akeel (2010) indicated that Saudi Arabian women who work in the media have no difficulties if they want to publish news relating to women's issues, Basmaeel (2008) in her study of articles featuring women in the Saudi daily newspapers states that editors did not pay attention to women's issues in the local media in Saudi Arabia, as women's pages did not continue to be published and there was no tabulation for them in the newspapers. Basmaeel (2008) examined Okath, AlEqtesadeah and Al-Hayat, which are local Saudi newspapers that included pages that focused on women. Saudi women pages' main focus was working women (42%) and women issues at work (44%), whereas the equality issue was not a priority that these pages focused on.

Basmaeel (ibid) pointed out that only 57% of women's pages were edited by women, and the pages did not aim to cover women's activities as there was no space allocated for such news. However, it did aim to explain women's issues and provide positive or negative views of women in society. It also included women's issues which were no covered by Saudi male writers. Thus, the Saudi perspective remains relatively unsupportive of women's issues although Hamdan (2005) notes that it is difficult to predict how things will develop given that attitudes can vary greatly between the perspectives of educated open-minded individuals who are seeking progress, and those of some conservative religious scholars who resist any move away from the traditional viewpoint. Women's issues, then, will remain at the centre of the conflict between the discourses on modernity and tradition but will continue to be marginalised by the media, since female journalists still have so little say in comparison with men in Saudi Arabia.

Saudi women face many difficulties within Saudi society. Bakhuurj (2003) notes that Saudi women's involvement in development is still limited, for two complex reasons. Firstly, the argument on the role of women in society takes place within the framework of 'Arab Islamic heritage', which is very reluctant to give women more

rights. Secondly, the general progress of development in Saudi Arabia is sluggish because of limited experience and lack of interest from the general public (Pharaon, 2004). Saudi women are trying to catch up, but do not get enough chances to do so. Improving women's conditions and integrating them better into society is an option in Saudi society. Pharoan states that society, religion and culture are important factors that should be addressed if any serious discussion of Saudi women's rights is to take place. Concerning the religious and secular discourse on Saudi women, Pharoan observes that there is a traditional discourse in Saudi society in which there is strong resistance from both men and women to changing women's roles. The people who adhere to this traditional discourse argue against any change in women's roles, labelling feminism a neo-colonialist movement designed to damage the Third World. On the other hand, there are liberal, open-minded men who support their daughters and wives studying abroad.

The Saudi media is potentially an important instrument in renegotiating women's political and personal status. Within this focus there are two extreme scenarios. First, there is the rise of women working in media houses between 2004 and 2006. The other is the prevailing pessimism that despite the rise in numbers, the status of women in these media houses has not changed. The stance on women in Saudi Arabia among other Islamic countries is a function of religious interpretation, which varies according to place and time. In 1979 for instance, a siege at the Grand mosque, Makkah, resulted in anti-women activities as perceived by Saudi female media experts. These practices included women's exclusion from many television programmes and their strict segregation in public avenues. These actions pressurized Saudi women in the media to conform to traditional Islam, a move that weakened their gains (Hrichak, 2012).

Media portrayals of women in Saudi Arabia are also controversial in terms of their inherent contradictions which has brought in more complexity. The edition entitled *Arab Human Development Report: The rise of women in the Arab world* addresses this scenario where differences are seen in exemplary images of Saudi women in the media as opposed to societal realities (Krane, 2006; Allam, 2008). These differences also extend to the various Saudi television channels including Al-Majd, Al-Risalah, Rotana and MBC since viewers interpret images differently and there is no fixed meaning associated with a certain image. The diversity of the scope for portraying

women in the Saudi media also provides room for divergent interpretations of their representations. A holistic approach to understanding these portrayals should therefore be adopted by examining their diversity rather than characterizing them as pro or anti-women. This will expand the reference points and escalate discussions on Saudi women with sobriety.

The Saudi media also appears to ignore the progress made towards the liberation of women from male chauvinism. Rogers (2012) reported a case of two women, Wojdan Shaherkani and Sarah Altar who participated in the 2012 Olympic Games in judo and athletics respectively. The Saudi media did not report on with the exception of the Saudi Gazette which referred to them as heroines ignored by society. A disturbing twitter campaign likening them to prostitutes also emerged in Saudi's social media to inflame the sexist vitriol aimed at them. Although they did not emerge as winners, their participation was a great milestone towards the acquisition of women's rights in the country. However, the media was sceptical of these milestones, terming them a Saudi government aversion tactic in that it allowed women to participate in the Olympics although it still believes in gender discrimination (Rogers, 2012). The Saudi Gazette was widely criticized for praising the two women while every newspaper widely reported on the achievements of a male equestrian who won a bronze medal in the same Olympics. Evidently, there are still cultural restrictions on Saudi women and the media has played a significant role in orchestrating them. Indeed, media efforts to intervene in female stereotyping appear sluggish and unconvincing.

After critically analysing media coverage in Saudi Arabia, Mahdi (2009) points out the lack of journalistic responsibility in that women journalists never assume authoritative responsibility in their workplaces. This has resulted in male journalists taking issues of discrimination and equality for granted. Terrant (2009) shared a similar opinion in an article claiming that it is impossible to lead from behind. These sentiments allude to women being less vocal and proactive concerning women's issues, owing to unequal rights. She however praises the potential of women journalists terming them as 'profiles-in-courage' using the example of Hana Al-Khamri, a Saudi woman who studied journalism in Denmark, stating that it was "illegal" for women to study journalism in Saudi Arabia (Terrant, 2009). However, at that time, journalism was not available as a major in Saudi universities. Amidst all these challenges of poor media coverage of women in Saudi Arabia, the challenge in

guiding society towards transformative progress lies in confronting negative stereotyping of women in the media and other socio-economic avenues (Rubin, 2007). This can be achieved by improving the image of women in the media, monitoring and avoiding discrimination directed against women in the media and extending publications where women are positively depicted. Esposito and Haddad (1997) support this proposal claiming that the media should not only be a workplace for professional development but also an avenue to convey the position of women towards liberation. As such, women would be in a position to reverse the male-dominated media industry to become bona fide media professionals.

In 2005, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz gave women in Saudi Arabia more rights, especially in terms of education and work; nevertheless, the media in Saudi Arabia still does not focus on these aspects of women's lives. Although the media publish Saudi women's issues, coverage tends to be rather superficial without focusing deeply on what women are really suffering in society (Fatany, 2008). However, Tsujigami (cited in Fatany, 2008) states that since the accession of King Abdullah, there has been more support for the activities of women in the public domain. Therefore, Saudi women have begun to demand their rights in both formal and informal ways. However, the Saudi media, as Fatany indicated, still portrays Saudi women in an unrealistic fashion. In her book, *Women in Saudi Arabia: Cross-Cultural Views* (2008), she investigated the views of 50 Saudi educators. She found that, overall, 70% of participants considered the Saudi media's portrayal of women to be more open to publishing some women's issues in newspapers than in the past. However, participants continued to criticise journalists for dealing with these issues in a superficial way.

More recently, Tsujigami (2008) argues that the accession to the throne of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz in 2005 has been widely credited with increasing women's rights in Saudi Arabia and supporting their activities in the public domain, and that this has led them to begin to demand their rights in a variety of ways. Other scholars, however, still question the extent that this official discourse has impacted on women's empowerment in the Saudi environment (Murphy, 2008)..

Although Saudi women have achieved success in various fields, challenges remain for those who wish to strive for further rights; indeed, in some Islamic societies, men still

seek to deny women their rights. However, it should be noted that men too can be affected by adverse political situations and the struggle for rights in their own countries. Eltantawy, for example, questions what the point is of saying that "women don't vote in Saudi Arabia—when men don't either" (Eltantawy 2007: 181).

When reflecting on the situation of women in Saudi society, Bakhurj (2003) highlighted the need for the debates concerning the role of women in Saudi society to take place within the framework of an Arab Islamic tradition, which, to date, has been very reluctant to give women more rights. Gender relations in Saudi Arabia are based on a particular interpretation of the Islamic sharia and of a specific concept of equality in rights and duties, which is unlike the male-female relationships found in many other countries across the globe (Fatany 2008). This can mean that women suffer from particular problems, such as poor economic conditions and more limited access to health resources, and are subject to stricter laws than men (Kahf 2005). In addition, responses to political events, such as the siege at the Grand Mosque in Makkah in 1979, have resulted in the strict enforcement of particular religious traditions, which have led to the exclusion of women from many television programmes and to strict gender segregation in public venues (Hrichak, 2012).

In addition to this conservative religious discourse on the role of women, there also exists a traditionalist discourse in Saudi society due to long-standing cultural factors and this elicits strong resistance from both men and women to changing gender roles and limits the progress of development in Saudi Arabia. It must be said that although the general public shows a lack of interest in change, at the same time, there are liberal, open-minded men who support their daughters and wives studying abroad (Pharaon, 2004). Sakr (2007) notes that even though government policies have empowered women in the educational, legal and employment domains in recent years, official statements do not mention any developments concerning advances in the role of women in society, largely to avoid provoking a backlash from religious conservatives and traditionalists. More recently, on August 6, 2016 a tweet communicated by the Ministry of Media and Culture reported that any publication of negative information about Saudi women was a punishable offence, which may be interpreted as a positive development in the on-going struggle to achieve better representation of women.

She pointed to the fact that issues related to women and their role in Saudi society were likely to feature increasingly as part of the anti-modernization discourse of scholars in the Kingdom's religious establishment who claimed to be fighting to preserve the traditional status quo and this has proved to be the case.

Nearly a decade later, Hamdan (2005) observed that attitudes continued to vary greatly between the perspectives of educated open-minded individuals seeking progress, and those of conservative religious scholars who continue to resist any move away from the traditional viewpoint on women's role in Saudi society. Like Arebi (1994), she concluded that women's issues are likely to remain at the centre of the conflict between the discourses of modernity and tradition but he highlighted the fact that these continuing debates are likely to remain on the margins of the media, since female journalists were given so little say in comparison with their male counterparts in Saudi Arabia.

There is, therefore, an on-going debate concerning the extent to which the Saudi media has proved to be an important instrument in renegotiating women's political and personal status. Aqeel's (2003) book entitled *Saudi Women in the Media: Study of Experiences, Role and Their Effect* examined the state of Saudi women working in the media in 2003, using an approach influenced by feminist theory. The book details interviews conducted with six Saudi female journalists on their work experiences and the challenges they face. The book also reports the results of a survey assessing the number of women working as journalists in a sample of ten Saudi newspapers. Aqeel (2003) identified a number of challenges faced by Saudi female journalists that included stereotyping and representation, a lack of mobility as a result of being barred from driving, and abuse in the workplace. However, she emphasized that the position of Saudi women in the media was not dissimilar to that of many women working in local media around the world since females are generally underrepresented in this industry.

Comparing the media work environment for female journalists in Saudi Arabia with that of other Arab countries, Aqeel (2003) did find striking differences. Although there were efforts being made to create an independent working environment in Saudi Arabia, the media professionals who were interviewed reported that the conservative nature of the Kingdom, and its sensitivity to culture and religion were greater

stumbling blocks to the independence of women in this field than was the case elsewhere in the Arab world. These attitudes resulted in the segregation of Saudi males and females in the media and in Saudi female professionals being oppressed, with limited freedom to make decisions, contribute to key reporting strategies, participate in management, choose topics to report on or even edit proposed publications. However, Aqeel (2003) also reported positive developments that were taking place in the early 2000s in the Saudi media such as the opening of many satellite channels, the establishment of organizations for female journalists and appointment of women to management positions, even though at that stage, the impact of these changes was minimal. Possibly as a result of these changes, Hrichak (2012) found that the number of women working in the Saudi media had increased between 2004 and 2006 but argued that despite this increase, the status of these women working in the media at that time did not change for the better, since they were pressurized into conforming to traditionalist views, thus weakening their potential gains.

In 2010, Akeel returned to the topic of Saudi female journalists and found that they were usually among the first to highlight the issue of gender in the political and cultural field but often came into conflict with their editors on the importance of coverage of women's issues. Basmaeel (2008) had earlier claimed that male editors paid very limited attention to women's issues and for that reason they rarely featured in Saudi Arabia's local newspapers and media. Akeel (2010) also concluded that anti-feminist journalists have seriously affected the cause of feminism by their marginalisation of the movement.

Portrayals of women by the media in Saudi Arabia are often framed by contradictory discourse, making their interpretation more complex. The *Arab Human Development Report: The rise of women in the Arab world* notes that media images of exceptional Saudi females may bear little resemblance to more general societal realities for women (Krane, 2006; Allam, 2008). State-owned newspapers, in particular, often present these contrasting discourses: one article praised a Saudi woman who had won an international award whilst another article in the same paper discussed the issue of Saudi women who suffer domestic violence without any support from society (Fatany, 2008). The position of the Saudi media with regard to reporting the women's movement is also varied. After surveying the views of 50 Saudi educators for her

book, *Women in Saudi Arabia: Cross-Cultural Views* (2008), Fatany found that 70% of participants considered the Saudi media were more open about publishing some women's issues in newspapers than previously. However, participants continued to criticise journalists for dealing with these issues in a superficial and unrealistic manner without focusing in depth on their real lives in society. Basmaeel's (2008) analysis of the Saudi daily newspapers *Okath, Aleqtesadeah* and *Al-Hayat*, carried out in the same year, found that although there was coverage of women's issues including employment, a much smaller amount of this content addressed the substantial issue of equality. Moreover, whilst there are male writers who support the women's movement and their feminist aspirations in Saudi Arabia, Fatany (2008) makes the point that not all Saudi women are happy with male journalists discussing women's issues. In addition, 80% of those surveyed said that the European and American media did not understand the position of Saudi women and that there were few academic sources available to inform the European and American media about this topic.

2.7 Conclusion

A review of the literature shows a close relationship between the gains of feminism and the representation of women in the media. In Western countries where the cause of feminism is more advanced, greater achievements have been made in deconstructing the weaker role of women as homemakers compared to the Middle East and in particular, Saudi Arabia. This review attests to the stereotyping of women by the Western press and to a particular distorted perspective in the case of Saudi Arabia, a standpoint that has been formed by orientalism and preconceived beliefs of Saudi women as weak, oppressed by their culture and unable to save themselves from Islam.

The review also argued that the negative images of women presented by the British press are due to the less proactive nature of Saudi women in lobbying against the stereotyping of women, a trend that extends even to journalists who appear under the authority of men during news framing. The review also notes the need to deconstruct societal stereotypes and adopt responsible journalism that acknowledges the consequences of drawing on established frames. It has highlighted literature gaps such as poor grassroots analysis of truthfulness in reported news and limited literature on the representation of Saudi women in British media. Consequently the current study is

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underpinned by attempts to deconstruct current media viewpoints established based on the orientalisation of Saudi women.

Chapter 3   Theoretical Framework Framing

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on framing and frame analysis, in particular the work of Robert Entman (1991; 1992; 1993; 2003; 2010) since it is this theoretical framework which forms the underpinning of the analysis of the representation of Saudi women in a sample of news stories from the British press. This chapter begins by tracing the historical development of framing theory in order to contextualise Entman's own model of frame analysis. It also discusses the key concepts relating to framing theories and provides a rationale for the choice of this analytical method in this thesis, in addition to addressing some of the critiques which have been made in relation to frame theory. This is followed by an examination of how framing theory applies to journalistic practice, and how it can help us to reflect on the complexity of the decision-making mechanisms by which news is created, and to explain the powerful effects this can have on how audiences perceive and interpret the information they receive as a result of ideology.

As a concept, framing is widely used in the contemporary social sciences in disciplinary areas as diverse as the sociology of culture, social psychology, political sociology and discourse analysis (Hallahan, 1999: 210). Mendes (2011) also testifies to the usefulness of this concept for academics in fields as diverse as linguistics, communication, media studies, and policy studies. Amongst scholars interested in studying social movements and activism there is also a strong tradition of using frame analysis to expose the underlying ideological structures of journalism (Benford & Snow, 2000). For researchers across this diverse range of areas, framing has proved to be a particularly useful paradigm for understanding and exploring how social reality is constructed, communicated and shaped. This section traces the development and evolution of this concept and highlights some of the key names associated with this field and the new insights which their work has brought to this area.

3.2 The concept of framing

3.2.1 Bateson and Goffman: originators of the concept of framing

As Hallahan (1999) notes, the anthropologist Gregory Bateson is generally credited with introducing the concept of framing as a means by which the human mind classifies and understands the world. Bateson defines a psychological frame as "a spatial and temporal bounding of a set of interactive messages" (1972: 191) and argues that when participants interact with other individuals or groups, this frame serves to regulate their understanding of the appropriate roles and rules, guiding their behaviour in a particular context.

Elaborating Bateson's original concept, the sociologist Erving Goffman refers to frames as "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1974: 10) and notes that frames have a variety of uses, providing a context which enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" (Goffman, 1974: 21) the information necessary for understanding a situation and interpreting events. According to Goffman:

> "When an individual in our Western society recognizes a particular event, he tends, whatever else he does, to imply in this response (and in effect employ) one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation [which] is seen as rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful" (Goffman, 1974: 21).

Furthermore, he states that the way in which we frame a situation is "built up in accordance with principles of organization that govern events—at least social ones—and our subjective involvement in them" (p. 10). Goffman was the first to attempt to distinguish the different processes which were involved in framing and he designated three of the most important elements of framing as keying, anchoring and fabrication. The first of these, keying, entails taking an already meaningful aspect of everyday experiences and recreating it in a different form, such as a novel, a play or a film. Anchoring involves ideas being fixed within frames of meaning which lie at a deeper level. Thirdly, fabrication, as the term suggests, implies intentional efforts to reframe an event in order to mislead about its true nature (Hallahan, 1999: 211).

Thus, both Bateson and Goffman were interested in framing that provides meaning and serves to regulate expected behaviour in the social context (Vliegenthart & Van

Zoonen, 2011). Franzosi and Vicari (no date) summarise the key contributions of Bateson and Goffman as follows:

> "We owe to Bateson the first conception of frame as a way to understand linguistic and metalinguistic messages ("signals") – a frame as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion of parts of a message that both helps and shapes the understanding of that message. Goffman, following Bateson, interpreted frames as "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1974: 21) not just in relation to texts but also to any communicative act or events in social reality" (p. 2).

Scholars in other fields have drawn on the work of Bateson and Goffman when applying the concept of frames to analysis in a wide range of areas including discourse (e.g. Tannen, 1986, 1993), language (Hofling, 1987), and literary narratives (Hufford, 1995). Thus, Bateson and Goffman were the first to explain framing work in interpreting linguistic messages.

3.2.2 Tuchman and Gitlin: Framing and the news

Bateson and Goffman thus argued that the ways in which information is framed when presented to individuals may prime them to respond to this in a particular way and two other scholars, Gail Tuchman and Todd Gitlin, both saw the potential of using the framing approach as a powerful tool. These ideas can explore the way in which framing operates in the area of journalistic practices, in terms of how aspects of press coverage function to produce meaning and interpret experience for audiences, helping them to make sense of the world (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

In her book, *Making news:A study of the construction of reality,* (Tuchman, 1978) was one of the first sociologists to make the direct link between the production of news stories and framing, suggesting that they are "framed" in the sense that they suggest value-laden messages about issues essential to news events. Focusing on changing press attitudes to women and feminism, (Tuchman, 1978) argued that analysis of this framing can be used to uncover hidden meanings in news stories by determining which facts are incorporated or omitted, which individuals and institutions are used as authoritative sources, and also how the information which is included is ordered.

Gitlin was interested in how political campaigning groups present their cause and portray themselves, and how these alternative views are then represented in the mass media. In the opening pages of his work *The whole world is watching: mass media in*

the making and unmaking of the new Left (Gitlin, 1980), published just two years after Tuchman's study, Gitlin recognises the key importance of framing in media representation when he defines frames as:

> "Principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. Media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organise the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organise iscourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980: 7).

It is worth highlighting several aspects of Gitlin's definition here since this has greatly influenced subsequent work in this area. Firstly, he stresses that the frames must be understood as being "tacit theories […] largely unspoken and unacknowledged" and it is this 'common-sense' aspect of framing which often makes it difficult for an audience to appreciate that framing is taking place. It also poses a particular challenge to the researcher attempting to uncover these. Additionally, Gitlin notes, journalists themselves are often unaware of the degree to which they are drawing on these organising schemata to structure their own reports since these form part of engrained work routines.

Gitlin placed particular emphasis in his work on the role of journalists, or "symbol-handlers" as he calls them here, in the framing process. He believed that the organisational routine which they follow to set out a story, those "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion", can prove particularly resistant to change. Organisational routines are also designed to serve the interests of the elite by producing news stories that do not violate core hegemonic values (Gitlin, 1980: 7)

Gitlin also effectively outlined an agenda for the future study of news coverage in the introduction to his 1980 book when he asserted that any analytical approach to the production of mass-media content should address the following series of questions:

> What is the frame here? Why this frame and not another? What patterns are shared by the frames clamped over this event and the frames clamped over that one, by frames in different media in different places at different moments? And

how does the news-reporting institution regulate these regularities? And then: what difference do the frames make for the larger world?

Gitlin thus stresses the need for researchers to pay attention to three key areas which can be identified as:

- **Media content:** The nature of the frames which make up the media text, the shift of frames across time, place or diverse media**.**
- **Media production:** The impact of social institutions, power structures, professional practice and values/ethics on the selection of material and the shaping of accounts of reality.
- **Media audiences:** The nature of the frames audiences themselves use for thinking about an issue and their relationship to the frames presented; the extent to which news impacts on public opinion or influences policy matters concerning an issue.

It could be argued that, to a certain extent, most of the work which has subsequently been carried out in the area of framing and the media has, indeed, focused on these elements which Gitlin sketched out as a form of map for a field of study. Most researchers have developed models which are essentially variants of this tri-partite process, although they may choose to frame these differently, emphasising some components and de-emphasising others. Often scholars propose their own models or reconfigure those proposed by others, refining these by applying them to particular case studies, drawn from the conventional, or increasingly, the digital media.[3]

Shoemaker and Reese (1995) suggest three potential sources of the impact from the framing of news. The first source is the journalist's efforts, through ideology, personal attitudes, and professional norms, in building frames to deal with information and make it logical, which is reflected in the frame of news coverage. The second source is to be found in "organisational routines", pointing to the fact that the selection of frames can be the result of political orientation. The third source is the range of

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[3] Metzger (2009) has argued that the advent of the internet and the mass availability of digital media may change framing research because people will be exposed to many different frames and with the growth of citizen journalism, these frames may compete with each other, giving more holistic views of events and issues. On the other hand, since the audience will play an ever-increasing role in the selection of media and the frames to which they are exposed, the internet could also have the effect of reinforcing attitudes as individuals opt to limit their exposure to those framing of events and issues which most closely match their personal frames.

external factors influencing frames (e.g., political actors, authorities, interest groups, and other elites). Shoemaker and Reese (1995) also focus on how journalists and news organisations frame issues.

De Vreese (2005), for example, explores the framing schemata used in press coverage of political and election stories, developing an integrated process model of framing that includes production, content, and user perspectives (effectively the same categories of media production, content and audiences). However, in his case, he opts to divide his model into two key types of processes, labelling these as frame building and frame setting.[4] In the category of frame building, he places "all those factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames" (De Vreese, 2005: 52) while frame setting which includes the framing effects refers to "the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and dispositions" (De Vreese, 2005: 52).[5]

De Vreese (2005) also argues that news frames are affected by a range of factors which can be categorised as internal and external. In the case of internal factors, what is the frame here? Why this frame and not another? What patterns are shared by the frames clamped over this event and restrictions of journalistic institutions to these external factors?

External factors however, refer to the interaction between journalists and groups such the elite or social movements. He concludes that the interaction between these frames and factors needs to be considered when conducting frame analysis.

3.2.3 Framing and culture

Although the term 'culture' does not explicitly feature in Gitlin's list of questions to be addressed, culture has increasingly begun to be factored into the study of media frames. This is due, in part at least, to the growing realization of the role which culture plays in advanced societies and also to a shift which occurred within academia in the early 1970s (known as the cultural turn) when scholars in the humanities and social sciences began to make culture the focus of contemporary debates (Jacobs &

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[4] Following De Vreese (2005), Zhou and Moy (2007) argue that the literature in the field of framing essentially has two emphases: the frame-building process and the frame-setting process.

[5] Scheufele (1999) previously referred to the process of 'frame building' and later (2006:65-66) defined this as covering three areas: (1) journalists, newsrooms or media systems, (2) recipients of media messages or society , and (3) political, economic, cultural etc. actors, groups, or organisations.

Spillman, 2005). Moreover, as Kitzinger (2007) notes, frames are anchored within a culture which is usually shared by journalists, their sources and their intended audiences and as Rettie (2004)points out, frames are culture-specific.

Schudson (1989) argues that to understand the framework of news making, it is important to beware of the fact that cultural factors affect journalists' news production. Schudson (1989) also mentions that journalists tend to provide feedback according to the same culture to which their audiences belong, and the media message is absorbed within the "boundaries" of those cultures. The cultural impact of the news is apparent as journalists tend to "resonate to the same cultural moods their audiences share" (Schudson, 1989: 188). Essentially, newspapers need to ensure that their journalists receive training regarding writing news stories that cover foreign issues. According to Goffman (1981), people are sensitive to different frames depending on their cultural background. However, people can be made aware of frames, depending on the persistence of the frame. Some scholars, such as Gamson (1992), believe in the power of culture on framing, noting that the process of social construction remains unseen. Reese (2001) states that "frames are organising principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world." To him and others, culture relies on frames to function the way it does. This has to be kept in mind by journalists or other individuals who apply frames in order to convey a certain message (Janssen, 2010).

In an article which flags up the importance of culture in its title, "Bringing culture back in", Van Gorp (2007) argues that culture is a key concept in understanding the linkage between news production and news consumption, because it can be viewed as the underpinning of knowledge, meaning and comprehension of the world. The author (2007) notes that frames form a central part of a culture being institutionalized in a range of different ways (*ibid*: 62). Van Gorp defines culture as "a set of beliefs used to organise codes, stereotypes, values, norms, and frames as a shared memory of a group" (Van Gorp, 2007: 62). For this reason, he concludes that both journalists and audience share similar frames as a part and parcel of their collective memory and that framing thus forms a useful bridging concept between cognition and culture.[6]

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[6] Koenig (2004) states that the cognitive is the fundamental stricture of framing; the process of representing reality by framing happens unconsciously in the range of communicative processes.

The concept of framing has most influential ways of understanding communication during the last decades (Entman, 2003; Goffman, 1974; Iyenger, 1993; Vliegenthart and van Zoonen, 2011). The power of frames lies in their ability to categorize and connect bits of information and by doing so reduce complexity into single coherent stories yet carrying ideological and political implications (Gamson, 1992). Framing, then, becomes an ideological strategic battle where actors fight over the legitimacy of values and principles (Entman, 2003; Pan and Kosicki, 2003). Hence, Framing is understood as an essential feature of news media characteristics because it shapes the ways issues are reported on and, in doing so, influences audience perception.

3.3 Entman's model

One of the first scholars to highlight the importance of culture in the notion of framing and to fully incorporate this into his model is Robert Entman. This study apply Entman's (1991, 1992, 1993, 2003, 2010) model of frame analysis in discussing my research questions. This model emphasises the intention within the selection process of news coverage, which rejects the idea that frames are adopted in the course of communicative processes without consciousness. His early work developed a model for framing that became highly influential in the field of media and his detailed explanation of how he interpreted this concept has become one of the most frequently quoted definitions of framing:

> "Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Typically frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe" (Entman, 1993: 53).

Entman (1993) here describes the process by which the journalist puts together a news story. There is an infinite amount of information which could be written about any event or issue so the journalist must choose which details will be included and which omitted. Entman (1993) pays attention to the role of what he calls "the communicator" within the representation, because this role is central to this process since journalists are responsible for organising the information that is conveyed to an

audience: Communicators make framing judgments by deciding what details of a story to tell others; the details communicators choose are guided by the already existing frames that organize their own belief systems (Entman, 1993: 52). In this process, thus, the journalist decides how the issue will be approached, offering an assessment of the problem, identifying causes, allocating blame and proposing solutions. As we shall see in the section on the culture of journalism, this process itself is framed within a number of routines, conventions, regulations, principles and norms. Entman (1991; 1993) states that in building news, journalists employ framing, and reiterates the importance of understanding how framing is sponsored by political actors and how it serves to guide the audience's interpretation of news items and more generally political, social and economic issues. In the case of newspaper coverage, the building of a frame occurs in the newsroom, highlighting the role of journalists in news production and hence the focus on them within framing research.

Entman argues that frames can be encountered in at least four different locations within the communication process, and these involve the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture:

> "Communicators make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief systems. The text contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. The frames that guide the receiver's thinking and conclusion may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator. The culture is the stock of commonly invoked frames; in fact, culture might be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in a social grouping" (Entman, 1993: 52-53).

Here the communicator is a more general term used to refer to journalists and Entman emphasises that some of these decisions made by the journalist regarding the content of the article and the language in which it is couched will be deliberate; many others will be the result of either learnt journalistic working practices or personal opinions.

The second location where framing comes into play is within the text itself and Entman stresses that analysis needs to look at not only at what the journalist includes but also what is excluded and how salience is achieved. This also illustrates the need for close, detailed reading of the text and of its rhetorical devices when conducting frame analysis.

Entman's comments regarding the receiver, a general term which can relate to the audience for any type of journalistic text, underline that although the two previous frames may serve to guide the audience's thinking, receivers also bring their own distinct frames to the text, which may or may not correspond with those of the journalist, and subsequently, readers may or may not reach the same conclusions about an issue as the communicator originally intended. For this reason, many researchers use focus groups and interviews to explore audience reaction to news coverage, as a means of eliciting other frames which may be in operation in guiding audience response to issues.

Finally, Entman includes culture as another important frame and one which is relevant to both communicators and receivers. This framing of local, regional and national cultures may often give a particular slant to news stories and can be reflected in the discourse at the level of words such as "us" and "them" which delineate particular groupings based on the assumed audience. However, the advent of news coverage such as that offered by Al-Jazeera "with transnational reach and global influence" (McNair 2006: 111) poses challenges both to journalists and analysts in terms of identifying common frames.

Entman (1993) concludes that all four of these processes of framing make use of a similar set of processes. Initially, this involves selection of content and making certain elements appear more salient than others using the techniques previously suggested. These elements which have been highlighted are then used in three principle ways: (1) to help construct an argument about the problems to be discussed and how they have been caused; (2) to provide an evaluation of the nature of these problems, and/or (3) to propose solutions to these perceived problems (Entman, 1993: 52-53).

Entman's definition of what frame analysis consist of makes it sound deceptively simple: "Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information

from one location - such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel - to that consciousness" (p. 51-52). However, as Kitzinger (2007) explains, frame analysis requires sensitive and detailed reading of the media discourse and a reflective engagement with the data produced. In order to aspire to the precision which Entman states is required, any assumptions which are made in an initial analysis must be thoroughly tested and evidence sought to support these suppositions, employing quantitative techniques such as statistical analysis if necessary to supplement close textual reading.

3.4   The Role of the Culture of Journalism

Kitzinger (2007) observes that framing theory posits that frames also exist as 'schemata' or repertoires of organized patterns of thinking that can be triggered by the framing devices presented in the media. Framing therefore goes beyond simply looking at agenda-setting or bias but accepts that all accounts of reality including news stories must be shaped in various ways to ensure that the text provides meaning or significance for readers. In the context of journalistic discourse, framing analysis can be used to offer an insight into how messages are produced by journalists who act as framers of reality. They play this role in the sense that they select those aspects of an issue or an event, which they believe are most important, and then direct reader attention towards certain elements and away from others. The journalist's frame can thus effectively set the agenda and the terms of a debate. A range of factors serve to shape a news report in specific ways including the words which journalists use, the way they decide to structure the narrative of the news story, the facts they select for inclusion in the text or exclusion from it, or the people and institutions they choose to quote.

One of the key frames, which determine how journalists actually create news texts, is the culture of journalism. As Zelizer (2008) notes: "When seen as culture, journalism has been thought to provide a web of meanings, rituals, conventions, and symbol systems, with journalists, who provide different kinds of discourse about public events, as its facilitators" (Zelizer, 2008: 4).

Zelizer here highlights some of the areas which are encompassed by the culture of journalism, not all of which can be examined in detail here. The "web of meanings, rituals, conventions, and symbol systems" which Zelizer refers to can be said to cover

a multitude of journalistic practices, many of which have evolved over the course of time.

It is interesting to note here that Deuze (2008) has identified five traits or values that he claims are generally shared amongst journalists. Although he observes that professional self-definition does vary somewhat depending on the type of organization that an individual works for, Deuze argues that, in essence the following five characteristics can be said to embody the core concepts, values and components of the ideology of journalism:

- Public service: journalists provide a public service (as watchdogs or 'newshounds', active collectors and disseminators of information);

- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;

- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work;

- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed (inherent in the concept of 'news');

- Ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy (Deuze 2008: 16).

Deuze's mapping of the ideology of journalism gives a good insight into some of the core elements of the culture of journalism. As we shall see later, although objectivity is one of the key characteristics which journalists identify as being desirable, research suggests that for a variety of reasons, this is not possible.

As Zelizer notes, some journalistic practices are now codified in terms of regulatory guidelines (e.g. the Editors' Code of Practice enforced by the UK Independent Press Standards Organisation[7]), ethical codes (e.g. the American Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics[8]) or editorial statements on values for a particular

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[7] Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) Editors' Code of Practice Available online at: https://www.ipso.co.uk/IPSO/cop.html

[8] Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics Available online at: http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp

publication (e.g. *The Guardian's* Editorial Code[9]). Codes of this kind now make explicit some of the ethical principles and norms which have implicitly been believed to underpin and influence the professional values of journalists.

Cohen-Almagor (2014) has argued that such codes are now increasingly necessary, on the grounds that only a small group of reporters respect ethical principles, have the ability to self-reflect on their behaviour and to care about the consequences of this. In his opinion, there is increasing evidence that individuals working in the media are either willing to contravene ethical standards to gain personal goals or appear to be oblivious to ethical norms and morality and do not care about the impact of their behaviour on other people. For this reason, he believes that:

> "The introduction of codes of practice, journalist's oaths and conscience clauses are important when we bear in mind this large group of people. With their introduction, these people will require cognition. They will not be able to say: "I did not know". Hopefully, with the knowledge will come also the realization that some things are not to be done. Hopefully, with knowledge of the ethical principles and the understanding of their importance, the first group will grow in numbers" (Cohen-Almagor, 2014: 5).

However, outside these explicit codes of practice, the culture of journalism also serves to regulate working practices in terms of the conventions and techniques which journalists use.

Sometimes these are formally taught in the shape of writing skills offered as part of specialised vocationally oriented courses. Alternatively, individuals have traditionally acquired them from exposure to the work of other journalists in the profession and from feedback on work from editors since as Deuze notes: "reporters and editors constantly reinforce, reiterate, and thus reproduce certain ways of doing things […] Newcomers are primarily expected to adapt themselves, and to adopt the dominant (ideological) perception of what journalism is" (2008: 19).

Writing in 1978, Tuchman was one of the first researchers to suggest that key techniques were consciously used by journalists when reporting the news, all of which were used to frame reality, and in the process to shape it in a particular way. Before

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[9] *The Guardian's* Editorial Code https://www.theguardian.com/info/2015/aug/05/the-guardian-editorial-code

exploring these, it is worth making the point here that Tuchman's research focused on American media. Deuze (2008), reviewing the findings of his own comparative study which investigated the cultures of journalists in elective democracies (the Netherlands, Germany, the UK, Australia, and the United States), suggested that journalists of these nationalities "share similar characteristics and speak of similar values in the context of their daily work, but apply these in a variety of ways to give meaning to what they do" (p. 19). Schudson (1989) also mentions that journalists tend to provide feedback according to the same culture to which their audiences belong, and the media message is absorbed within the "boundaries" of those cultures.

Thus, although the specific strategies identified by Tuchman's American study may not necessarily be reflected in all national contexts, her idea that there are set techniques used by journalists in news-making is still a useful one and merits further consideration.

According to Tuchman, the first of these techniques relates to "the use of sources in the verbalisation of (competing) truth-claims" (Tuchman cited in Richardson, 2004: 228). Schneider's study of how Canadian journalists use sources to frame homelessness in their coverage of this issue concluded that most of the sources quoted were experts (such as academics, social workers, representatives of charities and politicians) whereas homeless people (the real experts on homelessness) were rarely used as sources, meaning that ironically news coverage intended to highlight the plight of the homeless marginalised them in much the same way as they were being socially excluded. Schneider's study provides a good example of how an accepted technique, such as use of sources, can impact on reader perception of marginalised groups.

Next, Tuchman focuses on how the presentation of supporting evidence helps to frame news. This category can include photographs, captions and other graphics which accompany the news story itself together with the layout of stories, both of which in this sense literally frame the coverage. At the start of the 1970s, Hall had already pointed out the importance of captions accompanying newspaper photographs which had a primary function of anchorage:

> "Anchorage has the function of 'selective elucidation' – it exerts a repressive
> force over the relative freedom of the signifieds of the photo. It is therefore

(together with the headline, which frames both photo and text and embraces them) *par excellence* the level of ideological signification. Here the conative power of the image is most openly specified, cashed and closed" (1972: 60).[10]

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) and Hallahan (2008) also classify depictions and visuals amongst their examples of manipulating framing devices.

The third technique which Tuchman identifies is "the use of quotation marks to distance themselves from (very often their own) truth-claims and assumptions" (cited in Richardson, 2004: 228). Although style guides for journalists counsel against this practice, they do still acknowledge the existence of this phenomenon, used in connection with words or phrases which journalists think might be defamatory, in the mistaken belief that this will protect them from being sued for defamation.[11]

Tuchman finally highlights the structure which is used for news reporting itself, usually referred to as the 'inverted pyramid' (see Figure 3.1). This model of how information should be prioritized for newsworthiness within a news report is still widely taught to students of mass communication and journalism in Anglophone countries and remains the standard format for agencies such as The Associated Press and Reuters (Scanlan, 2000). However, Tuchman noted as a framing model, this serves to "simultaneously present and yet background conflicting, uncomfortable or alternative 'facts'" (Tuchman cited in Richardson 2004: 228).

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[10] Scott (1999) devotes a full chapter of his book *The Spoken Image. Photography and Language* (London: Reaktion) to the captions accompanying photographs in newspaper stories.
[11] Style guides such as *The News Manual* (http://www.thenewsmanualnet/), for example, have two full chapters concerning the use and misuse of quotes in newspaper articles.
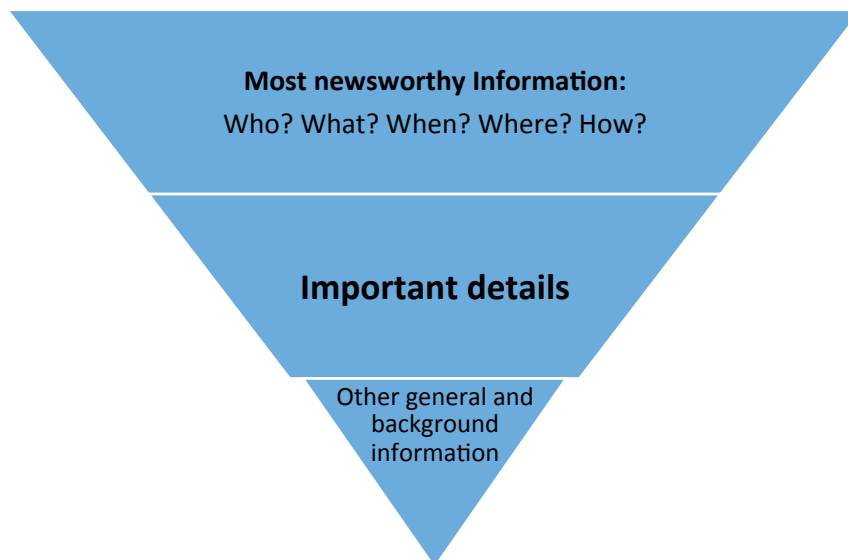
Figure 3.1 The inverted pyramid

The four examples which Tuchman refers to are all recognised techniques used widely by journalists in a conscious manner to produce news, but clearly they all involve a greater or lesser element of framing. All of these working practices not only transfer information but also act as mediators of meaning (Zelizer, 2008).

The culture of journalism is an influential factor in journalists' news production in that they write news using their own practices and through their own cultures. Journalists together with editors constantly make decisions about salience, highlighting some aspects of reality whilst de-emphasising others. Schudson (1996) argues that this "news judgment" is linked to ideology, values, and the characteristics of the profession of journalism itself. It also affects the national news agenda, reflecting the building of the social reality of a nation and becomes apparent when news stories are analysed. He identifies the ideology of journalism as the cultural knowledge that constitutes "news judgment", which is deeply rooted in the communicators' awareness (Deuze 2004: 279).

As this discussion has shown, on one level the culture of journalism can be understood as an overt set of guidelines, devices, and techniques which are taught and used by journalism in the process of news-making. However, Zelizer (2008) believes that the culture of journalism goes beyond this level of conscious framing, arguing that:

"More than just reporters' professional codes of action or the social arrangement of reporters and editors, journalism as culture references a complex and multidimensional lattice of impulses that can be counterproductive, contradictory, and contrary to the supposed aims of what journalism is for" (Zelizer, 2008: 4).

Her use of the word 'impulses' here carries the connotation of frames which are operating at a subjective, unconscious level, and being manipulated on the basis of bias or prejudice, producing so-called slanted journalism. The idea that the culture of journalism incorporates a "deep structure" of news values, functioning at an ideological level which is "even unseen to the journalists themselves" is an idea previously posited by Hall (cited in Deuze, 2004: 279). For Hall, then, structures such as the 'inverted pyramid' are more than mere devices for handling and presenting information but a "consensual self-organisation and understanding of journalism [which] also trickles down to the way journalism is taught" (Hall cited in Deuze, 2004: 279).

3.5 Bias and slant

3.5.1 The Difference between Bias and Slant

As the previous section has already established, the process of news-making and news production is inherently selective but the key issue concerns the criteria that the press use to decide what stories are to be covered and how these will be reported. The task of communicators is make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (Entman, 1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

It is important to differentiate between "bias" and "slant" in the news. Bias refers to some type of distortion of reality but as discussed previously, many different factors shape the news, making it difficult to distinguish a particular bias easily. According to Entman, slant occurs "when a news report emphasizes one side's preferred frame […] while ignoring or derogating another side's" (Entman, 2010). Journalists create opportunities out of the interpretation of issues or events in order to support the opinions of particular individual's groups or organisations, which leads to news coverage which is more, or less favourable towards an individual or group. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) refer to news slant as manipulative framing.

As argued previously, the culture of journalism exerts particular organizational pressures that affect the decisions of what is to be covered (using an established criteria of newsworthiness) and how it is to be reported in terms of standard operating routines and procedures that shape how a story is presented. However, aside from these general influences, the political preferences of journalists and editors, the newspaper owners, and the wider market may all be reflected in the news.

Although news-making routines contain a number of elements which are intended to promote more objective reporting "journalistic production processes cannot guarantee permanently equal dealing of competing frames when competitors' skill differs and relevant facts change frequently" (Entman, 2010: 392).

Numerous studies have examined personal bias in how journalists choose to describe people or events in relation to their personal opinions. Often, like the study by Shoemaker and Reese (1995), they focus on the possibility of bias in political coverage, detailing for example how journalists can lead the audience to doubt the political legitimacy of the candidates. The focus in this study, however, is on another type of bias, referred to by Navarro (2010:106) as "a specific 'interlinking' of racism and sexism" which is all too often evident in the coverage of news in the British press concerning women who are Arab and Muslim. As the following sections will show, there have been numerous studies about how racism and Islamophobia frame newspaper coverage, but many of these have concentrated on representations of Britain's ethnic minorities, in particular young men. Here however the focus is on how news stories about Saudi women are framed in the British press, since few studies have focused in detail on coverage of this group.

3.5.2 Journalists and the Framing of Otherness

When (Deuze, 2002) conducted his study comparing long-established journalistic cultures in the five Western democracies mentioned above, he concluded that the sample of journalists he had surveyed shared a number of demographic similarities which he summarised in a later article (2008) as the following:

- They share a middle-class background;
- They tend to be college educated;
- Their socio-economic background is firmly rooted in the dominant cultural and ethnic sectors of the society they inhabit;

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- Women working as journalists are overrepresented in the areas of reporting traditionally considered to be 'feminine' i.e. lifestyle, fashion, health and beauty, education, and are also underrepresented in management (17-18).

Deuze also observed that in an earlier study, Weaver (1998) had conducted surveys among journalists in a much broader sample of some 21 countries, and on comparing the results across the different societies, had also noted general homogeneity among the demographics of journalists. He also highlighted two key conclusions; namely, that newsrooms tend to exhibit overall a low level of ethnic minority representation; and also that it was possible to speak of a 'glass ceiling' phenomenon in terms of gender issues.

Deuze (2008:17-18) thus concluded that:

> "It is safe to argue that the professional group of journalists tends to be populated by generally the same kind of people as in the past – with just a slightly higher percentage of women and ethnic minorities – even though the world around them – culturally, economically, politically, and technologically – has changed fundamentally from just a few decades ago."

This observation allows us to see a clear link between the prevailing culture of journalism (predominantly white, middle-class males) and the ways in which journalists themselves frame news coverage. Media thus reflects the standards of the controlling groups in society (Campbell et al., 2011).

On one level it could be argued that critics of the media have been making similar points for decades. As Van Dijk (1991: 18) notes, Hartmann and Husband's (1974) analysis of ethnic news coverage in four British newspapers (*The Guardian*, *Times*, *Daily Express*, and *Daily Mirror*) over the period 1963-1970) concluded that the media helped to "shape the impression among the readers that 'coloured people' represent a problem and a threat, for instance because of immigrant numbers or the use of social resources". A study by Critcher *et al.* (1977) of news in the British regional press during the 1960s reached similar conclusions: that routine news reports by journalists about crime and human interest stories all too often present this in terms of intergroup conflict, thus helping to perpetuate the negative portrayals of minority groups.

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However, the framing approach to analysing media content, as epitomised by Entman (1992), is particularly helpful in explaining how the culture of journalism, including certain journalistic practices and a particular demographic of newsroom staff, may combine together to produce distinctive patterns of discourse concerning, for example, race. Entman (1992) explains:

> "News personnel shape reports in accordance with professional norms and conventions. When confronted with events or issues that the social structure and political process routinely produce, these journalistic practices yield visuals and sound bites that fit audience stereotypes. Thus, to take one example, when journalists select sound bites for a story about black political activity, they will often choose those that convey drama and conflict. Black leaders produce an ample supply of such quotes because the structures of social and political power often marginalize them, inducing them to employ demanding and emotional rhetoric" (Entman, 1992: 345).

Factors such as the demographic characteristics of the workforce, the increasing time pressures of the job imposed by 24/7 news coverage, and specific working practices (the need for 'sound bites') mean that all too often journalists resort to using formulaic stereotypes and clichés, what Mendes (2011: 83) refers to as "familiar frames".

These frames draw on diverse sources including pre-existing personal knowledge, prevailing ideologies and, of course, previous press discourse, and all of these contribute to shaping journalists' attitudes towards minority groups and women. As we shall see, in the case of Western journalists writing about Saudi women, one of these "familiar frames" is that of Orientalism, which will be explored in detail later in this chapter. In practice, the end result in terms of "news judgment" is that all too often, as He (2010: 47) notes, the press "selectively repeat, rework and reinvent a simple pattern of key racist messages". In Van Dijk (1991) opinion, constantly focusing on gun crime within black minorities, for example, leads to a form of "colour-coding" in the mind of readers which ultimately leads the journalist to an "active collusion with racist definitions" (Van Dijk, 1991: 18). As is well established (e.g. Tuchman, 1978; Van Dijk, 1991), journalists not only report news, they also frame and explain news, thus helping to shape public opinion (Schneider, 2011).

This impact from "news judgment" is particularly noticeable when journalists write stories that come under the category usually designated as foreign, overseas or international news. This is of key relevance to this research since much of the coverage relating to Saudi women appeared in these sections of the press when originally published. Peterson (1981 cited in Besova, 2008) carried out an analysis of all the international news coverage from a British newspaper (both published and unpublished articles) and found a clearly negative stance in the international agenda of the publication in question. Besova (2008) notes that the coverage of international news is rarely comprehensive, and in terms of "familiar frames", stories published in this category have a tendency to focus on violence and crisis.

The previous discussion of the culture of journalism helps to shed light on the cursory and clichéd nature of this coverage and goes some way to explaining why the press makes particular judgements about international news. Reflecting on the reasons why so much coverage of international news is effectively 'war journalism', with a narrow orientation focused on conflict, Lynch (n. d) comments:

> "To report is to choose. […] The journalist is a 'gatekeeper', allowing some aspects of reality through, to emerge, blinking, into the public eye; and keeping the rest in the dark. Neither is this a random process. The bits left out are always, or usually, the same bits, or the same sorts of bits. News generally prefers official sources to anyone from the 'grassroots'; event to process; and a two-sided battle for supremacy as the basic conflict model."

Lynch, himself a practising journalist, shows a clear understanding of the dominant conventions operating within the culture of journalism, noting that "the primacy of official sources, coupled with the enduring national orientation of most media, is bound to skew the representation of conflicts in favour a pronounced receptiveness to the advocacy of violence". However, he also makes it clear in his article that if they are aware of these conventions, journalists can use techniques which allow them to present alternative perspectives in their international coverage.

Eltantawy (2007) makes similar points regarding why the press produces stereotyped representations of Muslim and Arab women and also proposes solutions which would help to remedy this. One of her useful suggestions that would help to eliminate the systematic distortion of foreign cultures is to use diverse sources. If journalists talk to

those with expert insider knowledge of other cultures, they have a better chance of obtaining a more nuanced understanding of how to address issues within these cultures, and this should, consequently, reduce the tendency towards drawing on stereotypes and generalisations.

Eltantawy (2007) also draws attention to the crucial influence of the foreign news editor and also highlights the need for diversity in the newsroom. In her view, it is essential that people who work in media organisations, particularly those who actually write the articles, come from diverse backgrounds, ethnicities, and religions on the grounds that this reduces the possibility of distortion, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation when writing stories about foreign cultures. She concludes: "As the complexions and backgrounds of most nations are becoming more diverse, so must the staffing and coverage of the free press fulfil its obligation to all free people in all quarters of their communities" (Eltantawy, 2007: 155).

In the bias case, Goffman (Gouldner, 1970) states that 'juxtaposition' denotes an element of bias, which has undermined the middle classes in many societies in a dangerous way. Goffman's sociological perspective reveals that such an undermining refers to the plight of a middle class which has traditionally placed its faith in leading a life that is both practical and ethical. In these contemporary times, traditional tenets of commonplace morality and religion continue to relinquish their influence over man's faith. This juxtaposition may be noticed in the British newspapers' coverage of events in Saudi Arabia concerning women, especially when the news stories carry contradictory messages. This may be illustrated by the Daily Mail's showing of photographs of female models next to a story related to the new jobs being offered to Saudi women to sell female underwear in a public store. Thus, the British press appears to promote freedom of expression, which includes the wearing of clothes while they ridicule Saudi women who wear the niqab or criticise Saudi women's traditional dress such as the black Abiya and niqab. Moreover, On the other hand, they publish photographs within the news story showing female models on the catwalk wearing underwear whereas Saudi culture does not allow public photographs of women in underwear to be shown. Goffman rails against the gradual breakdown of traditional hierarchies of value and worth claiming that both sacred and profane elements of society are now intermingled in a bizarre juxtaposition. He describes the new middle class as struggling to cope with the gradual erosion of its conventional

standards of practicality and ethics by drawing back from both as it seeks to find solace in aesthetic pleasures, i.e. in the appearance of things (Gouldner, 1970)

In the case of coverage of Saudi women, it is necessary to be aware that journalists, editors and newspaper readers may be framing them as a group within multiple frames relating to Otherness and thus drawing on a diverse range of sometimes conflicting discourses. Given what is known about the dominant demographics of British journalism as a profession, Saudi women are likely to be considered as Other in terms of gender (female), ethnicity (Arab), cultural/ideological orientation (non-Western or 'Oriental') and religion (Muslim). As Van Dijk (1991) noted, overlapping categories of difference can mean that the usual hierarchies of in-group against out-group dominance based on religion or other cultural characteristics may take on special characteristics when articulated with racial or ethnic sets of associations, especially those which are non-Western. In practice, this may mean that a middle-class white non-Muslim female journalist may choose to frame a story about pro-driving campaigns by Saudi women in a similar way to her male journalistic counterpart, viewing this as a positive sign of change in an Islamic patriarchy. However, it is possible that the same female journalist might frame a story about American First Lady Michelle Obama not wearing a headscarf during a visit to Saudi Arabia in a quite different fashion to a male or female colleague who is a Muslim of Pakistani heritage. The former may report this as evidence of a blow struck for women's rights[12] whilst the latter may cover the story as a classic example of a Westerner's lack of cultural sensitivity.

It is perhaps indicative of the problems which Western societies, including Britain, have when attempting to understand the identity of Arab Muslim women, and particularly Saudi women, that an issue like Islamic forms of dress for women (including the *hijab, niqab* and *burqa*) has been the focus of so much media and scholarly attention (Allen, 2014: 141).

Likewise, since 9/11, Morey and Yaqin (2011) have noted a shift in the US and the UK in dealing with Muslim women's issues towards "saving female victims of

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[12] See for example the article by Sophy Ridge "Make no mistake: Michelle Obama's Saudia [sic] Arabia headscarf snub was deliberate and brilliant" *The Telegraph* 29/01/2015, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/11376192/ Michelle-Obamas-Saudia-Arabia-headscarf-snub-was-deliberate.

Islamic fundamentalism" as the dominant political agenda, this being one of the recurrent themes of coverage of the war in Afghanistan.

In her, work on media coverage of the American intervention in Afghanistan, Ahmed (1992) notes that one of the recurrent themes was to frame this in terms of saving or liberating Afghan women. Ahmed is critical of Western feminists for their "docility toward the received ideas of their culture regarding Muslim women in the Middle East" (Ahmed, 1992: 125) and she blames them for confirming the stereotypes concerning Islam's treatment of women. She was also one of the first writers to highlight the concept of Western fear of Muslim culture or Islamophobia. According to Ahmed (1992) contemporary Western discourse still draws on discourse related to the idealised notions of Victorian womanhood prevalent during the colonial era and needs to be developed. Thus, instead of framing Muslim women as helpless victims, it needs to show "a serious appreciation of differences among women in the world—as products of different histories, expressions of different circumstances, and manifestations of differently structured desires." Abu-Lughod (2002) also criticised Western media coverage of the conflict in Afghanistan which focuses on the concept of "saving" Muslim women, using this as pretext for armed intervention. She views such representations as part of the colonial legacy of the West which has long portrayed Muslim women as victims in need of rescue from the oppression of their societies.

The issue of the visibility/invisibility of Muslim women in the media, in particular those from Saudi Arabia, has been addressed in numerous studies and will be also explored in detail in throw of this thesis. The next section will focus on Orientalism, a particular process of framing which is generally believed to account for much of the Western stereotyping of and discourse pertaining to Arab Muslim women, specifically those from the Middle East.

3.6 Orientalism and women

Orientalism is the best-known and most cited work of the American-Palestinian academic Edward Said, who became known as a key thinker at what was a decisive moment in the post-colonial era. Said (1978) coined the term 'Orientalism' to designate the West's depiction and control of the East (Weber, 2001). Much of his

work was devoted to analysing the developing world's inferiority complex toward the West, both in colonial and post-colonial times (Ashcroft, et al., 2002).

According to Said himself, his aim in *Orientalism* and in two of his subsequent publications, *The Question of Palestine* and *Covering Islam*, was to "treat the modern relationship between the world of Islam, the Arabs, and the Orient on the one hand, and on the other the West: France, Britain and in particular the United States" (Said 1997: 49) deconstructing mistaken Western ideas concerning Arabs and Islam.

Said's work addresses the ways in which Western academic studies of the East, particularly by scholars in Britain, France, Italy, Russia, and Germany, chose to view and represent Eastern/Oriental subjects. However, Said's aim in this book was also to reveal the organised misrepresentations of the East which still govern Western conceptualisations of developing world nations. His ideas have been widely applied in a range of academic fields, particularly post-colonial studies but has also been used widely in analyses of literary and media texts.

According to (Ashcroft, et al., 2002), drawing on the concept of discourse, and more specifically on insights from the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault *Power/Knowledge* (1980),[13] Said examines how Arabs and Islam have been intentionally misrepresented in the Western academic world. Said argues that without considering the development of Orientalism as a discourse (or what might be called in this context, a frame), it is not possible to understand how Britain and France, the two largest colonial powers dominating Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries, were able to dominate the countries of the East politically, socially, culturally, scientifically, religiously, and militarily (Said, 1978: 31). For just as Foucault argued that knowledge is a form of power, Said also argues that Orientalism can be understood as an affiliation of knowledge with power, the power exercised by the West in distributing knowledge ideologically to serve its Orientalist ambitions:

> "Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for
> dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it,
> authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in

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[13] See, for example, M. Foucault, "Two lectures" in *Power/Knowledge; Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977,* edited by C. Gordon, New York: Pantheon, 1980, 78-108.

short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978: 3).

According to Said, Westerners do not have access to images of real Easterners, instead they depend on unreal representations created by intellectuals; thus, the West tends to see the East through the eyes of Orientalists, who, according to Said, conveyed an ideological view of the East that was constructed by the colonial powers during the era of imperialism.

In *Orientalism,* Said argues that Western Orientalists tended to differentiate between East and West. He contends that with the commencement of European colonisation, the Europeans came into contact with the lesser developed countries of the East. He argues that they found these civilisations and countries very exotic, hence the discipline of Orientalism arose, which was the study of the people from those exoticised locations (Said, 1978: 1-3). According to Wieviorka (1995) differentiation is one of the two logics of racism, the other being inferiorisation. The former "tends to set it apart and, in extreme cases, expel or exterminate it" whilst the latter "aims to ensure the racialised group receives unequal treatment" (cited in Richardson, 2004: XV).

Although Said's work in *Orientalism* was not specifically focused on the role of gender in Orientalist discourse, he does discuss how the representation of Arab Muslim women has been influenced by this, pointing to accounts by male British travellers, such as Burton and Lawrence, and Orientalists in the Middle East. Said also devotes part of the book to exploring the connection between Orientalism and ethno-nationalism and its role in creating the image of Arab Muslim women.

Kabbani (2008) later examined how travel books contributed towards strengthening the perception of the inferiority of Arabs and Arab women with Western writers describing the East according to their perceptions based on psychological, sexual, and political goals. She gives the example of *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1836) by Edward Lane. This book became a classic source of information about Egypt for its British readers and contributed towards a traditional formulation of the concept of the East (Kabbani, 2008).

Kabbani (2008) also points to another source which has been instrumental in forming the image of Eastern women: Richard Burton's *The Book of the Thousand Nights and*

a Night (1885). Burton's work, which came to be known popularly as *Arabian Nights,* was a translation of *Kitāb 'Alf Layla wa-Layla* [literally The Book of One Thousand and One Nights] a collection of Middle Eastern and South Asian stories and folk tales compiled during the Islamic Golden Age (8th-13th centuries CE). She notes that throughout the 19th century, *Arabian Nights* was used as a source of information on Arab history and on life in the Middle East and its influence as a source of images of Arab Muslim femininity and sexuality persists to this day.

Kabbani (2008) observes that in *Arabian Nights*, representations of Arab women can be said to fall into two distinct categories. The first, and by far the largest group of depictions, represent women as "demonesses, sorceresses, and witches" (Kabbani, 2008: 90) and focus on the vices and sensuality of women. The second category represents women as virtuous, pious and prudent. In short, this representation is in keeping with general Victorian prejudice in relation to women, which held that all women are inferior to men. Women in the East were doubly inferior, "being women and Easterners" and were thus considered "an even more conspicuous commodity than their Western sisters" (Kabbani, 2008: 90).

It is important to highlight the varied responses to the publication of *Orientalism* in both the Western and the Eastern academic world. One of its most significant positive impacts was in drawing Orientalist scholars' attention to the need to be aware of the extent to which representations of Eastern others were, in fact, misrepresentations. The work was widely praised and had a major impact on a number of other key thinkers in diverse academic disciplines. However, it also caused considerable controversy within academia and some scholars, both Western and Arab, were highly critical of his views. The historian Bernard Lewis originally responded to the publication of the book in a scathing article in the *New York Times Review of Books* entitled "The Question of Orientalism". Sadik Jalal Al-'Azm in his article "*Orientalism* and Orientalism in Reverse" claimed that Said had essentialised the West in exactly the same way as he had accused Westerners of essentialising the Orient.

Said himself later published an article entitled "Orientalism Reconsidered" and in subsequent editions of the book he added firstly an Afterword (1995) and later a Preface (2003) which responded to other criticisms including his ignorance of the

works of feminist writers and the fact that some of the work conducted by Russian and German Orientalists in particular had not approached the study of the East from the same perspective.

Following the events of 9/11 and subsequent military interventions by Western countries in various Arab countries, Said's work has been revisited by many scholars, in particular female academics from the Arab world, who have taken issue with elements of his arguments concerning the Orientalist framing of Arab Muslim women. Weber (2001: 125) described the idea of Orientalism as essentially a "male preserve"; arguing that this discourse is articulated entirely by men who "feminised" the East by attributing to it qualities typically associated with women, such as irrationality and exoticism. The authors of *Post-Colonial Studies,* Ashcroft, at el., (2002) explain how Western male attitudes towards Oriental women in imperial times were imbued with what they refer to as "colonial desire", a product of the unequal relationship between coloniser and colonised:

> "The idea of colonisation itself is grounded in a sexualised discourse of rape, penetration and impregnation, while the subsequent relationship of the coloniser and colonised is often presented in a discourse that is redolent of sexualised exoticism. Thus, even the positive features of colonial attitudes in discourse, such as Orientalism, reflect an eroticised vision that is fundamentally reductive" (p.89).

Zayzafoon (2005) criticises Said's work on Orientalism, providing evidence that Said has ignored the struggle of North African women against colonisation and ignored Arab women writers and feminists. She argues that as semiotic subjects, Muslim women are produced and reproduced not only by Orientalist discourse, but also by the discourses of Islam, feminism, and nationalism. She accuses Said of sexism because he effectively returned to the same negative images of women in the East that the French writers that he himself criticised had drawn on in their work. In her opinion, Said presents Muslim women using only two images: as prostitutes or strange objects of the Orient.

A similar point is also made by Crosby (2014) who notes that Said (1978) explores the negative effects of colonialist discourse on the Western imagination concerning women of the Orient principally through the writings of nineteenth-century French

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author Gustave Flaubert. However, Said himself choose to focus on the writer's portrayal of an encounter with an Egyptian prostitute, Kuchuk Hanem. Thus, he chooses to foreground an aspect of Flaubert's representation which was clearly linked to the female body, presenting Eastern women as sexual objects. In his own reading of the incident described by Flaubert, Said describes Hanem as "a disturbing symbol of fecundity, peculiarly Oriental in her luxuriant and seemingly unbounded sexuality" (Crosby, 2014: 49). In so doing, ironically Said himself reproduces exactly the same Orientalist stereotype of the sensual woman which Kabbani (2008) identifies in *Arabian Nights.*

This Orientalists' imagined view of Eastern women created the special case of Feminist Orientalism, (Zonana, 1993: 594-595) who states that the literary strategy of using the Orient as a means for what one writer has called Western 'self-redemption' is responsible for, "Transforming the Orient and Oriental Muslims into a vehicle for ... criticism of the West itself." Specifically, Feminist Orientalism is a rhetorical strategy (and a form of thought), by which a speaker or writer neutralizes the threat inherent in feminist demands and makes them palatable to an audience that wishes to affirm its occidental superiority. Zonana, (1993) describes the role of Feminist Orientalism as follows: "If the lives of women in England or France or the United States can be compared to the lives of women in "Arabia," then the Western feminist's desire to change the status quo can be represented not as a radical attempt to restructure the West but as a conservative effort to make the West more like itself. Orientalism-the belief that the East is inferior to the West, and the representation of the Orient by means of unexamined, stereotypical images-thus becomes a major premise in the formulation of numerous Western feminist arguments. The conviction that the harem is an inherently oppressive institution functions as an a priori assumption in the writing I examine here". (594-595)

In the 21st Century, Western feminist discourse of Eastern women has not changed, as Leila Ahmed (1992), Chandra Mohanty (1988) and Lila Abu-Lughod (2002) demonstrate. This is the case because research on, and observation of, the conditions of the harem are rare. The scant amount which has been written tends towards either a defensive celebration or a violent condemnation. The defence of these views is written with an awareness of the condemnations: their authors must challenge the Western feminist imagination that unquestioningly perceives polygamy as sexual

slavery and domestic confinement as imprisonment. The attempt to introduce a genuinely alternative vision is fraught with the difficulties both of documenting the actualities of life in the harem and of achieving a transcultural perspective, though some writers have made the effort (Zonana, 1993: 594-595).

This difficult task should be of interest to scientists. The continuing misrepresentation of Eastern women in the media does not measure up to world democracy as advocated by global media.

3.7 Conclusion

Journalists are of central importance to the whole process since they create the article. They must bear in mind when writing that there has to be an audience for the story (in this case, the British public) and also that the article is to be published somewhere (in this case, in one of the publications chosen for analysis).

It has been argued in this chapter that two key frames operate on the journalist. The first of these is the cultural frame in which he or she is immersed, and it has been argued here that for the particular subject matter of this study, Saudi women, one of the key elements of that cultural frame is Orientalism, which in the British context is likely to imply a particular positioning towards Arab Muslim women.

The other key frame in operation is that of the cultural of journalism, which Zelizer (2008: 4) referred to as "a web of meanings, rituals, conventions and symbol systems". The number of factors which could be presented here is infinite but three are perhaps of key importance. Techniques which are used by journalists will condition how the story is written (inverted triangle, for example), the language used, the types of sources and so forth. As previously noted, news judgment is linked to the ideology, values, and the characteristics of the profession of journalism itself, as described by Deuze (2008). Finally, the notion of regulation covers not only the increasing forms of institutional regulation but also the forms of regulation imposed by, say, editors or newspaper owners. Finally, ideology or what Hall (1937) referred to as "deep structure" forms the underlying frame which influences journalistic practices in an often unconscious or covert fashion.

This model of framing has influenced the approach taken in this study to the analysis of coverage of Saudi women in a sample of the British press and suggested the areas

which need to be investigated when attempting to undercover the frames operating in this discourse.

Chapter 4   Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology used to analyse the textual and visual representations of Saudi women in British newspapers. Firstly, it presents an epistemological reflection of the study approach in relation to its objectives. It then highlights the mixed methods approach using qualitative and quantitative methods. The three research approaches utilised in this study are outlined and the rationale and purpose of the content analysis, and framing analysis to analyse collected data is explained in details. Finally, the chapter outlines the sampling and data analysis techniques used for a better insight into and replication of related studies.

4.2   Research process

Saunders et al.,(2009) recommended the use of the research process 'onion', illustrated in Figure 4.1, as a framework to assist researchers in successfully completing their studies. The 'research onion' divides the research structure into five layers: (1) philosophy, (2) approach, (3) strategy, (4) time horizon and (5) data collection techniques and procedures. This approach is useful for choosing an appropriate strategy and identifying research tools from available options.
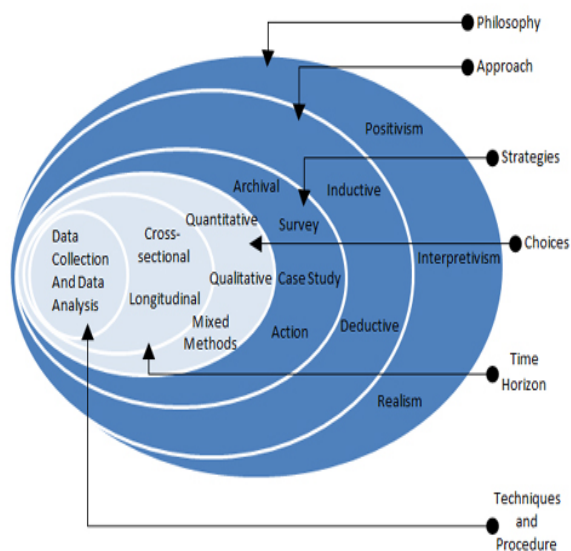
Figure 4.1 Research Process Onion (Saunders et al., 2009:83)

4.3   Research Philosophy

Research enables us to understand the complexity of the world but works under assumptions about reality in order to conduct research. Social research methodologies function under a range of philosophical stances that researchers take into consideration and include: realism, empiricism, positivism, idealism, rationalism, functionalism, objectivism, subjectivism and interpretivism, (Uddin, 2009). Nevertheless, there are three common research orientations in the social sciences: positivism (quantitative), interpretivism (qualitative) and realism.

The distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods underpins the structure of many methodologies. The former is linked with positivistic research that attempts to generalise results from specific research using statistical relationships between independent and dependent variables. In this context, methods linked with the positivist paradigm include: systematic reviews, statistical analysis of official data, structured interviews, randomised controlled trials and questionnaires (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006: 67).

The interpretivist philosophy focuses on the mechanisms to explain social constructions of the world by integrating the philosophies of "Symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology and hermeneutics" (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006: 67). Interpretivism-associated methodologies are small scale but intense, and the participants and researcher effectively co-interpret within the research process using focus groups, non-structured interviews, ethnographic case studies and textual analysis (*ibid*: 67).

Realism is an epistemological approach, similar to positivism, focused on improvement of knowledge through the collection and understanding of data. This philosophy relies on the researcher's subjective awareness relating to the truth of realism, which is the sense of any object independent of the human mind, (Saunders et al., 2009). Researchers utilise logical positivism or quantitative research experimental approaches and quantitative measures to test theoretical generalisations and to highlight the measurement and analysis of the fundamental link between variables (Golafshani, 2003). In contrast, researchers use logical interpretivism or qualitative research through a variety of strategies with one general feature: they depend on non-mathematical rules.

To avoid ideological distortion during the assessment of testimony, adoption of a hypothesis supports critical realism when using observation and live experiences to draw conclusions about the mechanisms of certain phenomena. Retroduction is an analytical approach that explains events based on their contents and causes to explain why they occurred as they did (McEvoy & Richardson, 2006: 71). Creswell, (2014) recommended that researchers use pluralistic approaches such as pragmatism to gain knowledge about the problem, after focusing on the research problem. He describes pragmatism as follows:

> "Pragmatism, as a worldview, arises out of actions, situations and consequences rather than antecedent conditions (as in post positivism). There is a concern with application – what works – and solutions to problems. Instead of focusing on methods, researchers emphasize the research problem and use all approaches available to understand the problem as a philosophical underpinning for mixed methods studies." (2014:10-11)

There is thus a significant relationship between the nature of the research and the selected philosophy.

This study investigates how Saudi women are framed in the news making process and within the British context, using the philosophy of interpretivism that explores the rationale in issues raised about Saudi women. In addition, it seeks to understand how the rationales operate in different circumstances in Saudi Arabian society and how the emergence of new elements like the campaign on banning women from driving influences the coverage of news by British newspapers. In contrast, the philosophy of positivism is used to provide the study with the required information, such as reflections or intuitions of issues of Saudi women participating in the Olympics of 2012. However, the cornerstone of this research is the interpretation of frames in order to explain the motives and purposes behind decisions of newspaper framing and frame selection. This can best be done by means of text analysis, which will help the researcher to understand situations or positions that dictate the relevance of news creation in the newspapers, which is the main subject of the study.

4.4 Research Approach

The current study uses inductive reasoning on qualitative data to reduce massive raw data to a brief format, generate interrelationships between study findings and research

objectives using raw data, and to develop a hypothesis based on inherent processes and experiences from the unprocessed data (Thomas, 2003: 1).

In this study, to collect quantitative data, the analysis of news stories and photographs required a deductive approach, in which the researcher formulated conclusions by applying rules or principles. In this way, the researcher moved from a general rule to a particular explanation of a result which was more specific.

Kangai explained this process by highlighting that:

> "Deductive methods involve beginning with a general concept or given rule and moving on to a more specific conclusion. Deductive reasoning is the process of reaching a conclusion that is guaranteed to follow, if the evidence provided is true and the reasoning used to reach the conclusion is correct. The conclusion must also be based on the evidence previously provided." (2003: 10).

The mixed methods research approach applies both the inductive approach for qualitative analysis and the deductive approach for quantitative analysis. The concept was established in 1959, when Campbell and Fiske employed various methods to study the validity of psychological characters, (Johnson at al., 2007). They provided their multi-method matrix to motivate other researchers to discuss multiple approaches to data collection and encourage others to mix investigative methods. Thereafter, approaches were linked with mixed methods, such as the combination of observations from interviews (qualitative data) and traditional surveys (quantitative data), (Creswell, 2003).

4.5 Time horizon

The selection of specific newspapers and the time period allocated to the compilation of this thesis had an important impact on the research. This project involved collecting information from four British newspapers by examining four British newspapers published between 2005 and 2013. The start date was chosen because this was the year in which King Abdullah bin Abdul-Aziz ascended the throne in Saudi Arabia. It was under his reign that a number of rulings were issued that boosted women's empowerment within the public space of the Kingdom. During this time, there were numerous developments regarding the rights of Saudi women within Saudi Arabia. For example, in January of 2013, Saudi women were given the right to vote and become members of the 'Shura Council' and they were permitted to run as candidates

in nationwide, local elections for the first time in the country's history. This was achieved after Saudi women repeatedly demanded their political rights, and in 2004, the Supreme Commission for the Election stated that women were allowed some involvement, though difficulties emerged in the official procedures (Alfassi, 2011). Political rights will provide a major opportunity for Saudi women to make decisions and have their voices heard, both in Saudi Arabia and further afield.

4.6   Research Questions

The study primarily investigates allegations made by the British press regarding Saudi women and Saudi Arabian society. The study's scope is limited to four major British newspapers: *Daily Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent* and *The Guardian.* The research questions seek to understand the representation of Saudi women in the British press and to explore how the image of Saudi women is portrayed, in terms of news content and captioned photographs, using the framing theory. Four main and three sub-questions were developed in order to facilitate data collection for this study:

1. What is the representation of Saudi women in news stories originating from the British Press?
    a) Are there noticeable themes that are atypical of the representation of Saudi women in the British press?
2. What are the general themes underlying two sample cases (Saudi women driving, and Saudi women participating in the Olympics, 2012) and what are the visual representations of Saudi women in the British press?
3. Which frames, if any, are used in the two sample cases (Saudi women driving, and Saudi women participating in the Olympics, 2012)?
    b) What are the differences, if any, between the newspapers in terms of frame selection?

4.7   Methodology

There are several mixed methods research approaches; convergent parallel mixed methods design, explanatory sequential mixed methods design and exploratory sequential mixed methods design. This study preferred the latter, which Creswell, (2008) described as a collection of:

"Sequential procedures, in which the researcher seeks to elaborate on, or expand, the findings of one method with another method. This may involve beginning with a qualitative method for exploratory purposes and following up with a quantitative method with a large sample so that the researcher can generalize results to a population. Alternatively, the study may begin with a quantitative method in which theories or concepts are tested, to be followed by a qualitative method involving detailed exploration with a few cases or individuals." (p. 14).

Creswell and Clark explained the procedure of the preferred research approach that starts with quantitative data collection and analysis as a preliminary phase followed by qualitative data collection in the second phase. Afterwards, links between qualitative and quantitative results are established (Creswell & Clark, 2011: 71). The rationale for this approach was that the quantitative data and their subsequent analysis gave a general conception of the research problem in the current study, which explored ~~on~~ the issues that Saudi women face and how they were published by British newspapers. The qualitative data collection and analysis elucidated on these statistical findings by exploring the meaning of the data in more depth, (Creswell, 2003). Many researchers explore the merits and demerits of the mixed methods research approach (Creswell, et al., 1996; Creswell, 2003; Moghaddam et al., 2003). The merits of this method include straight forwardness and increased opportunities for the discovery of the quantitative findings in a specific way. However, the limitations of this design include the length of time taken and the feasibility of resources needed to collect and analyse both types of data, (Ivankova, 2015).

This study used the mixed methods research approach in three phases, which provided the structure to measure framing news stories. The first step was to rely on the information obtained from the quantitative data, which analysed news stories in order to understand the issues of Saudi women which the newspapers focused on. Whilst the results of quantitative analysis provided a useful method for gathering information from a large number of news stories, this method, for the purposes of this study was not enough to draw conclusions about the framing of news as it was not in-depth enough and required a qualitative assessment to be done. To explore the representation of Saudi women in more depth, the qualitative content analysis was used. Political and professional ideologies are fundamental to the way information

policy problems and dilemmas are perceived and how problems are screened and represented by different stakeholders (Rowlands, et al., 2001)

Following this reasoning it was likely that different frames would be employed in the newspapers according to whether they had more right-wing or left-wing tendencies or whether they were tabloids. It is expected that there will be more favourable frames used in the four selected newspapers although this may be constrained by the fact that there is such a general negative public opinion of Saudi women that there will be less difference between them than if they were considering an issue that was more divisive amongst conservatives and liberals. Because public opinion is very negative towards Saudi women, it is also expected that overall there will be more negative portrayals of Saudi women.

For the purpose of this project there were a total of 258 news stories analysed. The news stories were coded based on the framing in which Saudi women were presented. The specific frames found in the news stories consisted of: women driving (news discussing the protest of Saudi women against the driving ban); women athletes (news about the Saudi women practising sport); women's rights (news about Saudi women's rights); education (consisting of news describing women's improvements in education); religion (news concerning the value of Islam for women and the guardianships); the economy (news portraying Saudi business women's issue); and politics (news concerning proposals on Saudi women vote and participation in Saudi parliament).

The findings from the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the news stories provided data on how the newspapers covered news regarding Saudi women through the selection of frames for each article in the analysis timeline. This step revealed details of the portrayals of Saudi women in some issues and helped to decide which issues should be examined for the framing of Saudi women in the British press. The researcher chose two issues: protests by Saudi women against a ban on driving, which was widely covered in the chosen newspapers, and Saudi women participating in the Olympics of 2012 in London, an issue which the newspapers did not focus on in depth despite the fact that (1) Saudi women do not practise sport in real life such as in the schools or in the public clubs, and (2) Saudi women face difficulties participating in global events in sport wearing the hijab. Chapter 7 expounds on this issue in detail.

The next step in the methodology is a detailed review only of the two case studies and their analysis in three steps. First, the quantitative content analysis of news stories and photographs gives preliminary answers to questions concerning, for example, the representation of Saudi women as protestors against the traditional mores of society in a campaign to legalise driving. Additionally, this analysis depicts Saudi women as participating in global events in sport while society still argues women being allowed to practice sport.

This analysis also expounds on the thematic areas of focus in the four British newspapers and the differences in their approaches to framing the same piece of news. Furthermore, it assesses the representation of Saudi women in photographs.

In the second step, Quantitative Content analysis of news stories gave an insight into the coverage of news in Saudi through frame selection from individual newspapers. The final step was frame analysis. Based on the results of the other two methods, frame analysis is used to explore what kinds of frame the newspapers used and adopted in their news reporting. It was used to determine the master frame using a method documented by Semetko and Valkenburg, (2000) which investigated the prevalence of five news frames identified in earlier studies on framing and framing effects. These included attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality.

The mixed methods approach helped to clarify many processes and the rationale behind them, hence playing a crucial role in explaining the meanings of many actions and the reasons during content analysis. This element enabled the researcher to explore different areas during data analysis, linking each finding with appropriate subjects and identifying its role and importance in news creation and circulation and its relation to the framing function. The method allows a thoughtful understanding of the subjects and explains the rationale behind decisions and circumstances, which is what this study seeks to achieve. According to Cronholm and Hjalmarsson, (2011) the mixed methods approach not only employs and integrates qualitative and quantitative methods in the collection and analysing of data, it also offers a particular vision of the world and helps researchers to obtain more accurate results, compared to the result achieved when approaches are used separately.

A mixed methods approach helps the researchers to manage research questions with fewer constraints by using more methods to prove the hypotheses and strengthen the results. Furthermore, by using triangulation, the researcher can support conclusions if they are shown to have shared confirmation. Using mixed methods helps the researcher avoid any misunderstandings that may arise when the researcher only uses one method. An integration of methods could also increase the ability to generalise the findings compared to qualitative research alone. Combined qualitative and quantitative methods provide comprehensive knowledge essential to both theory and practice (Cronholm & Hjalmarsson, 2011). Thus, the techniques that have been utilised in this study are quantitative and qualitative content analyses. A mixed method research design is appropriate for this study because the results were unpredictable compared to previous studies conducted in this research area. Ivankova, (2015) states that the explanatory sequential design can be especially useful when unexpected results arise from a quantitative study. The purpose of the explanatory sequential design is to use qualitative data to help explain the results of the quantitative data. It is used to support the researcher and to guide the project during the fieldwork, which comprises of content analysis of the news stories. As Morse, (1991) explains, the explanatory sequential design has the following advantages:

1. It is easy to implement for a single researcher, as it sequentially proceeds from one stage to another.
2. The sequential explanatory mixed methods design is useful for exploring quantitative results in more detail.
3. This design is especially useful when unexpected results arise from a quantitative study.

4.8 Sampling

This study follows Kaitlynn Mendes's logic in using newspapers for the data collection instead of any other medium such as Television or Radio. With regard to this preference Kaitlynn Mendes argued that she:

"…selected newspapers because their daily publication and wide circulation give them potential for quickly disseminating timely information about the women's movement to millions each day. Newspapers also present a forum for many types of styles - news, features, editorials, comment, letters to the editor,

comment, advertisements and cartoons - all in the same publication"
(2011:23).

As Mendes (2011) argued, tracking the news found in newspapers makes it possible to identify changing ideologies, the way in which journalism reveals the state of society and whether or not it is constant or in a state of change. According to Turkewitz, (2010) journalism is a key component in the study of modern mass media. People subscribe to the importance of reading the news because the press relates a huge number of news stories compared to television and film. Furthermore, its reports are often seen as more objective and true, compared to most forms of modern mass media, hence the preference for newspaper analysis for the purposes of this study, rather than television (Turkewitz, 2010: 13). Although somewhat dated, the News and Journalism Research Group (2010) is still relevant as it pertains to the first part of the research period. They found that readers trusted newspapers more than any other types of media, including digital media. They indicated that 66% of people described newspaper advertising as, "Informative and confidence inspiring," compared to 44% who regarded TV advertising in the same way and 12% who believed that online advertising was the most accurate. Although McKinsey's study focused on advertising, his results are indicative of the positive perception of newspapers.

Newspapers are particularly useful in shaping public consciousness and policy, and determining whether social movements are viewed in a positive or negative light (Mendes a, 2011: 83). They examine these issues because of their daily publishing and wide, albeit declining, circulation which allows them to disseminate relatively timely information to millions each day. As a result, the elite argue that the press is responsible for supplying the information and images that people use to understand their lives (Gitlin, 2003).

The British media landscape is divided into five categories: print (newspapers, magazines, publications and periodicals), radio, television, Internet websites and citizen journalism. The British media industry comprises 815 radio stations, 1,594 newspapers, 1,969 magazines and 512 television channels, monitored by Ofcom, the media regulation body. The industry is self-regulating and independent and enjoys immense freedom compared to other developing countries. In fact, it is the regulating force for British politics and the elite. The independence of the British press allows

reporters to publicize public interest news on consumer information and national security. With the coming of the digital age, social media spread and internet development, the British press has expanded online and has increased ~~the~~ consumption of the media. Access to news has become pinpoint précised with the social medial platforms being the news breakers while the print and broadcast platforms analyze the news. The emergence of citizen journalism characterized by blogging, use of Smartphone, social media and 4G coverage has transformed the British press as access to information has proliferated. The British press has since undergone digital changes and disruptions in contrast to its traditional resilience to change. As such, these developments have affected the perceptions of news reporters and their resultant frames (Theaker, 2013).

To compile this thesis, the selection of specific newspapers electronic copy that offer readers the opportunity to access archives, the information may correspond to what they are seeking; however, the website LexisNexis excludes photographs from articles, thereby undermining its value for this study, which analyses the photographs published with the articles. Therefore, photographs involved in the study were analysed from the newspapers' websites. The timeline for the news review was important.

This project collected information from four British newspapers: *The Guardian, The Independent, Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph.* The four newspaper choices ensured the analysis of a range of news and represented diverse characteristics for comparative study and to establish a balance between their different intellectual orientations and purposes. The Guardian and The Independent were chosen because both are considered to be centre-left, liberal, top-quality daily newspapers and are thought to be effective at covering social and political issues, including international news, The Guardian identifies with centre-left liberalism and its readership is generally on the left of mainstream British political opinion. The newspaper's reputation as a platform for liberal and left-wing opinions has led to the use of the epithet "Guardian reader" as a label for people holding such views. The Independent on Sunday, was launched in 1986 and is one of the youngest UK national daily newspapers. The "Indy" has become known for its unorthodox and campaigning front pages, which frequently rely on bold images, graphics or lists rather than traditional headlines and written news content. It is regarded as leaning to the left politically,

making it primarily a competitor to The Guardian, even though it still features some conservative columnists and tends to take a classical liberal, pro-market, stance on economic issues.

The Daily Mail was chosen because it is a tabloid which has a strong right-wing perspective, with extensive coverage of women's issues. It is the United Kingdom's second biggest-selling daily newspaper after The Sun. It is currently owned by the Daily Mail and General Trust plc. The Daily Mail was originally Britain's first daily newspaper aimed at the newly-literate "lower-middle class market resulting from mass education, combining a low retail price with plenty of competitions, prizes and promotional gimmicks". It was the first British paper to sell a million copies a day and, from the outset, was pitched at women (it is still the only British newspaper whose readership is more than 50% female). Politically, the Daily Mail has a conservative slant. Its frequently sensationalist, conservatively-biased headlines often provoke a strong reaction from liberals. As of May 2011, its online version is the most popular newspaper web site in the UK with around 64 million unique visitors per month. Finally, The Daily Telegraph was chosen because it is a well-written, conservative broadsheet and is traditionally a newspaper of some reputation providing accurate international news. Its website was launched under the name "electronic telegraph" on 15 November 1994, making it Europe's first daily web-based newspaper.

This study used systematic sampling for the quantitative data associated with the news stories. The sampling units were drawn from a large population to address the various issues of different newspapers because systematic sampling is favoured "when texts stem from regularly appearing publications, newspapers, television series, interpersonal interaction sequences or other repetitive or continuous events." (Krippendorff, 2003:115). This study used sampling units because, according to Krippendorff (2003), they are counted and content analysts can use sample letters or issues of a newspaper to answer research questions by enumerating sentences or interpreting details. The majority of the sampled articles were collected from an online resource - LexisNexis, using the key words of the Saudi women, Saudi woman in the four newspapers. Articles on the two case studies were collected from the on-line archive and newspaper websites because the website "LexisNexis" published news without photographs. The basic unit of analysis was one news story. The coding

instrument consisted of the name of the newspaper, year of publication, themes of news stories, major issues closely related to Saudi women and five news frames in two case studies (explained in detail in chapter 6 and 7).

Sampling was completed in two stages. First, the amount of published material relating to Saudi women was narrowed down, and second, the content for analysis was selected from all the units in the sampling frame using a list of the frequency of common words to observe if they are related to the main issue of the news story. The material collected from the newspapers was divided into two steps. First, every news story about Saudi women from 2005 to 2013 was collected from the four specified British newspapers. This step helped to determine how many news stories were published, and what types of issues were addressed and how the newspaper deal with the information sources. Second, two of the most common issues were chosen as case studies and visual and text analyses were carried out to discuss the type of predominant frame.

4.9   Content Analysis

White (1950) was the first to suggest that the actions of journalists with regard to media messages are comparable. In addition, Warren Breed (1955) described the socialisation of journalists in their jobs (Shoemaker & Reese, 1995). Shoemaker and Reese (1995) noted that there were increased studies on media employers and employees but limited attention was given to inherent theoretical links between them. Complete studies on media content need to speculate on the media's impact, which means that the researcher must effectively examine what messages are obtained by an audience rather than what messages can be acquired and so influence that audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1995). Content analysis assesses forms of human communication, including books, newspapers and films, to identify patterns, themes or bias (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010). Content analysis identifies specific characteristics from the content by verbal, visual and behavioural pattern analysis (Williams, 2007).

Content analysis is a research method, which offers researchers an effective way to investigate media content, (Besova, 2008). Hansen et al described content analysis as, "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." (1998: 94). This analysis identifies and counts the amount of specific characteristics of text in order to be able to say something

about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their broader social significance (Hansen et al., 1998:94). In this study, content analysis helped the researcher to understand the content of the newspaper-specific coverage of the Saudi women events.

Content analysis has been used to study an extensive set of texts in relation to news stories and debates in clinical and social research. MacNamara highlighted five main purposes of content analysis including:

(1) To describe the substance characteristics of message content; (2) to describe the form characteristics of message content; (3) to make inferences to producers of content; (4) to make inferences to audiences of content; (5) to predict the effects of content on audiences. In addition, content analysis has differentiated levels of content, including 'themes and main ideas of the text as primary content and context information as latent content' (2005: 3).

Content analysis defines the purpose of analysis as expressed by Krippendorff, (cited in Mayring, 2000:2), who defines it as, "[t]he use of replicable and valid methods for making specific inferences from text to other states or properties of its source." The purpose of using content analysis is to independently extract subject from the cultural products related to media production (Leavy, 2000).

4.9.1   Rationale of Content Analysis

This study conducted both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The latter investigated the newsworthiness, priority, location and type of news contents in samples by categorising the content of selected newspapers and quantifying the content characteristics. The former assessed the proportions of non-news and news content in selected newspaper samples (Holloway, 2009). Quantitative content analysis examined a large amount of media content using statistical methods to reduce the complexity of media coverage and highlight content patterns in a selective and highly structured approach (Zeh, 2005). This analysis used information that can be measured such as number of columns in a newspaper or how many articles are published about a specific subject during the study timeline. It provided a volume of information that signalled important aspects of the content. However, quantitative content analysis was limited in that its findings did not determine the meaning of content and hence the need for qualitative analysis. Shoemaker and Reese (1995)

explain this limitation using two newspapers that publish the same piece of news about Israel but each newspaper provided a different opinion of the event. Therefore, it is important also to use a qualitative approach to determine the meaning of the content.

Wimmer and Dominick, (cited in Gunter, 2000:61) support the use of content analysis in describing patterns or trends in media portrayals; testing hypotheses regarding policies or aims of media procedures; comparing media content with the real world; assessing the representation of particular groups in society and drawing inferences about media effects. Hansen et al. make similar suggestions claiming that, "Content analysis can help provide some indication of relative prominences and absences of key characteristics in media texts but the inferences that can be drawn from such indications depend on the context and framework of interpretation by which the text analyses are circumscribed." (Hansen, 1998: 95).

Qualitative content analysis in this study analyzed texts within the context of communication. The processes involved an analytical policy and sequential step models which are devoid of hasty quantification, (Mayring, 2000). It focused on characteristics of language, medium of communication and contextual meaning of text. Textually based data was provided in print or electronic form and obtained from print media in this case, newspapers. The analysis went beyond merely counting words but examined language to classify large amounts of texts into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings, themes and forms, which may be clear or hidden in a specific text, (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). These categories were represented as either explicit communication or inferred modes of communication, (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Thus, qualitative content analysis was used because it generates content meaning. In comparing quantitative and qualitative content analysis, it is clear that the former used systematic counting and recording procedures to explain the words or symbols within texts, while the latter was more critical and deciphered content meaning deeply. Quantitative and qualitative content analyses were used in tandem to include sampling of British newspapers and in-depth textual analysis. Sampling was used in order to narrow the selection of content to be analysed.

Quantitative content analysis explored the meanings underlying physical messages owing to its inductive nature grounded on topical and thematic examination to draw inferences using raw data. It gave clues on generating a theory in this study using purposively selected texts that informed more on the research questions being investigated. The method also produced descriptions or typologies, along with expressions from subjects, reflecting how they view the social world. As such, perspectives of text producers were better understood by the investigator as well as the readers of the study's results, (Berg, 2001). This approach of analysis paid attention to unique themes that illustrated a range of the meanings on the phenomenon, rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009) hence its preference in this study.

Moreover, Greta Kaceviciute (no date) in her study, used quantitative content analysis of four newspaper to explore how British newspapers represented women. Although, Kaceviciute's study examined female offenders, the categorizing method used to define the type of offenders' crime gave the researcher an indication to define the kind of women issues in the Saudi society. In addition, Kaceviciute (no date) used quantitative content analysis and a pilot study that was employed in the preliminary data of this study.

4.9.2   Content Analysis for visual representation

Visual content analysis was used to assess the nature of physical content in media and, more specifically, to examine the presence of stereotypes and determine their effects on viewers' understanding of social issues. Visual content analysis attempts to discern literal from non-literal uses of images and their underlying symbolic meanings (Weiland & Ponzetto, 2009). Visual content analysis evaluated the role played by images in the aforementioned case studies (Saudi women protesting against the ban on driving and Saudi women participating in the London Olympics). This analysis was necessary since it is widely unexploited in pre-existent studies to explain the effect of images in shaping information perception with regard to news coverage of Saudi women. Leon and Erviti (2013) appraised this type of analysis, explaining how images are used to shape publications and how they influence the representation and framing of Saudi women.

This study followed visual content analysis as described by Leon and Erviti (2013) to analyse photographs that are synchronous with texts in publications on Saudi Women by British media. Although the research did not focus on the observable frames in photographs and their associated framing analysis, it examined how British newspapers represented Saudi women using content analysis.

Additionally, quantitative content analysis of the photographs provided a greater understanding of the representation of Saudi women in the news and thus provided a deeper understanding of the portrayal of Saudi women. Photographs were used as strong evidence of how newspapers portrayed Saudi women. Photographs of Saudi women are rare since most Saudi women do not appear in public places without a *hijab* or *niqab*. However, some female public figures have had their pictures published by Saudi or international newspapers. In most cases, such photographs were coded, for the purposes of the study in terms of their overall portrayal and whether or not women are seen engaged in traditional roles or in more liberating and interactive activities, such as driving vehicles, engaging in public discussion in the Shura (consultative) Council or being unveiled in their workplaces. In this study, content analysis of the photographs examined two specific issues: Saudi women protesting against the ban on driving and Saudi women participating in the London Olympic Games. These issues were based on three variables described below:

1. Source, which was either internal production (produced by the newspaper), or external production (produced by news agencies and other sources external to the newspaper).
2. Timeliness, which was categorized as recent (shot on the same or on the previous three days), archived (not recently shot) or both (a combination of recent and archived images).
3. Role of images, which was iconic (images directly related to the reality referred to in the text), symbolic (images that are associated with reality by convention) and other (images with any other role).
   (Leon & Ervit, 2016).

4.10 The Final Phase: Framing Analysis

Many authors either define framing analysis as an activity or as a process. In the latter, framing analysis defines issues, makes moral decisions and supports processes

to make critical operational strategies, while in the former, it ~~is~~ offers approaches to selecting, presenting and emphasizing theories on what matters, what exists and what happens (Gitlin, cited in Matthes, 2009). As a process, framing analysis provides "Inferences that distinguish framing from themes, arguments, assertions and other under-theorized concepts" (Matthes, 2009: 350). Framing analysis links with the text extremely well because it connects the various sides of an issue by defining these results in specific explanations, assessments or resolutions. The words and images that make the frame can be distinguished from the rest of the news content and can stimulate support or disapproval of either side in a political conflict. This ability can be measured by cultural quality. Frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the highest possible effect because they use words and images understood within a specific culture, which may also be emotionally charged. The importance of repeating framing words and images is reflected in the resonance of content and framing is intended to generate similar thoughts and feelings in the audience (Entman, 2003).

Previous literature has identified a handful of frames that occur commonly in the news. Neuman et al., (1992) discussed comprehensively several different types of frames dominantly used in news coverage in the U.S. These include conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and morality frames. Based on these frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) analysed five national newspapers and television news stories in the period surrounding the Amsterdam meeting of European heads of state in1997 and identified other new frames in order of predominance: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economy, human interest, and morality. These frames are explained in detail below.

1. **Human interest:** this frame "brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem". In covering a story from an alien culture, this frame heightens the psychological effects and exaggerates negative attitudes emanating from a particular event. This framing approach focuses on provoking emotional responses (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95) of all kinds from the audience, sometimes at the expense of the actual facts of the case, as a consequence of journalists choosing to write a story from their own perspective.

2. **Conflict:** This frame is mainly concerned with analysing conflict within organizations, groups and individuals. Neuman et al. (1992) identified this frame as one of the most prominent in the U.S. news media. In Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study, this particular frame was ranked second most popular and was reported to be most used by so-called serious newspapers. This frame is used when journalists highlight differences in attitudes towards specific phenomena in society while at the same time relating these stories according to their own convictions.

3. **Morality**: this frame addresses events, problems and issues in terms of ethical and social conventions and religious convictions. Neuman et al. (1992) suggested that journalists often used this frame in an indirect manner by way of quotations or inference, rather than rely on journalistic norms of objectivity (Semetko and Valkenburg's, 2000). Moralistic quotations can have a strong impact that on the public by trying to influence them in a particular way and diverting them from the real meaning inherent in the event.

4. **Economy:** This frame covers events, problems and issues in terms of resultant economic consequences of all kinds. Neuman et al. (1992) reported this frame as occurring frequently in the news. It draws attention mainly to economic aspects rather than to economic performance by using information that chooses to persuade the audience to think in a particular way according to the journalist's perspective.

5. **Attribution of responsibility:** This frame is defined as "a way of attributing responsibility for [a] cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified this frame as being commonly used mainly in the serious newspapers. This particular frame deals with stories which draw attention to the behaviour of officials or official institutions, suggesting in many cases that they should take responsibility for their actions in some way.

In the coding categories and measures, one news article was the coding unit. The coding instrument comprised the name of the newspaper, the key words from the two case studies and the five aforementioned news frames. To measure the extent to which certain frames appear in news stories, the study used the coding scheme by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), which consists of a series of 15 questions to which the coder

had to answer yes (1) or no (0). Each question was meant to measure one of the five news frames. Trained coders analysed all articles. Each coder coded the articles independently. For the inter-coder reliability test, two coders coded 60 news stories for two case studies. To achieve reliability and validity in this study a single frame was used IRR to produce two categorizations of the same objects. The extent to which these two categorizations coincide represents what is often referred to as inter-rater reliability. If it is rated high then both raters can be used interchangeably without the researcher having to worry about the categorization being affected by a significant rater factor (Gwet, 2014).

4.10.1 Rationale of framing analysis

In this study, the researcher analysed news stories according to one of four structural dimensions of news text conceived by Pan and Kosicki, (1993) as syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical. These dimensions provided a model consistent with a much larger framework of news discourse, which included cognitive activities of involved players in the process and the social-cultural contexts in which they operated. This study was not concerned with discourse analysis. News stories involving messages were analysed to explain the role of journalists in building the news. According to Matthes (2009), frames are conceptualized at different levels of abstraction including issue-specific or generic levels. The current study applied these two levels such that issue-specific frames analysed individual issues while generic frames rose beyond thematic limitations as they were identifiable from different issues. Iyengar's (1991) thematic and episodic frames are prime examples of this approach. The study also applied Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) research method that postulated five generic frames including conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality and responsibility for a holistic framing analysis.

The study used a quantitative rather than qualitative framing approach though many studies use the qualitative paradigm. This is because the study considered a considerably large sample to generalise its findings. A quantitative approach allowed an in-depth analysis of news stories by coding frames as variables in quantitative content analysis deductively and inductively. In inductive analysis, frames were derived from an initial exploratory analysis of the sample and defined in a codebook for quantitative content analysis. Thus, Iyengar's episodic and thematic framing approach was used in this study unlike other studies that use computer-assisted frame

analysis during frame mapping.   In this approach, frames are assumed to be manifested in specific words so frames are identified by examining words that occur together using clustering techniques that do not have manual coding (Matthes, 2009). Thus, framing helped the researcher to understand the context of news stories in British newspapers as well as journalists writing stories about different cultures. Framing analysis helped identified the forms of representation of Saudi women in the news by acting as a conceptual model that uses computer technology.

Frame analysis facilitates culture interpretation and in mass communication research, it holds a special place between discourse analysis and content analysis by linking qualitative and quantitative methods (Janssen, 2010). However, the approach is more culturally obligated than content analysis because it can be used as a tool to determine how people interpret content of messages. It helps the researcher to,"[g]rasp the fears and pains of a class, a community or a nation, and then shape their understanding of a problem" as Janssen asserted (2010: 27).

Framing analysis has limitations in terms of identifying and choosing the code for the content analysis. To overcome this, Matthes and Kohring, (2008) suggested previous organisation and selection of news stories for analysis, as Entman, (1993) believed that frame analysis is particularly able to link ideas. This study applied this technique to framing analysis not only as an empirical technique but also as a method of shedding light on associations within discourse (Reese, 2007). Single frame elements were grouped together in a systematic way in order to create unique patterns and enhance frame analysis reliability as suggested by Matthes and Kohring, (2008) who believe that this method is suitable, stating:

 "The method is more valid for two reasons. First, operationally defining the elements that constitute a frame should lead to a deeper understanding of what is really measured. In fact, the operationalization of the frame is completely tied to its theoretical definition, and it is quite easy to find different frames in different phases of media coverage. Second, the crucial advantage of our method is that frames are not subjectively determined but empirically suggested by an inductive clustering method. Moreover, cluster analysis offers criteria for the number of frames. Last but not least, we posit that this method makes the identification of new frames easier because the influence of coded schemata decreases."(2008: 275).

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Kitzinger (2007) identified framing through quantitative and qualitative forms of analysis. This study used content and critical discourse analysis, which starts with a close reading of each text, and questions were asked help to use specific question and themes present in each article, identifying how certain frames were constructed and privileged through discourse and ideology.

Kian et al. (2011) analyzed media framing of athletes by coding descriptors used articles on the U.S Open. The study aiming to explore framing differences in gender-related sport coverage by Internet Sites and Newspapers, while this study seeks the kind of frame.

4.11 Data Analysis of Newspapers

Methods for data collection were divided into two key strands: (1) the research method used by the researcher, and (2) the general philosophies upon which data collection and analysis were based. Furthermore, the data collection process was methodical, and involved organising a series of substantive and consistent steps within a scientific framework. In most academic research, researchers use qualitative or quantitative methods for collecting data and then analyse the data once it is collated (Ogbonna, 2012). In this study, the procedure for data analysis in newspapers was as follows:

(1) Collect and analyse quantitative data, identify specific quantitative results that need additional explanation and then design a qualitative study based on what has been learned from quantitative results.
(2) Collect and analyse quantitative data and interpret combined results to analyse frames.

In short, the process will start with an analysis of the quantitative data, which then moves on to an analysis of the qualitative data, then return to quantitative analysis as shown in Figure 4.2.

Introduction of historical background as the social condition

⇩

Quantitative Content Analysis for all news stories

Quantitative Analysis for case studies 'text and photographs

⇩

Analysis of framing

⇩

Identified kind of frame

Figure 4.2 Process of Identifying and Measuring Frames for case studies

Figure 4.2 highlights the general steps within the mixed methods approach used during the empirical work of this research. For the newspaper data (news stories and photographs), a quantitative content analysis was suitable for assessing the collated data. The quantitative data was analysed using coding, based on counting the number of news stories on Saudi women and the frequency of the raw data. Using recording units was an effective way of ensuring that the description of the data was reliable. The two methods used for coding were: (1) electronic coding into a computer system and (2) paper coding. In a computerised content analysis system, a coding list is contained in software menus or screens and the coding data is entered directly into a computer system (Krippendorff, 2003). The analysis conducted in this study involved collecting a number of news stories for subsequent quantitative and qualitative analysis. The processing of the data from quantitative content analysis was carried out using simple mathematics to compare the number of news stories on Saudi women in four newspapers, and in which issue of each newspaper these stories were printed. The quantities and proportions of the characteristics meant that the raw data could be managed effectively and also formed the quantitative analysis, whereas qualitative data analysis consisted of comprehensive reading, categorisation, comparison and a summary of initially processed data.

During qualitative content analysis, one of three approaches of inductive reasoning was selected according to Hsieh and Shannon, (2005). The first approach was

conventional content analysis, in which coding categories were derived directly and inductively from the raw data. This is not enough to ascertain the representation of Saudi women in the principle data, so the qualitative method was also used along with the quantitative content analysis. The second approach was to choose the two case studies the content analysis recorded the high percentage of published news stories of Saudi women's issues. Through subsequent data analysis, the researcher could determine the themes emerging from the data. The third approach was summative content analysis, which was preferred in this study, and involved counting the number of words or apparent content and establishing the analysis in order to take in latent meanings and themes. This approach was quantitative in the early stages, however, it transformed to a qualitative approach, in that the format for the use of words and indicators was also analysed (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Summative content analysis was used because it involved counting keywords or content, and then drawing comparisons between the two, followed by an explanation of the underlying context. The two chapters on case studies (6 & 7) represent the results of the quantitative analysis. They start with the chapter introduction and outline, followed by a historical background of the news stories. In the following analysis and discussion sections, general quantitative results from content analysis and the qualitative result comparisons made among selected newspapers are displayed. As such, for the frame analysis, a quantitative method was applied following Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) study to determine the kind of frame from the data.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the study design, process and methodology used in this study by highlighting the steps followed in each stage and justifying the choice of methodology based on epistemological reflection and at the same time linking the approaches to the research questions. The chapter also focuses on the characteristics of combining qualitative and quantitative research to meet the study's objectives appropriately. The chapter also discusses how sampling and data analysis was done. The chapter concludes the theoretical part of the thesis, which is based largely on desk research. Attention now turns to the actual conduct of the fieldwork and the empirical data gathered, beginning with the observations in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5   Preliminary Data Results

The preliminary data provide an overview of issues regarding Saudi women in the British press. I reviewed the results of the quantitative data analysis to find out which issues involving Saudi women are most prominent, how the sources that the sampled journalists chose most often portrayed Saudi women, and which stories made the international news in the sampled newspapers.

5.1   Quantitative Analysis of the Preliminary Data

Newspaper	Number of News Stories (N)	Percentage (%)
Daily Mail	40	15.5
The Daily Telegraph	34	13.2
The Guardian	89	34.5
The Independent	95	36.8
Total	**258**	**100.0**

Table 5.1 The frequency of news stories about Saudi women the four British newspapers
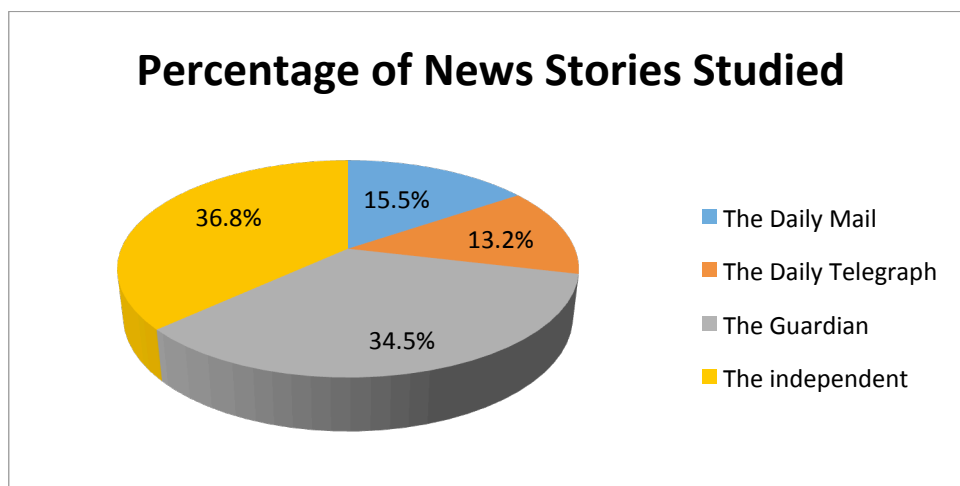
Figure 5.1 Frequency of newspapers' coverage of issues of Saudi women within the four newspapers.

As Figure 5.1 shows, *The Independent* published the highest percentage of news stories about Saudi women from 2005 until 2013 (36.8%); *The Guardian* published the second highest percentage of stories of all four newspapers sampled, (34.5%). *Daily Mail* published (15.5%) of the stories and *The Daily Telegraph* published the lowest percentage (13.2%). the four newspapers sampled from 2005–2013. The inter-rater reliability (IRR) test for the newspapers is 0.991 (see Appendix 1).
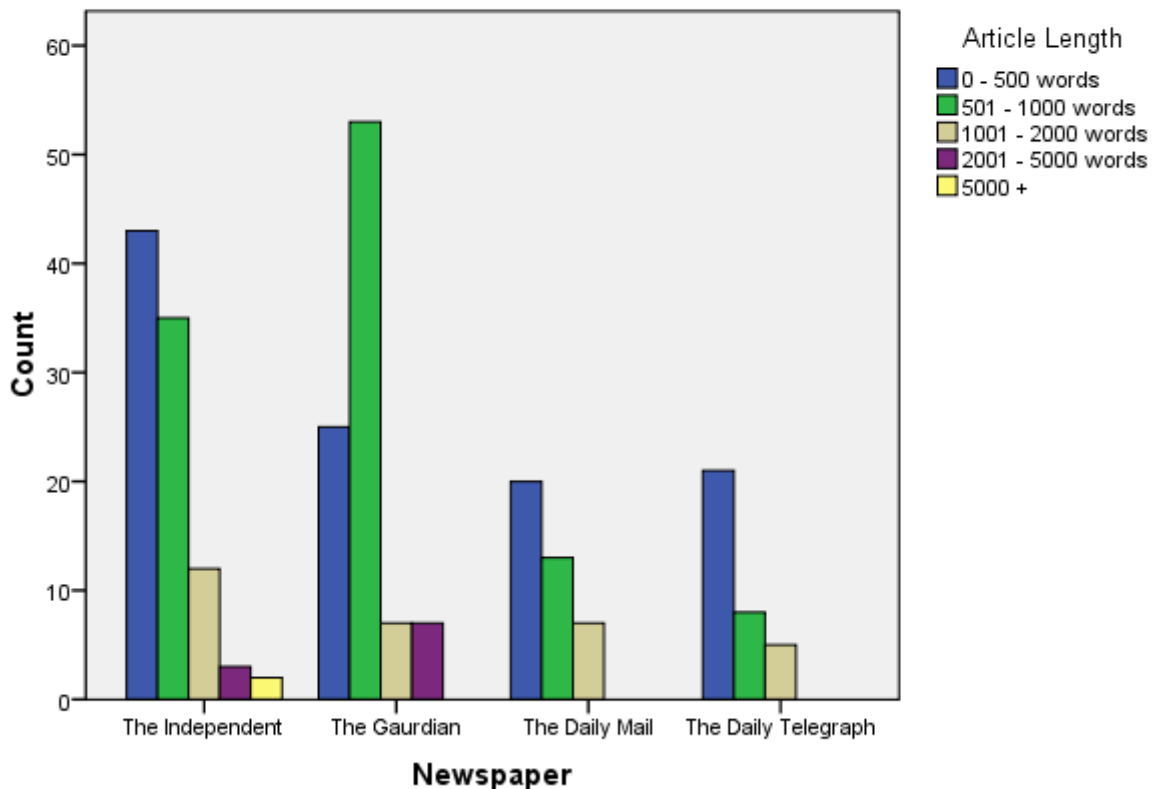
Figure 5.2 The length of news stories of Saudi women in the four British newspaper.

As figure 5.2 shows, *The Independent* published the longest news stories related to Saudi women; it also published the greatest number of stories under 500 words. *The Guardian* published the greatest number of stories of 501–1000 words. The *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* shared the same number of stories under 500 words during the period. Although *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* published stories of the same length as those *The Independent* published, the latter published the greatest

number of stories about Saudi women of all the sampled newspapers (see table 5.1 and figure 5.1).
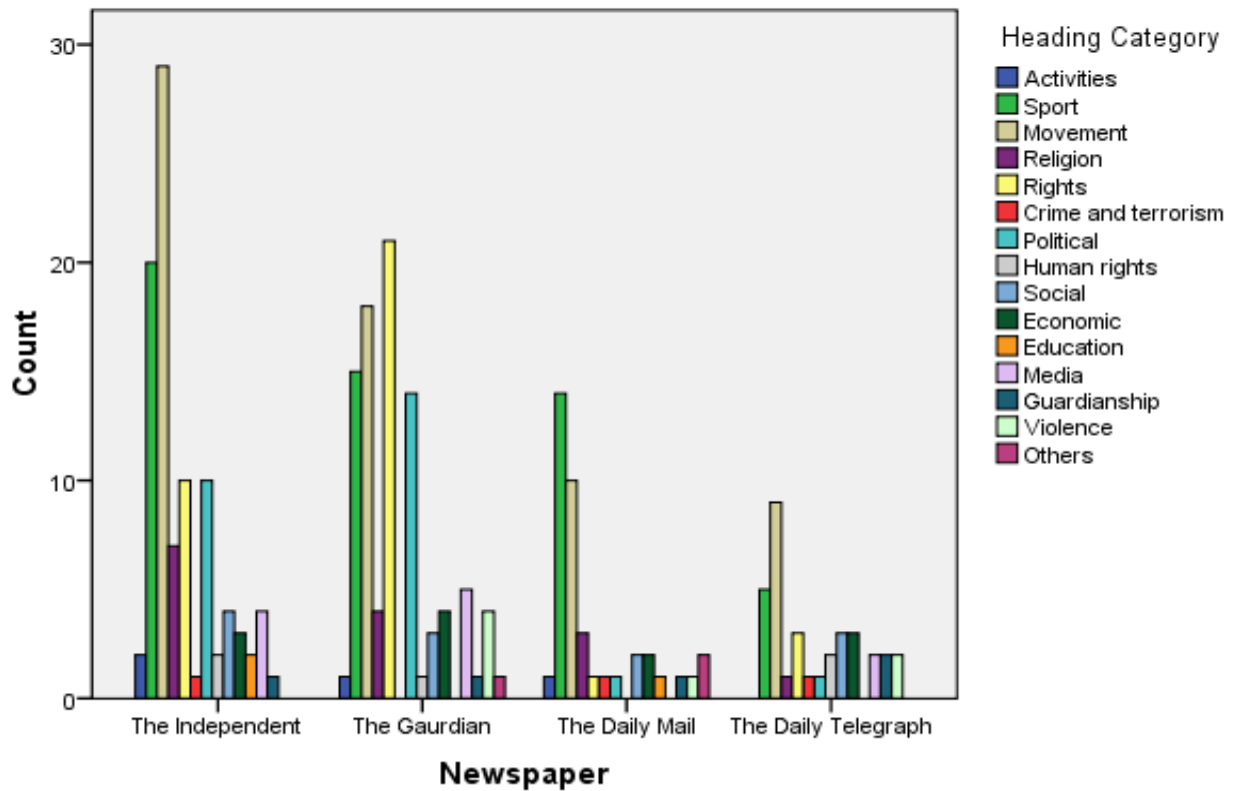
Figure 5.3 The themes in news stories about Saudi women in the four British newspapers.

Figure 5.3 shows the themes of news stories within the four newspapers covered in relation to Saudi women. The issue of Saudi Arabia's driving ban on women occurred most frequently throughout all four newspapers (20.54%) and the second most frequent topic was sports—especially stories related to Saudi women's participation in the 2012 Olympics (20.15%). The other significant themes that occurred frequently within the newspaper stories include women rights (13.56%), politics (10.7%), education (1.16%), activities (1.55%), guardianship (1.93%), and violence against Saudi women (2.71%). Although British newspapers often spoke out against the loss of Saudi women's of their rights, the theme only appeared in 1.93% of the stories sampled.
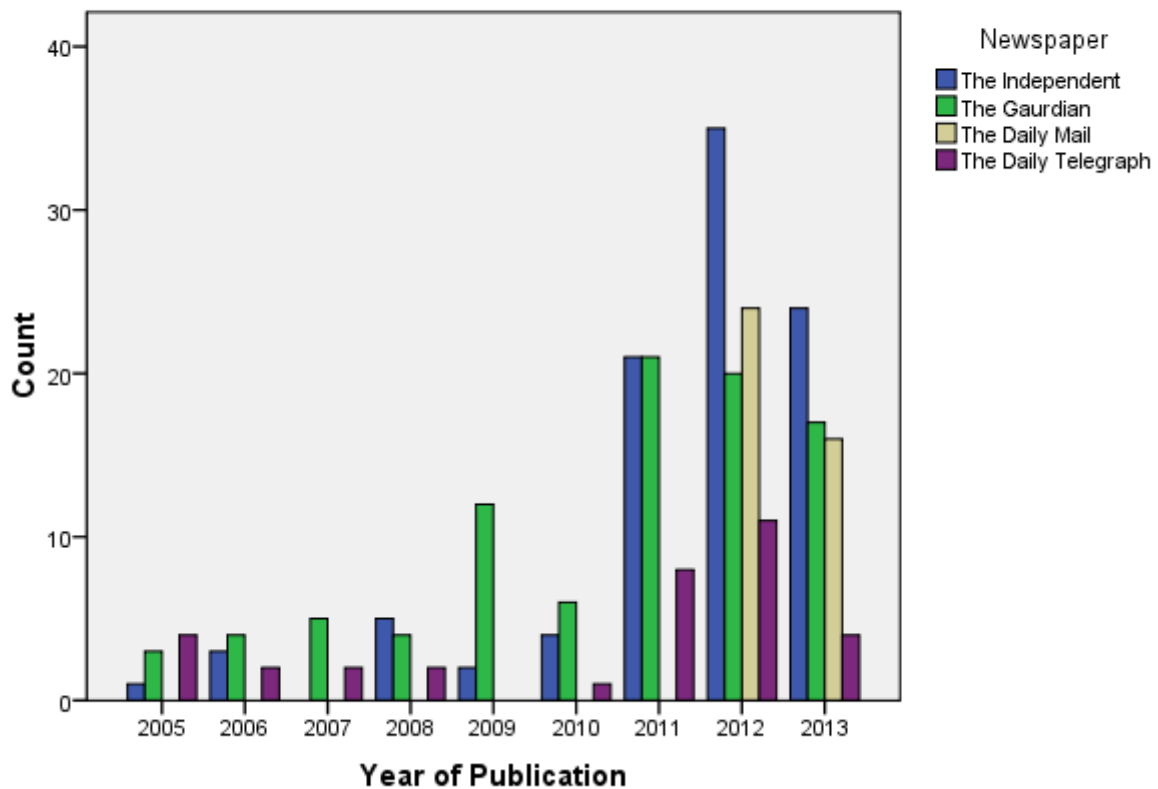
Figure 5.4 The different newspapers' coverage of Saudi women over the period of nine years.

Figure 5.4 shows the frequency of Saudi women news stories within the sample newspaper set over nine years. The average occurrence increased from 2005 to 2013. Three of the four newspapers, excluding *The Guardian,* published the greatest number of stories about Saudi women in 2012, likely because Manal al-Sharif got behind the wheel of a car in June of 2011 and became the face of Saudi women's protest against their driving ban, which soon became the most prominent theme in the British newspapers. Until 2012, *The Guardian* had the greatest coverage of Saudi women issues during the nine-year period.

5.2 Qualitative Analysis of the Preliminary Data

The qualitative data of news stories about Saudi women in the four British newspapers give a deep analysis of the preliminary data to answer the main question of this study, which is "what is the representation of Saudi women in the British press?". The qualitative analysis provides an answer to how newspapers deal with Saudi women as a source. The results revealed three codes: (1) the relevance of the

news story to the Saudi women issue (2) the kind of source used to discuss the Saudi women issue (Saudi women related to the story, random Saudi women, random Saudi men, Saudi officials, Western officials, newspapers, TV channels, websites, or social media), and (3) the type of journalists that produce the Saudi women news (news agencies, reporters, or journalists in Saudi Arabia; news published without a listed author; or male and female journalists, female journalist, and male journalist). All three themes revealed how British newspapers represented Saudi women.
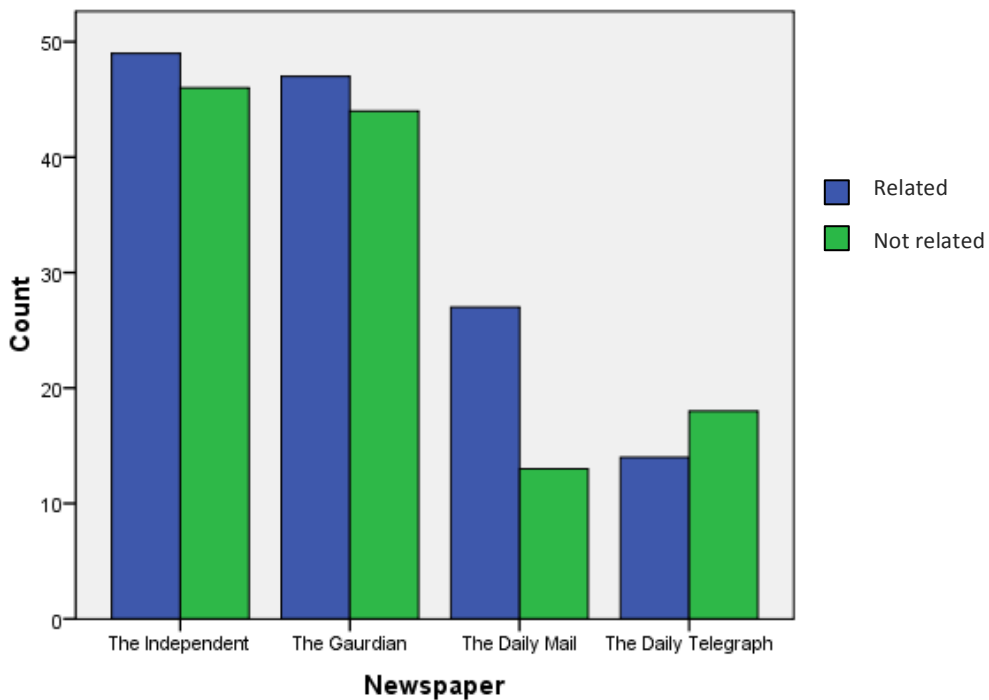
Figure 5.5 The relevance of the news story to the Saudi women issue

Figure 5.5 shows that *The Independent, The Guardian,* and *Daily Mail* all published a majority of news stories that referred to Saudi women, while *The Daily Telegraph* published a majority of news stories that are not related to Saudi women. So, issues of Saudi women were prominent in the three newspapers, *The Independent, Daily Mail* and *The Guardian,* which had focus on Middle Eastern affairs. *The Guardian* have a section named Saudi Arabia that deals with issues in the country, and *The Independent* allocated special sections for issues involving the Middle East and *The Daily Telegraph* have a section for international news. Although *Daily Mail* did not have a Middle Eastern section, it still covered Saudi women's issues (see Figure 5.5).

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5.2.1 Role of the Sources

The function of sources as forms of news content is well-documented (Hallahan, 1999). In this study, I discussed the representation of Saudi women in four British newspapers. Although *The Independent, The Guardian, Daily Mail,* and *The Daily Telegraph* covered issues of Saudi women and particularly focused on themes of humans rights and sports, they did not support the voices of Saudi women. Figure 5.6 shows that none of the four newspapers prominently featured voices of Saudi women about the issue in their stories--a problem that I discuss more in chapters six and seven.

The Independent gave Saudi women the greatest chance to voice their opinions, while *The Guardian* relied on Saudi officials instead of the women directly involved in the issue. *Daily Mail* most often relied on Western officials, such as human rights officials and Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation (WSFF) women. Finally, *The Daily Telegraph* depended most on random people in Saudi Arabia, which gave its readers the general Saudi opinion—including the opinions of Saudi women—but relied more on random civilians than women directly related to the issue at hand. The figure shows that Saudi women's voices were not clear in the all of issues.
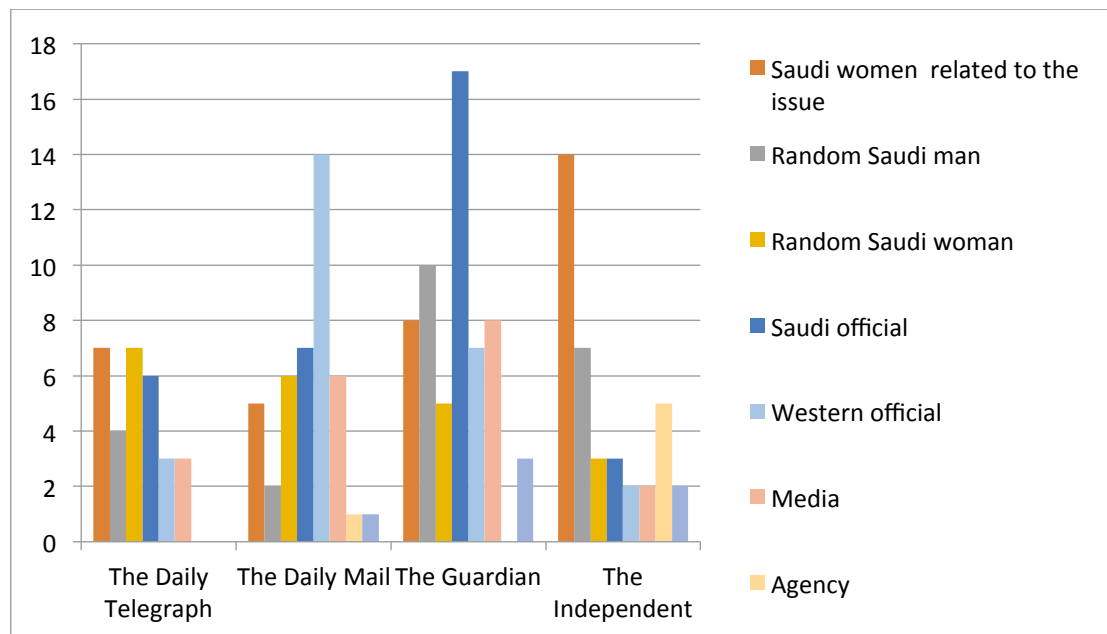
Figure 5.6 The sources that newspapers used to cover Saudi women's issues.

With regard to the result, it is clear that British journalists are dependent on Saudi sources for newsworthy stories about Saudi women. Stuart Hall's "Encoding-

Decoding" communication paradigm states that the meaning underpinning any given message is quintessentially encoded by the communicator and decoded by the receiver and that the process of decoding might sometimes be flawed when the intended meaning somehow leads to misinterpretation and ends up with a different meaning from that intended by the sender. In other words, the intended meaning encoded by the sender incorporates his or her ideals and views which are then decoded by the receiver who has a different perspective, which may result in the latter misunderstanding the intended meaning of the original message (Hall 1993, p.91). Hall (ibid) identifies three different stances taken by receivers when decoding meaning contained within cultural texts, particularly those seen or heard on television. These stances are what Hall terms the dominant-hegemonic position, the negotiated position and the oppositional position. (Hall 1993, 101)

The dominant-hegemonic position is when the viewer is identified as a member of an audience which possesses the dominant point of view (Hall 1993, 101). With regard to this particular audience type, there is only a minimal chance of any misunderstanding or miscommunication, as both sender and receiver are working under the same rule set, assumptions and cultural biases. This position will usually enable optimal conditions for the transmission of ideas to exist, despite certain frictions that may arise out of issues of class structure and power in society, specifically between the elites who are able to dictate the rule set and the non-elites who feel obliged to accept these particular rules as the dominant force. (Hall 1993, 101)

British journalists received news about women's issues such as women not being allowed to travel without permission or not being allowed to drive depending on how able they are to decode the sender's message within the context of the dominant cultural and societal views (Hall 1993, p.102). In this situation, British journalists receive information from Saudi media which is largely understood, but in a different sense than the dominant-hegemonic position. The receivers in the negotiated position are not necessarily working within the hegemonic viewpoint, but are familiar enough with the dominant society to be able to adequately decode cultural texts in an abstract sense (Hall 1993, p.102). However, there is a possibility that the audience members will decipher the message as a more personal message, which is when their own biases and viewpoints muddy the decoding process. This "near view" of the message

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usually occurs in certain situations that are close to the audience member, as opposed to the general "long view" they take of cultural texts in the abstract. The oppositional view comes into play when the audience members are capable of decoding the message in the way it was intended to be decoded, but at the same time, will often perceive another (unintended) meaning within the message brought about by their own societal beliefs (Martin, 2007).

5.2.2   Who is Making the News
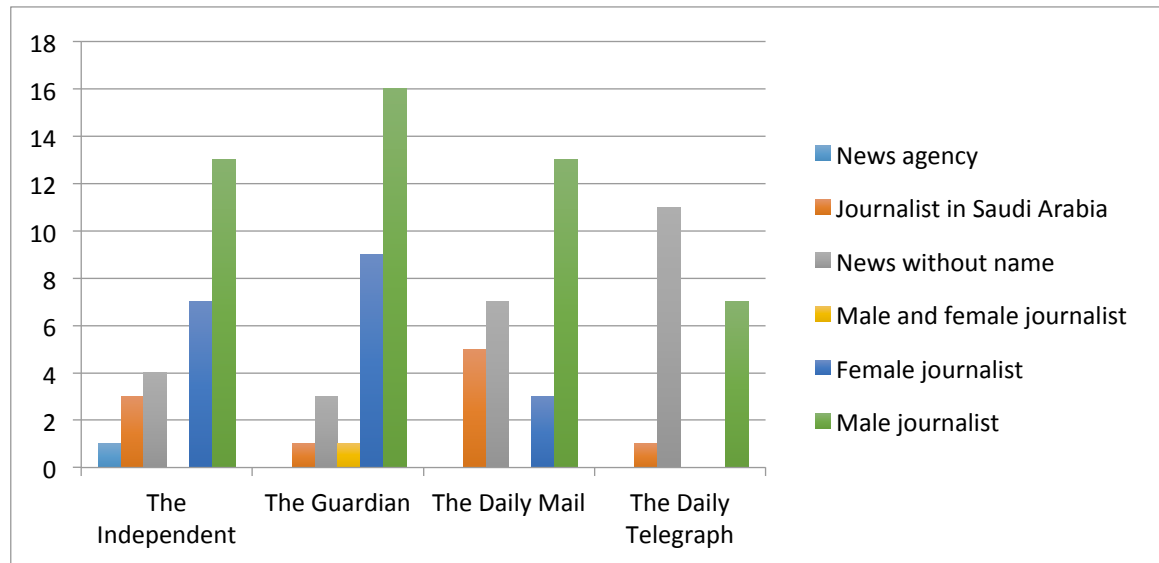
Figure 5.7 The people writing the news within each of the four newspapers.

Figure 5.7 shows that the majority of news stories about Saudi women are produced by male journalists. In *The Independent and The Guardian*, female journalists came second to male journalists in producing news about Saudi women*. The Daily Telegraph* did not publish any news story by female journalists and frequently omitted the journalists' names entirely. All four newspapers utilised Saudi journalists to publish the news, especially the *Daily Mail*.

Who is making in the news in the British press? It is interesting that the British press has survived so long despite an unequal distribution of journalists and the unequal sex ratio. As Franks (2013) states, journalism is changing, and so is the role of women in the workplace. But the two are not always evolving in harmony.   Women substantially outnumber men in journalism training and enter the profession in

(slightly) greater numbers, but still only a relative few rise to senior jobs. The pay gap between male and female journalists remains stubbornly wide.

This opinion reveals that the lack of female journalists is a problem in British journalism. The international news section of the four British newspapers is no different: male journalists dominate all four of the studied newspapers.

5.3   Conclusion

In this chapter, the preliminary data provide a view on how the four British newspapers deal with Saudi women issues. The results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis show that the four British newspapers focus on Saudi women issues and difficulties in obtaining their rights instead of focusing on Saudi women achievements to make a change in the Saudi society. This is apparent in the focus on these four newspapers on the driving ban issue and the Saudi women participation in the Olympics in 2012, while they did not focus on the increasing political representation of Saudi women. Thus, "driving ban" and " Saudi women participation in the Olympics in 2012" were chosen as the two case studies to be further analysed. Moreover, the qualitative analysis revealed that the four British newspapers depend on Saudi local media to make newsworthy stories about Saudi women.

Chapter 6   Representations in the British Press of the Campaign Against the Ban on Saudi Women Driving

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the representation in the British press of issues relating to Saudi women's protests against their driving ban in the Kingdom. The fact that Saudi women are not allowed to drive is an issue which is frequently discussed by the European and American media, including the British press. The chapter begins by explaining the ban on Saudi women driving and discussing the debate concerning this ban. The quantitative analysis and findings of the present research's content analysis of a sample of news stories, photographs, and captions are then presented, along with a detailed discussion of the dominant frames which were identified in relation to the coverage of Saudi women and the issues they face when claiming their right to freedom of movement.

6.2 The Ban on Saudi Women Driving

The ban on women driving in Saudi Arabia is a complex issue, making it difficult for Western journalists to fully understand. The ban is a controversial issue both inside and outside Saudi Arabia, but to date has not been examined by any Saudi Arabian academic researchers in terms of exploring the issue in its wider context, or proposing solutions. The reason Saudi women are not permitted to drive in the country is closely linked to the traditional norms in the Kingdom's patriarchal society, which instils rigid values which have been passed down from generation to generation. The ban not only impacts on the economy of Saudi Arabia (Hannon, 2013), but also on individuals' lifestyles (Rajkhan, 2014).

Christopher (2012) highlighted the various obstacles facing Saudi women in attempting to exercise their rights. Specifically, within Saudi legislation there is no law that directly prohibits Saudi women from driving cars in the Kingdom. They are, nevertheless, prevented from doing so by a *fatwa* (religious edict) issued by the Kingdom's Islamic clerics which the Saudi police must uphold. It is this religious

ruling which presents the most difficult barrier to women driving, because the idea of their doing so is seen as "un-Islamic" behaviour by some Saudi leaders.

Al-Radwan (2014) put forward two reasons which help to explain the prohibition on Saudi women driving. The first relates to the strict enforcement of traditional gender roles which regulate and condition the behaviour expected of both women and men in Saudi's patriarchal society. Secondly, certain Islamic traditions have created a stereotype of the perfect Muslim woman as one who plays the roles of a good wife and mother, confining her influence solely to the private domestic sphere.

Rajkhan (2014) notes that although some Saudis believe that when women drive they are in violation of the state's law, there is in fact no legislation which bans Saudi women from driving. Article Sixteen of the Traffic Laws issued by the Saudi Interior Ministry states that: "No driver's license can be issued to any person until they pass the driving test. A driving test is not required if the person carries a valid and legal international driver license" (Rajkhan, 2014: 25).

Al-Manae and Al-Alshaikh (2013), who were involved in the first protest drive by women in Saudi Arabia in 1990, put forward another reason why Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world that, via religious legislation, prohibits women from driving. They argue that barring women from the right to drive is an action intended to control their physical mobility and prevent them from gaining independence. They emphasise the fact that concentrating on the right to drive itself fails to address the full impact of the ability to drive (Almanae and Al-alshaikh, 2013).

Japanese researcher Namie Tsujigami (2008) argued that Saudi women's demands to be allowed to drive were not inspired by aspirations for equality but, rather, focused on the differences between men and women and the nature of their role in Saudi society. She noted that Saudi women's opinions regarding driving fell into one of three categories: those who supported the ban, those who opposed it, and those who believed that the key priority was to free women from the general imposition of male guardianship and then to move on to demands relating to driving. Tsujigami (2008) argued that it is logical for some Saudi women to refuse to campaign about gaining the right to a driver's license, which they see as being of low importance in comparison to the over-arching issue of the power exercised by the system of male guardianship. Therefore, some Saudi women prefer to pay a small amount of money

for a driver rather than placing the burden of responsibility for ferrying themselves from place to place onto male relatives.

Saudi women have launched several online initiatives campaigning against the ban on driving using social media such as Facebook and Twitter. It is difficult to measure the extent to which this campaign method has influenced Saudi society, but according to a social media survey conducted by the *Al-Arabiya* news channel in 2012, 57 percent of the sample of 1500 participants supported women being allowed to drive, 32 percent opposed this, and 12 percent thought it was too soon to discuss the matter. Rajkhan (2014) argued that the results of the *Al-Arabiya* survey suggest that Saudi society is changing, but that the pace of change is slow, and that the Saudi government needs to focus more attention on resolving this issue, because it is seen as being linked to the extremist religious opposition in the Kingdom.

Shmuluvitz (2011) notes that the system of guardianship, which is legally enforced in Saudi Arabia, is based on a particular interpretation of verses from the *Qur'an*. Some argue that if Saudi women were allowed to drive, the guardianship law would be weakened, and women would gain independence, not only behind the wheel but also in the public sphere. According to the Human Rights Watch:

> "Even where permission from a male guardian is not mandatory or even stipulated under the government's own guidelines, some officials will ask for it, since the overarching system in place in the Kingdom transfers virtually all decision-making powers to a woman's guardian" (Shmuluvit, 2011: 3).

Since many Westerners do not fully understand the culture of Saudi society, the concept of guardianship, or the power relations which it entails, the reasons why Saudi women are still not allowed to drive also remain unclear to them. The ban raises many questions, because even if Saudi women were to obtain certain rights in education and the political realm, a continued driving ban would maintain their physical isolation. It is also costly and often inconvenient to rely on public transport, which can carry personal safety risks, so ultimately the driving ban is an issue of loss of personal control and independence (Lucas and Jones, 2009).

Lucas and Jones (2009) argued with regard to the UK that the long history of women's struggles in British society dates from the mid-1850s, when women in Victorian Britain began to press for greater change, seeking a wider and more

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fulfilling role in society and public life. Their demands included access to employment and educational opportunities, meaning that in the twentieth century, a woman's right to drive became viewed as an automatic right linked to freedom of movement in the United Kingdom. Rajkhan (2014) noted that the car and driving is seen as a symbol of freedom and independence in Western nations, particularly the United States of America, and has been represented as such in advertising, films, literature, and art. It is hardly surprising that these same nations should therefore see the Saudi Arabian ban on women driving as being first and foremost an issue of human rights.

6.3 British Press Coverage of Women and Driving in Saudi Arabia

6.3.1 Non-British Press Opinion on the Driving Ban

The British press pay attention to the issue of Saudi women driving because women's rights in Islamic countries in general, and in Saudi Arabia in particular, have become a popular subject in the European and American media. The academic media analysis of news coverage has revealed a stereotypical image of Saudi women as weak and oppressed. For example, Falah (2005: 300) stated that there is a tendency to portray Saudi women as the "exotic, erotic and oppressed 'other'" in both popular and academic discourse. This generally negative image regarding Muslim women in the Western media was found not only in the written text but also within many published photographic images. Wilkins (1997) had previously analysed 230 photographs of Muslim women and arrived at the same conclusion. It was found that mainstream reportage commonly relies on Orientalized stereotypes of Muslim women "as the passive emblems of 'collectivistic' traditional society, and hence as the antithesis of Western individualism" (cited in Falah, 2005: 300).

Representations of Saudi women in the European and American media have tended to focus on the restrictions imposed on Saudi women's lives (e.g. the veil; the inability to drive, vote, or travel without permission), and this is a major problem in Western misperceptions of Saudi women (Morris, cited in Fatany, 2008). Barbara Ferguson (cited in Fatany, 2008) confirms that this negative image of Saudi women produced by the media could be due to their lack of specific understanding and comprehension of Saudi women, and a more general lack of appreciation for other

cultures, religions and languages. Many Western feminist writers and mainstream media outlets have focused on Arab women, especially Saudi women, by choosing to portray them as oppressed and thus representing the stereotypical Oriental woman: one who is undeveloped, traditional and inferior (Ferguson, cited in Fatany, 2008).

Morris (2008) suggests that Westerners should try to understand the cultural differences between Saudi Arabia and Britain instead of strengthening the misperceptions of women in Saudi Arabia arising from the four issues focused on by the press: the veil, women and the driving ban, gender inequality in educational and career opportunities, and political rights. Western nations often focus on their resentment about the ban on women driving. Saudi ambassadors in the UK repeatedly face the same question from every Western journalist as to why Saudi women are prevented from driving, and the answer is always that this is due to cultural reasons and that there is no law preventing women from driving.

The British press rely on Saudi newspapers as their sources, but the Saudi press do not adopt a unified position on the issue, with some being active supporters of the ban whilst others pay it no attention. For example, *The Arab News,* an English language Saudi newspaper, published an article by Gazzaz (2013) which said:

> "Necessarily, the resolution of this issue will change the status of women in Saudi society because they would begin to lead their lives on their own. Hence, the symbolism of women driving would resolve their rights for eligibility to more complete citizenship, starting with their freedom of movement. This change would be reflected in other systems that detract from this eligibility, regarding them as dependents rather than independent women. Therefore, this issue is such a decisive one since it defines the future form of Saudi society" (Gazzaz, 2013: online).

For Gazzaz, allowing women to drive would be the first step in undermining guardianship, because even if a woman still had to ask her guardian for permission, if she can drive, she can easily flout guardianship laws and encourage other women to break these laws too. Giving women wheels thus means giving them the key to their right to play a full role in a community.

Dowd (2011) stated that some Saudi women disagree with the ban and that the issue is still controversial in both the global and local media. Reem Al-Faisal, the

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granddaughter of the late King Faisal and the niece of the Foreign Minister, Saud Al-Faisal, is an activist and a photographer in Jeddah. She wrote in *The Arab* that it is tragic that Saudi women are treated like children, and have to fight for an essential yet ordinary right. She objected to the ban in sarcastic terms, suggesting that perhaps, if men approved, women could drive camels, or take the backseat of the camels, or other options such as mules (Dowd, 2011).

Abdel-Raheem, on the other hand, stated that Western efforts to impose their values would not work in Saudi Arabia and that Western feminists are unaware of the desires of Saudi women:

> "People in Saudi Arabia have their own moral views and needs. What works in other societies may not fit in Saudi, and the reverse. In short, instead of launching campaigns to change the driving laws in the Kingdom, the West should first ask Saudi women if they really want this or not, and Western countries should accept the result, even if it's not to their liking" (Abdel-Raheem, 2013: online).

Saudi women do not need Westerners to enforce their ideology; instead, they need Western feminists to understand a conservative society such as Saudi Arabia. This idea is related to the Orientalist stereotypical image of the 'other'. However, there is also another view of European and American media misrepresentation which relates to the practice of journalism, in that journalists are subject to a process of socialization that plays a substantial role in conditioning them to view other cultures from their own cultural viewpoint (Eltantawy, 2007).

6.4   Methodology

6.4.1   Quantitative Analysis of the Results and Discussion

This case study performed a close textual reading of news coverage of Saudi women's driving ban, including photographs published in four British newspapers: *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Independent*, and *The Guardian*. This case study used a quantitative technique of analysis for news stories, while framing analysis was used to examine the main text of the news stories. The units of analysis are the news story used to represent Saudi women during the specified timeframe and in the specific context of protests against the ban on women driving in Saudi Arabia.

The case study covers the period from 2005 to 2013. These dates were chosen to include the two new anti-driving ban campaigns in 2011 (Right 2 Drive) and in 2013 (October 26) and any previous coverage of this issue. Prior to 2005, there had been only little coverage of the ban. This long period enables a comparison which should be able to determine any changes in how British newspapers have portrayed the Saudi women's movement over time. The first demonstration about women's right to drive, held in Riyadh in 1990, falls outside the chosen period.

The initial sample for this case study was chosen by accessing the LexisNexis database using the keywords and phrases "Saudi women", "Saudi woman", and "drive". Every news story produced in the search results was initially scanned to check whether Saudi women and the right to drive were the primary topics, or featured heavily in the article. Sometimes the words "Saudi women" appeared in the headlines, but in most news stories Saudi women were prominently discussed in the body of text. News stories were then selected for inclusion in the content analysis if they met the following criteria:

1. The main topic or a major element of the news story was Saudi women and driving (including Saudi women's protests against the ban), or just references to women driving in Saudi Arabia.

2. The news story was accompanied by a picture.

The second criterion was important: one of the goals of the present study was to examine the visual images chosen to accompany UK news coverage involving Saudi women, because it has been argued that photographs are also used to frame the written text. Therefore, the photographs accompanying each news story were collected from the respective websites of each of the four newspapers selected for this study.

After identifying a sample of newspaper stories, a quantitative analysis was carried out to identify the most frequently occurring words within the context. The quantitative content analysis of the news stories was also used to identify the most frequent themes for the quantitative content analysis. The following issues were given special attention in the analysis. By coding the essential elements of the sample of news, figures could be used to present the descriptive statistics relating to the selected

items. In this section, the findings are summarised in four main ways and presented in graph form:

1. The date on which the news story was originally published, in order to monitor the pattern of coverage over the time period of the study;

2. The themes in the context that supported the creation of the frame;

3. The sources that the news stories used (local, international, Saudi) to examine their credibility;

4. References to Saudi women drivers (opinion or named) to examine the extent to which the press focused on the efforts of Saudi women in trying to gain their rights.

As mentioned in chapter 4, the photographs accompanying the written text of the news story were defined using content analysis, following Leon & Ervit approach (2016) based on the three variables described (see section 4.10)

6.4.2 Visual Representation of Saudi Women

A total of 43 photographs were collected from 53 news stories, belonging to the 2005-2013 sample, all of which accompanied news stories relating to Saudi women driving.
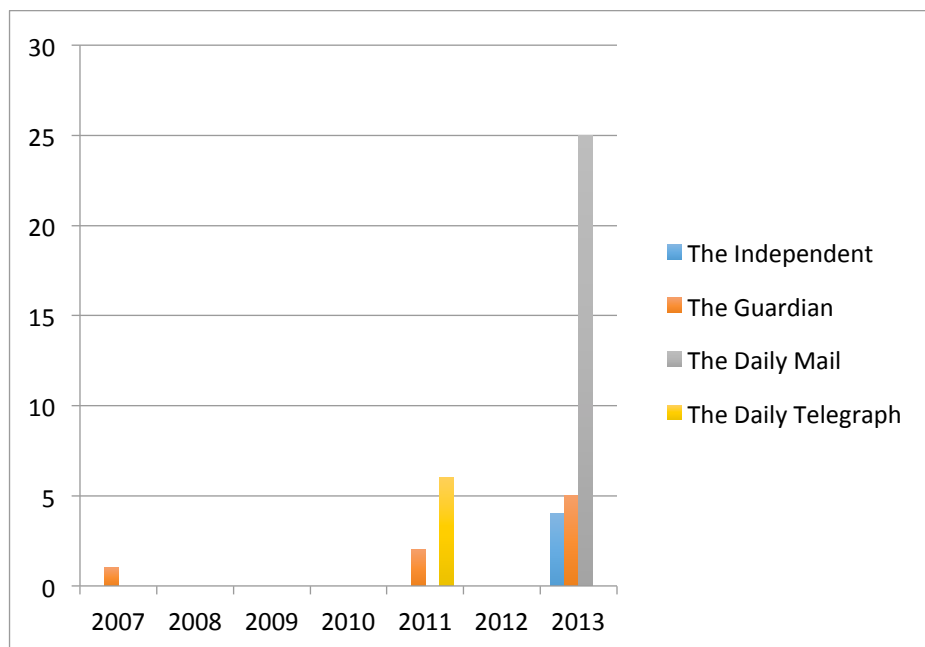
Figure 6.1 Number of pictures per newspaper per years from 2007 until 2013

The total number of news stories in the sample was distributed as follows: *The Independent*: 4; *The Guardian*: 8; *Daily Mail*: 25;*The Daily Telegraph*: 6.

Although *The Independent* had 23 stories, which was the highest number of news stories among the four sampled newspapers, it recorded only 4 pictures. *The Guardian* published pictures before the start of the Saudi women's campaign in 2011. For example, the analysis revealed that *Daily Mail* recorded the highest number of pictures, but it is iterative.
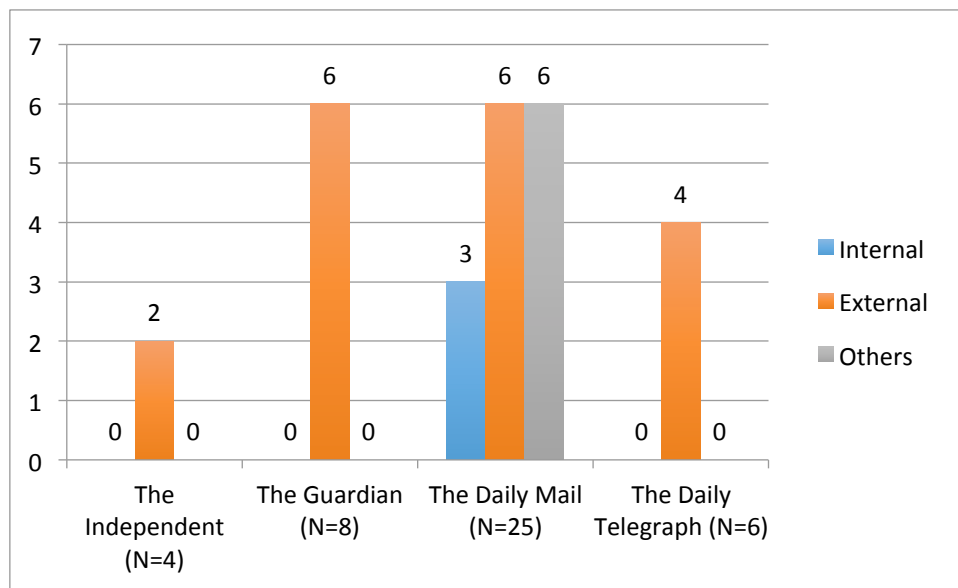
Figure 6.2 Source of pictures of Saudi women drivers in each newspaper each year

As shown in figure 6.2 above, only 3 pictures (6.97%) were internally produced, while 35 stories (81.39%) were covered using images from external sources, two pictures (4.6%) of which were of Manal al-Sharif and Madeha Al Ajrosh, who are famous Saudi women drivers in the campaign. The remaining images (n=5) (11.62%) were published without mentioning the source. The issue of Saudi women driving is often related to Middle Eastern affairs more generally, which is why many of the images used to cover this topic are provided by international news agencies. The same images of Saudi women driving are frequently used as resources to illustrate Saudi women's contributions to the two campaigns against the driving ban. For example, the picture of Manal al-Sharif in her campaign in 2011 was used in 2013 to report on the later protest. A comparison of the pictures showed that only *The Guardian* used an internal source; it used one picture of Manal al-Sharif while *The Daily Telegraph* used one picture of Madeha Al Ajrosh.

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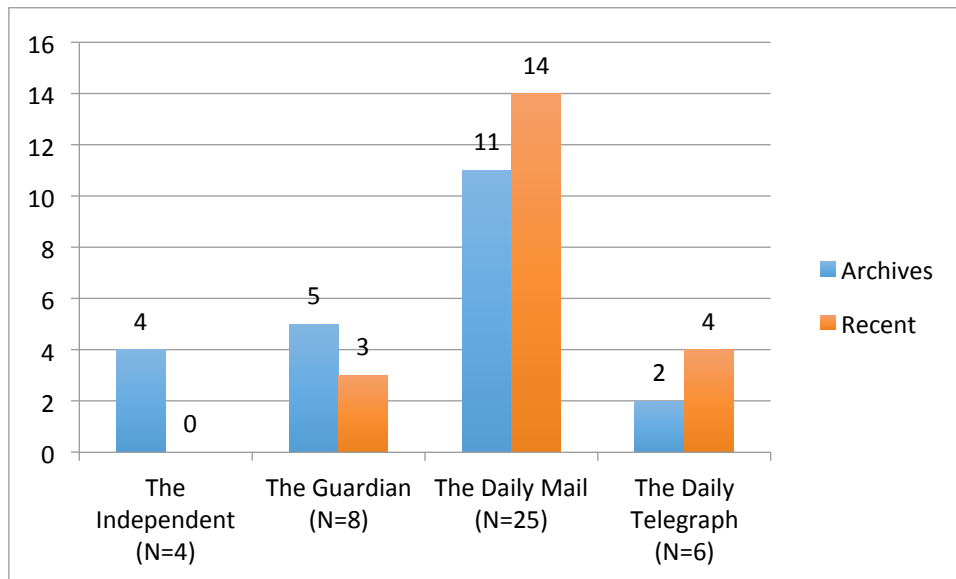
Figure 6.3 Timeline of pictures of Saudi women drivers per newspaper per year

Of the 53 selected news stories, only 21 items (48.83%) of coverage used recently shot images, with another 22 items (51.16%) using archive images. The comparison of the pictures revealed that only *The Independent* had not used any recent pictures. Considering 'recentness' as a relevant news value, the fact that more than half of the stories included archive images can be interpreted as a relevant obstacle to accurate coverage of Saudi women's protests against the driving ban. The same pictures were used for both campaigns even though they had different organisers. This shortage of pictures could have been more accurate in covering the issue of Saudi women driving, as pictures of Saudi women driving are accessible from the Internet.

In more details, *Daily Mail* recorded the highest percentage of pictures, 25 pictures (58.13%), while *The Independent* recorded the lowest percentage, 4 pictures (9.30%).

6.4.3 The Role of Photographs

43 photographs collected from the 53 news stories, all of which accompanied news stories relating to Saudi women driving, had no relationship with the topic of the news article, women's anti-driving ban protests. Some photographs depicted either King Abdullah or Saudi women standing behind a car, or standing on the street as though they were waiting for someone to pick them up. Even in a newspaper story about Saudi women drivers being arrested, photographs showed Saudi women wearing the

niqab. Images of Saudi women behind the wheel were few in number and, on occasions when they were used at all, repeated the same women driving.
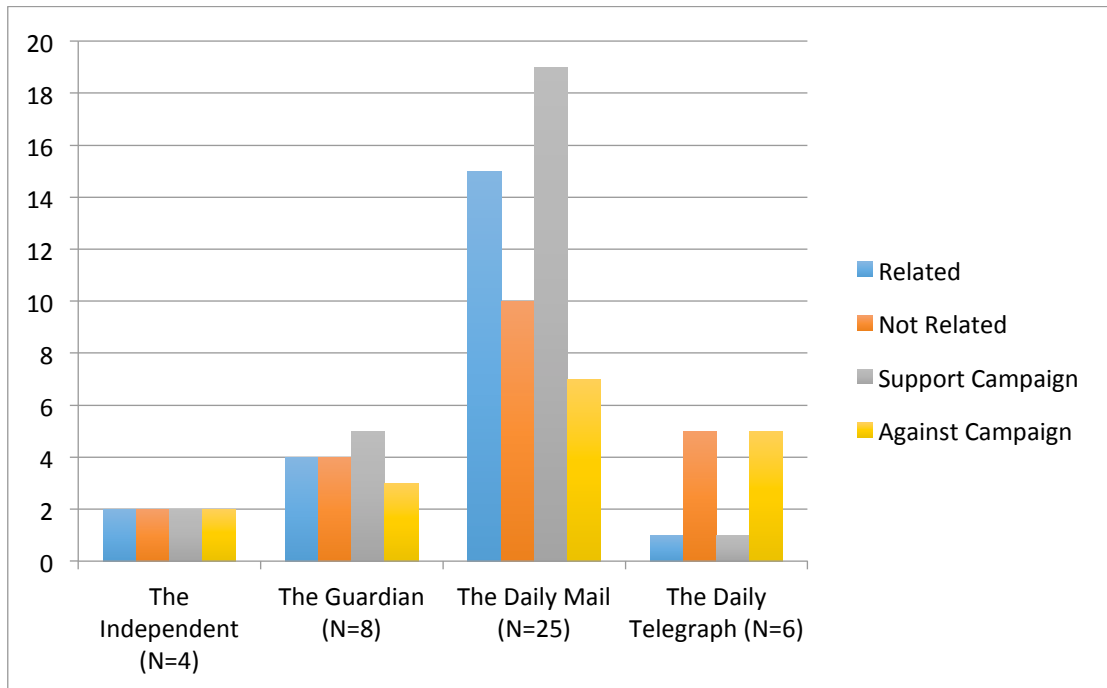
Figure 6.4 The role of pictures of Saudi women in news stories of the campaign against the ban on women driving.
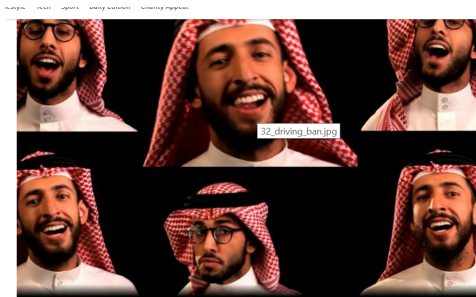
The Independent, 30 October 2013

The Guardian, 28 September 2011

The Daily Mail, 28 September 2013

The Daily Telegraph, 18 June 2011

Figure 6.5 Pictures related and not related to the Saudi driving campaign.

Daily Mail, 28 September 2013
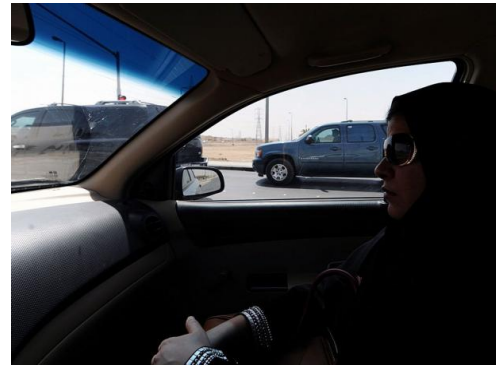
The Independent, 26 October 2013

The Guardian, 24 May 2011

The Daily Telegraph, 23 May 2011

Figure 6.6 Pictures used as symbols of the ban on women driving in Saudi Arabia

Analysis of the photographs accompanying news stories relating to Saudi women protesting against the driving ban revealed that these images seemed confused. It is important to note that 69.76% of the 43 photographs showed veiled woman (Table 6.1). The photographs published in the news stories did not focus on the central issue in the news story. Instead, the British newspapers published photographs that focus on women driving in the veil more than the fact that they were behind the wheel, given the chosen camera angle (see Figures 6.6). In this case, nothing in the photograph indicates a link to the actual campaign against the driving ban. Moreover,

Pictures used in news stories about Saudi women driving (N=43)			
Number of Picture with veil	**%**	**Number of pictures without veil**	**%**
30	69.76	13	30.23

Table 6.1 Percentage of pictures showing veiled women in new stories about Saudi women driving.

Daily Mail published images in which it is not possible to see the features of the woman's face even though she is behind the wheel. This absence of the woman's face may symbolically suggest that she is also an invisible presence within her society. The interesting thing about these images is that they were taken within the car itself as part of the campaign involving getting women drivers to post videos of themselves driving on social media sites and YouTube. In other words, this is how the women chose to portray themselves. Although both pictures show a woman wearing a niqab, this may also be an attempt to conceal their identity since some protesters have faced arrest and detention in the past.

The focus on veiled women is part of the power of the stereotype established based on Muslim women in the Middle East being forced to cover their faces with the niqab, and subsequently being deprived of their human rights. Baki (2004) underlines both the importance of the culture of Saudi society and the power of traditional patriarchal norms as important factors in the treatment of women, but does not apportion blame to Islamic teaching. Bullock (2010) argues that such stereotypical images do not reflect the full reality of the lives of veiled women, and do not recognize that the heterogeneity of contemporary veiling practices are a product of changing historical, cultural and political processes. With regard to representations of women by the Islamic press in the Arab world, Aljazeera.net has shown caution in its selection of pictures of women to accompany news stories, tending not to use photographs of Saudi women (even when these women actually feature in this news). Instead, it features photographs of the Saudi King, the Interior Minister, or recognizable images of Saudi cities. English news websites such as *Daily Mail* are more likely to use images of veiled (wearing niqab) Saudi women, with very critical subtitles such as "A Saudi woman can only have a husband or a male relative as an escort in public," "Saudi Arabia is one of the world's most conservative societies," and "Women in Saudi Arabia must be covered from head to toe when they go out in public." Such stories, subtitles and photographs carry the strong implication that all Saudi women are unhappy and wronged.

By way of comparison, in 2005, the English version of Al Jazeera.net published an article entitled "Saudi women resent media distortion," in which Saudi women were said to be tired of their portrayal in the Western media. This indicates that although there have been calls to correct the image of Saudi women in the media, Aljazeera.net

English continues to follow the Western media in emphasising negative stereotypes of Saudi woman, perhaps because the English version of Al Jazeera.net still depends on Western news agencies as its main sources of news and photographs (Al-Ariqi, 2009). Banning women from driving in Saudi Arabia is a controversial issue in the European and American media because of a lack of understanding about of the strict culture of Saudi Arabia. Thus, when British media covers the ban, it tends to blame the teachings of Islam or the traditional roles set out within Saudi culture. Because British newspapers rely on a narrow range of Saudi newspaper sources, their stories reinforce the image of Muslim women as mysterious, exotic 'others' who are subservient. However, this can be heavily questioned since in reality, Saudi women have organized three major protests since 1990, and the third protest, in 2013, received a great deal of international media coverage.

As Falah (2005) observed, photograph captions represent the value judgements of a newspaper's editor and can be easily transmitted. The words selected for the captions not only describe the image, but might also provide a reading of the visual representation. The editor effectively decides which message readers are meant to receive from the picture's caption. *The Daily Telegraph* provides a good example of the contradictions that can result from the representations seen in published photographs. In this particular newspaper, images of Madeha Al Ajrosh, who has been a protester against the driving ban since the campaign began back in 1991, appeared in some articles, while other stories published photographs of Saudi women wearing the niqab and abaya hailing taxis beside a photograph of Manal al-Sharif, who was the organiser of the campaign in 2011.

Although *The Independent* published a photograph in which the face of a Saudi female protester is visible, there are some signs that suggest this figure is still represented as a non-independent woman (Figure 6.6).

Saudi women, forbidden to drive, board a taxi in Riyadh AP

The Independent, 30 May 2013

Figure 6.7 The shot that two Saudi women ask the taxi to pick them up

Analysis of the contents of the sample showed that a large and perhaps disproportionate amount of coverage was related in one way or another to Saudi women waiting for taxis, or presented as groups of anonymous females. The photograph of two Saudi women in a black niqab and abaya waiting for a taxi was repeated with the same caption in all three broadsheets (see Figure 6.7). This repetition of photographs helped to form a stereotypical frame for Saudi women as passive, even when they were protesting about their right to freedom of movement.

It should be noted here that although journalists possess less ability to shape news frames than government officials or elite networks, they do have some independent power arising from their capacity to ask questions and to decide precisely which words and images to assemble and transmit (Entman, 2010: 422).

6.5   Results and Discussion for News Stories

6.5.1   Frames and their Supporting Evidence in the Period 2005- 2013.

Firstly, the fundamental elements of the news samples were coded to gather the general descriptive statistics. The frequency of reporting and the themes taken from the content were collated in order to explore the quantitative differences between the selected newspapers.

Secondly, the master-frames of human interest were discovered in the analysis of the articles within the defined period, demonstrating the complexity of the relations between Britain, and Saudi women driving, and their most significant interactions

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throughout the two protest campaigns against the driving ban. The changes in their interactions and the reasons behind them were explored throughout the analysis of the news coverage. Items of news content were analysed using textual analysis, which was undertaken in broad social context.

In this case, the master-frame of human interest is represented in a specific form – Orientalism. As a type of prejudiced thinking, Orientalism is an imaginative concept created by the West, as well as a lens through which the West perceives the very 'different' East. Through the manifestation of 'knowledge and power', the East is often framed as exotic but backward. Saudi Arabian women protesting against the ban, in this case, are seen as a combination of both frames.

6.5.2 Quantitative Analysis Results and Discussion

In 2011, British newspapers published an increased number of news stories about Saudi women driving. The four newspapers selected here covered the two campaigns in 53 news items selected for analysis across nine years.

In 2011, British newspapers published an increased number of news stories about Saudi women driving. The four newspapers selected here covered the two campaigns in 53 news items selected for analysis across nine years.

	The Independent		The Guardian		Daily Mail		The Daily Telegraph	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Religion (n=41)	8	19.5	22	53.7	7	17.1	4	9.8
Rights (n=68)	37	54.4	18	26.5	2	2.9	11	16.2
Allowed (n=48)	18	37.5	9	18.8	16	33.3	5	10.4
Arrest (n=39)	10	25.6	1	2.6	11	28.2	17	43.6
Ban (n=89)	39	43.8	8	9.0	32	36.0	10	11.2
Activist (n=60)	18	30.0	11	18.3	24	40.0	7	11.7
Campaign (n=77)	26	33.8	11	14.3	27	35.1	13	16.9
Protest (n=49)	10	20.4	3	6.1	27	55.1	9	18.4
Defy (n=49)	23	46.9	6	12.2	10	20.4	10	20.4

Table 6.2 The frequency of common words in the Saudi women campaign on the ban of driving

Table 6.2 shows that the most common word is "ban" (89n), used to describe the driving campaign; *The Independent* recorded the highest percentage (n=39, 43.8%) of "ban" , while the word "religion" recorded the lowest percentage (n=8, 19.5%)

The word 'arrest' was absent in *The Guardian* (n=1, 2.6%) because *The Guardian* focused on coverage of the human stories of Saudi women such as loss of rights and male guardianship and was not focused on the punishment of Saudi government, while the word "rights" recorded the highest percentage (n=18, 26.5).*The daily telegraph* recorded the high percentage of "arrest" (43.6%) because *the daily telegraph* focused on the Saudi government when it punishment Saudi women driver.

The four newspapers recorded differences between the frequencies of common words. The highest percentage word that *The Independent* recorded was rights (n=37, 54.4%) while the lowest average of the frequency words was 'religion' (53.7%) because *The Independent* did not focus on the reaction of the religious men in Saudi Arabia and their objections to the right of women to drive although it was used. Otherwise, *The Guardian* recorded the highest percentage of 'religion' (n=22, 53.7%) because it focused on the issue of driving as a human right and the religious men posing a threat to Saudi women driving. *The Guardian* also did not focus on the Saudi government's punishment.

The *Daily mail* tabloid recorded the highest percentage of 'ban' (n=32, 36%) because it covered the details of the campaign and the reaction of Saudi society. For example it made much space for the video in Youtube concerning the warning delivered by religious men to Saudi women that driving would damage their ovaries. On the other hand, the word 'rights' recorded the lowest average, (n=2 ,2.9%) as *Daily Mail* was not focused on the ban on driving as an issue as much as other stories about women in the middle east, which were sometimes treated with a sarcastic tone.

The Daily Telegraph focused on the punishment of the Saudi government so, the highest word was 'arrest' (n=17, 43.6%). However, because it did not focus on the reaction of the Saudi religious men, its recording of the word 'religion' has the lowest percentage (n=4, 9.8%).
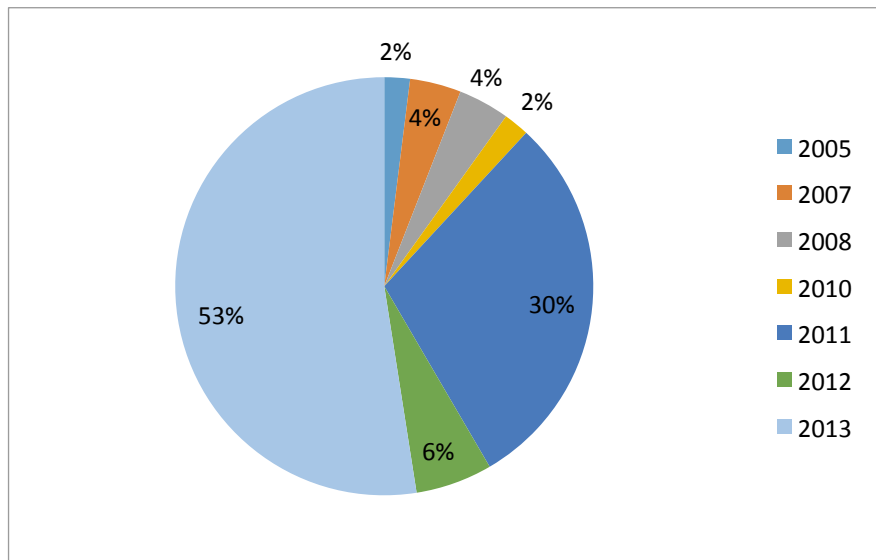
Figure 6.8 Percentage of news stories published in the four British newspapers over the nine years period.
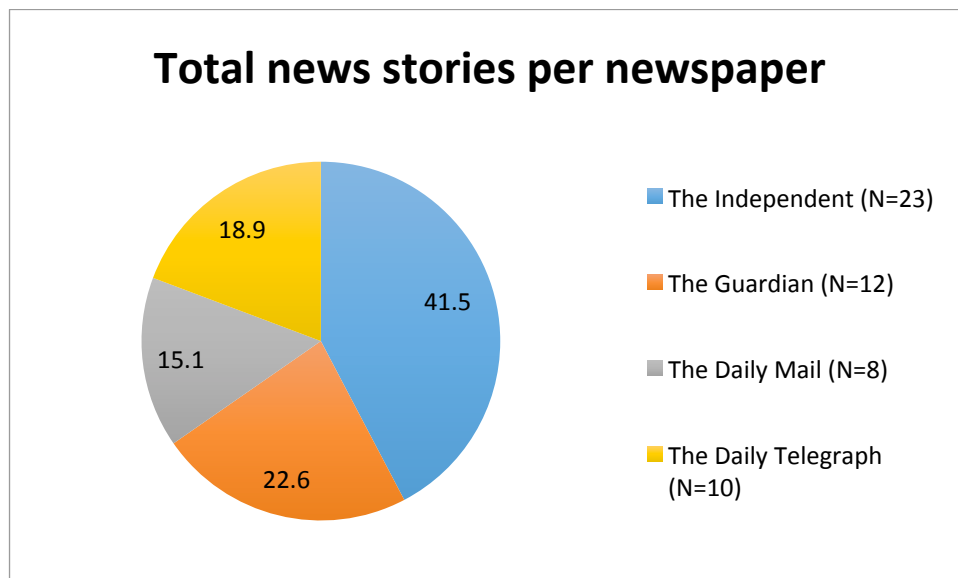
Figure 6.9 Number of news stories of the Saudi women campaign against of the ban on driving

According to the statistics shown in Figure 6.8, 2006 and 2009 were the two years with no media coverage of the protest campaigns. However, 2013 saw the greatest media coverage with 25 articles dedicated to Saudi women protesting against the ban on driving, constituting 53% of the total coverage with 25 articles dedicated to Saudi women protesting against the ban on driving, constituting 47.16% of the total coverage during the whole period (nine years). There was an increase in published news stories from 2012 because this marked the start of the first anti-driving ban

campaign, when Manal Al-Sharaf posted a video of herself on YouTube. *The Independent* contributed almost half of the total UK articles found here 23 stories (43.39%). *The Guardian* had the second highest overall reporting frequencies during the whole period 12 stories (22.64%); third was *Daily Mail* 8 stories (15.09%) with the least coverage of the event by *The Daily Telegraph* 10 stories (18.86%) (Figure 6.9). A possible reason for the low rate of reporting by *The Daily Telegraph* may be that its readership is not interested in Middle Eastern women's issue.
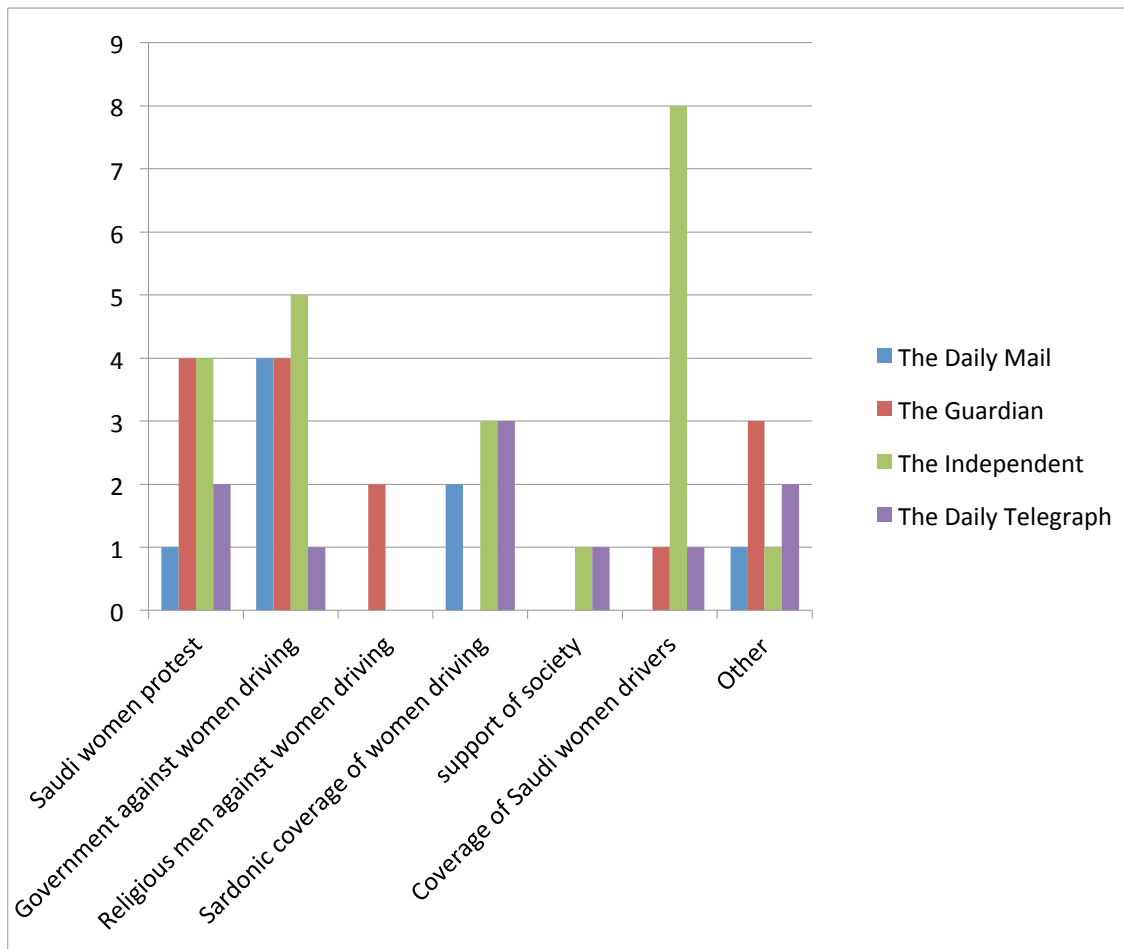
Figure 6.10 Themes of news stories per newspaper

As shown in Figure 6.10, the most frequently cited themes varied across the four newspapers. The theme "Saudi women arrested" appeared in all four newspapers, but *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* published the fewest stories on that theme. On the other hand, *The Independent* published the highest percentage of stories about the

details of Saudi activists who protested against the ban and were behind the wheel, while it focused the least on the support of wider Saudi society. Only *The Daily Telegraph* did *not* focus on the role of religion in the driving ban on Saudi women.

The "government against Saudi women driving" theme was prominent in three newspapers, while *The Daily Telegraph* published a lower percentage of stories on this theme. There was frequent sardonic coverage of Saudi women's right to drive, focusing on what Saudi Arabia published about the risks of driving and their connection to women's health, except in *The Guardian*. Articles about the support in Saudi society for Saudi women driving, or for individual female drivers, appeared only in *The Independent* and *The Daily Telegraph*.

References to the Saudi women who managed the campaign or participated in driving on the streets had the highest frequency in *The Independent*, while they were also quite frequent in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*. *Daily Mail* did not refer to this subject.
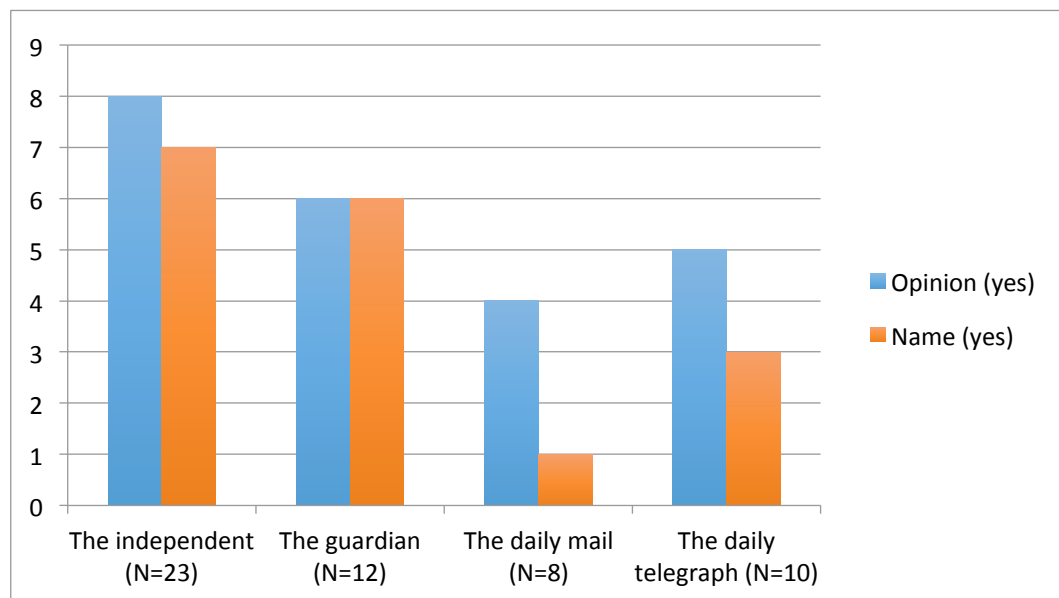
Figure 6.11 Focus in the voice of sample newspapers on Saudi women driving

As Figure 6.11 shows, all four newspapers paid attention to the issue of Saudi women drivers, but they did so in different ways. *The Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail,* and *The Independent* recorded a higher percentage of news stories on the opinions of the Saudi women drivers than those including the women's names. *The Guardian* published an equal number of women's names and women's opinions in their news stories.

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Moreover, *The Independent* provided more space for coverage of the Saudi women's driving ban protest and gave greater prominence to the Saudi feminists involved in the campaign. This newspaper also included the opinions of Saudi women involved in the driving protest behind the opinions of others, whether official, experts or ordinary people.
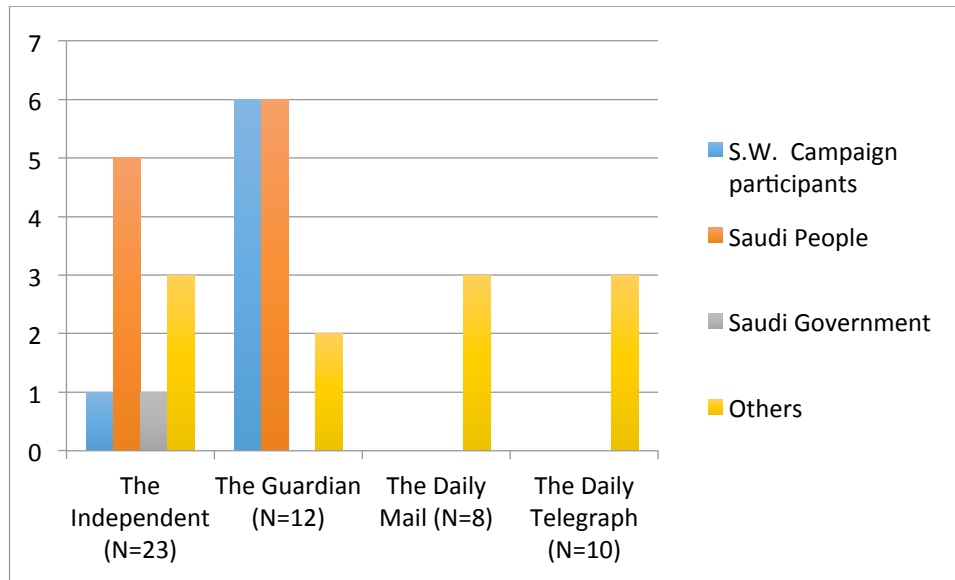
Figure 6.12 The sources that newspapers used in coverage of the campaign against the ban on Saudi women driving.

Figure 6.12 shows the sources used in the published news stories in order to assess their credibility. *The Guardian* recorded the highest percentage of Saudi women campaign participant and Saudi people as a source for the published news, while *The Independent* did not focus on the Saudi women campaign participant as a source. *The Independent* focused more on random Saudi people as a source. On the other hand, *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* used other sources for their news such as: Saudi religious men and officials and did not focus on Saudi women participants in the campaign.

The results from this case study broadly show that the selected British newspapers were interested in the issue of women's right to drive in Saudi Arabia. The centre-left liberal broadsheets, *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, published large numbers of news stories on this topic, while the tabloid *Daily Mail* and the conservative broadsheet *The Daily Telegraph* published a lower amount of related reports. Overall, by far the most frequently reported event was the 2013 campaign, in which protests were led by Saudi women against the ban on driving. *Daily Mail* published these

stories in its news section, while they appeared in a range of sections in *The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian* and *The Independent*. There are distinctive differences between the four newspapers in terms of their focus on the driving ban protest within their news articles. *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* focused on the Saudi government's resistance towards Saudi women driving and the protests the women carried out against the ban, while *The Independent* chose to focus more on the details of the campaign run by Saudi women drivers. *The Daily Telegraph* focused on the reactions to the protests by various members of the Islamic clergy, employing a sarcastic tone as it did so.

The perception of Saudi women drivers as a result of their protests against the driving ban led to newspaper readers presuming that Saudi women suffered from negative life experiences because of the traditional gender roles in their society. Thus, the driving ban is framed as part of the persecution that Saudi women suffer, in addition to wearing the veil (niqab), and not being able to travel without permission from a male guardian. Because of the differences between British culture and Saudi culture, the British media did not understand the reasons why Saudi women were banned from driving, because British society supports universal human rights. While both the Western and Middle Eastern worlds continue to closely monitor the improvement of participation of women within society, Saudi Arabia still bans women from driving, an issue which has drawn increasing interest among the Western readerships.

British newspapers have also covered the driving protests in Saudi Arabia in the human rights context. Van Dijk (1991) argued that freedom, democracy, and human rights are gateways that organize political and media legitimization of the elite perspective and actions with respect to others. He described the effect of this discourse as follows: "The problem is that for most Western countries, especially the United States, these and related notions were selectively defined and applied to those situations in which their interests were being threatened […]. Democracy is advocated only for those nations in which the current leaders (whether dictators or elected governments) are seen as a threat to Western interests. Human rights are a strategic argument focusing primarily on unfriendly nations or leaders, while being ignored for Western client states" (Van Dijk, 1991: 27).

The concept of freedom is clear in the context of news stories in which the ban is described in terms of a puzzle. These newspapers report any updates relating to the ban in Saudi Arabia, and their news stories highlight the suffering of Saudi women rather than the efforts of Saudi women to break the power of traditional norms in their society. The concern is that the journalists who cover these issues related to women have a negative attitude not only towards Saudi women but towards other Arab women, and indeed to the entire Middle East as a region. In her analysis of the description of Middle Eastern women and based on her analysis of the narratives of Western travellers, Kabbani (2008) argued that this attitude is typical of a situation in which the members of the dominant group (the colonial or imperial power) "forge images of the 'alien' by imposing its own self-perpetuating categories and deviations from the norm." This has typically meant that Westerners have treated the people and countries of the Middle East, and particularly their female inhabitants, as something special and mysterious without assigning these features to any universal standards (Kabbani, 2008). Hasan (2005) argued that Orientalist depictions which focused on the harem and seraglio deepened the Western belief that Middle Eastern women (particularly Muslim women) somehow existed simply for men's use and sexual gratification. This image of Middle Eastern women, who were apparently materially different from their Western sisters, made them more appealing as sexual objects. Graham-Brown (2003) also believes that texts and photographs from colonial writers, and paintings by French nineteenth century artists, portrayed oriental women as male possessions, who were merely passive playthings of men, shut up within the walls of the harem. Since foreign males would never have set foot inside the female quarters, these scenes were simply the imagined products of Western imagination.

It is important to draw attention to the fact that different cultures affect the procurement of news. As noted in the context of coverage about the piece by Jack Straw and the niqab, the issue of 'veiling' served as a pretext for surfacing many underlying concerns about national identity, values, and otherness. It was noticeable too in the case of coverage related to Saudi women, this served as a means of allowing journalists to raise other underlying concerns which as the framing analysis shows relates particularly to aspects of women's rights and conservative culture.

Entman (2010: 393) talks about how bias in coverage has two main causes: content bias and decision-making. In the case of the former, consistently slanted framing

promotes a particular ideology and denigrates others. This can be seen in the Orientalist views which frame Saudi women. This use of the figure of the 'veiled' Saudi woman functions, as Janson (Janson, 2011: 183-184) states "as the epitome of the oppression and patriarchy of the Islamic world" and variously attracts the incomprehension, the ridicule or the wrath of Western journalists, particularly those who are feminists. The decision-making process depends on reporters and editors. Although journalists like to think they promote objectivity as part of their cultural frame, and ensure equivalent treatment to competing frames to prevent their reports from slanting, this analysis had shown that their belief systems and personal ideologies do influence this process, guiding their news decisions and ultimately, of course, the texts which they produce. This can be seen at the level of language, photographs and the captions which accompany them.

Some people may argue that a few negative representations in a newspaper does not really matter. However, He (2010) highlights that:

> "When we only see pictures of criminals, entertainers, and sports heroes, we forget we have been led by the media at the same time. […] newspapers usually influence the public's thinking about the image of Jews, women, gays and lesbians. This happens because the photographers, reporters, editors, and publishers of some media organizations often pursue quick decisions and high volumes of publication without considering the issues carefully" (He, 2010: 47).

The issue is that the media does influence us and particularly how we frame those we consider as being unlike us. According to At Home in Europe Report (2015) most women who had been wearing the niqab for over a decade said that they experienced more abuse after 9/11 than before. A few women also said that they noticed an increase in abuse around the time of 7/7. When the media creates stereotypes of Muslim women as a veiled threat, it is those women themselves who live with the consequences. However, about the effort of feminists in support women improvement, mainstream feminists are seeking to contribute to change, however, they are confronted with problems dealing with positive change and trying to understand the multi-faceted range of issues that modern women encounter, such as racism, religion and sexuality, which has been termed intersectionality. Shields (2008)

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states that intersectionality is a pressing issue for researchers interested in addressing positive social change for women. Indeed, intersectionality, has become a pivotal principle of feminist thinking, which McCall (2005) and others believe is key to gaining a much greater understanding of gender. Indeed, at the theoretical level, intersectionality has changed how gender is viewed. Feminist theorists, for example, have challenged previously accepted ideas about gender underlying empirical research; psychologists' standardization of gender is a case in point. Further research into intersectionality has revealed that individuals' social identities profoundly influence their beliefs about and experience of gender. As a result, feminist researchers now realise that any profound study of what constitutes gender must take into consideration the individual's social position within a framework of intersecting identities. Furthermore, any investigation of gender in particular, should necessarily be mindful of the circumstances in which power relations become enmeshed in social identities.

6.5.3 Saudi Women Absence

The first question to be addressed here is "what is the representation in the selected UK newspapers of the Saudi women who participated in the two campaigns against the ban on women driving?" The finding of the case study with regard to Saudi women protesting against the driving ban is that *The Independent* did not include Saudi women drivers as a source; the analysis instead found that only one news story from 23 stories in that paper presented a Saudi woman driver as a source. *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* did not publish the voice of the protesters in their news stories. *The Guardian*, with its generally liberal stance, published the opinions of the protesters, repeating the views of the same women in other stories. The present researcher's analysis therefore emphasises that journalists operate within a particular professional culture which, like any other culture, has its own rituals, conventions and symbolic systems. In terms of techniques, one of the key conventions which operates in reporting is the handling of sources, which are generally consulted and cited to enhance the credibility and reliability of an article in relation to an issue or to add immediacy to the reporting of an event. The quality of sources is seen as an important aspect of creating a comprehensive, objective story and journalists rely on their sources to gain understanding of an event and convey it to their readers. Martin (1997) argued that journalists effectively rank their sources in terms of what they

judge to be their usefulness. In the first tier are those typically referred to as 'experts,' who are associated with the 'professional and managerial culture of society's chief political, economic, intellectual and control institutions' (Martin, 1997: 243). Hall (1978) explained that these experts are the 'primary definers' of topics for the news story and their usual function is to identify the core aspects of events, issues, and situations and to tell readers what these events are really about. As Boyce (2006) notes, even when these expert sources or authorities are not actually cited in a particular item, they still form an integral part of the newsgathering networks used by journalists, providing essential background information to them which they can use to build their story. Gans (1979) made an interesting point regarding the use of official sources and linked this to the need for journalistic efficiency, suggesting that "efficiency and source power are parts of the same equation, since it is efficient for journalists to respect the power of official sources" (Gamson et al., 1992: 376).

The second tier sources are 'citizens,' or in other words, ordinary people who are typically quoted to provide a source of emotional or moral reaction to a newsworthy event or situation, who may be witnesses to an event, and whose interventions are usually limited to expressing personal opinions or recounting their feelings about a situation or event.

In the final tier of this journalistic ranking are those sources who could potentially provide information but are usually excluded altogether from the reporting of the news. Often, the event or issue may impinge on them in some way or they may have experienced a similar problem themselves but these individuals are classed as less useful because they lack the 'authoritativeness' of the 'experts', or the emotional impact of the eyewitness or bystander, and often belong to socially marginalised groups (Gans, 1979).

When reporting on foreign news, particularly when that news involves a conflict or controversial issue, ensuring the diversity of these sources should be an important part of achieving journalistic objectivity. However, when building a news story, it may be hard to find authoritative sources that can provide the information needed to contextualise and clarify aspects of events and issues. In such cases, what Gans (1979) referred to as 'journalist efficiency' often takes precedence. Here, it is worth repeating Eltantawy's (2007) reflections on her personal experiences of newsroom

work practices to highlight the extent to which journalists under time pressure to file their report and lacking useful sources for an area they have not previously covered will simply resort to recycling previous journalistic material: "From my experience as a reporter, when one is faced with a complicated story about another culture, religion or political system, the first thing a reporter does is check previous stories written by his/her newspaper or news agency". Because of time limitations, it is always easier and faster to rely on the one or two paragraphs or background or context used by fellow reporters in the newsroom. Reporters tend to feel that such information is reliable and accurate since it came from members of their own news organization. If the information is not found, then reporters might turn to the previous stories of other reliable newspapers or news agencies. Hence a lot of times the same paragraphs of inaccurate, distorted or incomplete information are repeated over and over and are therefore overlooked by reporters who unconsciously reproduce the same stereotypes in an effort to get out an accurate story as fast as needed or to make it easier on themselves rather than having to investigate and report on what seem to be unfamiliar, complicated and possibly irrational cultural or religious practices (Eltantawy, 2007). In this case, then, the 'authoritative sources' are always journalists who are themselves probably recycling information or reports from other journalists. It was noticeable that in the newspaper coverage presenting the Saudi women's protests against the driving ban, only *The Independent* included comments from the female protesters themselves or the women behind the wheels of their cars, and in addition published full details of the ongoing campaign. However, in contrast, in its coverage of Saudi women wearing the 'veil' (niqab) the newspaper did not ask any women about their commitment to doing so.

Furthermore, after studying the representation of Muslim women in the British media, Falah (2005) concluded, "[the] kinds of images of Muslim women that one tends to find in newspapers project very much a circumscribed understanding of Muslims. The constant repetition of a limited number of images often with little contextualization from the reports they accompany, narrows understanding of Muslim women's lives and reduces the experiences and political sentiment of Muslim women to a few stereotypes" (Falah, 2005: 318).

It has been well established by prior research that journalists present their chosen version of the world and have the ability to guide public opinion; their work involves

more than simply providing reports about real-life issues or events (e.g. Iyengar, 1991; Tuchman, 1978; Van Dijk, 1991; Schneider, 2011). Entman (2010) confirmed that the repeated use of particular words and images (frames) promotes similar thoughts and feelings in a large part of the audience. For Entman (1991), these news frames exist at two levels: as a store of mental images or stereotypes, and as characteristics of particular news themes which act as internalized guides. He used the example of the Cold War frame, which was imposed on international affairs for most of the second half of the twentieth century, and was arguably more recently replaced by that of the "War on Terror". Another example is the 'horse race' frame which has been imposed on American election campaigns. In this sense, frames can be seen to operate as information-processing schemata (Entman, 1991) which shape and condition our understanding of the world. This theory was used here in examining the continuing relevance of framing in the process of the creation and circulation of news stories in selected British newspapers, revealing that certain frames are discernible in the British press which suggest that deep structures are operating as a form of ideology which serve to shape the characteristics of news coverage at a number of levels, appearing in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images from which a news narrative is composed.

Schudson (1995: 18) argued that one of the strongest factors influencing framing is the professional ideology of journalists, and that these values "are given meaning in the language of a journalistic culture." According to Deuze (2004), one of the five core values of this ideology is objectivity. In their coverage of the issues studied in this research, journalists consequently focus negatively on what they perceive to be the cultural differences between British women and the society in which they live on the one hand, and Saudi women and their society on the other. They seek to identify and write about issues that they believe will be of interest to their target readership, and frame them in these terms. It is worth highlighting that none of the coverage in this sample of British newspapers addressed the kind of issues that most Saudi women are currently concerned about, including the rights of women who are divorced or widowed, or the low rates of employment for well-qualified Saudi women. The same newspaper coverage also omitted any mention of the achievements of Saudi women in the fields of education and politics in a country where more women than men now attend university, and where women now occupy 30 places in the Saudi parliament. It

is telling that the appointment of Norah Alfayiz, the first woman to hold a high-ranking position in the Saudi Ministry of Education as a deputy minister, was not classed by many newspapers as newsworthy in her own right. However, she did receive newspaper coverage when she was shown wearing a niqab and quoted as saying "I will never take off the veil," without any contextualisation of her words by the press which then went on to dismiss her appointment as pure tokenism:

"The appointment of Saudi Arabia's first female cabinet minister was seen as a big step for a country where a strict interpretation of Islam bars women from driving, voting and mixing with unrelated men. Sceptics wondered, however, whether the new minister would wield any real power, or whether she would suffer the fate of other women who had been appointed to lower councils and sunk without trace" (Tran, 2009). As is so often in the case of coverage of Saudi women, the journalist expressed disappointment that Alfayiz did not appear to embrace the liberal-leaning ideology espoused by the newspaper itself, which criticized her because "she […] dismissed calls for girls to be allowed to do sport at school," and "… could not appear on television without permission." The most surprising aspect of the results of this analysis was the extent to which the Orientalist strand of Western discourse, which draws on particular stereotypes of Arab Muslim women, and is stored as mental images and has been reinforced by countless media representations, still prevails. After exploring the characteristics of the photographs selected to illustrate news stories concerning Muslim women, Falah (2005) concluded that: "the figure of the Muslim woman harkens to the exoticism of distant culture and place and suggests an irrationality that can be contrasted with the supposed order and rationality of Western liberal societies. Whether veiled or exposed, passive or wielding weapons, Muslim women are the ultimate 'other', and they serve as the main repositories of the West's sense of fear, fascination and superiority vis-a-vis the Muslim world" (Falah, 2005:318). On the few occasions that Saudi women are given the opportunity to speak for themselves in the UK press, they talk about their lives in ways which reveal the complexity of their lived experience but which clearly show they are far from the helpless victims that Western journalists too often make them out to be. Maisah Sobaihi, a female Saudi academic, became the first Saudi to perform in the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in her one-woman show, in which she challenged Western preconceptions about Saudi women. She was interviewed by *The Independent*, and in

the resulting article, her final words were: "There is a need for greater dialogue between the West and Saudi Arabia. Little is known and women are portrayed from the outside in a certain light that isn't correct […] Women have always been a very positive force in Saudi Arabia; they are just a bit more visible now. It's a reality that we can't drive, but that does not define us. We are productive women and that is something I would like to put forward. Yes, we have challenges but we're facing them" (Clark, 2013). The representation of Saudi women in the four newspapers examined here implies that Saudi women's lives are centred around suffering. This is part of the stereotype of women in the East, including women in the Middle East. The old image of the Turkish Baths put forward by various famous painters invoked racial hierarchies, with 'whiteness' the highest in status. This established a supposed knowledge of 'Others' and informed the way in which the West came to view itself as superior to, and more civilised than, the East. It is the old history of Orientalism that, as a political method, established the distinct divide between the active West and the passive East (Said, 1978). In keeping with the logic of this thinking, Stuart Hall (1997) traced how Europeans constructed their encounters with Africa. Black Africans were caught in a binary of 'primitive'/'civilized', whereby 'civilized' was appropriated by the enlightened Europeans, who had etiquette and manners, while the concept of being 'primitive' was used to identify the Africans on an evolutionary scale. In this sense, looking back at imperial and colonial conquests, it becomes evident that these databanks of images are both epistemically and materially violent, and that: "[r]epresentations about 'Others' that were formed and circulated at that time helped solidify a sense of European self" (Aguayo, 2009: 46). Thus, media coverage can choose to emphasize the importance of multiculturalism in promoting diversity and cultural understanding, when journalism from any nation covers events from different cultures.

The findings presented here have shown that the selected UK newspapers represent Saudi women as victims, and that men are dominant in their lives. This finding is in line with Ameli et al. (2007), whose findings showed that a great distrust for mainstream media in the West diverts Muslims to alternative media. One explanation for this may be the failure of mainstream media to properly represent minorities, within the framework of muted group theory, in which a male dominated society silences and controls women. According to muted group theory, the dominant group

shapes the rules, roles, relations and perceptions of the world and even the very structure of society, and dictates the way in which the controlled members must behave (Ameli et al., 2007).

First, it is significant that news stories always mention the clothes of Saudi women when they covered an event. This reveals that a high rate of news stories did not focus on the veil as a controversial issue in the Western media, as they did not include the opinion of veiled Saudi women. The absent voice of Saudi women in most of the news stories reveals that journalism unconsciously thinks that Saudi women, as Muslim women, are oppressed. According to (Van Ginneken, 1998), most reporters working for elite media organizations in the West have a religious background even if they rarely attend religious services. "Yet in their portrayals of other cultures, they often implicitly use Judeo-Christian religion as a yardstick of civilization, and implicitly look down upon other religions as 'primitive'" (Van Ginneken, 1998: 66). Secondly, the Orientalism frame which focuses on Saudi women losing their rights is dominant in four newspapers, For further clarification, on 16 March 2013, The Daily Mail published:

Women have few rights in Saudi Arabia and are required, regardless of age, to have a male guardian - typically a father or husband - who must give their permission for everything from opening a bank account to marriage. They cannot vote or be elected to high office and are prohibited from driving. Indeed in 2011 a woman from Jeddah, where the royal couple will fly to on Saturday, was sentenced to ten lashes by whip after being caught behind the wheel. Women are also required to be segregated from men in public: most offices, banks and universities have separate entrances and they are required to sit separately on public transport and in restaurants. (English, 2013) This is how news stories describe the life of Saudi women. Then when the news story covered the veil it said, "When it comes to dress, women are also expected to cover all parts of the body that are 'awrah' - not meant to be exposed. Saudi Arabia's strict interpretation of Islam means they must cover their entire body with a black cloak known as an abaya, and use a head covering or hijab, leaving just the eyes and the hands exposed. Conventions for dress and behavior are all fiercely enforced by the notorious religious police or mutawaeen, whose official title is the Commission for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice" (English, 2013), This news story is an example of how new stories illustrate to the reader the suffering of Saudi women,

the deprivation of their rights, and the reasons why they are helpless. This content in The Daily Mail newspaper describes Saudi women as unable to claim their rights. It never used the term of 'veil' in the coverage, but it gives the impression that Saudi women are victims. For example, The Daily Mail recorded a high rate of coverage of Saudi women wearing hijab involved in the Olympics for the first time. However, it described Saudi Arabia and its society as conservative. Subsequently, Saudi women were portrayed as victims.

In another news story The Daily Mail said: "A few years ago a marathon event was held in which women could only participate if they wore the abaya - a black cloak which covers the body head to toe" (Watson, 2012) The other story shows the topic of rights in The Independent newspaper when it highlighted the event in an exaggerated way. For example, when newspapers covered participation of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics, after the hesitation of the Saudi Union because Saudi women wanted to uncover their head, many news stories in the independent press repeated this sentence: "Shaherkani set to make history for Saudi women" (Taylor, 2012; Palmer, 2012). The repetition of this sentence and the description of the Saudi women who participated in the Olympics as heroes, gives the impression that Saudi women did not achieve anything except participating in an international event. This emphasis on sport participation did not occur because Saudi women wanted it to or because of the Saudi Arabian Olympic Committee, however, it occurred because of human rights groups pressured the Saudi Arabian Olympic Committee. This trend in news content strengthens the perception that Saudi women are victims without rights. This is also seen within the orientalism frame when The Daily Mail and The Independent often indicate that Saudi women wear 'abaya' not as a sign of commitment to Islamic teaching and governmental law, but because they are compelled to do so. This also confirms the inability of Saudi women to stand up to a strict society. In fact, in Saudi Arabia there is no law forcing women to cover their face or wear the veil, and there is no verse in the Qur'an ordering women to wear the veil. As Macdonald (2006) stated, the Western media's use of the term 'dress' does not recognize that there is more than one type of dress, and that when women follow the Islamic teaching, it requires Muslim women to wear demure dresses. There is no clear exhortation in the Qur'an that women should wear a veil (Ahmed, 1992: 55), but, the Qur'anic order for men and women is to commit to modesty (Macdonald,

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2006). Finally, the Orientalism frame is apparent in the news stories of The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian when both newspapers published incorrect information discussing Saudi women protesting the ban of driving. As The Daily Telegraph published: "Most of the women who took charge of the steering wheel this year have been veiled and accompanied by a male guardian, as required by culturally enforced tradition, if not the full force of law" (Spencer, 2011) The case study in the previous chapter that resulted in the analysis of photographs of Saudi women protesters revealed Saudi women behind the wheel without a male guardian, which is contradictory to the result of the analysis of this case study. The Guardian published: "She apparently believes in the potential of autocratic Islamic monarchies to adapt and change. So far, this is Olympic-spirited, but the same glowing writeup later adds, 'Though equestrianism means a lot to Saudi Arabian culture and religion, it is not an easy sport for anyone to practice in the Kingdom, especially because sport is not encouraged for women, due to traditional and cultural restrictions'" (Ramdani, 2012) The focus on Saudi society's constraints does not mention how people have to adapt inside the culture and that good change is coming gradually in this traditional society. This frame enhances the inability of Saudi women to claim rights that did not get any support from any social stream, while Saudi women get support from the government and liberal elites in society. The other orientalism frame appeared when the Guardian published how the Saudi culture was strict as it stated, "Activists circulating the petition by email and on websites say they are relying on statements made by government officials and the fact that no law explicitly states that women may not drive. The ban flows from a strict interpretation of the woman's need to be accompanied by a legal guardian in public. Islamic scholars argue that allowing women to drive would mean they might interact with non-related men such as police officers or car mechanics - and that would be the start of a slippery slope" (Black, 2007). The other news story is about Dalma Malhas, a Saudi woman who wanted to participate in the Olympics. The newspaper demonstrated her inability to participate as a result of the strict Saudi traditions as they stated: "Dalma Malhas was briefly set to make Olympic history as the first woman to compete for Saudi Arabia. Novelty-value men have been competing for years, of course, while women from the Gulf Kingdom have been excluded from international sporting competition" (Ramdani, 2012). However, what The Guardian failed to mentioned is that Malhas could not participate because her horse was not well.

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6.6 Finding the Frames of News Stories

6.6.1 The Result of Framing Analysis of News Stories

With regard to what kind of frame the British newspapers use, the present analysis shows that the human interest frame is dominant; *The Independent* (N=23) has a mean score of 2.08; *The Guardian* (N=12) a mean score of 3; *Daily Mail* (N=8) a mean score of 3.25, and *The Daily Telegraph* (N=10) a mean score of 2.7.

Newspaper News frame	The Independent N=23		The Guardian N=12		Daily Mail N=8		The Daily Telegraph N=10	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Responsibility	12	52.2	8	66.7	4	50	4	40
Human stories	21	91.3	9	75.0	6	75	9	90
Conflict	16	69.6	9	75.0	6	75	6	60
Morality	5	21.7	7	58.3	4	50	4	40
Economics	1	4.3	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 6.3 Analysis of Saudi women driving news framing in different newspapers

The analysis in this chapter has established that one dominant frame was salient among news stories: the human interest frame. Table 6.3 demonstrates the statistical results of the framing analysis with regard to the dominant frames in each newspaper. It is significant that these news stories emphasise the suffering of Saudi women in the context of describing their efforts to gain the right to drive. A large percentage of the news stories focused on the things that Saudi women cannot do rather than making any reference to the progress they have made in obtaining their rights. The sentence "Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world where women are not allowed to drive'" is constantly repeated. This may be true, but the repetition of this sentence in the absence of other information about progress and increased rights gives a negative image of Saudi society as a whole and is likely to make readers feel pity for Saudi women, turning them into victims. In general, news stories in four newspapers: *The Independent, The Guardian, Daily Mail,* and *The Daily Telegraph*, used the human intrest frame because they published many news stories which focused on the sad stories of banned Saudi women drivers. These included the imprisonment of a Saudi woman driver who drove her husband to the hospital or the story of a Saudi woman sentenced to banishment and 10 lashes in court for driving a car, or the ban on Manal al-Sharif from travelling to the USA to receive a Courage Award from an American organization because she had received threats from extremists.

The following text appeared in articles published in *Daily Mail* in September 2013: "A Saudi woman was sentenced to 10 lashes for defying a ban on women driving. Sheima Jastaniah was sentenced by a court in Jeddah, where she was caught driving in July, said an activist who requested anonymity. Jastaniah "had refused to talk to media about her trial and we were shocked that she was sentenced to 10 lashes," an activist said. The sentence came a day after King Abdullah announced that women would be allowed to vote and run in municipal polls." *The Daily Telegraph* (28 September 2011) Previous analysis of photographs of Saudi women protesters found that Saudi women were behind the wheel without a male guardian, which is contradictory to the results of the analysis in this case study. In September 2011 *The Guardian* also published the story of Shaimaa Justaneyah, reporting that: "The sentence is believed to be the first of its kind in Saudi Arabia that has not involved a violation of Islamic law. It was handed down in the wake of around 20 women being arrested over the past few months for taking to the wheel as part of a campaign to showcase their lack of rights in the rigidly conservative society."

The Independent also published a story on Shaimaa Justaneyah: "Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah has overturned a sentence of 10 lashes handed down to an activist who defied the country's female driving ban, after fierce criticism that the ruling undermined his recent efforts to give women more rights in the conservative Muslim kingdom. In an unprecedented move on Sunday, the 87-year-old ruler announced that women would be admitted into the country's all-male consultative assembly. Women would also have the opportunity to stand in municipal elections and vote for the first time. The move was hailed by most Saudis as a great step forward, but the exuberance was short-lived. Two days after the decree, a court sentenced Shaima Jastaina to 10 lashes for her participation in the 17 June Women2Drive campaign, when a handful of women got behind the wheel to try to force the authorities to reverse the ban on women driving. Saudi Arabia remains the only country in the world that does not allow women to drive. People were outraged. Many perceived the court's sentence as a direct challenge to the King's desire to implement reform, while other women who took part in the rare day of dissent began to worry about their own fate."

Earlier, the convicted woman, Shaimaa Justaneyah, was reportedly in shock at the sentence. "I cannot think straight because of what I have had to go through," Justaneyah told the website Arab News. (*The Guardian,* September 29, 2011; Jones,

2011). This focus on punishment handed down by the judiciary backed by the Saudi Ministry of the Interior or on the discontented opinions of the Islamic clergy can help to reinforce the idea that Saudi women live in misery, and subsequently need to be saved. This frame highlights the supposed inability of Saudi women to claim their rights, suggesting that they do not get any support from other areas of society. Occasionally, mention is made of support from various quarters, but this is rare. In the case of the news story of Shaimaa Justaneyah, for example, when King Abdullah eventually quashed the original court ruling, *The Guardian* (Black, 2013) commented that: "Saudi women get support from the government and liberal elites in society."

The other human interest frame appeared when *The Guardian* described reactions from Saudi society on the day before the start of the campaign of 26 October, and although the news story attempted to explain the issue, it focused on the reaction from Islamic scholars and clergy: "Signs of powerful strong opposition, however, are still easy to detect. This week 150 clerics and religious scholars held a rare public protest outside King Abdullah's palace in Jeddah to object to "westernisation" and "the conspiracy of women driving," blaming the US - a byword in traditionalist circles for anything distasteful or immoral - for being behind the campaign" (Black, 2013). The same story also referred to the opinions of other Saudi religious scholars: "Arguments aimed at keeping women off the roads can be shocking and nonsensical. "If a woman drives a car [...] not out of pure necessity [...] that could have negative physiological impacts as functional and physiological medical studies show that it automatically affects the ovaries and pushes the pelvis upwards," warned Sheikh Saleh bin Saad al-Lohaidan, adviser to an association of Gulf psychologists. Women who were aiming to overturn the driving ban should put "reason ahead of their hearts, emotions and passions," he suggested (Black, 2013). Abdullah was appointed the country's first woman deputy minister in 2009 and opened "with much fanfare" a mixed-sex science university [...] But there was an immediate backlash. Saad Nasser al-Shithri, a cleric from the council of senior scholars, appeared on the Saudi religious TV channel to defy the king. He denounced "mixing of the sexes" and "the teaching of deviant ideas such as evolution". Abdullah was forced to sack him, but embassy contacts warned privately that Shithri was being regarded as a hero by unemployed young Saudis, who resented foreign students gaining advantages, and by reactionary clerics, who feared a plot to impose Western values. Another cleric, Sheikh Salman al-Duwaysh, publicly

attacked "mixing with women on the basis of claiming to educate them and to open the field for them to undertake jobs for which they were not created". He said such women had "abandoned their basic duties such as housekeeping, bringing up children and re-placed this by beautifying themselves and wantonness" (Leigh, 2011)

The human interest frame was also used by *The Daily Telegraph* in the following example: "Sheima Jastaniah was sentenced by a court in Jeddah, where she was caught driving in July, said an activist who requested anonymity. Jastaniah 'had refused to talk to media about her trial and we were shocked that she was sentenced to 10 lashes,' an activist said. The sentence came a day after King Abdullah announced that women would be allowed to vote and run in municipal polls" (*The Daily Telegraph*, 2011). The juxtaposition of what are, in fact, two unrelated events here – the sentencing of the female protester and the announcement about women getting the right to vote – can be taken as evidence that the journalist wishes to create or imply another form of conflict, between backward, barbaric Islam (in the form of sharia law – the court in Jeddah) and the liberal Western-leaning monarchy (King Abdullah), suggesting that Jastaniah is simply "the human interest" caught between these two competing male discourses.

The Guardian focused on the reactions of the Islamic clergy, often ridiculing their opinion with cynical comments. Thus, for example, the following extracts come from articles published in *Daily Mail*: "The startling conclusions were drawn by Muslim scholars in 2011 at the Majlis al-Ifta' al-A'ala, Saudi Arabia's highest religious council, working in conjunction with Kamal Subhi, a former professor at the King Fahd University. Their report assessed the possible impact of repealing the ban in Saudi Arabia, the only country in the world where women are not allowed behind the wheel. It was delivered to all 150 members of the Shura Council, the country's legislative body. The report warned that allowing women to drive would 'provoke a surge in prostitution, pornography, homosexuality and divorce'. Within ten years of the ban being lifted, the report's authors claimed, there would be 'no more virgins' in the Islamic kingdom. And it pointed out 'moral decline' could already be seen in other Muslim countries where women are allowed to drive. In the report Professor Subhi described sitting in a coffee shop in an unnamed Arab state. 'All the women were looking at me,' he wrote. 'One made a gesture that made it clear she was available [...] this is what happens when women are allowed to drive.' Women in

Saudi Arabia have not been permitted to drive since the establishment of the state in 1932" (Thornhill, 2013).

And also: "Earlier this month a Saudi sheikh warned that driving could affect women's ovaries and pelvises. Sheikh Salah al-Luhaydan said women would be putting their health at risk if they got behind the wheel" (Brady, 2013). This sequence of news article texts about negative interventions by religious men has helped create the frame for Saudi society.

The Independent published a story about one of the anti-driving ban protesters who was unable to travel to attend an awards ceremony in Washington honouring her high profile activism because she had received anonymous emails threatening to kill her: "But 48 hours before the event, organisers were told that Ms Sharif, a divorced single mother, had reluctantly decided to stay in Saudi Arabia, "amid what appears to be growing fears for both her personal safety and that of her family. […] Despite her absence from Washington, Ms Sharif did not go entirely unrecognised at the Vital Voices ceremony which was to have seen five 'heroines' of the Arab Spring receive medals. When the four other honourees were called on to the stage at the Kennedy Center Opera House, they left a gap to represent where Ms Sharif should have been standing" (Adams, 2012). Here, the human interest frame is visible in small but telling detail which attempts to portray this Saudi woman in ways that will appeal to the female readership of *The Independent*. Manal Al-Sharaf is referred to as 'Ms Sharif' throughout the article, when she could simply be referred to as 'Sharif'. It is unclear if this title is one she uses herself, or if it has been chosen deliberately for its connotations of pro-feminist tendencies. The article also highlights more personal details with the use of the phrase "a divorced single mother," which again is not relevant to the event being described, but seems to be hinting at an emotional back-story to her achievements. Furthermore, the reference to her as one of five "'heroines' of the Arab Spring" casts her in a much broader context than the organizer of pro-driving protests by aligning her with a mass pro-democracy movement which simply did not exist in Saudi Arabia.

These humanitarian stories thus provide an image of Saudi women as subservient while religious men discuss their rights and rouse the government against them while they are powerless to resist.

6.6.2   The Differences between the Four Selected UK Newspapers

Content analysis of a sample consisting of some 51 news stories from the four selected newspapers confirmed that significantly different framing activities occurred across their news creation and circulation. four newspapers each used four frames outlined above (the human interest frame, the conflict frame, the responsibility frame, and the morality frame). Only *The Independent* used all five frames including the economic frame in one news story when it mentioned the economic effects of the ban of driving.

Below are outlined the differences between the newspapers' uses of the five frames.

1.   The conflict frame:

The result of the analysis of the four newspapers revealed that the conflict frame was at the second level of salience in relation to Saudi women driving as follows:

The Independent: N=23; mean score 0.82; *The Guardian*: N=12; mean score 1.75; *Daily Mail*: N=8; mean score 1.25; *The Daily Telegraph*: N=10; mean score 0.9**.**

Unsurprisingly, the conflict frame was the second most frequently used frame in reporting Saudi women's anti-driving ban campaign news, considering that the newspapers provided the opinions of all parties involved in the issue. The conflict frame appears when news stories provide differences between several parties, in this case Saudi women protesters, the Saudi government, the Islamic clergy and Saudi citizens, whether supporter or opponents.

In this frame, *The Guardian* recorded the highest level of use of the conflict frame, with a mean score of 1.75, or 9 instances from 12 news stories. For example, *The Guardian* used the "conflict" and "human interest" frames in its coverage of Saudi women's organized pro-driving protests, with the repetition of the words "ban" and "rights" found in negative contexts. In addition to reporting on the Saudi government's treatment of the female protesters, it also highlighted the requirement for women to travel with a male guardian as a human rights issue. Of the four newspapers examined here, *The Guardian* used Saudi women drivers most frequently as a source. *The Guardian* was the only newspaper to publish a story which talked about Saudi female activists being imprisoned for offences other than driving. Although an element of human interest is reflected in the use of the emotional but

rather clichéd adjectives (chilling, repressive), here the key frame is one of conflict between human rights (women's rights, the right to freedom of movement) versus the repressive Islamic regime:

"It should be noted that resistance to change in women's roles in Saudi Arabia does not break down along gender lines. Within each Saudi family or community, there are liberal men who are open to new ideas and methods, and conservative women who resist change, and vice versa. Some daughters will find support from their Saudi fathers for pursuing their education, careers, or travels, in the face of unyielding mothers. Some sisters will find their strongest allies in their Saudi brothers when they need to lobby their parents for more freedom" (Pharaon, 2004).

Wajeha al-Huwaider, who has repeatedly defied Saudi laws by posting footage of herself driving on the internet, and Fawzia al-Oyouni, a women's rights activist, face 10 months in prison and a two-year travel ban after being found guilty on a sharia law charge of takhbib - incitement of a wife to defy her husband. But campaigners argue the women have been targeted because of their human rights work, and fear that the sentences send out a chilling message to others who dare to criticise the repressive regime, under which women cannot drive and can only cycle in recreational areas when accompanied by a male guardian" (Topping, 2013). References to women's rights, human rights, and the right to freedom of movement (driving, travel ban, cycling) are here set in opposition to Saudi Arabia's application of sharia law and repressive regime. A male versus female dimension is also established in this conflict. When conflicts of this type are set out, the journalist appears to be encouraging the reader to reach the conclusion that unless women in Saudi Arabia position themselves as pro-feminist and anti-Islam, they are anti-human rights. However, , the real situation is, in fact, infinitely more complex. Like *The Guardian, The Independent*'s coverage of the anti-driving ban protests used the frames of "conflict" and "human interest" with a strong focus on women's rights. The key words repeatedly used in a negative context were "ban" and "rights." The coverage included information about the Saudi government arresting women who were driving, and an emphasis on the view that Saudi women were unable to assert their rights.

The conflict frame appeared prominently in all four newspapers, with reports of threats and imprisonment by the Saudi government regarding the protesters, together

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with moral threats from the religiously conservative and traditional Saudi elite who include members of parliament and university lecturers. *Daily Mail* used the "conflict" frame in its coverage of the Saudi women's anti-driving ban campaign, with the words "arrest" and "ban" being repeatedly used in a negative context, and chose to highlight information about the Saudi government's negative reactions to the protests, leading to the arrest of the female campaigners. It commented on the tacit pact between the government and the traditional values of some people who objected to women driving, but failed to report that some Saudis support the women's call to end the driving ban. This idea of focusing on the power of men without providing any opinions from Saudi women reinforces negative representations of Saudi women as victims.

However, news stories did often describe the seriousness of the effects of the driving ban on the day-to-day lives of women in Saudi Arabia. The newspapers generally used the conflict frame when they focused on the denial of women rights, with this study's qualitative analysis showing that "rights" persistently appeared in a negative context with coverage sometimes containing long lists of things which Saudi women were not allowed to do. A conflict frame is established between backward barbaric Islam (clerics, the reference to the cleric's health claim, the ministry's threat) and liberal Western-leaning forces (King Abdullah, the Aramco employee, Aramco being an oil company previously associated with the US). Although this story focuses on two of the Saudi women protesters, most of those who get to express opinions seem to be males: noisy protests from clerics, the comment about the medical study, even the Ministry is personified and able to give a quote. Perhaps the most interesting element here is the quote from the male Aramco employee. The detailed information we are given about him (name, age, profession, place of work) here makes a stark contrast with the decontextualised reported quote from Mai Al-Sawyan in the example from *Daily Mail* provided above. The newspaper paints a vivid portrait of this Saudi male with direct quotes from him whilst his female counterpart who is actually a protester remains a vague presence whose words are reported.

Perhaps the most interesting element here is the quote from the male Aramco employee. The detailed information we are given about him (his name, age, profession, place of work) is in stark contrast to the decontextualized, reported quote from Mai Al-Sawyan in the example from the *Daily Mail* provided above. The

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newspaper paints a vivid portrait of this Saudi male with direct quotes from him, whilst his female counterpart, who is actually a protester, remains a vague presence whose words are reported indirectly. Male opinions seemed to be valued, e.g. the noisy protests of the clerics.

The Independent recorded the highest number of news stories concerning Saudi women and driving, and like the other liberal-leaning broadsheet, *The Guardian*, it allowed Saudi women protesters to voice their opinions. Like *The Guardian, The Independent*'s coverage of the anti-driving ban protests used the conflict frame which actually places a stress on the internal conflict in Saudi Arabia itself, and which can also be found in the following example which was published two years after the previous example.

2. **The responsibility frame:**

This frame was not frequently used by the four selected UK newspapers, whose news stories did not focus on solutions to the Saudi women's driving ban. In addition, none of the newspapers suggested that any group in Saudi Arabia was responsible except in some stories about the actions of the Saudi government, people, and religious leaders.

With regard to the responsibility frame, *The Independent* (N=23) had a mean score of 0.56. in this newspaper, the responsibility frame appeared when the story focused on the implicit objections of, or explicit action taken by, the Saudi government in relation to the Saudi women's protest campaign. For example: "Reem Q, a dental student from the coastal city of Jeddah, recently flouted the unwritten law and took to the streets with her brother in the passenger seat: 'Where else in the world would you allow women to stand for election, vote, make them members of the Shura Council, but not allow them to get to those places on their own?' she asked. 'I think this is like a bit of a test balloon and once the government sees what kind of a reaction it gets from this announcement and if there's not too much backlash, then women will be allowed to drive. In general, I think we are pretty happy with our leaders and even though people in the West may think we are backward, we are not as far behind as they think.' But in a sign that change does not come overnight, a lawyer said yesterday that authorities were planning on bringing a Saudi activist to trial for defying the driving ban. Waleed Aboul Khair, the attorney, said that Najalaa Harrir was summoned for questioning by

the prosecutor general in the port city of Jeddah on Sunday, the same day King Abdullah made his surprise announcement" (*The Independent,* September 27, 2011).

The frame appeared when the newspaper's stories discussed the action of the Saudi government against the campaign.

3. The morality frame:

The four newspapers used this frame sparingly, as no story was found which contained any overtly moral message. However, some stories made reference to Islam as a factor behind the ban on women driving while others mentioned that some men use religion to intimidate women drivers and discourage them from participating in the Saudi women drivers campaign.

The Independent (N=23) had a mean score of 0.3 for this frame. Deema Almashabi and Glen Carey reported that: "Saudi Arabia is the birthplace of the austere Wahhabi form of Islam. Saudi women need a guardian's consent to travel outside the country, marry or conduct official business" *(The Independent,* October 25, 2013*).*

4. The economic frame:

Of the four newspapers, only *The Independent* used this frame (N=23), where the analysis recorded a mean score of 0.04 and the newspaper mentioned the effects of the ban on Saudi women driving: "This extreme segregation cannot be justified on religious or economic grounds. Many women have signed petitions saying: "If I earn $1,000, I don't want to give $500 to a driver." There are so many contradictions and it's such a problem for the Saudi regime" (*The Independent*, June 18, 2011).

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the frames employed in the news stories published by the four selected British newspapers when they reported the protests by Saudi women against their driving ban in the country. The representation of Saudi women in British newspapers was similar to the general, stereotypical representation of Muslim women developed over the centuries in Western travellers' imaginations in terms of portraying them as powerless. The similarity of representation of the Saudi women's protest against the ban on women driving focuses on the protest being an obstacle to Saudi women being able to have the right to drive a car.

As has been discussed in the chapter, journalists use framing as a tool to highlight or avoid certain ideas in covering events. First, the frame of human interest was used in some of the highlighted UK news stories on Saudi women. Indeed, the human interest frame dominated when the four newspapers covered different themes and angles regarding the driving campaign by, (1) describing the negative actions by the Saudi government and judiciary towards Saudi women drivers, such as gaol terms or lashing sentences, and by (2) linking these to Saudi women's alleged inability to gain freedom within the patriarchal Saudi society. The human interest frame and the conflict frame along with other frames also contributed its views by identifying some of the individual Saudi women not allowed to drive. Moreover, from the perspective of the human interest frame, the four newspapers portrayed Saudi women as victims who could not effectively protest against the strict culture of the country. The frame of human interest values how much women are subjects, and this frame focused on the dominance of agonizing stories of Saudi women drivers in the context of the traditional culture and explored the extent to which it drove Saudi women to passivity. The chapter's analysis of some of the pictures that were published along with the news stories revealed that negative representations of Saudi women drivers dominated when most pictures of Saudi women showed them wearing the veil rather than behind the wheel. Thus, it described the strong effect culture has in dictating that clothes should cover Saudi women's bodies or faces. The Orientalism frame also contributed its views by indicating and emphasizing that Saudi women were not allowed to drive. Within such a frame, the four newspapers used a strategy of 'empathy for the victim' and blamed the Islamic religion and Saudi law for the constraints that prevent Saudi women from winning more rights and from driving.

Chapter 7   Representation in the British Press of Saudi Women Regarding Participation in the London Olympic Games, 2012

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the representation in the British press of Saudi women's participation in the 2012 London Olympics, namely, that women are still not allowed to take part in sporting events in Saudi Arabia, even though there has been some development in this aspect such as appointing princess Rema bint Bandar al Saud as a undersecretary president if the Saudi sport authority in 2013. That Saudi women are not allowed to play sports is an issue frequently discussed by the European and American media because Saudi Arabia is one of three countries not sending women to the Olympics, and this is contrary to laws concerning discrimination against women. This chapter begins by explaining the background of the ban on Saudi women playing sports in their country and discusses the debate concerning this ban. I then present quantitative findings of the content analysis of a sample of news stories and photographs with a detailed discussion of the dominant frames I have identified regarding the coverage of Saudi women and the issues they face when claiming their right to freedom of movement.

7.2 The Ban on Saudi Women in Sport

The banning of Saudi women from participation in international sporting events is related to the policy of the Saudi government in dealing with Saudi women's rights within a conservative Saudi culture. Although participation in sports is not allowed in public schools, women can do so in private centres.

As Human Rights Watch (2012) reports, the ban on Saudi women in sports reflects the predominant conservative view that opening sports up to women and girls will lead to immorality, as has been stated by a prominent religious scholar in the Saudi media. As such, females were excluded from sporting activities in girls' schools until May 2016, when the Saudi Ministry of Education announced that Saudi girls could practise sports in public schools.

Al-Ghamdi (2016) had earlier indicated that the Saudi Education Ministry was responsible for the banning of sports in the public schools for girls. However, the announcement of the Minister of Education on the issue of introducing sports in girls' public schools ~~has~~ triggered some reactions. As a result, some local Saudi newspapers carried a follow-up statement in which the minister emphasized that the introduction of sports in girls' schools was not a priority in their plans for girls' education. The minister said, "We are engaged in dealing with issues having much more significance and there has been nothing presented to me related to what was proposed in this regard several years ago". Mubarak Al-Osaimi, the spokesman for the ministry did not answer any questions regarding the banning of sports in girls' schools. Reacting to the minister's statement to the effect that sport was not a priority of the ministry, people posted their comments expressing surprise and astonishment because they believed that sports strengthen one's physical health. They pointed out that it was quite strange that these benefits did not seem to find a place in the ministry's priorities.

As of recent developments, Saudi women can now practice new sports such as yoga, and meditation alongside physical exercise in women's clubs without any problem. In addition, media coverage of the controversy concerning Saudi women in sports has highlighted the benefits of changing to a healthier lifestyle to help prevent obesity and diabetes, regardless of the issue of women's right to practice sport. In warning of the dangers of an unhealthy lifestyle, the Saudi media has started publishing reports of the importance of sport for women's health and the prevention of serious diseases.

7.3   First Participation of Saudi Women in the 2012 Olympics

The Saudi National Olympics Committee (NOC) faced some pressure to participate in the 2012 London Youth Olympic Games, consequently sending male and female competitors to these Games. The International Olympics Committee (IOC) reserves limited places for male and female athletes who are not required to meet the qualifying standards in the swimming and track and field categories. However, Saudi Arabia did not send any women to represent the kingdom internationally. The Saudi NOC did not have a women's division before the announcement of a women's department in 2016 (Damanhouri and Hanan Alnufaie, 2016). Indeed, Saudi Arabia has never sponsored a female athlete in an international competition. Even Dalma,

who participated in the 2010 Singapore Youth Olympics Games, was nominated through a process of national competitive trials.

It is an undisputed fact that Saudi Arabia is one of only three countries that has never nominated a female athlete to the Olympics Games. Qatar hosted the 2006 Asian Games and developed a programme for women in sports, and both Qatar and Brunei have sent female athletes to regional and international competitions, such as the Islamic Women's Games. Because Saudi Arabia signed the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and these treaties prohibit discrimination against women and girls, Human Rights Watch (2012) stated that if Saudi Arabia wants to participate in the games, the country should improve its policies for women in sports such as forming a women's division within the NOC and qualifying women to compete in international competitions. In addition, the nation should establish how physical education for girls is to be allowed in government and private schools. Similarly, Saudi Arabia should lift its ban on licensing gyms for women and instruct the GPSYW to create a women's section for the admission of women members to all sports clubs it oversees in the kingdom.

The head cover of Muslim women is a big issue in the Olympics. Amara (2012) stated that veiled women face some challenges if they want to participate, and these pressures are felt by women in most Muslim countries. The veil promotes exclusion of participation in sports that are incompatible with its wearing. Amara stated that the IOC discriminates against women because there are few women in decision-making positions. However, the pressure from the IOC generates strong motivation. Saudi Arabia announced in August 2016 that its cabinet had appointed a princess to head a new department for women under the kingdom's general authority for sports in a move that could allow single females improved access to sports (*Daily Mail,* 2016). The *Arab News* wrote that of the new Shoura appointments, 29 members are females. One is Lina K. Almaeena, a popular figure in Jeddah, who has assiduously promoted sports among young people, especially women (*Arab News*, 2016).

 In March 2011, the Gulf Games for Women were held in seven disciplines in Abu Dhabi, but Saudi Arabia did not send any women athletes. The IOC tried to support Saudi women by engaging with the Saudi NOC regarding the need to provide sports

facilities for women. Although Saudi Arabia promised to participate by sending women's sports teams for the first time to an international competition, the reality is that the Saudi NOC does not have a women's section, and Saudi Arabia has never fielded a female athlete in an international competition with the exception of Malhas as described above (who, in any case, was not sponsored by the Saudi Arabian government). For the sake of universality, the IOC reserves special slots for male and female competitors in swimming and track and field events that are not required to meet the qualifying standards. These slots are designed to allow nations who would not otherwise qualify to be represented in the games by both male and female athletes. However, Saudi Arabia has shown no sign that it intends to take advantage of this system to field women in these slots (Human Right Watch, 2011).

Saudi Arabia is not alone in facing the complex situation of dealing with conservative culture vis-à-vis Muslim women in sports. Qatar and Brunei have also been having difficulty in sending females to the Olympics. However, Qatar, which hosted the 2006 Asian Games, has begun to develop a programme for women in sports and has fielded national women's teams in regional competitions. Both Qatar and Brunei sent girls to participate in the 2010 Singapore Youth Olympics. Saudi Arabia, however, is the only country never to have nominated a female athlete for the Olympic Games.

In November 2011, Prince Nawaf, the president of the Saudi NOC, announced that the Saudi NOC would send only a men's team to the London 2012 Olympic Games. However, Prince Nawaf did not rule out the possibility of female participation:

> "If there is to be women's participation, then . . . it would be by invitation [from outside bodies], and we would be keen to have women's participation in the appropriate form and dress and according to Islamic precepts and in the presence of her male guardian and provided that while she performs the sport no part of her is visible contrary to the Sharia" (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Unlike Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Brunei sent female athletes to the Women's Islamic Games held in Iran, where some won medals. In November 2010 the National Olympics Committees of the Gulf Cooperation Council member states decided to add volleyball for women as a category and said they would hold competitions soon for all national teams "with the exception of Saudi Arabia, which does not have such a

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team". "In July 2010, Qatar announced it was planning to send women athletes to the London 2012 Olympics Games. Following this, Nawaf, who is a member of the IOC, told a news conference in Jeddah: "We are not endorsing any Saudi female participation at the moment in the Olympics or other international championships" (The Daily Telegraph, April, 6, 2012).

7.4 British Press Coverage of Saudi Women and Participation in the 2012 Olympics

The British press paid particular attention to the issue of Saudi women's participation in the 2012 Olympics because women's rights in Islamic countries, and Saudi Arabia in particular, has become a popular subject in the West. The academic media analysis of news coverage revealed a stereotypical image of Saudi women as weak and oppressed. For example, Jennifer Hargreaves (2013) wrote in her thesis about Arab women's Olympics clothing:

> "There is greater sensitivity than ever before to the needs of Arab female Olympians who want the right to wear sportswear that is modest and does not reveal the body. Manufacturers have designed special clothing that covers arms, legs and head and international federations are relaxing previously-enforced brief body-covering. In London 2012, there were lengthy dress-code discussions between the IOC, the International Judo Federation and representatives from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia regarding the participation of judoka Wojdan Shaherkani. The matter was resolved by an agreement allowing her to wear modified headdress" (Hargreaves, 2013: on line).

The participation of two Saudi women in the Olympics of 2012 did not garner much attention in the Saudi Arabia, because they were not able to practice adequately in the one centre in Saudi Arabia open to help women who want to become professional basketball players. Media coverage in the Middle East of Saudi women at the Olympics was no different from the Western press's stereotypical coverage of Arab Muslim women. The coverage by the British press focused on Saudi women being deprived of the right to participate in sports because the government prevented Saudi women from participating, but the problem is that there are no professional female athletes in Saudi Arabia because they cannot practise in local schools and only recently have been able to do so in some sport centres.

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Despite the indifference of the media and the lack of government support in Saudi Arabia, the two Saudi female athletes enjoyed a warm and sympathetic reception from the Olympic spectators. Hargreaves (2013) writes:

> "Shaherkani lost the bout quickly and decisively, but was warmly applauded. Sarah Attar, also from Saudi Arabia, ran the 800 metres fully covered in a long-sleeved green jacket, long black running trousers, and a white hood. Although she came last in the first heat by more than half a minute, spectators gave her a standing ovation. Attar said, 'This is such a huge honour and an amazing experience, just to be representing the women . . . I know that this can make a huge difference" (2013).

It therefore appears that 2012 was an important milestone because Saudi women and Arab women in the Gulf performed remarkably well when they participated in the 2012 Olympics, and showed that they can follow Western women and deserve to play sports as a right, not as a luxury. Saudi women need to take part in sports and exercise as a normal part of life and culture, first for their general health and well-being, but also to build a new generation of young, talented sporting females, some of whom will have Olympic potential. But in order to succeed on the world stage, they will need access to a modern sports infrastructure with facilities, coaching, and competition opportunities that compare favourably with countries that have a long history of Olympic competition (Hargreaves, 2013).

7.5 Methodology

7.5.1 Quantitative Analysis of the Results and Discussion

This case study performed a close textual analysis of news coverage of Saudi women who participated in the London 2012 Olympics, including photographs published in four British newspapers: *Daily Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent, and The Guardian*. It used a quantitative methodology of analysis of the news stories of the Olympic 2012 and a framing analysis to examine the main texts of the news stories. The units of analysis are what the news story used to portray Saudi women during the specified timeframe and in the specific context of protests against the ban on women in sports in public in Saudi Arabia.

The case study covers the period from 2005 to 2013. This timeline was chosen to include the history of the ban on women in sports in school before discussing the ban from participating on the NOC board and any previous coverage of this issue. Prior to 2013, there had been little coverage of the ban. This long period enables a comparison over time to determine any changes in how British newspapers have portrayed the Saudi women's movement.

The initial sample for this case study was chosen by accessing the LexisNexis database using the keywords and phrases 'Saudi women', 'Saudi woman', and 'Olympic athletes'. Every news story produced in the search results was scanned to check whether Saudi women and the right to play sports were primary topics or featured heavily in the articles. Sometimes the words 'Saudi women' appeared in the headlines, but in most news stories Saudi women were prominently discussed in the body of the texts. News stories were then selected for inclusion in the content analysis if they met the following criteria:

1. The main topic or a major element of the news story was Saudi women participating in Olympics 2012.
2. The news story was accompanied by a picture.

The second criterion was important, as one of the goals of the present study was to examine the visual images chosen to accompany UK news coverage involving Saudi women because photographs frame the written text. Therefore, the photographs accompanying each news story were collected from the websites of each of the four newspapers selected for this study.

After identifying a sample of newspaper stories, a quantitative analysis was done to identify the most frequently occurring words within the text. A quantitative content analysis of the news stories was also used to identify the most frequent themes in the qualitative content analysis.

By coding the essential elements of the news sample, it was possible use the figures to present the descriptive statistics relating to the selected items. In this section, the findings are summarised in three main ways and presented in graph form:

1. The date on which the news story was originally published (to monitor the pattern of coverage over the time period of the study);
2. The themes in the context that supported the creation of the frame; and

3. The sources the news stories used (e.g. local, international, Saudi women) to examine their credibility.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the photographs accompanying the written text of the news story were fixed using content analysis following Leon & Ervitl (2016).

7.6 Visual Representation of Saudi Women

A. Number of the pictures of Saudi women participated in Olympic 2012

In all, 50 photographs were collected from 52 news stories, all of which accompanied news stories relating to Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics.
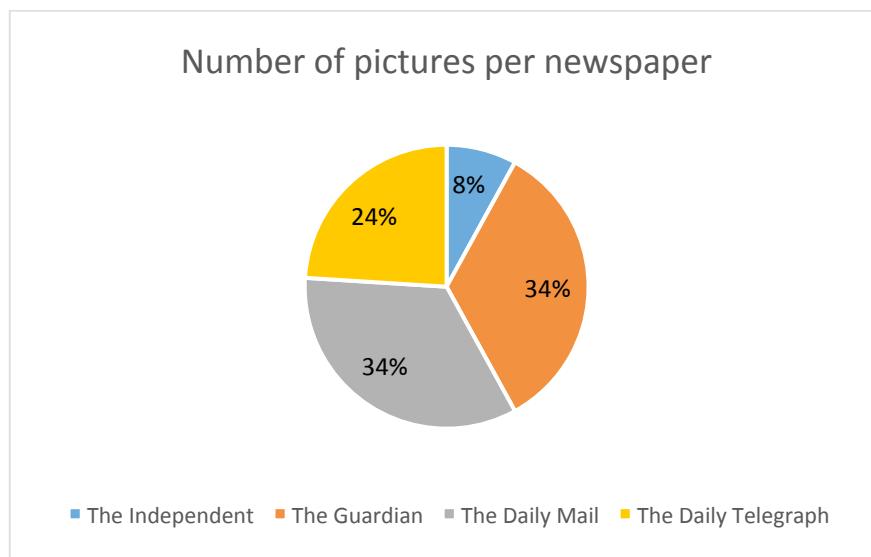
Figure 7.1 The number of pictures of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics in different newspapers

The total number of the pictures was 50. *Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* used the highest number of pictures 17 each (34% each), *The Independent* used the smallest number 4 pictures (8%), while *The Daily Telegraph* used 12 items (24%).

B. The sources of Saudi women pictures in the 2012 Olympics
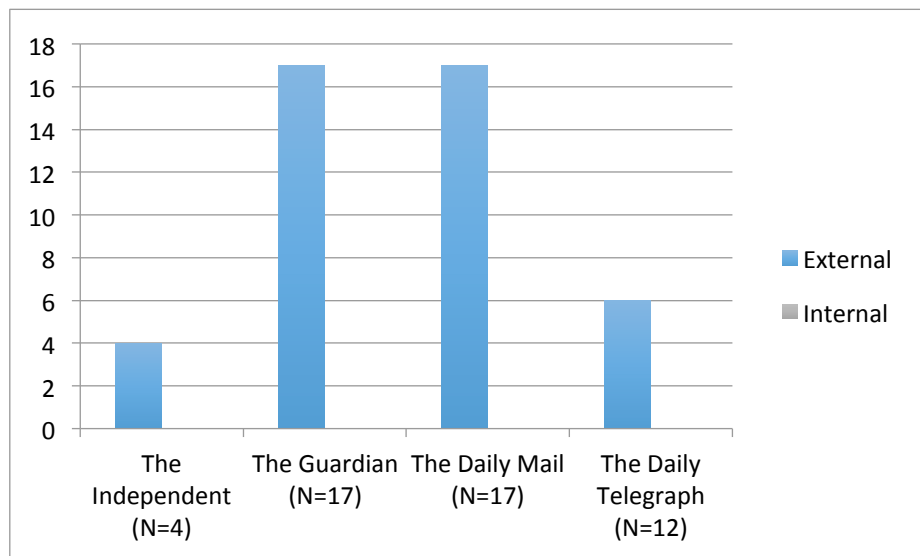
Figure 7.2 The sources of Saudi women pictures in the 2012 Olympics.

As Figure 7.2 shows, the newspapers did not use internal sources, which means that all the pictures they used were from news agencies.

C. The timeline of pictures of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics
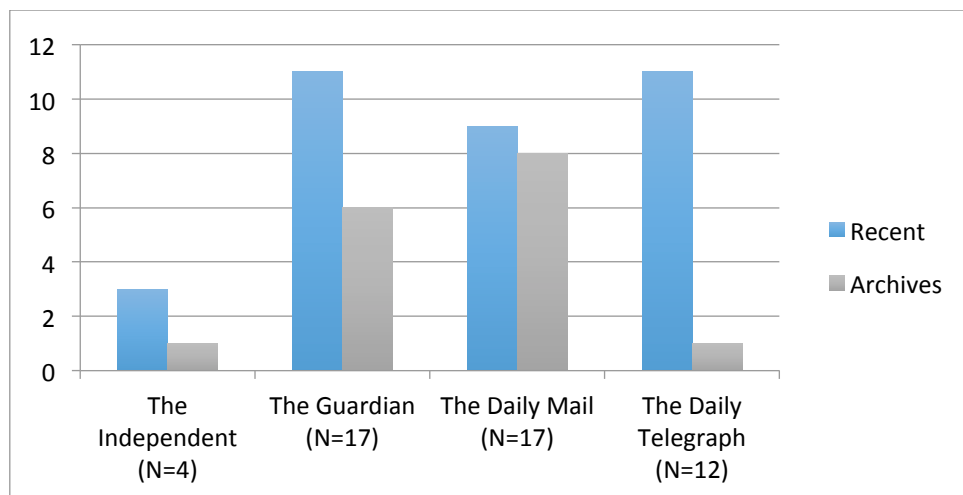
Figure 7.3 The timeline of pictures of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics

As Figure 7.3 shows, the newspapers used both new and archived pictures. *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* used the highest number of recent pictures followed by *The Daily Telegraph.* Moreover, *Daily Mail* used the highest number of archived pictures. All the pictures used by *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* were recent; most of

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the pictures used by *Daily Mail* were from the archive. *The Independent* equally used new and archived pictures.

D. The number of related pictures to Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics
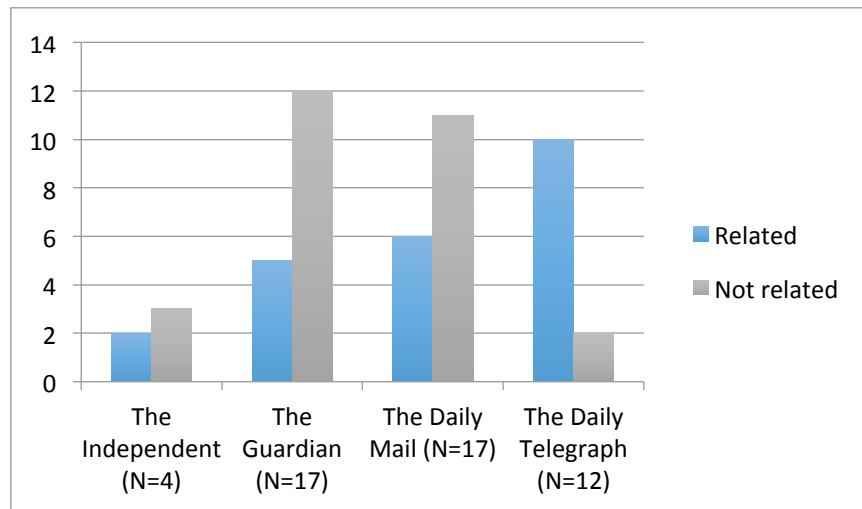
Figure 7.4 The number of related pictures to Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics

Figure 7.4 shows that *The Guardian* published the most number of pictures not related to Saudi women participating in the 2012 Olympics; *The Daily Telegraph* published the fewest pictures not related to the topic but also published the most pictures of Saudi athletes. *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, and *Daily Mail* offered the most pictures not related to the topic. Pictures of Attar and Wejdan in the 2012 Olympics mostly appeared in *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph*, while *The Independent* used the fewest related pictures and *The Guardian* used mostly unrelated pictures.

E. The symbol use of Saudi female pictures

The four newspapers used in this study published only few pictures of the Saudi female participant in the Olympics 2012. Figure 6.5 shows an example of some of the pictures used in the news stories about Saudi women participation. The newspapers either published pictures of veiled women or pictures not related to the participation for example, the picture published by *The Independent* of Wijdan with her father (Figure 7.5).

Daily Mail: 27 February,12 March, 25 June, 12 July, 2012

The Guardian: 24 June, 2012

The independent: August 3, 2012

The Daily Telegraph: 7 August,26, 27, 31, 2012

Figure 7.5 **The rule "symbolic" of pictures of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics.**

7.7 Visual Representations of Saudi Women

Compared to other stories, the visual representation of Saudi female athletes was peripheral for English newspapers in 2012. The most pictures appeared repeatedly, although there were only 50 pictures in 12 months. *The Independent* published 26 articles with only four pictures; *Daily Mail* published 12 news stories with 17 pictures. *The Guardian* also published the same number of pictures (17) and stories (12), while *The Daily Telegraph* published twelve pictures. Every picture came from external sources, showing that these newspapers did not care much about Saudi women in the Olympics. In addition, most of the pictures of Saudi women in the Olympics were of Attar and Wejdan, and some of these were from archives and repeated (see figure 6.5).

The invisibility of Saudi women in the press is one of the problems explored in this study. Some images may play a symbolic role because they are related to a concept rather than to a specific event. For example, *Daily Mail* published pictures of a group of Saudi women wearing a black Apaya and black veil, which was not related to the story of Saudi women trying to compete in a global competition (see figure 6.5). This approach corresponds with the views of Al-Dosary (2014) who stated that visual representations of how a woman covers her body is crucial because of its many political interpretations. Some images are symbolic of the participation of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics; the use of images showing women with veils instead of showing them in sports attire at the Olympics is the cause of such a phenomenon. In this study, some of the stories included statistical data or predictions for the future and contained a number of symbolic images. For example, a story in both *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* published pictures of two Saudi women with veils without any reference to sports. These images suggest that even though Saudi women were participating in the Olympics, they still symbolised the oppression that the European and American media believes besets Saudi women who are being forced into wearing veils (Figure 6.5).

Analysis of the pictures published with news stories of Saudi women participating in the 2012 Olympics revealed that most pictures were repeated as symbols of Saudi women's subordination. *The Daily Telegraph* published one of the Saudi participants (Wojdan Shaherkani) with her father when they arrived at Heathrow airport. *The Independent* also published a picture of Wojdan Shaherkani walking with her father taking part in the march of the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games of 2012. This portrayal differed from that of Al-Dosary (2014), who discussed the representation of Saudi women in the AP and Reuters and concluded that most images did not represent women as victims but as Saudi women working in different fields and, driving cars and participating in the 2012 Olympics. However, previous studies revealed that Muslim women had received negative representation—even in the face of Muslim or Arab women's achievements. As Fahmy (2004) stated, the depiction of Afghan women in the AP photographs during the period of the Taliban regime are signs of visual subordination and framing stereotypes. Women after the fall of the Taliban regime are portrayed as more involved, interactive, socially intimate, and symbolically equal to the viewer. Analysis of these AP photographs reveals a

portrayal of a more complex version of Afghan women's liberation. Women after the fall of the Taliban regime are depicted still wearing their burqas, reflecting the complexity of a social liberation movement in a traditional society.

However, the portrayal of Muslim women in the European and American media seems negative, especially in terms of visual representation, because the photographer focuses on the veil instead of the position of the women. Numerous studies such as (Eltantawy, 2007; Le Renard, 2008 ; Weber, 2001 ; Zempi, 2014) have examined how the British press has represented and framed the issue of Muslim women, including stories about the wearing of the hijab, niqab or burqa. Thus, it is worth considering the broader context of the British press in the post- 9/11 period because this event framed the period being discussed in this study.

As was the case in France, the interest and passion generated by 'veiling' in the UK media seemed extraordinarily inconsistent with the number of women actually wearing the niqab or burqa. The burqa is rare even in ~~the~~ most Islamic countries, as only 10% of women are likely to wear this form of whole-body covering. It is rarely seen in Western European countries; for example, an estimated 30 women wear a burqa in Belgium (Janson, 2011). The niqab is more frequent, but even so, estimates put the numbers of women wearing the niqab in France at fewer than 2,000. Despite this, as Janson (2011) noted, newspaper articles touching upon Muslim topics in the European media are frequently accompanied by a picture of a woman wearing a black niqab and jilbab or a burqa. At the same time, it is generally assumed that she is forced into wearing it, that she is humiliated by wearing it, and that she has no choice but to do so (Janson, 2011: 183–184).

Meer et al. (2010) and Meer, Dwyer, and Modood (2009) found evidence of clashes of ideology in the newspapers between the newspapers' leader news stories appeared This was particularly the case in *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, where the lead article might be supportive of the rights to follow its own cultural practices, whilst other pieces by journalists, often females, would take a feminist perspective on the story, treating the veil as a symbol of oppression. Other newspapers were more unequivocal in their approval of the intervention by Jack Straw and their condemnation of the practice of 'veiling' (normally in reference to the use of the

niqab), of those women who wore the niqab, and those who imposed this practice (e.g., male relatives, other members of their ethnic community, faith leaders).

Some news stories, although still adoptive of positive trends, remained neutral, covering stories that entailed no depictions of Saudi women as oppressed or the Saudi state as oppressor. Others opposed any Western intervention by arguing that these women, referenced as a collective entity, do not desire change. And finally, some reports renounced the former position in favour of giving Saudi women the option to choose their own destiny, whatever that may be, and therefore necessitating and urging Western involvement. The majority of these articles covered events, including the controversial absence of Saudi women from the Olympics, a number of social achievements in their favour, crimes or injustices against them including rape, forcible divorce, and honour killings.

Saudi women essentially received media attention as being docile under a phallocentric, 'interpretive form' of Islam. They are seen as unable or incapable of freeing themselves without international intervention. The difference, nevertheless, is that these portrayals are reproduced in a manner that reflects contemporary circumstances—the 2008 elections in the United States, the recession, the Olympics, and, of course, the war on terror. The strategy manifests itself by presenting impartial journalistic articles to report new, fresh, and neutral stories while maintaining a continuity of construal metanarrative of Orientalism that alludes to the constant mitigation of imbricated binary oppositions, which, dialectically, advances hegemonic identity discourses between West and East, self and other, as well as here and there' (Dahlan, 2011: 120).

An analysis of the photographs published alongside the sample of news stories reveals that *Daily Mail* sometimes chose to publish images of women not related to the topic of the news story; such a strategy then made what women were or were not wearing the salient issue. One good example of this was when the news focused on the situation of Saudi women, revealing that Saudi women were not allowed to drive and travel without permission while, at the same time, discussing how the head scarf could ban Saudi women from Olympic sports. As Ahmad (1992) noted, the 'veiled' female Muslim body was framed in Western colonial discourse as an image of passive victimhood, yet at the same time, this covering of the female body under the male

gaze draws attention to what it is covering; thus, the veiled body also becomes more seductive in its suggestiveness. It is exactly this Western colonial discourse that is hinted at in the jarring juxtaposition here of the mention of attire beneath the burka.

The focus on Saudi society's constraints does not mention how people have to adapt themselves to the culture and that positive change is happening gradually in this traditional society. This frame highlights the inability of Saudi women to claim rights while Saudi women get support from the government and liberal elites in society. As noted in the British context of coverage regarding the piece by Jack Straw (2006) and the niqab, the issue of veiling served as a pretext for raising many underlying concerns about national identity, values, and otherness. It was also noticeable in the case of coverage relating to Saudi women and participation in the Olympics of 2012, as this served as a means of allowing journalists to raise other underlying concerns, which as the framing analysis shows, relates particularly to aspects of women's rights. Another example of British newspapers linking issues faced by Saudi women with human rights was *The Guardian*'s coverage of Dalma Malhas, who was due to compete in the equestrian events, although she was forced to pull out when her horse was injured. Again, the key issue became women's rights:

> "Saudi women are currently barred from voting or standing for office, are not allowed to expose any part of their body beyond eyes and hands, and have to have a 'male guardian' with them at all times. They have separate entrances for public buildings and are not allowed to drive a car" (26 June 2012).

7.8 Quantitative Analysis of News Stories

In June 2012, British newspapers published an increased number of news stories about Saudi women that participated in the Olympic 2012. The four newspapers selected here covered the global event especially stories of the two Saudi women participants in 52 news items selected for analysis across nine years.

7.9 Results and Discussion for News Stories

7.9.1 Frames and their Supporting Evidence in the Period 2005- 2013

Firstly, the frequency of reporting and the themes taken from the content were collated in order to explore the quantitative differences between the selected newspapers.

Secondly, the master-frames of human interest and conflict frame were discovered in the analysis of the news stories within the defined period, demonstrating the complexity of the relations between Britain, and Saudi women participated in Olympic 2012. The main stories in their interactions and the reasons behind them were explored throughout the analysis of the news coverage. Items of news content were analysed using quantitative analysis, which was undertaken in broad social context.

In this case, the master-frame of human interest and conflict frame is represented in a specific form Orientalism perspective when some stories focus on the dress of Saudi women athletes. As a type of prejudiced thinking, Orientalism is an imaginative concept created by the West, as well as a lens through which the West perceives the very 'different' East. Through the manifestation of 'knowledge and power', the East is often framed as exotic but backward. Saudi Arabian women protesting against the ban from sport in their country, in this case, are seen as a combination of both frames.

7.9.2 Quantitative Analysis Results and Discussion

In 2011, British newspapers published an increased number of news stories about Saudi women participated in Olympic 2012. The four newspapers selected here covered the two campaigns in 53 news items selected for analysis across nine years. However, some stories were excluded as they only covered Saudi women participation in the Olympic 2012 in one or two sentences. The number of news stories were as following: *The Independent* (n.13) *The Guardian* (n.3) *Daily Mail*(n.10) *The Daily telegraph* (n. 2).

The total use of the word "first", which is used to describe the participation of Saudi women in the first time in the Olympics, recorded the highest frequency, while the words "Dress" and "Discrimination" recorded the lowest.

There are some words, which were absent from the newspapers, such as 'dress' in *The Independent* news, also, the two words ' headscarf' and ' quality' that were absent in *The Daily Telegraph.* This could be caused by the fact that *The Daily Telegraph* did not focus on the problem facing the Saudi women participants in the Olympics where they did not have enough training because Saudi women are not allowed playing sports in their country.

	The Independent		The Guardian		Daily Mail		The Daily Telegraph	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Head scarf (n=12)	4	**33.3**	3	**25.0**	5	**41.7**	0	**0.0**
Rights (n=18)	4	**22.2**	6	**33.3**	7	**38.9**	1	**5.6**
Allowed (n=26)	5	**19.2**	6	**23.1**	10	**38.5**	5	**19.2**
Conservative (n=25)	10	**40.0**	4	**16.0**	8	**32.0**	3	**12.0**
Ban (n=26)	8	**30.8**	6	**23.1**	9	**34.6**	3	**11.5**
First (n=32)	9	**28.1**	8	**25.0**	12	**37.5**	3	**9.4**
Qualify (n=16)	4	**25.0**	5	**31.3**	7	**43.8**	0	**0.0**
Discrimination (n=10)	2	**20.0**	2	**20.0**	5	**50.0**	1	**10.0**
Dress (n=10)	0	**0.0**	2	**20.0**	7	**70.0**	1	**10.0**
Equality (n=18)	4	**22.2**	8	**44.4**	5	**27.8**	1	**5.6**

Table 7.1 Frequency of common words in Saudi women participated in Olympic 2012In news stories.

The four newspapers recorded differences between the frequencies of common words. The highest percentage word that *The Independent* recorded was 'conservative' (n=10, 40.0%) while the lowest average of the frequency words was 'dress' that was absent because *The Independent* did not focus on the dress that Saudi women wore in the competition. Otherwise, *The Guardian* recorded the highest percentage of 'first' (n=8, 25.0%) and ' equality' (n=8, 44.4%)because it focused on the Olympics as an important event for Saudi women. *The Guardian* similar to *The Independent* did not focus on the dress that Saudi women wore in the Olympic 2012.

Daily mail recorded the highest percentage of 'first' as it referred to the event. On the other hand, the words such as 'head scarf'(n=5, 41.7%), 'discrimination' (n=5, 50.0%) and 'equality '(n=5, 27.8%) recorded the lowest average, as *Daily Mail* did not focus on the Saudi women rights. Therefore, the words related to women rights were not repeated.

The Daily Telegraph focused on the ban of Saudi women from sports in their country, so words such as 'not allowed' recorded the highest percentage (n=5, 19.2%).

By coding the fundamental elements of the sample of news, figures are used to display the descriptive statistics of selected items. In this section, findings are summarised in three main ways: number of news stories, sources that news stories

used, and themes in categories. The intention of this section is to make general conclusions based on the quantitative data and to explore the differences between the selected newspapers.
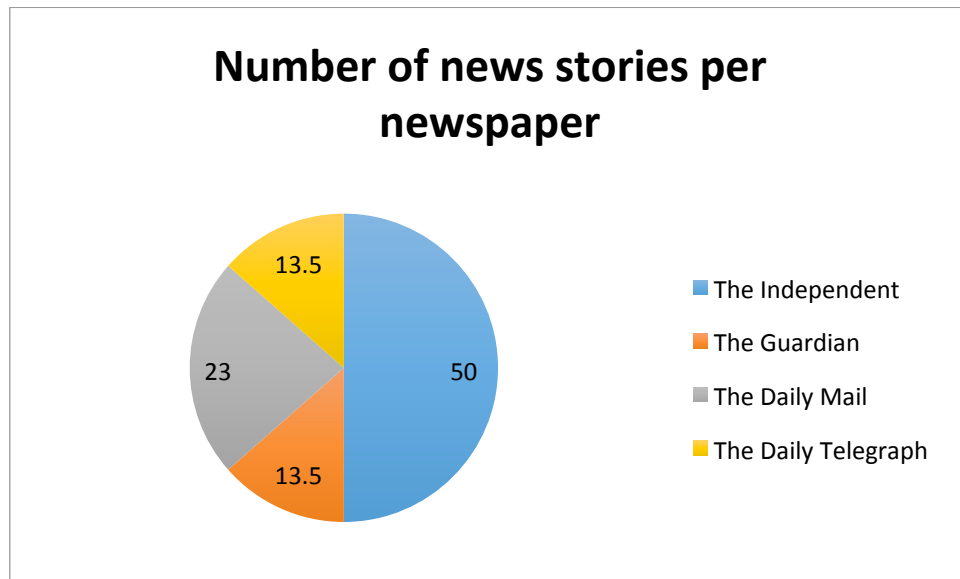
Figure 7.6 The number of news articles on Saudi women in the Olympics in different newspapers.

As Figure 7.6 shows, *The Independent* had the most news stories, while *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* had the fewest.
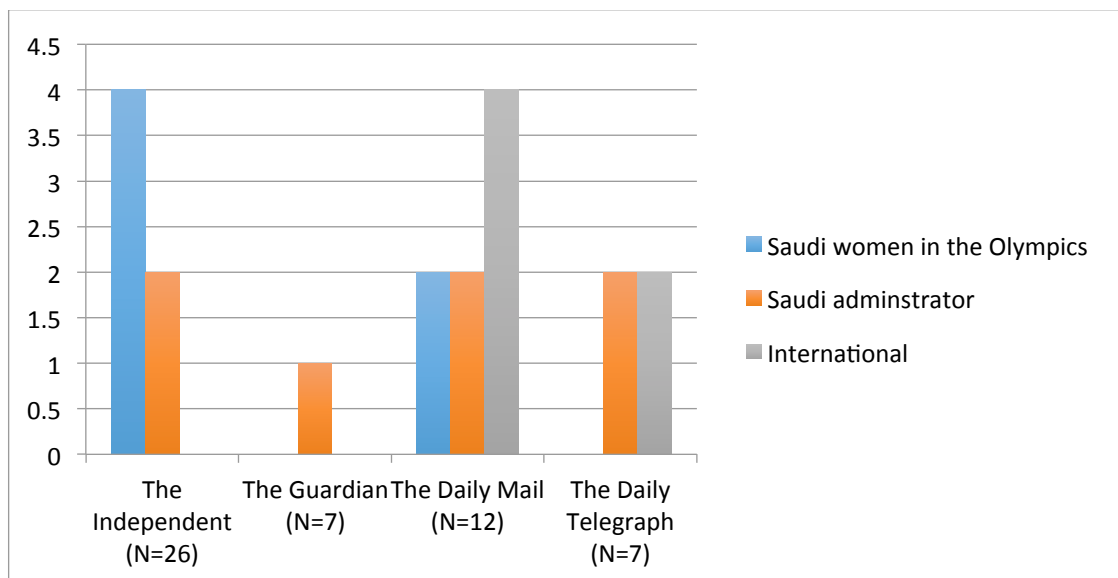
Figure 7.7 The sources of news of Saudi women in the Olympics in different newspapers.

Figure 7.7 shows the *Daily Mail* stories were more varied, while the only source *The Guardian* used was the Saudi administrator. It is clear that *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* did not consider using Saudi women as a source. *The Daily Telegraph* equally depended on the Saudi administrator and the international administrator. *The Independent* had the highest instance of Saudi women sources, followed by *Daily Mail*.
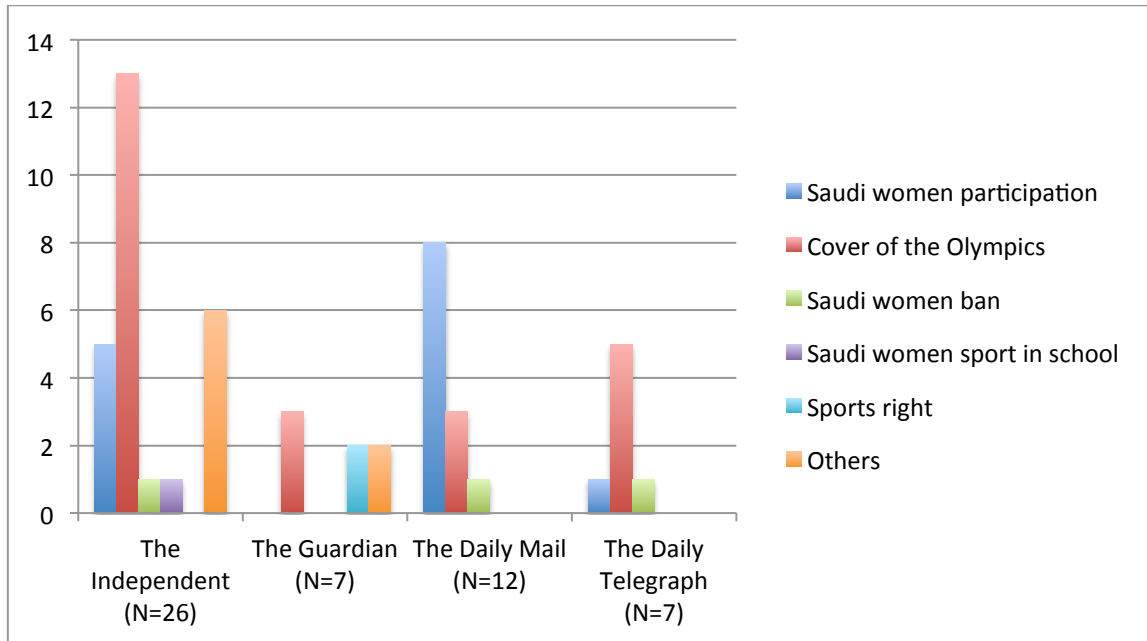
Figure 7.8 Themes used frequently in the four newspapers.

As Figure 7.8 shows, the themes most frequently used varied among the four newspapers. 'Saudi women participation' appeared in all four newspapers, but *Daily Mail* and *The Independent* published the most stories on that theme. *The Guardian* published the highest percentage of stories about the Olympics, but did not publish any story of Saudi women sports in schools, which only *The Independent* focused on.

7.10 Voices of Saudi Women

The participation of Saudi women in the Olympics was a global event, especially from the perspective of human rights protestors, who did not like the banning of women from practicing sports either in their own country or outside it. Regarding the analysis of news stories and how the four newspapers did not use the Saudi women participants as sources, the absent voice of Saudi women in most of the news stories revealed that journalists may believe that Saudi women, as Muslim women, are

oppressed. According to Van Ginneken (1998), most reporters working for elite media organizations in the West have a religious background even if they rarely attend religious services. She stated, '[y]et in their portrayals of other cultures, they often implicitly use Judeo-Christian religion as a yardstick of civilization, and implicitly look down upon other religions as "primitive"' (p. 66). The hijab worn by Saudi women athletes was part of the British coverage of Muslim women and the veil after the 9/11 attack. Therefore, the coverage of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics focused on the hijab, especially as it was discussed at length in the IOC, and some countries such as Qatar also did not send any females to any Olympics before 2012. This event played a vital role in the representation of Muslims and Islam. However, the negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam has increased significantly after 9/11 (Berry, 2011). In addition, the portrayal of Muslims in the Western media has increased because it is more liberal. Yet there was still the same negative discourse. The events of 9/11 exacerbated the negative impressions of the challenges faced by Muslim women, including the wearing of the veil (Berry, 2011) and how the veil is represented in the Western media.

First, news stories mentioned the clothes of Saudi women when they covered Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics, while ignoring the progress made in the steps taken to send Saudi females to the 2012 Olympics for the first time (see Figure 6. 5). This reveals that most sources of the news stories were not Saudi women athletes but the Saudi administrator or international agencies.

Secondly, human interest framed the conflict. *The Independent* and *The Guardian* used human interest to focus on Saudi women who rose above their strict society. For further clarification, the press coverage of the Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics was different. For example, *The Independent* published the most news stories (26) but did not focus on Saudi women participating in the Olympics. It published much shorter stories of the 2012 Olympics, and *The Guardian* published only seven stories linking the Saudi women athletes to women's rights.

Daily Mail published 12 news stories, most of them about the Saudi government's ban and the hijab of the Saudi women in the Olympics; *The Daily Telegraph* published only seven stories focusing on Saudi women's headscarves. However, all four

newspapers described Saudi Arabia and its society as 'conservative', portraying Saudi women as victims. *Daily Mail* (31July 2012) reported:

> The decision to allow Shaherkani, 16, to compete dressed in Islamic-compliant clothing threatens now to intensify that quarrel. She had said she would refuse to compete in the +78-kilogram judo category if she was banned from wearing a hijab. Saudi newspapers reported that she had telephoned her father to say she would withdraw from the Olympics if she was forced to compete uncovered.

The story then turned to the situation of Saudi women:

> In Saudi Arabia where in public women are required to wear a black abaya and headscarf by law. They are banned from driving their own cars and they are not permitted to run their own businesses. Women are also not allowed inside main government buildings.

On this particular topic, the *The Daily Telegraph* (31 July 2012) published 'Saudi Woman Can Fight in Headscarf', which said:

> Female judo fighter Wodjan Ali Seraj Abdulrahim Shahrkhani, from Saudi Arabia, will be allowed to compete in the Olympics wearing a form of head-scarf after a compromise was reached with the sport's governing body that respects the 'cultural sensitivity' of the Muslim kingdom.

Meanwhile, *The Guardian* (25 June, 2012) published a story about Saudi women's lives stating:

> Though equestrianism means a lot to Saudi Arabian culture and religion, it is not an easy sport for anyone to practise in the Kingdom, especially because sport is not encouraged for women, due to traditional and cultural restrictions." Such euphemisms fail, unfortunately, to convey the full horror of the female condition in a country defined by ultra-conservative Wahhabi Islamic orthodoxy and equally patriarchal tribal customs. Saudi women are currently barred from voting or standing for office, are not allowed to expose any part of their body beyond eyes and hands, and have to have a 'male Guardian' with them at all times. They have separate entrances for public buildings and are not allowed to drive a car.

The Guardian (8 August 2012) published a story on Attar that stated:

> 'Sarah Attar became the first female track and field athlete to represent Saudi Arabia at an Olympics when she competed in the 800 metres heats today. The 19-year-old, who wore a white head cover, a long sleeved green top and black leggings and sported luminous green running spikes, received a generous ovation from a capacity-crowd at the Olympics stadium as she trailed in last of the eight runners. 'It's an incredible experience,' Attar, who has dual United States citizenship and is a student at Pepperdine University in Los Angeles, told reporters. Attar, who clocked two minutes 44.95 seconds—over 43 seconds behind heat winner Janeth Jepkosgei Busienei of Kenya, is the second Saudi woman to compete at the Games following judoka Wojdan Ali Seraj Abdulrahim Shaherkani. The International Olympics Committee (IOC) had extended a special invitation to Shaherkani and Attar after it pressed Saudi Arabia to end its ban on female participation. Some conservative Saudis had criticised their countrywomen's participation in London after Saudi Arabia broke with its practice of sending male-only teams to the world's biggest sports event'.

Most of the newspapers did not use Saudi women athletes as sources, even the two Saudi women who participated in the Olympics. *The Independent* alone used different sources such as the Saudi women athletes and the Saudi and international administrators. The other newspapers instead used random people from Saudi Arabia.

"News is, then, a parasitic institution; its product is the deeds and words of others, and its quality depends at least partly on the quality of the information environment in which it is operating. News content, therefore, always needs to be understood not only in the context of what information is considered newsworthy, but of what information becomes available to the news media, and how" (Tiffen et al., 2013: 2). For Sigal (1986), sources make the news, although they do not necessarily generate the news that they seek. Many analysts have examined the implications of this key relationship, and of how differential access to the news can help the powerful[2] (Tiffen et al., 2013: 2).

The differences between British and Saudi cultures affect the structure of the news, as there are different patterns of news gathering and writing over time. Thus, different

cultures affect the procurement of news. As noted in the context of coverage about Jack Straw's column in the Blackburn-based Lancashire Telegraph, which prompted the debate on Friday 6, October 2006 about the niqab, the issue of veiling served as a pretext for bringing to the fore many underlying concerns about national identity, values, and otherness. It was noticeable too in the case of coverage related to Saudi women; this served as a means of allowing journalists to raise other underlying concerns, which as the framing analysis shows, related specifically to aspects of women's rights and conservative culture. Entman (2010) explained how bias in coverage has two main causes: content bias and decision-making. In the case of the former, consistently slanted framing promotes a particular ideology and denigrates others. This can be seen in the Orientalist views that frame Saudi women. This use of the figure of the veiled Saudi woman functions, as Janson (2011) stated, as the 'the epitome of the oppression and patriarchy of the Islamic world' (pp. 183–184) and variously attracts the incomprehension and ridicule or wrath of Western journalists, particularly feminists. The decision-making process depends on reporters and editors. Although journalists like to think they promote objectivity as part of their cultural frame and ensure equivalent treatment to competing frames to prevent their reports from being slanted, this analysis has shown that journalists' belief systems and personal ideologies do influence this process, guiding their news decisions and ultimately the texts they produce. This can be seen at the level of language, photographs, and captions of their articles.

7.11 Frame of Saudi Women in the 2012 Olympics

Newspaper	The Independent N = 13		The Guardian N = 3		Daily Mail N = 10		The Daily Telegraph N = 2	
News Frame	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Responsibility	2	15.4	1	33.3	5	50.0	0	0.0
Human interest	11	84.6	3	100.0	10	100.0	1	50.0
Conflict	10	76.9	3	100.0	10	100.0	2	100.0
Morality	3	23.1	0	0.0	5	50.0	1	50.0
Economics	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 7.2 Analysis of Saudi Women in Olympics News Framing in Different Newspapers

Table 7.2 shows that the most commonly used frame for *The Independent* was Human interest, with 84.6% of the articles being used within this frame, followed by Conflict and Morality. The most used frames for *The Guardian* were Human interest and Conflict, with 100% each, followed by Responsibility. The most used frames for *Daily Mail* were Human interest and Conflict, with 100%, followed by Responsibility and Morality. The most used frame for *The Daily Telegraph* was Conflict, with 100%, followed by Human interest and Morality. Thus, the most used frame for Saudi women in Olympics news in the four newspapers was Human interest. *The Guardian* and *Daily Mail* used this frame the most. The least used frame was Economics, which none of the newspapers used.

Newspaper News Frame	*The Independent* N=13	*The Guardian* N=3	*Daily Mail* N=10	*The Daily Telegraph* N=2
	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score
Responsibility	0.26	0.33	0.45	0
Human interest	1.5	2.83	1.3	0.5
Conflict	1.11	1.66	2.65	2
Morality	0.19	0	0.6	0.5
Economics	0	0	0	0

Table 7.3 Mean Scores of Saudi Women in Olympics News Framing in Different Newspapers

For *The Independent* and *The Guardian,* the frame with the highest mean score was Human interest, with *The Guardian* having the highest score (2.83 out of 5), followed by *The Independent* (1.5). As for the *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph*, the frame with the highest mean score was Conflict, with a mean score of 2.65 and 2, respectively (Table 7.3).

Responsibility was more important for *The Independent* (0.26) and *The Guardian* (0.33), while Morality was more important for the *Daily Mail* (0.6) and *The Daily Telegraph* (0.5). Economics was not used by any of the newspapers and had a score of 0 (Table 7.3).

The analysis in this chapter has established that one dominant frame was salient among the news stories: human interest. Table 5.12 shows the statistical results of the framing analysis with regard to the dominant frames in each newspaper. These news stories emphasised the suffering of Saudi women in the context of describing their inability to obtain the right to participate in an international sporting event. A large

percentage of the news stories focused on the argument between the IOC and Saudi NOC about whether Saudi female participants should cover their hair and therefore whether they can be involved in the Olympics.

Rather than making any reference to the opinion of Saudi women participants in this argument or the progress that Saudi women have made in obtaining certain rights, the articles focused on the debate between the government policy makers and the protesting traditionalists instead of on two Saudi women athletes and their voices. This may have promoted a negative image of Saudi society as a whole and is likely to have made readers feel pity for Saudi women, turning them into victims. In general, the news stories used the human-interest frame to publish many news stories, which focused on the sad stories of Saudi women banned from sport.

This chapter aimed at identifying the use of Saudi women Olympians in news frames by empirically analysing various news stories over the course of one year's news coverage. I found that stories on Saudi women in the 2012 Olympics primarily used the news frames of human interest and conflict. Not surprisingly, they did not use the responsibility frame; the news stories did not place blame specifically on any individual or organization and laid responsibility for the difficulties faced by female athletes generally on the Saudi government and Saudi NOC. It is also not surprising that the economic frame was not used, considering that the sample for this study came from the journalism area of culture news. Yet women's sporting news stories dealt mainly with the economic consequences. The second most predominant frame, conflict, was used more to highlight the internal crisis, focusing on conflicts between the Saudi Olympiad and the IOC. The stories show that Saudi women were participating in a sporting event abroad while they could not do so in their own country.

Results also showed that the more 'serious' the newspaper, the more likely the human interest frame would have priority over the conflict frame. This particular sample involved only liberal newspapers, such as *The Guardian* and *The Independent.* On the other hand, *Daily Mail* is especially known for its conflict-oriented reporting, as is *The Daily Telegraph*. So bias may exist in this sample when journalists choose to describe people or events in relation to their personal opinions. Often, as alluded to in the study by Shoemaker and Reese (1995), they focus on the possibility of bias in

political coverage, which can lead the audience to doubt the political legitimacy of the candidates. In addition, I found that morality frames were used more frequently when the news focused on the headscarves of Saudi women, but they did not provide any moral message or make any moral reference, which assumes a high level of controllability and intentionality.

The human-interest frame was used in clusters of news on victims. When the news media provides a human example or puts a 'human face' on an issue, it may influence people's emotional judgment of a person. Such an approach may in turn play a role in attracting sympathy for women who exist in unfair conditions as in the case of Saudi Arabia, which has banned women from sports and has no professional qualifying body to allow women to participate in a sporting event abroad.

For example *The Independent* stated:

> 'Shaherkani faced a further obstacle. The Saudis would only let her compete if she could wear some form of hijab that covered her hair in its entirety. Even that was a radical move. Most women in Saudi Arabia cover their faces and hands when they go outside. But Judo's governing body was concerned that any form of head covering could be dangerous. In the end, after a tortuous series of discussions a compromise was reached. Shaherkani stepped out wearing a tightly wound black head-covering, similar to those worn by devout Sikh men and women at sporting events. As one seasoned judo reporter in the press stands remarked: 'Poor girl, all that fuss over nothing. It's a storm in a tea cup and she's a political pawn in the middle of it all' (August 3, 2012).

In an earlier report, *The Guardian* had discussed the negotiations leading up to the Games:

> In turn, a terse response from the Olympics committee in Saudi Arabia was that it would 'oversee participation of women athletes who can qualify'. Yet only one woman was identified as likely to qualify in any report so far and that was Malhas. It is hard to understand how any woman could have qualified, given the range of repressive measures affecting female participation in sport in the Gulf Kingdom, including the fact that physical education is banned in girls' state schools and a 2009 decision to close all private gyms to women. A prominent Saudi religious scholar highlighted the still prevalent orthodoxy by

saying that 'opening sports to women and girls will lead to immorality'. Despite chronic obesity levels and related diseases among Saudi women, a recent human rights report relates a widely held belief in the desert state that 'once women start to exercise they will shed modest clothing, spend unnecessary time out of the house, and have increased possibilities of mingling with men (June 25, 2012).

Related to this, *The Independent* and *The Guardian* used the human interest frame differently, compared to the other newspapers.

On the other hand, *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* used the conflict frame which is related to the news stories that reflect disagreements among groups such as the IOC, human rights organisations, and the Saudi NOC. In other words, the news media reproached the Saudi government for its reluctance to send female athletes to the 2012 Olympics. The conflict frame also highlights when the news stories focus on more than one different opinion. For example, *Daily Mail* stated:

Having discussed the issue in Quebec yesterday, the International Olympics Committee's (IOC) talks resulted in them not imposing any sanctions on the Middle Easterners. IOC President Jacques Rogge, under pressure from human rights and sports groups to force Saudi Arabia to have female athletes as part of its London delegation, refused to consider the possibility of sanctions against the Gulf state or allow Saudi women to compete under a neutral flag. 'We are continuing to discuss with them, and their athletes are training and we hope that they will qualify in due time for the Games,' Rogge said. 'There is absolutely no reason to consider the participation of Saudi women under an IOC flag,' he added. Human Rights Watch's Middle East director Sarah Leah Whitson said: 'Saudi Arabia is the last hold-out denying women and girls the ability to take part in sports. 'The Saudi government's position should trigger serious scrutiny by the Olympics family. The dismal and un-equal conditions for women and girls who seek to practice sports in Saudi Arabia need to change now.' Earlier this year, Saudi Olympics Committee president Prince Nawaf bin Faisal refused to endorse female participation in the English capital.'(May 25, 2012).

On the same topic, *The Daily Telegraph* (April 6, 2012) reported:

Saudi Olympics Committee President Prince Nawaf bin Faisal said he was 'not endorsing' female participation in London as part of the country's official delegation. Sue Tibballs, chief executive of the Women's Sport and Fitness Foundation, said the stance was unacceptable. 'Saudi Arabia's current refusal to send sportswomen to the Olympics puts them directly at odds with one of the IOC's fundamental principles as laid out within the Olympics Charter', she said. Nawaf told a news conference that the Saudi Olympics Committee would not endorse female participation at the London Games. However, he added that if women entered as individuals on their own, Saudi officials would ensure that their involvement did not violate Islamic sharia law. . . . The IOC has been in lengthy discussions with those countries who have never before sent women to the Games. Jacques Rogge wants full gender representation as a final legacy of his 12-year presidency of the IOC, a term which expires next year. Last night an IOC spokesman said Olympics officials were still hoping to achieve full female participation despite the news reports emanating from Saudi Arabia. 'We are still talking and working to ensure the participation of Saudi women at the Olympics Games in London,' the spokesman said. Nawaf's comments appear to be a serious about-turn by conservative royal rulers, who had earlier talked about allowing a token female contingent to compete at the London Olympics.

As for the remaining frames (the Attribution of Responsibility frame and the Morality frame), they will be discussed in the next section to reveal the differences in the use of the frames by the newspapers.

7.11.1 Differences Between the Four Selected UK Newspapers

Content analysis of a sample consisting of 28 news stories from four selected newspapers showed that the news underwent significantly different framing for the purposes of news creation and circulation. The four frames of human interest, conflict, responsibility, and morality were used. None of the four newspapers used the economic frame while *The Guardian* did not use the morality frame. Indeed, *The Guardian* did not use two of the frames (economic and morality). Table 6.2 shows the differences among the newspapers' uses of the four frames.

In comparison to the dominance of the five frames, the results were as follows:

1. **The Human Interest frame:**

The four newspapers, especially *The Guardian* and *The Independent*, most often used the human-interest frame. This result challenge the findings of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), who indicated that such framing occurs significantly more often in the most sensationalist newspapers. In this study, the human interest frame appeared not so much in the *Daily Mail* but in *The Guardian,* which is liberal in attitude, and in *The Independent*. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) stated that the human-interest frame puts human faces on issues. This is endorsed by this study's uncovering of two stories published in the Guardian and Independent which focused on what the two Saudi women faced in their society when they wanted to take part in sport, and the history of Saudi women banned from sport . *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* used the human-interest frame less frequently. They did not seem to have any interest in how the two Saudi women coped with the banning of women from sport in Saudi Arabia.

2. **The conflict frame**:

Daily Mail and *The Daily Telegraph* recorded the highest use of the conflict frame. Most of news stories focused on the conflict between more than one party related to the issue. The human rights organisation played an important part in raising the issue of the Saudi women participating in the Olympics of 2012, and because of this emphasis on conflict, the news media have been criticized for inducing public cynicism (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). On the other hand, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* did not use the conflict frame in their news stories.

3. **Attribution of responsibility frame:**

Daily Mail used the responsibility frame most (50%), particularly when the news story mentioned the Saudi government's banning of women from sports in public schools and sending the two Saudi women athletes without any qualifications. *The Daily Telegraph* did not use this frame at all, while both *The Independent* (15.4%) and *The Guardian* (33.3%) did, to some extent. The attribution of the responsibility frame appeared when the story focused on the solution to the sports crisis in Saudi Arabia and when the story discussed urgent action. For example, *Daily Mail* published a story about the difficulties facing Saudi women who participated in the 2012 Olympics. *Daily Mail* reported:

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Events requiring qualification criteria, such as times, would be difficult for any Saudi woman, coming from a country when few women take part in sports. Nations are able to enter up to three athletes per event in the Olympics, provided they have achieved an A standard and one athlete per event if they have achieved the B standard for certain disciplines. However, to encourage broader participation, Olympics organisers can award so-called universality slots in track and field and swimming to athletes from nations that are underrepresented at the games. Those slots are awarded irrespective of qualifying standards, which could provide another avenue for a Saudi woman to participate in future Olympic Games. In 2009 the Saudi government closed gyms for women and enacted strict laws dictating how they should dress and behave and made it extremely difficult for them to partake in physical activity. A few years ago a marathon event was held in which women could only participate if they wore the Abaya, a black cloak covering the body (February 27, 2012).

Further, a recent report by the Human Rights Watch (2013) found that despite pledges to open up sports to women, the Saudi government continued to deny their right to practice physical education in schools. This story criticised a perceived 'tolerance' by Olympics organisers towards gender discrimination by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Brunei. The story provided information on the disagreement between the different agencies of Saudi Arabian and UK sport.

4. **The Morality frame**:

This frame was in the three newspapers (*The Independent*, *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph)* while *The Guardian* did not record any indication regarding religion. This frame had some stories making reference to Islam, for example, regarding the headscarf worn by Saudi women participants. An article focused on the argument between human rights groups that had called for an Olympics ban on Saudi Arabia and the Saudi Embassy in London. For example, in some stories, it was mentioned that certain officials had said that others may be able to take part, however, they would have to be dressed to preserve their dignity. This would mean loose-fitting garments and a scarf to cover the hair but not the face. Another news story in *The Independent* noted:

Shaherkani very nearly withdrew from the competition after judo officials initially prevented her from wearing a hijab because of safety concerns. However, on Monday, they agreed that she could wear a modified version of the garment (2 August 2012).

The Daily Telegraph stated:

> Female judo fighter Wodjan Ali Seraj Abdulrahim Shahrkhani, from Saudi Arabia, will be allowed to compete in the Olympics wearing a form of head-scarf after a compromise was reached with the sport's governing body that respects the 'cultural sensitivity' of the Muslim kingdom (August 31, 2012)

5. **Economic frame:**

None of the four newspapers used the economic frame because the topic of Saudi women participants was not related to an economic approach.

7.12 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the frames employed in the news stories published by four British newspapers reporting the protests on behalf of Saudi women participating in the 2012 Olympics for the first time. The representation of Saudi women in British newspapers was similar to the general world stereotypes.

As discussed in this chapter, journalists used framing as a tool to highlight or avoid certain ideas in covering events. The frame of human-interest stories was often used in stories on Saudi women, particularly in *The Independent* and *The Guardian*. Indeed, human interest was the dominant frame used when the four newspapers covered different themes and angles regarding the Saudi women who participated in the 2012 Olympics by describing the negative situations of the two Saudi women stating that, with no way to qualify, their participation would be weak. Also the reported strict standpoint taken by the Saudi people towards the two Saudi women was aimed at eliciting a negative feeling in the reader such as pity instead of applauding their achievement. The conflict frame and others identified the argument between the UK and Saudi administrators about the Saudi women's participants' wearing of a headscarf and the human rights organisations' stress on how the Saudi government addresses women's discrimination. The dominance of the human interest and conflict frames reflected the ideologies of the four newspapers, and displayed the

image of women as oppressed by a society that denies them their rights, revealing the conflict in the country among several parties concerning women's rights.

This chapter's analysis of the pictures accompanying the news articles further revealed dominant negative representations of Saudi women as they participated in the 2012 Olympics. One dominant image was of a participant with her father at Heathrow airport. This image was used to show that Saudi women cannot travel without a male guardian. The Orientalism frame also contributed its views by emphasising that Saudi women were not generally allowed to practise sports in their country while those who did compete were worried because they did not receive training from their country. Within such a frame, the four newspapers used a strategy of 'empathy for the victim' to emphasize the constraints imposed by Saudi law preventing Saudi women from accessing more rights and from sports participation.

Chapter 8   Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter begins by discussing the extent to which the kind of frames that British newspapers use when covering issues relating to Saudi women are shaped and conditioned by broader cultural frames relating to Orientalism and the specific culture which operates within journalism as a profession including sources that journalists used. After identifying the key frames used within the two selected case studies involving the representation of Saudi women in the chosen newspaper sample, it also explores the difference between the four newspapers. In a separate section, comments are made on the framing, which is used, in visual representations of Saudi women. Throughout this chapter, the extent to which the findings of this research confirm or challenge previous research findings in relevant studies and areas is also discussed. The chapter concludes by considering the contribution to knowledge of this research, and proposing directions for future research.

8.2 Using Frames in News Creation

In this thesis, the most prominent were finding across two case studies is that old Orientalist stereotypes regarding Muslim and Arab women, such as them being forced to wear a veil and not having independence in life, often in British news media representations. Instead of reporting the new rights given to Saudi women — such as positions in the Saudi al-Shura Council and the opportunity to vote in municipal elections — only Orientalist stereotypes are reported in British news media. The images of the exotic and religious veil, with its connotations of mystery, are the core images emphasised by the use of the Orientalist frame. In the case of the 2012 Olympic Games, the Orientalist frame was only discovered when the phrase 'head scarf' was used in referring to the West's disappointment about women being forced to wear the veil. The phrase 'Muslim women syndrome' has its roots in Orientalism and originates from erroneous assumptions about Muslim women and Islamic religion and culture.

Based on the discussion on the results of the two case studies in the previous sections, it is not difficult to see that Saudi women's representations consist of two major

components. The first component is that Saudi women are struggling for more rights, and the Saudi government's greater openness to this notion in recent years has led to improvements in the status of women. Thus, Saudi women are no longer seen as 'subjects' or 'subsidiaries' — stereotypical notions subscribed to by European and American media. The second component is that, with its conservative society, Saudi Arabia has always been the target of Western criticism when judged against the standards of democracy. The Saudi government has been criticised for withholding women's rights in various areas, such as driving cars and traveling without permission. According to this study's results, the British news media always uses the same yardstick — the Western standard of what is liberal — to judge Saudi women and draw the conclusion that Saudi women have a long way to go to secure their human rights. By exploring the types of frames that dominate the media, and by examining the differences between newspapers' representations, this thesis provides answers to the research questions set up in the Introduction chapter.

According to the model constructed for this thesis, based on the work of Entman, (1991; 1992; 1993; 2003; 2010) two key frames operate in news creation. The first of these is the cultural frame in which journalists are immersed. It has been argued here that for the particular subject matter of this study, Saudi women, one of the key elements of that cultural frame is Orientalism, which, in the British context, is likely to imply a particular positioning towards Arab Muslim women. Orientalism can be thought of as a lens through which the West observes the East, which also shapes and conditions how the media and journalists in particular frame their coverage of stories that concern the East. The other key frame in operation is that of the cultural frame of journalism itself — what Zelizer (2008 referred to as 'a web of meanings, rituals, conventions and symbol systems' (p. 4). The kind of frames used by journalists will condition how the story is written (the inverted triangle, for example). Ideology, or what Hall (1972) referred to as a 'deep structure', forms the underlying frame that influences journalistic practices in an often unconscious or covert fashion.

Two frames — human interest and conflict — make their appearances in specific forms in the news stories of both case studies, at different rates, as the specific forms of the two frames are separate systems of concepts and were different lenses through which news stories were focused. The two frames differed in that Orientalism is essentially a form of racism that seeks to selectively accentuate differences between

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the East and West in two aspects — the exotic aspect and the barbarian aspect — according to Said (1978). Meanwhile, liberal democracy is the yardstick the West uses to judge whether the East has met Western democratic standards.

8.2.1 The Cultural Frame

Orientalism content analysis of data gathered from 258 news stories from *Daily Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* from 2005 to 2013 has shown that Orientalism continues to feature as an important component in the news frames employed by journalists, and this has a considerable impact on the representation of Saudi women. According to the work of Edward Said (1978) and Rana Kabbani (2008), Western Orientalist representations of Eastern nations view the 'Orient' in terms of a range of characteristics such as 'servile', 'exotic', 'debauched', 'irrational', 'primitive', 'inferior' and 'barbarian', and the 'West' in terms of 'superior', 'ordered' and 'rational'. The Orientalism frame tends to imply the adoption of what is essentially a racist perspective — according to which the West, with its dominant global status, is in a privileged position vis-à-vis the East. Adoption of this perspective by journalists accentuates the differences between the East and the West, particularly in terms of how they choose to frame Saudi women. In general terms, the analysis has shown that newspapers frame Saudi women as veiled victims who need saving. This also means that they tend to focus on the problems that Saudi women face instead of highlighting their agency and resistance in, for example, defying the government. This research confirms Abu-Lughod's (2002) general observations about Western media's treatment of Muslim women. She argues that there are gaps between Western feminists and their counterparts in the developing world and emerging economies and that these gaps became most apparent when Western feminists focus on the burqa as a symbol of oppression in the mistaken belief that they are supporting the rights of Muslim women. Abu-Lughod's (2002) analysis of the Western mainstream media's coverage of the war in Afghanistan revealed that because Muslim women there did not conform to Western standards in terms of women's rights, they were depicted as helpless victims, which provided the justification for Western intervention to save them (Abu-Lughod, 2002). However, this ignored the more important fact that Afghan women still suffered as a result of poverty and a lack of education after the exit of the Taliban. More recently, Jiwani (2009) argued that the focus on the Taliban as an ultra-patriarchal force representative

of Islam also served to reinforce stereotypical notions about the 'barbarism' of Islam and its subhuman treatment of women, a theme that resonates with Orientalist literature and popular descriptions of the persecution of Muslim women.

Journalists frequently used the Orientalist frame in the British news media sample studied in this thesis, specifically in relation to the case study of Saudi women and 'veiling'. Although Saudi women have gained more rights recently, including political rights, such as positions in the Saudi al-Shura Council and the chance to vote in municipal elections, they are still represented as victims in terms of what they are not allowed to do: they cannot drive cars, travel without the permission of a male guardian or wear what they wish to wear. The latter point is reinforced in the repeated photographic representations of Saudi women wearing a niqab and abaya, which appear to suggest that all women are forced to adopt this style as a result of pressure from the conservative Saudi culture and authorities.

8.2.2   The Cultural Frame of Journalism.

This thesis demonstrates the importance of the cultural frame employed by journalists in building news. In doing so, it confirms the aspects of previous works (e.g., Reese & Cohen, 2000; Skinner et al., 2001; Weber, 2001) that have sought to show that journalism has its own distinctive professional culture. The present research has confirmed that frame culture plays a vital role in how journalists choose to interpret events and make decisions as a part of the news-making process. One of the most important elements is the availability of sources and the ability of journalists to benefit from them. The aforementioned four newspapers used human interest as a dominance frame (with the exception of *The Daily Telegraph*, which used the conflict frame) to report on Saudi women's participation in the 2012 Olympic Games.

One explanation for the 'passive nature' of the journalists and editors is that they are keen to turn to official and established news sources. These open up a world of opportunity for these sources to dominate the news frames (Stromback et al. 2008). *The Independent* and *The Guardian* wrote about Saudi officials regarding the issue of women driving, whereas *Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph* did not focus on this point.

In this study, journalists are merely deemed to be the transmitters of official viewpoints on issues faced by Saudi women with regard to the Saudi government's

failure to give them their rights. As Sigal (1973) found in his examination of the relationship between journalists and their sources, journalists rely to a great degree on official sources and routine channels (Gamson, 1992).

It is true that the media is not completely dependent on a particular source, but it is still highly restricted in its range of choices with regard to legitimate sources (Stromback et al., 2008). Ironically however, sometimes Saudi or Arab media contributes to the distortion of Saudi women for example, in the contrary story came to be published on *Al Jazeera.net: English*, entitled "Saudi women resent media distortion", in which Saudi women were quoted as being tired of their portrayal as deprived in the Western media. This story was published on the website in 2005, while the other stories were published in the period 2006-2007. This indicates that although there have been calls to correct the image of the Saudi women in the media, *Aljazeera.net: English* continues to follow the Western media in emphasising negative stereotypes of Saudi woman, perhaps because *Aljazeera.net: English* still depends mainly on Western news agencies as a source of news and photos" (al-Ariqi, 2008-2009 :38)

Most of countries around the world have a political and economic agenda to protect the common interest. However the globalization is viewed to increase domination by industrialized countries of the developing world, and is seen by a number of native observers as a new type of colonization. Economic and political interests are not separate, and globalization has to be studied in light of the political interests that drives it, particularly in its relationship to "Political Islam" (Brankovic at, al, 2003 :13). The political Islam has an agenda to the restoration of the political cultural that it was to lose it by colonial periods.

Globalization wonders if women can participate to produce and distribute wealth, and if they can protect religion, culture and the identities of future generations, and in combatting foreign political. Throughout history, women have been denied basic human rights, and until now there are some millions of women around the world that continue to experience discrimination (United Nation, 2016). Women rights are side among all the political ideologies available (nationalist communist, capitalist, secularist), The end of the Cold War gave rise to a certain triumphalism, especially in the United States, where many argued that Western values had finally defeated all

opposition. The end of history in the Hegelian sense was actually announced in 1989 in an article by Francis Fukuyama and then in a book he wrote in 1992. He argued that:

> "What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the Of course, the events of 11 September 2001 shattered this complacency. Some people now saw a new ideological conflict and as America and the United Kingdom had fought fascism and communism earlier–each time seeing their values triumph and spread to new parts of the world–now they had to defeat the threat of radical Islam. These ideas were much stronger in the United States than in Britain and are particularly associated with a group known as neo-conservatives"(Maguire, 2009).

On the other hand, there is a point of view that reinforce the conspiracy theory, which implies that politicians and media reports sometimes publish information and statistics that neoconservative tray to aversion of Islam, within society or between Muslims themselves.

"In Britain, as well as other states around the world, imperialism has transitioned from colonialism, through the globalised, epistemologically Western human rights discourse, to its third-incarnation of the security, counter-terrorism and counter-extremism paradigm" (Coolnessofhind, 2016). In this study, although the four British newspapers have different orientation, they all try to protect Saudi women from injustice and claim their rights on their behalf.

This assertion, however, invites challenges from some researchers such as Benett (1990), Gans (1979) and Shoemaker and Reese (1996), who believe that role of media in the frame-building process can be more interactive. Media, at least, has the liberty to select its news sources and choose from whom to collect information. In the process of framing a news story, journalists "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Although this quote from Entman does not exactly apply to journalists, it has been widely used to exhibit the importance of journalists' organisational skills in representing a perceived reality. These organisational skills involve a process of selection, emphasis, interpretation and exclusion. As Reese (2007) puts it, "the appearance of a news item in media is through 'active forces of order that bracket out certain happening via routinised, legitimised and institutionalised structure that favour certain ways of seeing'' (p. 149). This indeed denotes frames representing both psychological and sociological constructs, as explained by Iyengar and Simon (1993). In this study, the level of influence of both journalists and sources of information is explained through how *The Daily Telegraph* covers news on Saudi women using a conflict frame to cover the participation of Saudi women in the 2012 Olympic Games, and it focused on the hijab (or veil).

Newspapers tend to use what Eltantawy (2007) called 'Parachute Journalism', a term that refers to the practice of sending journalists out to cover crisis situations happening overseas (p. 33). As Eltantawy (2007) notes, 'The problem with this is that journalists are usually unfamiliar with the culture, the people and also the best sources in this area, which are all factors that affect the authenticity of their stories' (p. 33). Thus, when British journalists cover events involving Saudi women, the fact that they are unfamiliar with Saudi culture could affect their ability to access relevant sources, affecting the quality of their reporting or how they understand an event. All too often, this can lead to journalists relying on the same limited range of sources and also reproducing the same stereotypical viewpoints on issues. In the case of British journalists, this often means that they draw on the prevalent cultural stereotypes of Orientalism. Saudi women have always been the target of Western criticism when judged against the standards of liberal democracies. Saudi Arabia has been criticised in areas such as human rights, censorship, media freedom, freedom of speech, and so on. Writing about U.S. journalists, Gans (1979) used the term 'paraideology' to describe the set of assumptions and enduring values that they take for granted. With regard to the fact that journalists often lack sufficient time to do research for a story, an analysis of news stories showed that there were some repeated copies that had previously appeared elsewhere, and journalists had not bothered to update them even though information on Saudi women's issues and relevant photographs were readily available on the Internet.

The analysis in Chapter Six revealed that the values of British journalists affected their understanding of the ban on driving for women in Saudi Arabia. The coverage of the ban focused on the negative attitude of the Saudi government and the Islamic clergy; thus, it failed to highlight the efforts of the female Saudi protesters who had organised the anti-driving ban campaign. Because of cultural values, British journalists focused on the denial of the right to freedom of movement as a human right but missed the bigger story concerning women's agency and resistance. This was also very noticeable in *Daily Mail*'s coverage of the story concerning new job opportunities for Saudi women in the retail sector. It was only mentioned in the closing sentence of the article that this change in government policy had been largely prompted by a campaign organised by women themselves.

An analysis of the news stories in the sample revealed the opinions of Saudi women who participated in the 2012 Olympic Games regarding the problems they face when they want to participate in a global competition because they are prohibited from playing sports or exercising in a public field. The words 'conservative culture' are repeated in a negative context related to the conflict frame culture in *The Daily Telegraph*, whose news stories focus on the power of society to limit the freedom of Saudi women. This personal and professional framework shapes and conditions the choices made by journalists concerning the coverage of particular issues and produces a further set of frames that appear within specific news stories, as will be illustrated in the following section. In the 2012 Olympic Games coverage, news stories on athletes focused in great detail on what Saudi Arabian female competitors wore, and no explanation was provided by journalists about the broader cultural context of dress codes in the Islamic world.

As highlighted in Chapter Six, news stories repeatedly published the same information about the suffering of Saudi women's lives, referring to the fact they are not allowed to drive, travel, open a bank account or undergo surgery without permission from a male guardian. In reality, only the first two items on this list are true. Including inaccurate information of this type not only undermines the credibility of the journalists but also strengthens the depiction of Saudi women as victims. Newspapers also repeat that the Saudi government forces women to wear the niqab, abaya or burqa. Not all Saudi women dress in this way, but many choose to adopt niqab and abaya for reasons of tradition or culture. The values adopted by journalists

can affect their decisions concerning the framing of news content, which can change the audience's understanding of the event being covered.

As a reinforcement frame, as previously noted, the Orientalism frame can be seen to operate at a general cultural level in news creation. It appears that in both case studies, Saudi women are depicted as victims whether they protest and organise campaigns or try to participate in a global sport event despite being banned from playing sports in their own country. These depictions are used as proof of such women's inability to claim their rights. When journalists interpret events solely from the perspective of their own culture, this can become highly problematic in the coverage of international news. If journalists fail to adopt a more multiculturalist perspective in their decision-making processes, other cultures, like that of Saudi Arabia, are inevitably framed in an Orientalist mode. Like more general European and American media trends, British newspapers present a double-voiced contradictory discourse that supports more rights for Muslim women while at the same time failing to acknowledge that one of those rights is to freely choose to follow their religion. According to research undertaken at Cardiff University (Allen, 2012), one in five stories about coverage of British Muslims makes comparisons between Islam and other religions — although nearly half of these comparisons do not consist of explicit value judgments. Where value judgments are given, negative assessments of Islam outnumber positive assessments by more than four to one, with negative assessments being particularly prominent in the tabloids.

When Saudi women's issues are viewed through the historical Orientalist frame, this is often used as an opportunity for the British press to criticize the 'other'. Emphasis is placed on the United Kingdom as the ideal model of a democratic society—in comparison with the oppressive culture of Saudi Arabia. The discourse becomes one of criticizing the Saudi authorities for their record on human rights and then demanding rights for Saudi women on their behalf, on the grounds that as victims they are incapable of doing this for themselves. In other words, like Afghan women, they need saving. On the few occasions when there were positive comments in the news coverage acknowledging that Saudi women had started to claim their rights, these still focused on the idea that the democratization process was still far from complete.

In the two case studies, the Orientalist frame can be seen linguistically in the frequent repetition of phrases such as 'strict culture', 'not allowed' or 'forced', as well as mentions of 'the male guardian' and 'guardianship'. These are used to express dissatisfaction with the lack of freedom of Saudi women and their lack of rights. In terms of themes, newspapers highlight those elements of Saudi women's experience that support the idea that they are passively subject to social restrictions. Thus, *The Independent* described the Saudi judoka Shaherkani as 'set to make history for Saudi women', depicting her as a heroine, while at the same time the admission into the Saudi parliament of women members, which was a massive step forward for women, was not interesting enough for the British news to cover. British journalists covered those issues relating to Saudi women that reflect the news items judged to be most interesting for British audiences.

8.3 Specific Frames Used in the News Stories

However, the analysis of the two case studies revealed that more specific frames were found to have reoccurred frequently in both the written discourse of the coverage of Saudi women and in the visual discourse of the photographic images selected to accompany these stories. These frames are labelled conflict and human interest. In general terms, although the conflict frame emphasizes conflict between people, groups or institutions as a means of keeping the newspaper audience interested, the human interest frame brings an emotional view to the presentation of an event or issue problem.

These results confirm Neuman et al.'s (1992) findings that the 'human interest' and 'conflict' frames are the frames most commonly used in the news. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) stated that, in the latter case, this is related to the competitiveness of the market: As the market for news everywhere becomes more competitive, journalists and editors are at pains to produce a product that captures and retains audience interest. Framing news in human interest terms is one way to achieve this. Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news and dramatize or 'emotionalize' the news to capture and retain audience interest (pp. 95–96).

According to De Vrees (2005), a conflict frame refers to the journalistic practice of reporting stories that focus on clashing interpretations. This frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest

(Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). As noted in Chapter Six, only *Daily Mail* chose to highlight the conflict frame exclusively in its coverage of the arrest of the Saudi women, whereas the ban appeared in most news stories covering the Saudi women defying the government and Islamic scholars, getting behind the wheel in the campaign and calling Saudi women to claim their rights. The news stories tried to identify who was winning in the conflict between the three parties: Saudi women behind the wheel, the Saudi government and Islamic scholars. In the three other newspapers, *The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian and The Independent*, two frames appeared, namely conflict and human interest.

Framing news in human-interest terms involves journalists personalising the news and dramatizing or 'emotionalizing' it to better capture and retain audience interest (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). A human-interest frame brings a human face or emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Although the conflict frame emphasizes conflict between people, groups or institutions as a means of keeping audiences interested, the human-interest frame brings an emotional view to the presentation of an event or issue by focused on human stories. These results confirm Neuman et al.'s (1992) findings that the human interest and conflict frames are the most common frames in the news. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) stated that this is related to the competitiveness of the market:

> "As the market for news everywhere becomes more competitive, journalists and editors are at pains to produce a product that captures and retains audience interest. Framing news in human-interest terms is one way to achieve this. Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or 'emotionalize' the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest". (pp. 95–96)

This frame involves the idea that in a democratic society all members have maximum power to make the best of themselves and enjoy full rights to pursue their best interests. According to Sardar (1998), liberal democracy is unique to Western culture: 'The individual's main concern is to keep his/her identity intact, separate from all others, to preserve the boundaries at all cost, to enclose herself/himself within a protective wall' (p. 61).

In contrast, in non-Western societies, the individual identifies himself or herself by culture, community, family, heritage and so on. As a result, liberal individualism as a frame is often used in the Western press to criticise the 'other'. Criticism of Saudi Arabia's women's rights record is a typical example.

8.4   Visual Framing

The analysis of the photographs used in both case studies revealed that journalists often use photographs unrelated to the actual content of the news stories. Images of 'veiled' Saudi women (typically shown wearing the black niqab and abaya) predominated, even when the events being written about concerned women gaining access to the Saudi parliament or protesting against the government and aspects of traditional culture in an attempt to obtain more rights. Newspapers largely ignored the fact that there were photographs of liberal Saudi women wearing only the hijab. Only *The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian* used photographs of activities in Saudi Arabia that showed the women's campaign against the ban on driving and published the source of the pictures.

Moreover, when captions were used, these were also usually unrelated to the photograph, showing instead the caption writer's opinion on the story being covered. In some cases, the writers adopted an attitude of ridicule toward the black abaya and burqa. Only The Telegraph presented information about Saudi women driving in the photograph captions accompanying this coverage. *Daily Mail*, on the other hand, published an image of a model wearing lingerie with a sarcastic caption to accompany an article reporting the fact that Saudi women were to be given jobs selling ladies' underwear, a profession that had previously been reserved for men. The editor selected a photograph of a semi-nude woman as accompaniment to this news story about Saudi women living in a conservative society to attract readers' attention, even though there were alternative sources of the pictures. The content analysis of the photographs of Saudi women in Chapter Six showed how the images of the Saudi women campaigners behind the wheel protesting the driving ban were also wearing the veil. If the newspapers believed that being veiled is a symbol of female oppression, why did they choose to illustrate their coverage of rebellious Saudi women with women dressed in this way? This question reveals to what extent the image of Saudi women in the United Kingdom is confused because of historical knowledge of Muslim women in the Middle East.

8.5 The Contribution of the Study to Knowledge

This section will highlight the major contributions of this research. In this thesis, the most prominent findings in the two case studies relating to British news media's representation of Saudi women are that the images of Saudi women essentially reflect the same negative portrayal that is seen of Muslim women elsewhere in Western media, a portrayal rooted in the Western ideology of Orientalism. This study has also revealed the existence of links between the cultural frames of Orientalism and journalistic culture in building a news agenda. More specifically, the Orientalism frame appearing in the representation of Saudi women as veiled and the frames of conflict and human interest are widely and deeply embedded in British news reporting, which produce negative images of Saudi women. Specifically, the representation of Saudi women protesting the driving ban causes readers to draw the conclusion that Saudi women are helpless victims due to the strict culture and authoritarian government of Saudi Arabia. According to the British media's perspective, unlike their Western counterparts, Saudi women lack agency because they are incapable of claiming their rights or showing resistance to powerful patriarchal forces.

Overall, these findings provide answers to crucial questions about the ways in which framing affects how journalists choose to represent the other and in turn suggest the powerful impact that this can have on the broader understanding of other cultures. This thesis has thus made an original contribution and filled a gap in the empirical field by examining how Saudi women have been represented in contemporary British news media. It also contributed to the body of literature on the theory of media framing using a sample of news texts with high media exposure to examine British perceptions' of Saudi women. There have been a number of studies of the media representation of Muslim Arab women during recent years, but there are few academic studies on the representation of Saudi women in the British press. This became particularly apparent when searching for a sample of news stories published during the research period. Although women from Britain's Muslim minority communities, particularly those wearing the niqab or burqa, make fairly frequent appearances as potential terrorists, criminals or oppressed victims, the British media pays little attention to Saudi women. This study also served as an initial point of

reference for further studies, laying the foundations for future research that will develop and improve current strategies and ideologies prevalent in media industries. Negative media images of nationality can create significant barriers in communication between Saudi Arabia and Britain. Hence, there is a need to learn more about journalism culture and identify the impact of news frames on the audience and in constructing the image of a nation.

8.6   Future Research Opportunities

There are several possible directions for future research. First, the conceptual framework proposed in this research could be expanded to include more about the culture of journalism, one utilizing more practical insights from interviews with journalists and newsroom observations to fine-tune the framework. Other researchers could also adopt the proposed conceptual framework and empirically validate it in different national and transnational contexts. Furthermore, because this current study provided a useful snapshot of how the culture of journalism affects the process of news building in different cultures, another possible direction for future study would be to carry out further investigations with British journalists to determine the nature of newsroom practices in the coverage of women from different cultures and religions. It would also be useful to conduct studies on framing culture and how this affects the development of journalism culture in other developing countries and compare and contrast the findings to develop a strong theory of framing news.

Allan (2010) noted that the media plays a key role in creating positive and negative representations of minorities and in shaping popular preconceptions that can negative impact groups and individuals. He also showed that journalists believe that their work can play a powerful role in affecting the public's perceptions about minorities:

> "We as a profession need to take more responsibility for the stories we put into the public domain and the effect they have on wider society. True or not, these stories sink deep into public consciousness and can't help but influence the way people perceive each other. When, as in the case of stories involving Muslims, and before them black people and Jewish people, they are not balanced by more rounded coverage, the results can be deeply damaging". (as cited in Allan, 2010, p. 35)

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All journalists, whether in liberal or conservative newspapers, need to think about issues of representation to avoid providing distorted views of individuals, groups, organizations or nations in cases where there are differences of culture and religion between reporters and those about whom they are reporting.

Last but not least, in relation to the differences between newspapers in terms of frame selection, the research found that the human interest frame plays a leading role in both case studies. This said, the conflict fame predominated in the coverage of Saudi women's participation in the 2012 Olympic 2012 as reflected by the fact that independent centre-left newspapers dominated the total coverage stories, whereas the lowest published the pictures of Saudi women within the news. That is to say, *The Independent* was always among the newspapers with the highest number of news stories a bout Saudi women during the periods; however, *The Independent* did not focus on issues and its coverage was marginal, such as writing one sentence about Saudi women related to the issue. *The Guardian* chose to adopt a neutral stance by sticking only to the facts in stories and focusing on women rights, whereas *Daily Mail* made comments in favour of both sides of the arguments and the human interest stories. Only The Telegraph provided the conflict of the opinion of the issue, especially in the Olympic case.

Take the representation of Saudi women participating in the campaign against the driving ban as an example. Initially, before the first campaign was started in 2011 by Manal al-Sharaf, the two most popular national newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The Independent*) held hope for the development of Saudi women's rights due to King Abdullah giving Saudi women some rights , as well as their achievements in relation to greater openness. However, there were differences in the viewpoints taken by the newspapers. *The Guardian* chose to focus more on Saudi government action, such as arresting Saudi women driving, whereas *The Independent* tended to stay neutral and focused on the details of the Saudi women's campaign. In contrast, the tabloids (e.g., *Daily Mail*) and the centre-right papers (e.g., *The Daily Telegraph*) keep in hold and covered the details of the campaign.

Lastly, all four newspapers expressed deep 'worries' for Saudi women's rights improving in the future and the discrimination against progressive women's progress

with the repeated sentence 'Saudi women are the only ones not allowed to drive in the world.

8.7   Conclusion

This chapter has identified the kinds of framing that are the cornerstone of this study, as well as their significance to journalism, especially with regard to the coverage of news. It has discussed the importance of this finding in light of the impact of framing on the representation of Saudi women in the British press. This study has answered questions raised by the research gap regarding the framing of Saudi women in the British press. The rationale for the selection of the British media (as opposed to the U.S. media, for example)

Regarding the literature on the image of Saudi women in European and American media, the researcher found some studies in the U.S. media, which were increasingly less present after 9/11. There were not any studies found of the framing of Saudi women news in the British press

Against a background where few existing studies have discussed the kind of frames, the researcher has examined five kinds of framing (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) discovered in the news. This chapter has also presented findings concerning the important role played by the various frames British newspapers use when discussing different cultures such as Saudi Arabia. Finally, it has considered the significant differences in how news is covered by selecting the sources and analysing the frames.

It is recommended that future research examine a particular framing on which this study has shed light by conducting interviews with British journalists and observing newsrooms because they are a crucial areas of journalism that have considerable potential for growth, as the present research has shown. If academic study is to keep pace with care, the role of journalism culture. Although journalists attempt to take into account cultural differences, the present study has revealed that British newspapers frame Saudi women as victims in the news. Overall, this research on the framing of Saudi women in British news suggests many potential avenues of further investigation and demonstrates the importance of this study not only for Saudi Arabia but for the field of framing and journalism, worldwide.

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Appendices

Appendix 1:

Inter rater reliability (IRR) test for newspaper

Newspaper	IRR value	p-value
Daily Mail	0.992	0.0001*
The Daily Telegraph	1.000	0.0001*
The Guardian	0.994	0.0001*
The independent	0.986	0.0001*
Total sample	**0.991**	**0.0001***

*significant

Appendix 2:

IRR for different newspapers
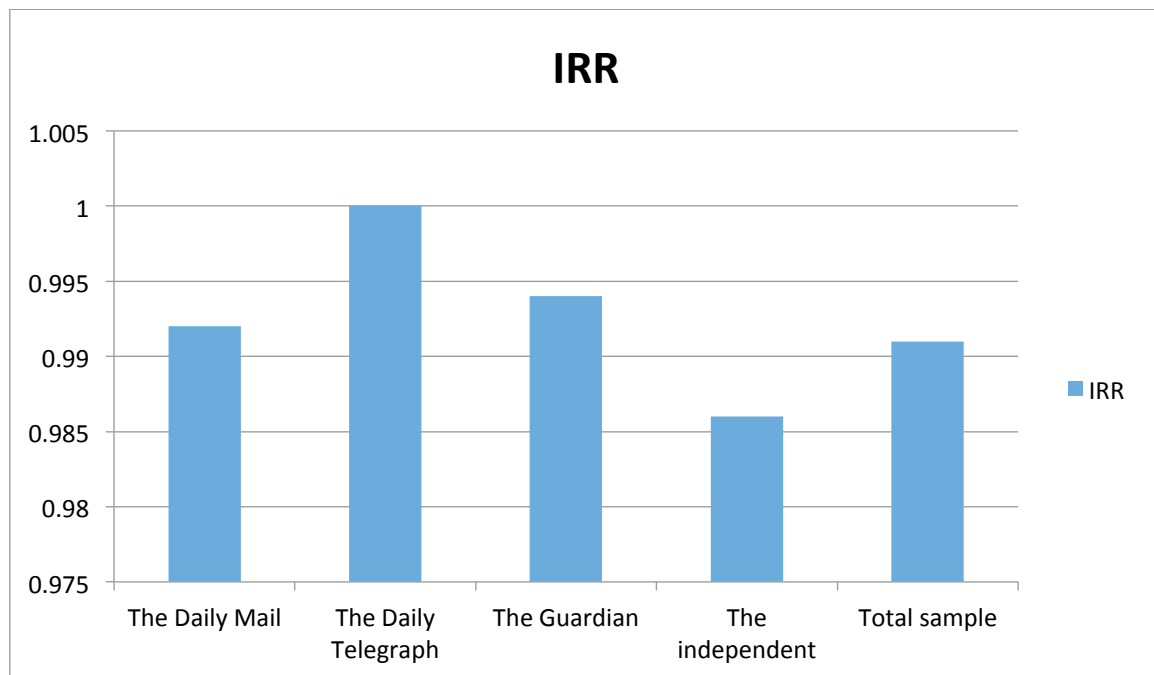
Appendix 3:

Difference between the effects of news stories for different newspapers by the two raters

Newspaper	Rater 1		Rater 2	
	Mean effect	Standard deviation	Mean effect	Standard deviation
Daily Mail	3.50	1.80	3.45	1.78
The Daily Telegraph	2.56	1.86	2.56	1.86
The Guardian	2.88	1.86	2.83	1.84
The independent	2.91	1.90	2.86	1.85
F-value	1.72		1.63	
p-value	0.16		0.18	

Appendix 4:

Mean effect of news stories for different newspapers by two raters
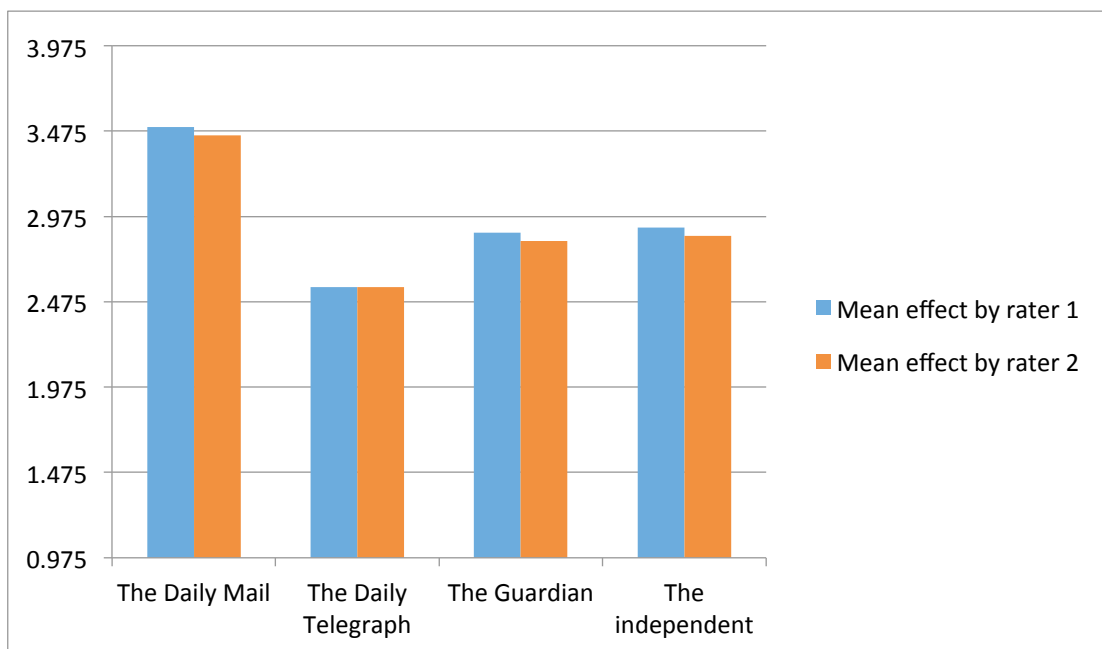
Appendix 5:

Distribution of news stories according to effect for different newspapers by rater 1

Effect of news stories by rater 1	Newspaper							
	Daily Mail		The Daily Telegraph		The Guardian		The independent	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	13	32.5	19	55.9	43	48.3	36	45.0
2	0	0	1	2.9	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3.8
4	8	20.0	4	11.8	17	19.1	8	10.0
5	19	47.5	10	29.4	29	32.6	33	41.2
Total	40	100.0	34	100.0	89	100.0	80	100.0

Appendix 6:

Distribution of news stories according to effect for different newspapers by rater 2

Effect of news stories by rater 2	Newspaper							
	Daily Mail		The Daily Telegraph		The Guardian		The independent	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	13	32.5	19	55.9	43	48.3	36	45.0
2	0	0	1	2.9	0	0	0	0
3	1	2.5	0	0	3	3.4	1	1.2
4	8	20.0	4	11.8	15	16.9	15	18.8
5	18	45.0	10	29.4	28	31.5	28	35.0
Total	40	100.0	34	100.0	89	100.0	80	100.0

Appendix 7:

Mean scores of Saudi women driving news framing in different newspapers

Newspaper News frame	The Independent N=23	The Guardian N=12	Daily Mail N=8	The Daily Telegraph N=10	F-value	p-value
	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score		
Responsibility	0.65	0.75	0.5	0.5	0.65	0.58
Human intrest	2.08	3	3.25	2.7	2.7	0.05*
Conflict	0.82	1.75	1.25	0.9	4.6	0.006*
Morality	0.3	0.66	0.5	0.7	2.8	0.04*
Economics	0.04	0	0	0	------------------------	

*significant

Appendix 8:

Mean scores of Saudi women in Olympics news framing in different newspapers

Newspaper News frame	The Independent N=13	The Guardian N=3	Daily Mail N=10	The Daily Telegraph N=2	F-value	p-value
	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score	Mean score		
Responsibility	0.26	0.33	0.45	0	2.05	0.13
Human intrest	1.5	2.83	1.3	0.5	3.6	0.02*
Conflict	1.11	1.66	2.65	2	5.01	0.007*
Morality	0.19	0	0.6	0.5	4.3	0.01*
Economics	0	0	0	0	-----------------------	

*significant

Appendix 9:

The ANOVA Test of differences between newspapers in elements of news of Saudi women driving

Elements	F-value	p-value
Number of news per year	1.288	.327
Section	8.467	.004*
Central issue	2.226	.107
Sources	8.751	.001*
Mention of Saudi women driver	.648	.624

*significant

Appendix 10:

The ANOVA test of differences between newspapers in pictures of Saudi women driving

Elements	F-value	p-value
Number of pictures per year	3.282	0.242
Source	2.420	0.121
Timelines	15.307	0.0001*
Role of images	76.083	0.0001*
Support or against campaign	79.451	0.0001*

*significant

Reliability for case study of Saudi women driving

Scope	Reliability	p-value
news	0.99	0.0001*
pictures	0.99	0.0001*

*significant

The ANOVA test of differences between newspapers in news of Saudi women in Olympics

Elements	F-value	p-value
Central issue	6.110	.002*
Sources	2.792	.149

*significant

The ANOVA test of differences between newspapers in pictures of Saudi women in Olympics

Elements	F-value	p-value
Source	25.000	0.0001*
Timelines	79.369	0.0001*
Role of images	13.068	0.0001*
Support for Saudi women athletic	11.866	0.0001*

*significant

Reliability for case study of Saudi women in Olympics news

Scope	Reliability	p-value
News	0.99	0.0001*
Pictures	0.97	0.006*

*significant